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WESTERN POLITICS

Western Politics

Edited by
FRANK H. JONAS

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1961

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To

G. HOMER DURHAM

Preface

This book developed out of the intention to bring up-to-date the volume, *Rocky Mountain Politics*, a collection of monographs on the politics of the eight intermountain states, edited by Thomas C. Donnelly. Published in 1940, it was indeed a pioneer effort designed, as Professor Donnelly stated, "to bring into the ken of observers of American politics and students of political parties the politics of a region." However, Dr. G. Homer Durham, formerly head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Utah, and at that time its academic vice-president, persuaded the editor to include in this volume the three coastal states and the new states of Alaska and Hawaii. Subsequent to the appearance of *Rocky Mountain Politics*, three other writers published studies dealing with specific regions: V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, in 1949; John Fenton, *Politics in the Border States*, in 1957; and Duane Lockard, *New England State Politics*, in 1959.

In November 1947, Professor Durham, with a group of associates, organized the Western Political Science Association, which claimed as its province the eleven western states. Subsequently, the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association and the Northern California and Southern California Political Science Associations were also formed within this region. All these groups periodically hold joint meetings.

Authorized by the University of Utah's President, A. Ray Olpin, and its Regents, the *Western Political Quarterly* was launched in 1948 by Professors Durham and Jonas, with Professor Franz B. Schick as editor. The *Quarterly* was accepted as the official organ of the Western, Pacific Northwest, and Southern California Political Science Associations.

As a feature of the program at the second annual meeting of the WPSA in Denver, in November 1948, this writer, having in mind his experience as a contributor to *Rocky Mountain Politics*, suggested that eleven political scientists report on the recently concluded elections in their states. He suggested also that the papers, which were read at the meetings, be published in the *Quarterly* as a special feature section, and further, that the practice be continued after each biennial election. All these suggestions were carried out by the *Quarterly*'s editors.

Subsequent election articles, some in monograph form, and a *Bibliography on Western Politics*, were prepared by these same writers, with one or two exceptions; they now appear as the contributors to this volume, under the same editorship. Largely because of this experience, the difficulty Professor Donnelly had in locating political scientists who were both able and *willing* to write on local politics in the state in which each had his residence was overcome.

In some instances, the experience of these contributors has not been limited to a position in the proverbial armchair or ivory tower. They have been close to

their state governments in various capacities, and on occasion they themselves have participated in practical politics. Apart from being asked to follow generally an outline of specific topics, in order to give the chapters a measure of uniformity, each had free reign in the scope of his treatment, limited chiefly by space and consequently by the demands of editing. Each contributor could emphasize or minimize any topic or introduce any variable which would bring out the unique features and chief characteristics of the politics of his state. It is hoped that this objective has been substantially achieved.

Due to unforeseen circumstances, it was not possible to realize the original intention to publish this book during the 1960 election year. In any event, the plan was to emphasize the political characteristics and changes in each state during the past two decades; it did not anticipate the use of the data which would be available as a result of the 1960 census and the 1960 elections, nor did it anticipate any changes which might be made in 1961 by the various state legislatures. However, wherever feasible, the contributors have made some changes in the proofs which have brought some items up-to-date with the election, census, and legislative events in 1960 and early 1961. The reader will find some 1960 elections material in the biennial feature articles on the western states and the region in the March 1961 *Western Political Quarterly*.

Each writer submitted a select bibliography with his chapter. Grouped in a separate section, the bibliographies list some titles which were not included in the 1958 *Bibliography on Western Politics*, and some additional titles which have appeared since that date. Each contributor also supplied a map showing counties and congressional districts, and in some cases, an additional modified political map. Brief biographies of the contributors may be found in a separate section near the end of the book.

Personally, I wish to express my appreciation for the cooperation of the contributors, not only in the preparation of this volume, but also in that of the three previous monographs. They have worked from their own available resources, without promise of royalty or even of the customary complimentary copies.

In a special way, I want to acknowledge gratefully the services of Mrs. W. Harold Dalgliesh, who edited and proof-read the copy, and prepared the index. Her personal devotion to the task of preparing the manuscript for the printer and finally seeing that it was placed in his hands during the year I was on the staff of the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, is deeply appreciated.

The maps and charts were drafted for reproduction in this volume by Mark Hafey. His meticulous attention to detail and careful workmanship are appreciated. Also appreciated at all times were the cooperative and efficient typing services of Mesdames LaVon West, Marian U. Covington, and Joan Clark.

For permission to use quotations and materials from Dr. Donnelly's and my own chapter in *Rocky Mountain Politics*, I wish to thank the University of New Mexico Press. I wish also to thank the *Utah Historical Quarterly* for permission to use certain parts of Professor John W. Caughey's article, "Understanding the West."

I wish to thank the University of Utah Faculty Publications Committee, Professor Leland H. Creer, chairman, and Dr. Philip Sturges, secretary and formerly manager of the University of Utah Press, and the University of Utah Administra-

tion, Dr. A. Ray Olpin, president, and Professor G. Homer Durham, vice-president, for approving this project; and the University of Utah Press Staff for producing the book. I also wish to acknowledge two grants-in-aid from the University of Utah Research Committee to assist with preparation of my own two chapters.

Finally, for myself and for all the contributors, I wish to thank the many persons — politicians, public officials, interest group representatives, and their aides — for the assistance they rendered unselfishly and understandingly to all the contributors to this volume in their quest for accurate and adequate data.

FRANK H. JONAS

Salt Lake City, Utah

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The Western Scene

FRANK H. JONAS

TWENTY YEARS AGO, Thomas C. Donnelly, in *Rocky Mountain Politics,* raised the prevalent doubt about the eight intermountain states constituting either a region or the West. He recognized that Montana and Idaho were bracketed sometimes with Oregon and Washington and designated the Northwest, and that Arizona and New Mexico were grouped sometimes with Texas and Oklahoma and called the Southwest. His interest at the time did not extend to the three Pacific Coast states which by virtue of their contiguity to the sea have common interests, although the hinterlands of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles soon take on the typical topography of the West. Bernard de Voto, a native Utahn, maintained that only Utah, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado, by virtue of common physiographic features and economic interests could be properly called the West.[1] Indeed, the range of mountains beginning in southern Idaho, cutting Utah in half from north to south and ending only a few miles from the Arizona border, could be considered a region itself, though its distinctiveness would be more cultural than physical. Life in this area, with its Mormon village, was more like that in early New England than life in the surrounding livestock country which produced the ranch, the gun-toting cowboy and the "wild, wild West," [2] and which became the image of the West in the rest of the nation and abroad.

Recently, however, the tendency among some historians and politicians has been to consider the legitimate West that area beyond a halfway point on the road to the Pacific, the West of the Plains and Rockies, the Great Basin, and the Pacific Coast, with Alaska and Hawaii thrown in for good measure. Indeed, John W. Caughey, the historian, and his counterpart in politics, Senator Lyndon Johnson, have added the two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas to the now somewhat traditional group of eleven western states. Senators Carl Curtis of Nebraska, Francis Case and Karl Mundt of South Dakota, Milton R.

[1] Bernard de Voto, "Footnote on the West," *Harper's Monthly Magazine,* 155 (November 1927), 302–12.

[2] For a recent article debunking this image of the West, see Peter Lyons, "Wild, Wild West," *American Heritage,* XI (August 1960), 32–48.

Young of North Dakota, and others, would tie this whole tier of six states to the West through their concern with reclamation. Perhaps the line should be drawn, as Professor Caughey has suggested, from north to south somewhere near the middle of these states. In truth, as one travels west across Texas, he senses a difference as he leaves Dallas and Fort Worth, and as he drives across Nebraska, he is reminded by many historical markers, the Overland Trail, the Pony Express, and Buffalo Bill, that "This Is Where the West Begins."

The purpose of this book, however, is neither to argue nor to settle the claims of any combination of states for regional recognition or for designation as the West, but to bring the politics of the thirteen most western ones to the attention of students of political parties. Nevertheless, it would seem that the eleven traditional western states, with Alaska and Hawaii, today are more than a well-defined party area, and that they can be viewed as a region with an underlying unity in physiographic features, economic impulses, and political objectives.

Western Landscape and Political Implications

Professor Caughey has described succinctly the distinctive physiographic features of the West.

> This is a land where environment has to be taken into account. It may be lavish in resources, but unlike a South Sea island with its cocoanuts and breadfruit, it does not automatically flourish. The mark of the land is strong on its history, and the facts of geography are these:
>
> First, it is a big country, a land of distances, of remoteness. The problem of transportation has always been uppermost for those who wanted to use or develop the West.
>
> Second, it is a rugged land, a land of sharp uplifts, canyons, and gorges, a region complex in topography and with a great deal of exposed geology. The multiplicity of land-forms — the alternation of plains, mountains, basins, mesas, valleys — complicates the transportation problem.
>
> It also sets up a broad diversity of climates. The isothermal lines climb the mountains more rapidly than they do the degrees of latitude. Zones of climate ranging from sub-tropical to arctic may be only a few miles apart, and the precipitation on one side of a mountain range often is much greater than on the other side.
>
> The West is a land of extremes. It has the highest and the lowest points in the United States. Day after day the West reports the highest and lowest temperatures. It has the highest and lowest rainfalls. For the greater part of the West the classification that fits is subhumid or semi-arid. And that of course spells a contrast to the humid East.[3]

The political implications of this terrain have been revealed in efforts to equalize competition with the other states through public policy. The great problem of the West has been and still is transportation. Historically, this area has sought high tariff rates on the importation from foreign lands of beef, metals, sugar, and wool. Indeed, it has been in a cold war with the rest of the nation in an attempt to break the bonds of colonialism which are obscured from view by high freight rates, hidden charges, indirect taxation, and stock dividends. Al-

[3] John W. Caughey, "Toward an Understanding of the West," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (January 1959), 8–24.

though absentee ownership and economic colonialism have been pretty well beaten by other writers, these subjects still apply strongly to most states in the West, particularly those in the intermountain area.

Another problem of the West is water, both the need for a greater supply for culinary and industrial uses and the exploitation of its river resources for multiple uses. These facts suggest the main political consideration of the West, its dependence on the federal government as the only source capable of meeting its financial needs for the full development of all its great natural resources and as an equalizer of opportunities for its citizens by redistributing to the area its just share of the returns for its efforts in supplying the nation with raw materials.

Economic Impulses and the Federal Government

Although to the eye of a stranger the West can appear desolate and bleak, a closer inspection would reveal that it was much richer than it had first appeared to be. It has or has had great deposits of useful, precious, critical, and strategic metals. Gradually the wilderness yielded to the trapper, the trader, the mis-

sionary, and the soldier. Then came cattle-raising on the open range, the prairie, and the grasslands of the Rockies; wool and wheat raising; orange and apple growing in the Southwest and the Northwest; lumbering; and finally, the health rush and tourist trade.

The life-line, the prime giver of value to the land was the railroad. From 1890, when the era of the gold and silver rushes, the open range, the stage line, the Indian wars, and the railroad-builders came to a close, until 1920, the West lived by the railroad. No single feature such as the railroad, with its implication for politics in governmental regulation, so dominated the scene after 1920. The age of the automobile, the airplane, and the engineer, supplementing and sometimes supplanting the railroad, brought industrial capacity to the West. The war was responsible for the steel industry and for such names as Geneva, Fontana, Hanford, and Los Alamos.

All eight Rocky Mountain states, in 1939, received more in subsidies from the federal government than they paid in taxes. Amounts for each tax-dollar paid ranged from $15.00 for Idaho to $2.00 for Colorado.[4] This same situation obtains today, though not quite so universally. In 1958, in eight of the then eleven western states, the "Federal expenditures by state of recipient or activity" were higher than the "Federal tax revenue by state of origin." Only in Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon were the federal expenditures less than the tax revenue.[5]

Although the New Deal did much to make the man-in-the-street conscious of his government's apparently unlimited financial capacity, westerners from the beginning have been acutely aware of the federal government. Before 1848 they looked to it to extend United States sovereignty to the Pacific. From 1850 to 1890 they counted on Uncle Sam to underwrite transportation improvements, to quiet the Indians, to clarify land titles, and to admit to statehood. They have besought the federal government to purchase silver and in other ways to inflate the currency as a means of relieving western debtors. They have asked it to bar Oriental immigration, to regulate the railroads, to proceed with reclamation projects, to give federal aid for highway construction, to move more rapidly in flood control, to eliminate the freight-rate differential against the West, and to give western industry a chance.

The principal economic role of the West has been to supply raw materials. At first it supplied furs, then sandalwood from Hawaii and cowhide from California. Later it was gold and silver, wheat and beef, salmon from the West Coast and Alaska, sugar from Hawaii, Utah, and Colorado, lumber, wool, wine, fruit, vegetables, oil and gas.

Probably the most significant economic change in the West during the past two decades has been the shift which has relegated agriculture second and min-

[4] Thomas C. Donnelly (editor), *Rocky Mountain Politics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), pp. 3–4.

[5] Every analysis of this situation is modified by the statement that it is difficult to make such computations. The conclusions stated in this text were derived from "Federal Taxation and Expenditures in the Several States," the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, Washington, D.C., July 29, 1959. The writer wishes to acknowledge the service of L. Ralph Mecham, Administrative Assistant to United States Senator Wallace F. Bennett (Utah), for supplying this document. Indeed, he is indebted to Senator Bennett and his staff for providing many items used in the preparation of this essay and the chapter on Utah.

ing third to manufacturing as the chief source of income and employment. Important as manufacturing is to the region, the basic output is still in raw products, which are used in the processing and manufacturing. Surpassing manufacturing in total employment in most states is government and public administration.

What has chiefly characterized the West is the great increase in the defense industry, which has sought inland security, but has also sought a more stable and traditional labor market. Many defense plants vote against unionization. Civilian workers in defense establishments and military installations are as likely to vote Republican as Democratic. They are not inclined generally and spontaneously to credit their congressional representative with either the plant, the installation, or their jobs: they seem to view the presence of the defense industry as something quite unrelated to elections. Though a senator or representative might be blamed for the loss of a defense or military payroll, or might be asked to prevent or restore such a loss, he is seldom credited with having been responsible for a subsidy or an installation in the first place.

Probably what is now happening in some corners of the West would illustrate its changing, yet still fundamental, character. More than twenty years ago, a *Saturday Evening Post* editorial writer found that sections of Utah were among the most arid and "broken up in the nation," and that in the southeast corner may be found the "last frontier," of which it has been said that "the Mormons have explored it all and rejected most of it, and where the Mormon cannot reclaim the desert, the Gentile is advised not to try." [6] Actually, this is the four corners area where the boundaries of Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico touch. What the Mormons failed to do, modern engineering is now doing. Located in Arizona, but with the waters of the Colorado River backed up more than twenty miles into Utah, the construction of the Glen Canyon Dam, the second highest in the world, has changed the meaning of the geography in this area. Natural features may not change, but human hands and human ingenuity change their significance. This fact characterizes the West today.

Formerly almost inaccessible, the region is now being opened up by good roads to tourists and recreationists. Even the rugged Navajo in southern Utah and northern Arizona has become modern; he is administering a park — a scenic area — for tourists. Only a decade ago, if a person residing in Salt Lake and north wanted to travel to Albuquerque, he went usually by way of Denver; if he wanted to go to Phoenix, he journeyed by way of Los Angeles. The opening up of north and south transportation by plane, automobile, bus, and truck has brought many a remote corner, its people and its resources, closer to the nation's economic beltlines and the region's centers of political activity.

In the northeast corner of Utah, on the Green River, which has its headwaters in Wyoming, the Flaming Gorge Dam is under construction; it will connect with Glen Canyon power lines to send electric power to surrounding industrial centers. Formerly a refuge for outlaws fleeing from pursuing posses, this remote corner of three states will provide water for metropolitan and agricultural

[6] Editorial, *Saturday Evening Post*, December 24, 1938.

areas, electricity for industry, and recreation for inhabitants and tourists. The population of the small Utah county which contains the dam had an increase from 364 to 1,159 or 218.4 per cent during the past decade — not large in numbers but a symbol of what is happening in the West.

Oil in Wyoming was exploited early, with pipelines running to refineries in the Salt Lake City and Denver areas, as well as in Wyoming. Only twenty years ago, the oil deposits in Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico lay too deep to be fully exploited. Today, with improved technology these states have greatly increased production. For example, twenty years ago Utah produced about 500 barrels of crude oil annually; in 1948, about 16,000 barrels; and in 1959, nearly 40 million barrels. In this state, oil has dethroned copper as the most valuable resource. This example is symbolic of recent developments in oil production in the Rocky Mountain area. Oil and natural gas production is concentrated in areas beginning in southern Montana, covering nearly all of Wyoming, continuing in northwestern Colorado and northeastern Utah, and ending in southeastern Utah, northeastern Arizona, and northwestern New Mexico. Some of the most valuable oil and natural gas resources have existed in California for decades. In Wyoming, oil has been the dominant economic factor since 1912.

In the Rocky Mountain area are practically all the known uranium deposits in the nation. The search for beryllium is taking place here. Coal deposits in the mountain states will last the nation for hundreds of years, at the present rate of production. Natural gas pipelines connect El Paso and Seattle, and will soon branch off to southern California cities.

The West offers nine-tenths of the whole nation's hydroelectric potential. The Columbia River basin, which begins in Wyoming and takes in most of Idaho, western Montana, Oregon, and Washington, and the Colorado River basin, which is of vital interest to the rest of the continental western states except Alaska, have not yet been fully developed. This development will constitute a major interest in western politics for many years to come; it may yet translate a regional and party area into a political bloc for voting purposes on common objectives in Congress and in national councils.

The Human Element

Since 1930, the West has increased measurably in both population and area. Alaska was added as a state in 1958; Hawaii, one year later. With an area of 865,017 square miles, the eight intermountain states had a population of only 3,701,789 in 1930. With only approximately four persons to the square mile, this area, "though larger than the ten states of the South, had a population in that year only slightly in excess of that of North Carolina." [7]

In 1960, the population in these eight states had increased to 6,804,927, or by 83.8 per cent. With the three coastal states added, the population totaled 26,899,463; and with Alaska and Hawaii, it came to 27,723,903, or 15.2 per cent of the population of the entire country.

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[7] Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

In 1939, Professor Donnelly wrote that "a large majority of the people" in the eight intermountain states lived in "small towns and rural areas." [8] He listed only twenty-seven cities in this region with a population of 10,000 or more, and only two over 100,000 — Salt Lake City with 140,267, and Denver with 287,861. The 1930 census classified the population in the Rocky Mountain states as approximately 40 per cent urban and 60 per cent rural. In 1950, the mean percentages for these states were 53.4 urban and 46.6 rural. The urban percentage undoubtedly would have been higher had the three coastal states been included. Probably the corresponding percentage figures derived from the 1960 census for all thirteen states would reveal the population as 60 per cent urban and 40 per cent rural. The addition of Alaska and Hawaii would not change this probable ratio. Hawaii is dominated by a single metropolitan area. Although Alaska has no SMA, half the state's population is in two areas, Anchorage and Fairbanks.

In 1960 there were 74 cities with populations of 10,000 or more in the intermountain area. In addition, California had 167, Washington 24, and Oregon 14. Alaska and Hawaii had 2 and 6 respectively.[9] Albuquerque, Phoenix, Tucson, and other intermountain cities have reached 200,000. However, probably more significant data for the study of voting behavior and political campaigning would be found in the increased number and size of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (see Table I).

In Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and Hawaii, over 50 per cent of each state's population is found in SMA's or in from one to three counties. In Colorado, Arizona, and Hawaii, over 50 per cent is found in the Denver, Phoenix, and Honolulu areas.[10] In Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, over 40 per cent is in a single county. In Washington, 38.8 per cent is in King County, and in Oregon, about 30 per cent is in Multnomah County.

Wyoming, Idaho, and Alaska have no SMA's, and the two metropolitan areas in Montana contain only 22.5 per cent of the state's people. Idaho and Wyoming have scattered small cities with no comparably large single concentration found in other western states. In the West generally open spaces and long distances between settlements prevail.

Also characteristic of the West are its imports — chiefly people — Spanish soldiers and settlers, French-Canadian voyageurs, pioneer settlers from other states, Chinese, Japanese, immigrants fresh from Europe, late-comers from Canada and Mexico, and millions more from all the more easterly sections of the

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[8] *Ibid.* Profesor Irion, on rereading Professor Donnelly's article on New Mexico in *Rocky Mountain Politics* after he had prepared his own chapter for this volume, observed to the editor that "the change in New Mexico between 1940 and the present is staggering." "Donnelly wrote," he said, "on the assumption that this state was three-fourths rural, while I wrote on the assumption that it shortly would be three-fourths urban. When Donnelly wrote, probably not more than 7 or 8 per cent of the farms had electricity; now, in 1960, the estimate would be 95 per cent."

[9] These totals are based upon preliminary reports of the 1960 census. Letter from Hugh L. Elsbree, Director, Legislative Reference Service, the Library of Congress, to the Honorable Wallace F. Bennett, United States Senate, dated September 26, 1960.

[10] The area definition in each of the SMA's in the West is usually a single county in which the city, from which the area takes its name, is located. For Denver, however, the area includes Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, and Jefferson counties.

country. No effort is made here to generalize about these people nor to place them into ethnic, occupational, religious, or income groups for the entire region. Donnelly states in 1940 that they had one thing in common, "they have only recently come into the region." [11] This observation is still valid.

The recent migration has come principally as a result of the war and defense industries. Many soldiers who had been encamped in the West liked the place, and after the war they returned to live there. Two results on voting behavior may be noted in passing.

California and Arizona have high Democratic registrations. Originally, the great influx of people in California during New Deal days would have tended to bring a traditionally Republican state around to the Democratic lists. This happened to some extent. Since 1938 California has had one liberal Democratic governor (Culbert Olson, 1939–43), two liberal Republican ones (Earl Warren, 1943–53, and Goodwin Knight, 1953–59), and one conservative Democrat (Edmund G. "Pat" Brown), but it was not until 1958 that both houses of the legislature came under the majority control of the Democrats. In addition, in this year,

TABLE I

State and SMS Areas — 1960 Population

State and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	*Total*	*Per cent of State*
Alaska‡	224,094	100.0
Arizona	1,288,433	100.0
Phoenix	652,032	50.6
Tucson	262,139	20.3
California	15,506,974	100.0
San Francisco-Oakland	2,721,045	17.5
Sacramento	500,719	3.2
Stockton	248,622	1.6
San Jose	639,615	4.1
Fresno	568,484	3.7
Los Angeles-Long Beach	6,683,563	43.1
San Bernardino-Riverside-Ontario	801,691	5.2
San Diego	1,003,522	6.5
Santa Barbara	167,883	1.1
Bakersfield	293,473	1.9
Colorado	1,743,516	100.0
Denver	923,161	52.9
Colorado Springs	142,643	8.2
Pueblo	117,547	6.7
Hawaii	620,346	100.0
Honolulu	488,822	78.8
Idaho‡	662,856	100.0

[11] Donnelly, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

TABLE I (continued)

State and SMS Areas — 1960 Population

State and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	*Total*	*Per cent of State*
Montana	669,547	100.0
Billings	78,001	11.6
Great Falls	73,203	10.9
Nevada	282,137	100.0
Reno	83,700	29.7
Las Vegas	125,466	44.5
New Mexico	943,981	100.0
Albuquerque	260,318	27.6
Oregon	1,757,691	100.0
Portland	815,745	—
	723,541*	41.2
	92,204†	—
Eugene	160,742	9.1
Utah	886,926	100.0
Salt Lake City	380,787	42.9
Ogden	110,762	12.5
Provo-Orem	106,777	12.0
Washington	2,829,871	100.0
Seattle	1,096,778	38.8
Spokane	277,745	9.8
Tacoma	318,258	11.2
Wyoming‡	327,531	100.0

* In Oregon.

† In Washington.

‡ No Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

SOURCE: Walter F. Ryan, chairman, Federal Committee on Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget, letter, October 11, 1960.

for the first time since 1889, the Democrats made a grand slam of state politics, winning six out of seven statewide elective offices, a majority of the congressional seats, a United States senatorship, and even the entire five-man State Board of Equalization as a bonus.

On the other hand, the migration to Arizona, which came originally from Democratic southern states, has come recently from Republican ranks in northern states. As a result, Arizona has become more Republican — in reality it also has become a two-party state — and although its legislatures have remained nominally Democratic, the voting has been conservative.

Hypothetically it may be advanced that, instead of the usual notion that metropolitan areas are becoming more Democratic and that the rural areas have remained predominantly Republican, the voting in urban areas may actually have become more Republican or at least more conservative and the rural areas more

Democratic or at least more "liberal." Conversely, the plight of the farmer, the abandonment of small family farms, the elimination of small herds of cattle and small interests in sheep, and, as a consequence of these trends, the industrialization and rationalization of larger land holdings and agricultural enterprises, could account for rural areas becoming more "liberal" or perhaps Democratic, at least at the "grass roots" level. Prosperity, found chiefly in the industrial urban areas and highly concentrated populated metropolitan areas, could have a greater effect on voting behavior and election results than traditional party allegiance, sectional and group interests.

In 1940, although the intermountain region was one of the most sparsely populated in the nation and in the world, many people felt that under the conditions then prevailing, their states had reached optimum numbers. In spite of the significant increases and concentrations of population, the opening up of north and south trade arteries, the greatly increased production of both raw materials and processed goods, the same statement could perhaps be made today, with the added note that the West has reached a stalemate in development. What the area needs is a greater supply of water, in addition to the development of present water resources for multiple purposes — flood control, irrigation, and electrical energy. The best answer to the need for total supply is the desalination of ocean water. The unity and the influence of the West as a bloc to achieve economic and political objectives can be measured subsequently by its success or failure to translate its needs for water into public policy.

Voting Habits and Political Behavior

Probably the most salient characteristic of the voter in the West is his independence. Each of the chapters which follow could well be subtitled "the independent state." The attachment of the voter is clearly to personalities rather than to political parties. In hardly any case can it be said that the voter wears a "party yoke." However, in the past, this independence has been more prevalent in local and state than in national elections.

In 1956, only three states gave the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket a higher percentage of votes than in 1952, but only Utah elected its entire Republican slate for state and national office. New Mexico elected a Republican governor and Arizona a Republican congressman. In 1958, however, while Utah was electing all Democrats to high office, Arizona, with a preponderant Democratic registration, returned two Republicans, Senator Barry Goldwater and Congressman John F. Rhodes, to Washington and captured the governorship from the Democrats.

Candidates can also become independent of party organization. In 1958, Mark Hatfield almost completely bypassed Oregon's Republican party and won, but the two-term incumbent governor in Nevada, Charles Russell, tried the same method and failed, although he did bracket his name with that of movie star and Lieutenant Governor Rex Bell, the only Republican to win against the Democratic tide in that state. These opposite results in the two states where similar techniques were used can perhaps be explained by the political personalities

and the campaign methods of the two candidates, and in local conditions.[12] Senator Ed Johnson in Colorado could tell the voters that they did not have to vote for a party, and still personally be successful at the polls. But three United States senators, incumbents Barrett in Wyoming, Watkins in Utah, and Malone in Nevada, all successful at the polls in 1946 (Barrett was elected to the House, the other two to the Senate) when conditions and not personalities prevailed, could not weather the storms in 1958; they had not become popular political personalities.

To account for the independence of both candidates and voters in the West, one must look closely at the nominating systems. All thirteen states use the primary. Of the basic types, eight use the closed, and five the open primary. Washington uses the "blanket" primary, a system not found in any other state. The blanket primary incorporates the features of the open primary which does not require the voter to disclose his party identity and allows him, in addition, a free choice to vote for any candidate seeking nomination, regardless of party. As a result, the Washington voter does more ticket-splitting, perhaps, than do his counterparts in the region.

California has been distinctive for its experience in cross-filing. The practice was curtailed in 1954 and double nominations practically disappeared. It was finally abolished in 1959, the 1960 election being the first in modern times to be held without it. Also, in California, delegates to the national conventions are elected on a statewide basis as a group, a feature found elsewhere only in South Dakota. Although only the names of national candidates to whom the state is pledged appear on the ballot, the voter receives a list of the delegates' names with his sample ballot. Cross-voting is not permitted in the presidential preferential primary.

Alaska's system is distinctive in that it elects only one state office. A vote for the gubernatorial candidate is simultaneously a vote for the secretary of state on the same ticket.

Colorado and Utah use a pre-primary convention system, designed to increase party leadership and responsibility. New Mexico tried this system in 1952 but soon abandoned it. In Utah, two primary nominees are chosen for each office at party pre-primary nominating conventions. In Colorado, if a candidate receives 20 per cent of the delegate vote in the assembly (pre-primary convention), he advances to the primary list. Colorado permits a party candidate to get on the primary ballot by petition, but not on the general election ballot. Both Colorado and Utah allow independent candidates to come on the general election ballot by petition. In comparison with the direct primary, the nominating systems in these two states have neither appreciably increased party responsibility nor produced party leadership, nor has the open primary in other states completely discouraged party leadership.

Although California and Arizona have closed primaries and predominantly Democratic registrations with ratios as high as three to two, these states have

[12] See Don Driggs, "The 1958 Elections in Nevada," *Western Political Quarterly*, XII (March 1959), 319; and John M. Swarthout, "The 1958 Elections in Oregon," *ibid.*, pp. 333–40.

elected Republican governors, senators, and state legislatures during the past decade. And although Republican incumbents in major elective offices in California could not overcome the Democratic tide in 1958 and their own internal party dissensions, all failing at the polls, in Arizona the Republicans were highly successful.

All in all, politics in the West as a whole is, as Professor Bone has subtitled his chapter on Washington State, "free-style"; it is often flamboyant. But the free, open spaces, the generous bright sunshine, and the clear, distinct outline of the mountains against a light blue sky spotted with thick velvety white clouds, have not induced a particularly comparable free and frank spirit in political campaigns. Once, perhaps, elections in the West were characterized by the direct and bitter campaigns for the office of sheriff as portrayed on television, but in recent years the familiar subtle techniques in American politics generally have gained in quantity and intensity. The 1950 and 1954 campaigns in California and Utah, and the more recent campaigns in Arizona, California, Oregon, and Washington have become increasingly scurrilous. In Arizona in 1958, Senator Barry Goldwater rode hard with three other horsemen, fear, doubt, and anger. In the same year, the religious issue in Washington, California, and Oregon rose to new heights, due to an increased number of Roman Catholics in active politics, the parochial school question, and in Oregon, the fact that Mark Hatfield, in the middle of the 1958 campaign, married a Catholic who almost immediately became a Protestant.[13] Observers in Wyoming, Montana, Hawaii, and New Mexico, states with substantial Catholic populations and prominent Catholics in public office, contend that religious bigotry has not raised its ugly head in their states, with the exception of the 1960 election for president. This election, due to Kennedy's Catholicism, heightened and sharpened the religious issue in all western states, especially in such typically Protestant areas as eastern New Mexico and Oregon. In Utah, although the Mormon church exerts considerable influence by virtue of its extensive commercial enterprises and high property taxpaying position, it does not control politics as is so often assumed.

Except in California, in the West as a whole the public relations man has not taken over completely in politics. Personal contacts still play a heavy role in political campaigning, and the printed page is still an effective means of mass communication. The hazards for the candidate and the expense of using television have caused politicians to use it more cautiously and in some places as sparingly as possible.

The vote for governor in the thirteen western states from 1930 to 1958 illustrates the demarcation between one- and two-party states (see Table II). The figures for Alaska, Arizona, Nevada, and Washington would suggest that these are Democratic states; California reveals a strong Republican tendency; the rest are two-party states.[14]

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[13] Swarthout, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[14] See Duane Lockard, *New England State Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 6, for a comparative commentary on this basis between the New England and Southern states.

TABLE II

The Party Tendencies of the Western States, 1930–1958

State	Mean Republican percentage vote for governor	No. Republican majorities for governor	No. elections producing change of party control of governorship
Alaska‡	39.6	0 of 1	0
Arizona*	42.8	3 of 15	3
California‡	59.5	6 of 8	3
Colorado‡	47.6	6 of 15	3
Hawaii‡	51.2	1 of 1	0
Idaho‡	47.8	6 of 12§	6
Montana†	49.7	4 of 7	3
Nevada‡	44.9	3 of 8	3
New Mexico*	47.5	3 of 15	4
Oregon‡	52.1	7 of 10¶	4
Utah†	49.4	3 of 7	4
Washington†	43.9	3 of 7	4
Wyoming‡	49.8	4 of 9	5

* Elects governor every two years.

† Elects governor every four years at presidential election.

‡ Elects governor every four years during off-presidential election years. Colorado began electing its governor every four years in 1958.

§ Began electing governor every four years in 1946 — 12 elections.

¶ Filled vacancies in 1948 and 1956 — 10 elections.

The Republicans have won three of the last five governorships in both Arizona and New Mexico, all since 1950. This indicates that both have become two-party states or at least that they may no longer be considered "safely" Democratic. Arizona's 1958 Republican victory came in a Democratic year in the West and in the nation as a whole. Nevada elected a Republican governor in 1930 and did not follow the national trend until the 1934 election. Oregon elected an independent in 1930, and four years later, in another three-way contest, elected a Democrat by a meager plurality. One Republican victory in California was a plurality, as was the Republican victory in Utah in 1956. That year Hugo Aronson, a colorful figure in Montana politics, was the only Republican to win a major office in that state. Although the state gave President Eisenhower an overwhelming 57.1 per cent, Democrats captured all other major offices and both houses of the legislature for the first time since 1938.

These have been but a few of the political vagaries in the western states. The following chapters attempt to account for these tendencies and the many variables found in the separate state elections. Although these chapters do not include detailed results of the 1960 elections, these in no way invalidate the observations of the writers on voting behavior in the West. True, ten of the thirteen states cast their electoral vote for the losing Republican nominee,

Richard M. Nixon, while usually the western states have "gone with the nation." Perhaps the total results in 1960 may be viewed as a halt, if not a reversal, of the western Democratic trend which had begun shortly after 1952.

In addition to the favorable vote for Nixon, four of the five states with gubernatorial contests elected Republicans, but the congressional elections were not so favorable to the GOP. The Democrats captured four of the seven senatorial seats up for election but wound up with five. In Wyoming, incumbent Democratic Governor J. J. Hickey assumed the seat won by Keith Thomson, who died before he could take office.

The West is represented in the 1961 Senate by twenty Democrats and six Republicans: neither party made any net gains. In the House of Representatives the Republicans gained three, the Democrats two, a net of a single seat for the GOP. Here the West has thirty-two Democrats, the same number as in 1958, and twenty-seven Republicans, one more than two years previously.

In Oregon, Mrs. Maurine Neuberger won the senatorial seat vacated when her husband died earlier in the year. The chair left vacant by the retirement of Senator Murray of Montana was taken by an incumbent Democratic congressman, Lee Metcalf. The other two Democratic and two Republican senatorial victors were incumbents. In Idaho, Senator Henry C. Dworshak, rock-ribbed Republican conservative, retained his seat, while Representative Hamer Budge, equally conservative and equally anti-public power, lost to a Democrat, R. R. Harding.

In the 1960 congressional elections, local conditions and political personalities were undoubtedly the prevailing factors regardless of national ideologies, issues, and party voting trends. In many cases, these elections followed traditional voting patterns.

In Wyoming, Congressman Thomson's place was taken by William Henry Harrison, a former Republican congressman. The state's lone congressional seat has been occupied continuously since 1942 by a Republican. However, in Montana, Lee Metcalf's position was taken by another Democrat, Arnold Olsen, although the state's two seats were shared by the two parties, the Democrats losing one in 1960; this was generally a Republican year for this state.

In New Mexico, the two congressmen-at-large seats usually have been shared by a Protestant-Anglo-Saxon and a Catholic-Spanish-American but never by men of opposite political faiths. Democrats have been in possession of both since the inception of the second seat in 1943. In 1960, incumbent Democrats T. G. Morris and J. M. Montoya were elected. In Nevada, since 1953 the lone congressman has always been a Democrat.

In Washington State, however, the ratio in the House of six Republicans and one Democrat maintained since 1953 was altered slightly in 1960 when it shifted five to two. In addition to Idaho, Utah elected two Democrats to the House for the first time since 1952 (Idaho since 1950). In this state, Democrat M. Blaine Peterson won by a handful of votes over a weak Republican candidate, A. Walter Stevenson, who was supported, however, by a strong Republican campaign.

Probably recent party alignments would best be revealed by the results for the major state offices other than governor, and the interest and sectional group

alignments by the composition of the 1961 state legislatures. The struggles for these state offices are usually less emotionally charged and the legislative turnover, if not always very large, generally indicates the change in political and social attitudes toward specific local issues prevalent during the previous two-year period.

The effect of the religious "issue," which cannot be discounted entirely, will most certainly be probed thoroughly before the 1964 presidential elections. Washington re-elected its Catholic governor, Albert Rosellini, a Democrat, and gave its electoral vote to Nixon. Alaska, a state which had been earmarked as the last surviving single-party area (Democratic) in the West, also gave its vote to Nixon. Oregon, which gave Mrs. Maurine Neuberger, a liberal Democrat, a 37,000 vote margin, chose Nixon over Kennedy.

However, for the 1960 results, one may advance the hypothesis that reasons in addition to Kennedy's Catholicism can be suggested to account for Nixon's acceptance in the West. Perhaps one may classify Kennedy as a pragmatically inclined politican rather than one who would not take any action as President before consulting a member of the Catholic hierarchy. This feeling about Kennedy had certainly become prevalent in the West and would have helped rather than hurt him, tending to allay the apprehensions of the devout Protestant who perhaps feared that as President he would be guided by his church on political matters more than by his own individual conscience.

Many states in the West, especially Washington and above all Alaska, depend heavily on federal subsidies to defense industries and federal spending to support military installations. Kennedy's statement that he would deploy federal defense payrolls in areas of greatest unemployment could have been enough to frighten many western states into Nixon's camp.

Early in the campaign, it was evident that neither presidential nominee was really popular for reasons other than their personalities, a situation which resulted in a strong protest vote in both parties. Indeed, Kennedy, as a member of the Congress which ostensibly had not fulfilled the Democratic promises made in 1958, was as vulnerable as Nixon, who had the unenviable political position of being duty-bound to reflect the policies of the Administration and of the personally popular President, while at the same time creating an image of a "new" Nixon as a politically reincarnated individual who, in the White House, would show a stronger hand in both domestic and international affairs than had his predecessor.

Kennedy's managers undoubtedly knew he was vulnerable. In the intermountain west he was represented by Byron "Whizzer" White, former all-American football star, and a team of movie and sports personalities, headed by Stan Musial of the St. Louis Cardinals. The Republicans countered this glamour group with a deadly serious "Truth Squad," which attempted to discredit Kennedy's record in the Senate.

The West had reason to vote against Kennedy on the grounds of his fourteen-year record in Congress. The Republican "Truth Squad," made up of Senator Wallace F. Bennett from Utah, Senator Roman L. Hruska from Nebraska, and Under-Secretary of Commerce Philip A. Ray, pointed out that not a single

piece of major legislation bore the Kennedy name or stamp; that he had missed 331 roll-call votes out of 1,189 from 1953 to 1960, excluding those when he was ill; and that although he expressed vital concern for America's position in international affairs, he had not attended a single meeting in 1960 as chairman of the Afro-Asian Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, nor as a member of the Senate's Disarmament Subcommittee, nor as a member of the Subcommittee on Automation and Energy Resources. Since westerners generally conceive of their congressional representatives as errand boys in Washington who ought at all times to keep their noses to the legislative grindstone, the charge of absenteeism is an effective technique.

Most significant for the West, especially for the intermountain area, was the revelation that Kennedy had directly or indirectly (by pairing his vote) voted against the Colorado River Basin development program, especially the key to the whole system, the proposed Echo Park Dam, which was lost in Congress. This branded him as a representative of industrial New England and financial New York. Kennedy won Nevada, Hawaii, and New Mexico by close margins. The others he lost — even Montana and Wyoming which have substantial Catholic populations and several prominent Catholic laymen in major state and high national offices.

Analysts should not overlook the fact that Nixon was from the West. Moreover, his public relations counsel performed admirably in modifying the unfavorable "Tricky Dick" image created by his extremely vicious campaigns against Jerry Vorhees in 1946 when he won his first seat in Congress and against Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1950 when he won his senatorial seat. The incident of his $18,000 private "kitty" in 1952 also did little to make him acceptable to westerners who knew him at close range. Yet during his years in the vice presidency he had appeared to conduct himself with restraint and dignity: his 1960 campaign reflected this same pattern.

The key to the voting alignment generally in the West would be the results in prosperous industrial urban and distressed rural agricultural areas. Variation in the pattern would result in those states which derive their agricultural income mainly from livestock, as in Wyoming and Utah, and from basic crops. But even in the subsidized grain-raising areas in Washington, Montana, and Colorado, as well as in Oregon and Idaho, Nixon won the states' electoral votes.

Much of the economic prosperity in the West comes from defense industries. Workers in defense plants would be apt to reject unionization and vote Republican as well as Democratic, at least in equal numbers. Labor's effort in behalf of the Democratic candidates, which seemed to have reached a new height in quantity and effectiveness in 1958, would have to be examined in the 1960 elections in order to arrive at a reasonably accurate composite reason for Kennedy's failure to capture the majority of the West's electoral college votes. Perhaps the West unconsciously voted more as a region in 1960 than it had ever done before. Perhaps it had good reason, other than the religious question, for not "going with the nation" in this most unusual and unprecedented election in the nation's history.

Lockard assumes that "two party competition results in a more salutary political atmosphere." [15] He argues that in interpreting the whole political picture it would be inadequate to restrict one's view to elections, campaigning, and intra- or inter-party maneuvering on the hustings. The necessary broader perspective includes a scrutiny of the legislative process. Legislative politics have been merely touched upon in the following chapters. Yet on the whole, one may conclude that the West is a salutary two-party area. Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon and California have relinquished their one-party positions, and even Alaska may do so as party organizations develop in the nation's "last frontier."

The Future of the West

Has the West been recognized in national politics as a political entity? Can it use its regional status as an effective instrument to improve its position? Before Alaska and Hawaii came into the Union, the eleven western states had become a geographic area for business and governmental administration units and for voluntary social, business, and political associations. In the past two decades, members of Congress seem to have devoted more attention to the West, especially during election years, and eastern newspapers and national periodicals have given increased news and feature play to some of its election campaigns and political personalities.

Even in recent national nominating conventions, westerners seemed to have played a more active and prominent role. At the 1960 Republican convention, Oregon's Governor Mark Hatfield nominated a native Californian, Richard M. Nixon, for the presidency. Arizona's Barry Goldwater came to the convention as the chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and as a vice-presidential aspirant; he left as the leader of the nation's Republican conservatives.

Governors Hugo Aronson of Montana and William Quinn of Hawaii, and both Governor Robert E. Smylie and Congressman Homer Budge of Idaho were given spots at the convention. Previously, Jerry Jones, national committeeman from Utah, was appointed vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee and assigned to direct the convention: he appointed another Utahn, Tom Judd, as its organizer.

In the Democratic convention, Senator Frank Church from Idaho gave the keynote address. Calvin Rawlings, national committeeman from Utah, played a small but significant role as chairman of the Credentials Committee. Senator Lyndon Johnson, the Texan who had identified himself with the West, was chosen as the vice-presidential nominee, while Washington's vice-presidential aspirant, Senator Henry Jackson, became the party's national chairman.

In this convention, the various state delegations were preoccupied with struggles from within for control. Typical was California's Governor Brown who was not able to hold his delegates. These internal difficulties made it practically impossible for the heads of delegations to effect any kind of coalition. There is

[15] *Ibid.*

nothing to indicate that the situation at the Republican national convention was any different.

The picture for the West, from the standpoint of recognition, has seemed quite bright. But in the most important places, in both national conventions, on the platform committees, the West as a bloc has had little or no influence.

During the past three or four years both parties held periodic regional party conventions. Their resolutions theoretically were carried over into activity on the national convention platform committees. Both parties produced long planks on water resource development and reclamation. Calvin Rawlings, chairman of the Democratic Western States Conference, after the Democratic convention in Los Angeles, wrote:

During the last year definite action has been taken to implement the objectives of our conference. We appointed an Executive Committee, of which Paul Ziffren was chairman, and largely through their efforts, many planks particularly beneficial to our thirteen western states were written into our national platform. We have reached the first plateau and our next objective is the election of our national ticket, to be followed by legislation enacting our platform into law. The final phase of our program is to see to it that we receive the economic and political considerations to which we are entitled after the election.[16]

Two kinds of conferences in the West have been held by the Democrats in recent years. Five were sponsored by the Division of Political Organization of the Democratic National Committee. Two others, in Salt Lake City in 1958 and in Albuquerque in 1960, were brought together by the Western States Conference. The aim of the National Committee was to improve internal party organization and discuss its problems. The purpose of the Western States Conference was to talk over many different issues in addition to internal party problems.

Republicans have held similar western regional conferences. It would be difficult to determine the proportion of the time and effort at these conferences devoted to the most common problem in the West, water supply and water resources development. And it would be even more difficult to ascertain any degree of unity on this subject as a result of such regional conventions, either Democratic or Republican. If the parties are not precisely at loggerheads over the water issue, they are vying independently to take the credit for an achievement or to ascribe a failure to the other side.

It would not be entirely correct to say that the West has acted as a region either in Congress or in party conventions in seeking favorable recognition of its problems and objectives. There are some common attitudes among western Democrats and western Republicans, particularly in the field of resource development; but there are also many points of disagreement in this field between and within the parties. Differences of opinion in the same party exist about the reservation of water for upstream states against its release for the use of those downstream. This fact has pitted all the upper basin states and Arizona against

[16] Letter from Calvin Rawlings to the Honorable Alex Miller, Democratic National Committeeman from Alaska, dated July 20, 1960.

large and wealthy California. There is also disagreement over oil depletion allowances and over federal electric power disposal policies.[17]

In a democracy, he who can command the vote, either of the electorate or of its representatives in the legislature, is in the position to exercise political power. The West simply does not have the vote to determine its own destiny. It has 26 per cent of the Senate, but after 1960, even with Arizona and Hawaii each gaining one representative and California eight, it will have only 16.8 per cent of the House membership.

State or local government action is encouraged by those who know fully well that not too much will be achieved as a result of this method. Even California will hardly achieve its aims by virtue of its own efforts alone. Other states are simply too small to do much. Both the historian and the politician probably would agree that the "regional approach has far more to recommend it than the alternatives of state or nation" on which the West has been depending. These words of Professor Caughey's[18] have found their counterpart in those of Calvin Rawlings':

The Western States should and will lead this nation into this new age, but in order to do so we must develop a regional consciousness to match our fortunate position and potential. We must learn that that which divides us is less important than that which joins us together. . . . We must convince the West that regional consciousness is neither new nor improper in the history of our country. The South has been — and is — articulately and powerfully represented as a region, as is the industrial Northeast and the productive Middle West. The "New West" is . . . a region blessed by plentiful resources, a region free from crippling class and caste systems, a spacious and hospitable region where people can live and grow and enjoy life.[19]

Since Professor Donnelly wrote his compact little essay in 1940, the West has come far in economic development, population increase, and even in political influence. Perhaps, it has come of age. "Today by every test modern civilization makes, by population, productivity, climate, raw materials and power potential, the West has earned the right to industrial, commercial and cultural equality." [20] Perhaps the West has earned this equality, but earning something and receiving it, if others who are in a position to exercise decisive power do not wish to grant it, are usually two different things.

Much will depend on the West itself. Its best chance is to make the most of the water supply that is available, to attain peak efficiency in hydroelectric power development and distribution, to achieve a maximum reclamation program, and to eliminate discriminatory freight rates. To give western industry a chance is to challenge on the broad front of a regional approach. To do so the West must rise above provincialism, cultivate an awareness of its essential unity, and strive for at least a measure of solidarity.

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[17] Letter to the writer from U.S. Senator Henry Jackson (Democrat, Washington), dated August 18, 1960.

[18] Caughey, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[19] Letter, Rawlings to Alex Miller, *op. cit.*

[20] [illegible]

Alaska: Empire of the North

HERMAN SLOTNICK

WITH THE ACQUISITION of statehood in 1959, Alaskan politics entered a new phase. Before then, Alaska had been simply a territory of the United States and the Congress of the United States had served, for the most part, as its legislature. It was not until 1912, forty-five years after its purchase from Russia, that Alaska was given territorial status under the Second Organic Act and provided with a legislature of its own. This legislature, however, was greatly restricted in its powers. It was forbidden to pass any laws interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; thus it could not pass any land laws. It had no authority over fish and game; it was forbidden to incur any bonded indebtedness either for the territory or for any municipality; it could not establish any county system of government. Measures passed by the territorial legislature were subject to veto by the governor, and it took a two-thirds majority vote of both houses to override a governor's veto. The Congress of the United States could, if it chose, set aside any laws enacted by the territorial legislature. Alaskans could vote for members of the legislature and some of the officials of the government, but their governor was appointed by the President of the United States; therefore the governor might very well be, and often was, a member of a political party different from that of the majority of Alaskan legislators. Alaska, unlike its sister territory, Hawaii, did not have a judiciary of its own. Instead the territory was divided into four judicial districts, each presided over by a federally appointed judge who sought to try cases involving the interpretation of territorial as well as federal statutes. Federal domination over the affairs of the territory was further enhanced by almost forty governmental agencies, often working at cross-purposes with one another, which controlled and disposed of its resources. Even in 1959 the federal government still owned 99 per cent of the land of Alaska.

Alaskans have been apt to blame the policies of the federal government for impeding the development of the territory. They believed that the federal government had largely neglected them; therefore, they demanded home rule. Since the end of World War II, the desire for statehood has dominated Alaskan

politics, although not all Alaskans agreed that statehood was desirable. There was some sentiment in the territory for commonwealth status on the model of Puerto Rico, but this failed to achieve much support. On the twenty-sixth of August, 1959, a referendum, held in accordance with the Statehood Act, resulted in an expression of approval by a vote of 40,452 for statehood to 8,010 against. The battle for statehood had been very eloquently dramatized by former Governor Gruening, in his keynote address to the Alaska Constitutional Assembly in November, 1955, on the campus of the University of Alaska, as a campaign to end "colonialism" in the territory. According to Gruening, Alaska had suffered not only from political discrimination while under territorial status, but also from economic and financial discriminations analogous to those in the thirteen colonies under the rule of Great Britain. He pointed out that Alaska had failed to receive its just share from federal programs such as the Highway Act, although Alaskans paid their full share of federal taxes. Discrimination against Alaska was most notorious under the Maritime Act of 1920, generally known as the Jones Act, after its sponsor, Senator Wesley Jones of Washington. This provided that "goods shipped across the United States, destined either for the coastal ports of the Atlantic or Pacific or for shipment across these oceans to Europe could use either American or foreign carriers." There was one exception: Alaska. Goods destined for Alaska had to be transported by American carriers. Alaskans could not avail themselves of cheaper transportation facilities that might be offered by Canadian carriers.

Although the struggle for statehood or home rule has overshadowed all other political questions, it would be wrong to assume that "politics" did not exist in Alaska. Both the Republican and Democratic parties had been established in Alaska before the turn of the century. If Alaskans could not vote for a governor, or for the President of the United States, they could, after 1906, cast their ballots for a delegate to Congress, and after 1912 for members of the territorial House and territorial Senate.

The most memorable meeting of the territorial legislature in recent years took place in 1949, when Governor Gruening, a Roosevelt appointee, placed himself in the role of a party leader and submitted a full-fledged program of reform. Governor (now Senator) Gruening, who has been a very controversial figure in Alaska politics, received support from both Republicans and Democrats as well as opposition from members of both parties. The legislature then brought forward a most comprehensive plan of fiscal reorganization that saw the imposition of a territorial income tax and the placing of taxes upon various businesses that had paid little or nothing in the past.

In the first elections held after Congress voted for statehood, the Democrats won an overwhelming victory. Eighteen of the twenty members of the state Senate and thirty-four of the forty members of the House were Democrats, while the Republicans won only two Senate seats and four seats in the House; the other two House members identified themselves as independents. The Democrats also won the two seats to the United States Senate and elected the sole rep-

resentative, Ralph Rivers. They also elected the governor and the secretary of state who are the only elected officials of the state government.

The constitution, which was adopted in 1955 and has been highly praised for its resemblance to a model state constitution, provides for a strong governor. The governor appoints all the heads of the principal departments of government with the concurrence of the legislature. He has been given an item veto over appropriation bills, and he may make such changes as he deems fit in the organization of the executive branch of the government. These changes suggested by him automatically become law sixty days after their promulgation unless specifically disapproved by both houses. The new constitution provides for the use of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. It establishes a bicameral legislature that has certain unicameral features. Both houses sit in joint session for the purpose of overriding a gubernatorial veto or for approving the governor's appointments.

There has already been some reaction to the new constitution, especially toward the provisions establishing a strong governor. These have usually come from the Republicans, who have charged that the constitution virtually makes the governor a dictator. At a recent meeting, the Republicans called for an amendment proposing the election of the attorney-general by the people.

The Republicans are also concentrating some of their attacks upon the various provisions for governmental departments. They have complained that the legislature has established more agencies than Alaska has need for. They particularly dislike the legislature's organization of the department of education and the department of fish and game, which they claim will subject both of these departments to "politics."

Under the provisions of the new law, each department is governed by a board appointed by the governor. The board, in turn, provides the governor with a list of names from which he selects the commissioner, who is the executive officer of the department. The legislators have also been attacked for voting themselves a basic salary of $3,000 a year and $40 a day for expenses for each day the legislature is in session. Republicans have promised to reduce the pay of the legislators once they come into power. Republicans have also attacked the staffing of the judicial system by the Democrats. Only one of the judges, Walter Hodge, recently appointed by Governor Egan, was not a member of the Democratic party, and he resigned to accept a position as federal judge for the state. The Republicans assert that there should be a more fair distribution of judicial positions according to political affiliation, and that there should not be more than a simple majority of judges from any party.

One of the hottest political issues, which has been temporarily shelved and still awaits solution, is in the field of local government. The new constitution calls for the division of Alaska into organized and unorganized boroughs. The latter was designed for the very sparsely settled areas where the state would continue to provide governmental services. The framers of the constitution deliberately chose to call the unit of local government a "borough" in preference to the term "county." They believed the borough would not be bound by tradition

and would utilize all the new developments in the field of local government, while they feared that the use of the term "county" would result in the establishment of the traditional county system of government, with sheriffs, judges, prosecutors, a board of county commissioners, and the like. It has been privately admitted by those who have been charged with the formation of local government that it was a mistake to have used the term "borough." Officials charged with the implementation of local government have become defensive about the use of the term and have frittered away valuable time in meetings called to discuss the establishment of local government, in attempting to explain what a "borough" is.

The questions involved in setting up a system of local government are complex: How many boroughs should there be in Alaska? How large should they be? What should be the relationship of the large Alaskan cities to the rural areas in a borough system of government? Should the school system be administered by the boroughs and school districts be abolished? What areas should be organized boroughs and which should be unorganized? And finally, how should the boroughs be financed?

Dr. W. Brooke Graves, a national authority on the problems of local government, who was recently a visiting professor at the University of Alaska, warned Alaskans not to establish too many boroughs. According to him, it would be better to make the boroughs too large at the present time than too small, for there is always greater resistance to the consolidation of local governmental units than to the establishment of new ones.

Resistance to the establishment of boroughs has come from many quarters. The rural areas have expressed their fears that they will come under the domination of the larger cities: the cities say they do not want to be burdened with the costs of borough government. Various school districts, public utility districts, and other service areas have protested against being placed under the control of a borough government. The Republicans have claimed that the present legislature was not interested in setting up a real system of local government, but desired to make the borough governments creatures of the state.

The legislature has not yet set up a system of local government, although a step has been taken toward the solving of the problems of local government with the establishment of a Local Affairs Agency in the governor's office headed by a director. Within this agency there has been set up a Local Boundary Commission which has the responsibility of making studies to determine the boundaries for local governmental units, holding hearings on proposed boundary changes, and presenting its recommendations to the legislature. The constitution provides that the Local Boundary Commission shall present any proposed changes in boundaries to the legislature within the first ten days of any regular session. This change shall become effective within forty-five days unless disapproved by a resolution passed by a majority of members of both houses.

Recently the Local Boundary Commission proposed that the public utility district of Fairview, an unincorporated area surrounded on all sides by the city of Anchorage, should be annexed to Anchorage. The board believed that such

action would be beneficial to both the city and the residents of Fairview. Proposals to annex Fairview to Anchorage had been submitted several times in the past and were defeated by very narrow margins. The House refused to approve the action of the Boundary Commission, which went into effect, however, when the Senate voted to sustain it. Opponents of the incorporation have charged that the Board's action without consultation of the people of Fairview is in opposition to the American ideals of self-government. The Republican party, in its recent convention, voiced its opposition to the annexation of any area to another without the consent of the people involved.

Sectional strife is also adding to the problems of forming a new state government. Juneau, which is located in the panhandle region of southeastern Alaska, has been the capital since 1900 when it replaced Sitka, which had been the leading city of Russian America. Anchorage in recent years has come to the fore as the largest city, and has demanded that the capital be placed in the section of the state which is most centrally located and which is also the most important from the standpoint of population and wealth. The Anchorage forces minimized the costs of relocating the state capital, which Senator Thomas Stewart, a Juneau lawyer, said would run to as much as fifty million dollars. The Anchorage people have made much of what they consider to be the undesirable aspects of the inaccessibility of Juneau, which can be reached only by water or air, since there are no roads leading to the city. In addition, Juneau is frequently fog-bound and passengers coming in by plane sometimes are stranded for several days. Juneauites have retorted that their city is as accessible by plane as Anchorage, whose airport is also frequently fog-bound. In the summer of 1960, in the first initiative measure under the auspices of the state government, Alaskans decided that they wished their capital to remain at Juneau.

Statehood has added to the costs of government, and Alaskans are worried about the financial prospects for the new state. When it was a territory, the federal government paid the expenses of territorial government, including the salaries of legislators and all those engaged in law enforcement work. Alaska also benefited from appropriations made by Congress to the Alaska Public Works Agency, which provided up to six million dollars annually in matching funds to enable municipalities and territorial institutions to erect buildings which they needed. Although Alaska must now fend for herself in these respects, the statehood act provided for continued aid by the federal government for a number of years. Alaska will receive money from the sale of its federal public lands, from royalties involving the lease of mineral lands, and also from the sale of skins of seals taken from the Pribilof Islands, for a number of years. The federal government has also been generous in transferring federal buildings to the state government, as well as in turning over equipment owned by federal agencies. All these are helpful in the transitional period, but the expenses of government undoubtedly will increase. Both parties are pledged to an extension of services for the people of the state. Dr. George W. Rogers, an economist with the Arctic Institute of North America, who probably knows more about the Alaskan economy than any other man, has estimated that the annual deficit for the state in

succeeding years will be about ten million dollars.[1] The Democrats, as the party in power, are being attacked as inefficient administrators and for having squandered money on expensive projects which the Alaskans do not need or cannot afford. They are accused of having created a big government in order to provide "worthy" Democrats with jobs. Republicans have admitted privately that they do not know how the financial problem will be solved.

The problem is most formidable. Alaska is big, and for the most part, sparsely settled. It contains one-fifth the area of the United States, is more than twice the size of Texas and comprises more than 586,000 square miles. It has a coastline longer than that of the forty-eight states to the south. Governmental services, including the building of new roads, must be provided throughout this area, which is inhabited by less than a quarter of a million people. Almost everything costs more in Alaska. The cost of living throughout the state is estimated to be from 25 to 50 per cent higher than that of Seattle, which is not a cheap place to live. Alaska suffers from lack of a balanced economy and must import many of the manufactured and agricultural products which she needs. Transportation rates are high, especially for those products, usually perishables, which must be carried by airplane. And some sections of the state are accessible only by plane, while others must depend upon this form of transportation in winter. In addition to paying more for what they need, the people must buy more clothing in the winter months than other Americans and must spend more for fuel to heat their homes, public buildings, offices, etc. Their salaries and wages are generally higher — the natives are an exception — than for other Americans in comparable positions, which also adds to the costs of government in the state. Since Alaskans receive higher salaries, they pay more in taxes to the federal government, which makes no provision for the high cost of living for those who live in the far north. State taxes are also high. The Alaskan income tax is computed on the basis of 14 per cent of what a person pays in income taxes to the federal government.

Politicians are fearful and necessarily hesitant about raising taxes. Both parties are agreed upon the need for economy in government. There has been some discussion about overhauling the basic tax structure. Elmer Rasmussen, an Anchorage banker and prominent Republican, has pointed out the anomaly whereby an Alaskan resident is taxed only upon income derived from investments made in the state, and pays no tax on any income from investments outside the state. Mr. Rasmussen has also been critical of the basis for the state income tax. According to him the Alaskan tax "varies not with the revenue needs of the Territory but as Congress changes the federal rate." Thus territorial (now state) income taxes can and have been increased in Alaska without having been considered by the legislature.[2] At the present time the state does not have a sales tax, although municipalities and school districts are allowed to levy one if they

[1] *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, May 23, 1960, p. 2.

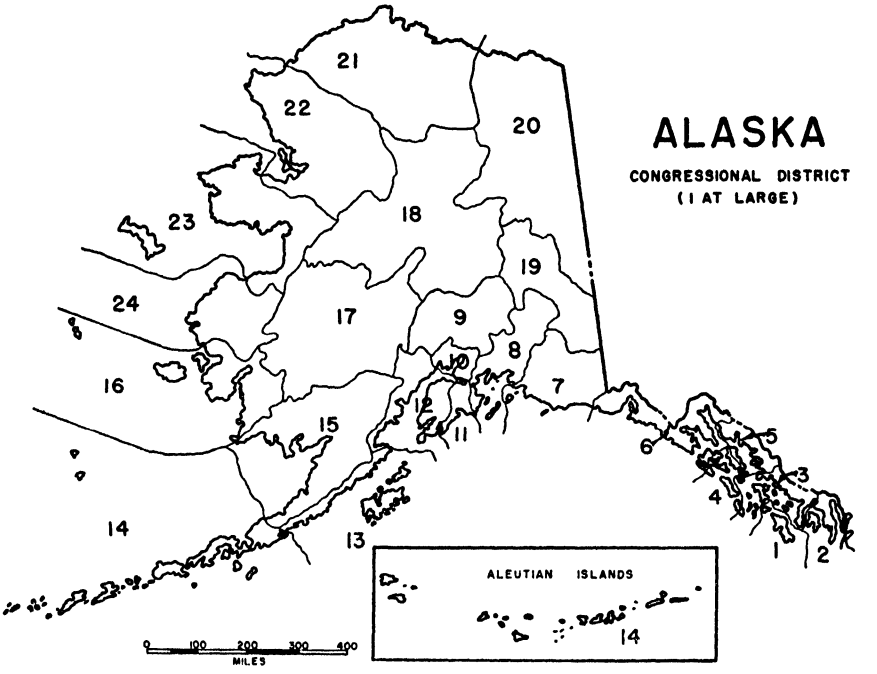
[2] George Sundborg, *Alaska's Dollar Shortage* (Juneau: Alaska Development Board, 1951), statement by Elmer Rasmussen.

see fit. There is some sentiment for enactment of a state sales tax, and undoubtedly this question will be an important issue in Alaska politics within a few years.

Both parties are anxious to keep personal and corporate income taxes low, because they recognize that capital must be attracted from the other states to help build up needed industries and to develop the resources. There is a great deal of anxiety about the precarious economy. Alaskans frequently ask what will happen when the federal government drastically reduces expenditures for the construction and maintenance of military projects, or begins to withdraw troops now stationed in the state in large numbers. Governmental activities play a large role in the Alaskan economy. Out of a total population of about 226,000, approximately 47,000 are military personnel. To these must be added another 35,000 people who are members of their families. Federal construction projects also have provided employment for a large percentage of Alaskans, and many of the service industries which have developed are dependent upon the continuance of federal activities in the state. When the Defense Department recently announced a plan to deactivate a fighter squadron stationed at Ladd Air Force Base near Fairbanks, all members of the Alaska congressional delegation, as well as leading political figures throughout the state, protested the proposed move. Although they all expressed concern about defense if the squadron were withdrawn, they were undoubtedly thinking about the effect this withdrawal (which involved a large number of men) would have upon the economy of Fairbanks.

Geography and Resources

It is erroneous to speak of "the Alaskan economy." Alaska is very large and is composed of regions which are highly diversified in resources, climate, population, and economic activity. For convenience, Alaska might be divided into three main regions. The southcentral and interior region includes Anchorage and Fairbanks, the two largest cities. These are the fastest growing areas in the state. They have the smallest aboriginal population and are most dependent upon governmental and military activity. In the past mining contributed greatly to their economy. Today this region has the greatest number of service industries in the state and is the heart of farming and dairying activities. Southeastern Alaska, which is the panhandle region, is also the oldest from the standpoint of white settlement. It was the one most developed by the Russians and most heavily settled in the early years of American rule. Gold mining, which at one time occupied the interest of many of the settlers, employs very few people today. Salmon canning and the exploitation of the fisheries still provide employment for a large percentage of the population, although the run of salmon has been declining steadily. The interests of southeastern residents are turning more to lumbering and industries associated with it. Pulp mills have been built recently and are now in operation at Ketchikan and Sitka. The latter is owned by a Japanese firm. The Georgia-Pacific Company has also expressed interest in building a paper mill at Juneau. Northern and western Alaska, the true Arctic region, is



inhabited mainly by natives and has the smallest population. It is very much dependent upon mining and fishing.[3]

Many of its people believe that the solution for the problems of Alaska lies in the development of its great resources. This would provide a firm basis for the economy of the state as well as help to solve its financial problems. Most Alaskans supported statehood because they believed that it would provide a favorable political climate for the exploitation of resources for the benefit of the state and its people. They wanted to put an end to a situation whereby the resources were used to benefit nonresident mine owners and the great canning companies who paid little, if anything in the form of taxes, and who often employed non-Alaskans. The constitution of the state provides elaborate directives for the "proper" use of natural resources. It instructs the legislature to make proper laws and regulations for the "utilization, development, and conservation of all natural resources belonging to the State, including land and waters, for the maximum benefit of its people." It declares that "fish, forests, wildlife, grasslands and all other replenishable resources belonging to the State, shall be utilized, developed and maintained on the sustained yield principal subject to preferences among beneficial uses." It contains various suggestions, which it is hoped will provide safeguards for the sale or lease of state lands, and specifies that "the legislature shall provide for the issuance, types, and terms of leases for coal, oil, gas, oil shale, sodium, phosphate, potash, sulfur, pumice, and other minerals as may be prescribed by law."

[3] George W. Rogers, *Analysis of the Alaska Economy and Its Future Outlook* (Juneau: Alaska Employment Security Commission, 1958), pp. 24–27.

The question of how the resources are to be developed is already causing political controversy and will continue to do so. Under the terms of the statehood act, Alaska is eventually to receive over 103,000,000 acres of land. A struggle is developing between those who want to restrict the land for the use of small owners, and those who are anxious to secure its immediate exploitation. As much as Alaskans might like to develop their resources for the benefit of the people themselves, there is a very marked realization that outside capital is needed. Political leaders of both parties — Governor Egan, a Democrat; the former governors, Heintzleman and Stepovich, Eisenhower appointees; and Gruening, a Roosevelt appointee — have spoken of the need for incentives to attract "outside capital." Governor Heintzleman has been particularly interested in securing tax incentives for new industry, while Gruening, who is now a United States senator from Alaska, has carried on a long battle to liberalize conservation restrictions that have been placed upon the amount of land containing mineral deposits that can be leased. Gruening has denounced these conservation laws as being generally inapplicable to Alaskan conditions. According to him, these laws were drafted to husband the rapidly dwindling resources in many states. But with the exception of the fisheries, in which he says overexploitation has taken place, the resources of Alaska have hardly been touched. The effect of these conservation measures then has been to "lock up the resources of Alaska," and put them, so to speak, in a "deep freeze," for the benefit of future generations of Americans.[4]

Gruening attributes the failure of coal mining to develop as a prosperous industry to regulations which, originally drafted during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt and continued by his successors, prevented mine operators from leasing sufficient land to make coal mining profitable. Today, he feels that similar action on the part of the federal government might very well hinder or prevent the development of the oil industry in Alaska. The Senator recently sponsored a bill which would have permitted an oil prospecting company to lease up to 600,000 acres of land, an amount which Eisenhower stated was excessive when he vetoed the bill.

Alaskans have also protested against the regulations of the United States Forest Service which have prohibited the exportation of logs in unmanufactured form from the national forests of Alaska. They argue that logs can be sold profitably outside, while the Forest Service regards the sale of logs in such form as contributing little to the Alaskan economy, which could best be served if the logs were processed in the state and utilized to develop industries there. Senator Gruening and Senator Bartlett, as well as Republican leaders, have strenuously fought against the federal policy to reserve land. At the present time about 93,000,000 acres have been put aside by the federal government for military reservations, forest reserves, native reservations, etc. Both senators sided with representatives of the mineral industries against an administration proposal to create a vast stretch of land in the northwestern part of the state as a game preserve. The conservationists are a minority in their struggle against the

[4] Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, 1954), pp. 129–31.

"developers." Some conservationists feel that the development of its natural resources will completely alter the character of the Alaska they love, while others are fearful that the "developers" in their haste to establish new industries might very readily pass laws disposing of these resources without actually benefiting the people.

Although Alaskans may be divided as to the extent to which the resources should be developed, they are in agreement that the fisheries have been depleted. They blame the federal government for having failed to enforce any conservation measures until very recently concerning the fisheries, despite their repeated pleas that something must be done to protect this vital resource. The territorial legislature repeatedly memorialized Congress to turn over control of the fisheries to Alaska. Yet Representative Jack Westland of the state of Washington was successful in inserting into the enabling act making Alaska a state, a clause which forbade the new state to assume control over the fisheries until the Secretary of the Interior certified that it was properly equipped to do so. Representative Westland feared that Alaska might promulgate regulations which would have restricted the use of Alaskan waters from Washington fishermen. Secretary Seaton has since given his approval to the state's assuming control over the fisheries and the transfer took place in January, 1960.

Alaskans believe they can do something to restore the fisheries to a more healthful condition. Money has already been appropriated by the legislature to establish a school of fisheries at the University of Alaska where research could be undertaken to study and ascertain the causes of the decline of the fisheries and to suggest solutions for the problem. One measure which has received wholehearted support throughout the state is the abolition of fish traps. The use of this type of gear, which is so efficient in catching fish, is popularly regarded as one of the leading causes of the plight of the fisheries today. No politician, according to the economist Dr. George Rogers, could hope to be elected in the state if he were to support the continued use of this device. And yet the matter of fish traps was treated as though it were a vital political issue in the elections of 1958 when Republicans and Democrats outdid each other in attacking these devices, while ignoring some real issues. Rogers believes that the campaign against the fish traps was a denunciation of the evils of absentee ownership and the influence which the cannery operators had exercised upon the political and economic life of Alaska in the past.[5] The abolition of fish traps, it is believed, will enable more men to engage in fishing profitably, where formerly it was impossible for many to compete against the more efficient and costly traps, the price of which was prohibitive except for the very wealthy. This social gain, however, might very well result in an economic loss. Some cannery owners recently asserted that they will be forced to close the canneries because abolition of the traps will so increase the price of fish that it will be unprofitable for them to continue their operation.

[5] George W. Rogers, *Alaska in Transition: The Southeast Region* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), pp. 10–15.

Although the use of fish traps has been banned throughout the state, Secretary Seaton has authorized the villages of Angoon, Kake, and Metlakatla, all of which are inhabited by Indians, to continue to use them. The Secretary has asserted in recent regulations that his department has the sole right to regulate fishing by natives in Alaska, and that he believes the well-being of the natives' economy is dependent upon the continued use of fish traps. The Secretary has also given "to the bonafide native inhabitants of the village of the Karluk and the vicinity" the exclusive right of fishing in the waters of the Karluk Indian Reservation. The Governor and the Alaskan congressional delegation have protested this favoritism to the Indians, which they regard not only as an improper interference by the federal government in the state's authority to regulate the fisheries, but also as degrading to the natives themselves who should be treated on the same basis of equality as the whites.

Population Factors

There has been a phenomenal population growth in the past two decades, mainly among the whites. In 1940, there were only 72,524 people in Alaska including 523 soldiers. With the outbreak of the war, it is said a new discovery of Alaska took place with the recognition of its strategic importance. Thousands of workers flocked north to take part in the building of air bases and other military installations. Both the army and the navy considerably increased their forces in Alaska, and at one time during the war there were more than 152,000 men stationed in the territory. With the cessation of hostilities, there was a sharp reduction in military personnel, but as a result of the growing antagonisms that developed between the United States and the Soviet Union, the various services took steps to increase their manpower in Alaska. In 1950, the Bureau of the Census reported that 127,117 people were living in the territory, of whom about 20,000 were serving in the armed forces. By 1960, the population had increased over 74 per cent to 226,167. Of these, 47,000 were military people. The southcentral and interior regions have benefited mainly from this great increase. Anchorage on the Cook Inlet has become the largest city with a population of over 40,000. Southeastern Alaska has declined relatively in importance.

Where population groups are concerned, one can properly talk only of a division between the indigenous and the non-indigenous segments of the population. There are no blocs of nationals of European origin clustered together in any part of the state. The natives, as the Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut people are generally called, comprise from about 40,000 to 45,000 people in the state. Their number has remained stable, while the Caucasians, the dominant group in the state, have been steadily increasing. In the past, discrimination against natives was widespread. Under the prodding of Governor Gruening, laws were enacted by the territorial legislature forbidding public places such as restaurants and hotels to refuse service to the natives, and prohibiting discrimination against them in employment. The natives have a much lower standard of living than the Caucasians. The depletion of the fisheries has added to their woes and many

are unable to adapt to the white man's economy. A large percentage is on relief, and the incidence of tuberculosis is much higher among natives than among whites.

The most powerful native organization in the state is the Alaska Native Brotherhood, which is much stronger among Indians than among Eskimos or Aleuts. The Brotherhood has fought for equality with the whites. It vigorously opposed the plan of Secretary of the Interior Ickes to place all natives in reservations. It has opposed and has been successful in putting an end to segregation in the schools, which are now open to all, regardless of race.[6] Eskimo as well as Indian leaders have pointed out the need for better educational facilities. Although schools have been established on the primary level in native communities, the problem of secondary education is much more complex. The federal government now operates a secondary school for natives, Mt. Edgecumbe, which is located in the town of Sitka in the southeastern part of the state. Mt. Edgecumbe is overcrowded and unable to take care of all the children who desire admission. Many parents, especially those living in the far north, are reluctant to send their children to a school which is over a thousand miles away. They would like to have the state build secondary schools in their own communities, or at least close by. Regardless of what methods might be adopted to solve the problem, the natives are generally convinced that their children need better education, even though, as one of their leaders stated, the children should remain in Barrow, the northernmost part of Alaska, for the rest of their lives.

The legislature has taken some interest in the educational problems of the natives, and several years ago established a program of scholarships for native students, although these might more properly be called grants-in-aid. Natives take an active interest in politics. Ten members of the first state legislature were natives, including the president of the Senate, William Beltz, a Democrat. Although the legislators are naturally concerned with problems and programs of interest to their people, it cannot be said that a real native bloc exists in the legislature or that anyone controls the native vote. Natives belong to both political parties. They are interested in issues other than native problems. William Paul, the president of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, is a Republican. His foremost opponent, the Indian leader Frank Peratrovich, is a Democratic state senator from Klawock. In recent years natives, like the Caucasians in Alaska, have tended to support Democrats more than Republicans. However, John Curtis, the state representative from Kotzebue, is a Republican.

Press and Public Opinion

Alaska, which is overwhelmingly Democratic, has a Republican press. The half-dozen daily newspapers, the *Anchorage Daily Times*, the *Anchorage Daily News*, the *Sitka Sentinel*, the *Ketchikan Daily News*, the *Fairbanks Daily News Miner*, and the *Daily Alaska Empire*, which is published at Juneau, have in the past generally supported Republican candidates. The *Anchorage Daily Times*

[6] Philip Drucker, *The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 100 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1958), pp. 49–50.

is probably the most influential. Its publisher, Bob Atwood, was very prominent in the statehood movement, and was a candidate on the Republican ticket for one of the "senatorial positions" under the Tennessee Plan. The *Times* has the best national and international coverage of any newspaper in the state and serves an area where more than half the population resides. Its influence, however, is restricted mainly to the Anchorage and Cook Inlet districts. Neither the *Times* nor any other newspaper can readily serve a state as large and as sparsely settled as Alaska where transportation facilities to a number of inhabited places are not too good. Under such conditions, it is possible for weeklies or such papers as the *Nome Nugget*, which appears three times a week, to exert an influence out of all proportion to their size. The *Nome Nugget*, for instance, is the only newspaper published in northwest Alaska.

In the election of 1958, the first under statehood, the hostility of the press was directed against Ernest Gruening, who was generally judged to be the weaker of the Democratic nominees for the two U.S. Senate seats which were at stake. On the other hand, Bartlett, the candidate for Senate seat number one, and whose election was regarded as certain, generally received the support of the newspapers. Gruening, who faced an uphill fight against Governor Mike Stepovich, was almost "frozen out" of one leading newspaper. His supporters, in order to get a hearing for their candidate, had to buy advertising space, while there was a good deal of coordination between the paper's editorial pages and news stories concerning Stepovich.

Candidates for political office are making more use of the radio and television facilities within the state. There are at present about eleven radio and seven television stations, located mainly in the larger cities of Anchorage, Fairbanks, Ketchikan, and Juneau. There is no live TV, and the radio stations very seldom receive programs directly from the other states. The recent political conventions were exceptions. The radio and television stations have been more impartial toward the candidates than have the newspapers. None of the stations have news commentators. The news is often read directly from the ticker tape with virtually no editing.

Personal contact counts for a great deal in Alaska politics. This is probably more true here than in most of the more settled states, for many Alaskans believe that they are living in the land of the "last frontier." Although the state is large, the smallness of the population means that a candidate is able actually to meet a relatively high percentage of the voters. Generally no candidate or officeholder is too busy to address a high school audience or come into a freshman government class at the University to tell the students of his experiences in the legislature or Congress. Ernest Gruening was probably able to overcome the hostility of the press to him through an effective campaign conducted not only in the larger cities but also in the native villages.

Nominations, Elections, and Corrupt Practices

Election procedures and laws appear bewildering and extremely casual to newcomers. A refugee instructor at the University of Alaska was very much

taken aback the first time he voted in Alaska. When he entered the grocery store where the polls were located, he was simply asked to sign his name before receiving his ballot, which he marked while using a shelf as a writing table. "How do they know who I am?" he asked. "Something like this could never happen in Vienna, only Alaska." A pre-registration bill was actually considered, but the legislators believed that it was impractical because so many people live so far away from any town, or else are engaged in an occupation, such as that of fisherman, which prevents them from being readily available for registration. There is no corrupt practices act in Alaska except for fraudulent voting. Candidates for political office are not requested to file any statement as to how much money they spent on their campaign or from whom they received campaign funds. It is claimed that certain interests actually have been able to go out and buy a candidate.

Alaska has an open primary. Voters must select a ballot containing candidates for office from one of the parties. The legislature did away with the previous system whereby a voter could cross-vote in selecting his candidate for a particular position. This system tended to favor the Republicans in the past, because they usually nominated fewer candidates than the Democrats. Republicans could and did vote in the Democratic primary and sometimes influenced its result. Both parties have attempted to influence the primaries. Caucuses were held beforehand both in the smaller districts and in larger regions for the purpose of endorsing candidates.

Party Organization and Party Leaders

Both parties in Alaska need to strengthen their organizations. This is more true of the Republicans than of the Democrats who have an overwhelming control of the state offices as well as the state legislature. For years the Republican party has almost been torn apart by factionalism, which expressed itself in an opposition of the "Whites" versus the "Blacks," the former being supporters of the territorial chairman, Albert White, while the latter included all groups in the party which disliked the policies of White. White has since been replaced as chairman, and today the party is nominally led by Robert Groseclose, a Fairbanks businessman. The Republicans, believing they would do much better in 1960 than they did in 1958, have built up their organization throughout the state. They claim now that since statehood has been achieved more people will be willing to work for the party than were willing under territorial government, because the general feeling in the past had been that little could be achieved so long as the federal government retained so much authority in Alaskan affairs. The party now has a central committee composed of representatives from the now obsolete four judicial districts. The national committeeman is Wally Hickel, Anchorage contractor and hotel owner, and the national committeewoman is Mrs. Tilly Reeves, also of Anchorage. The party has been successful in healing the rifts which developed in the past. At the 1960 convention, Richard Nixon was endorsed for the presidency, and there was a great deal of support for Fred Seaton for the vice presidency on the basis that Seaton had done a great deal for

Alaska as secretary of the interior. In 1958, the party concentrated its efforts upon electing John Butrovich of Fairbanks, a former territorial senator as governor, and Mike Stepovich, also of Fairbanks and the last appointed governor of Alaska, for the second Senate seat against Ernest Gruening. Virtually no support was given to Ralph Robertson of Juneau, who vied for the other Senate seat against Bob Bartlett. Robertson, the only delegate to the constitutional convention who refused to sign the constitution, was regarded as a political liability. Henry Benson, the party's candidate for the single House seat, made a good race against his opponent despite the lack of party support.

Although the Democrats are much better organized than the Republicans, divisions exist within the party. At the recent party convention, the state chairman, John S. Hellenthal of Anchorage, was stripped of much of his power at the behest of the "liberals" who were angered by his stand on unemployment compensation. A five-man committee, including the state chairman, was elected and given authority to speak for the party when the central committee is not in session. The central committee, which is the policy-forming group was also reorganized at this time to give greater representation to the more heavily populated areas of the state, much to the displeasure of the delegates from the northwest region, who had previously enjoyed equality with the other regions of the state. The national committeeman is Alex Miller of Fairbanks and the national committeewoman is Helen Fischer of Anchorage, who is currently a state representative.

The power of the Democrats today in political affairs is so great that Alaska can almost be called a one-party state. William Egan, who has been very active in territorial politics for years and who was also the president of the Alaska constitutional convention, was overwhelmingly elected as governor. Hugh S. Wade, a former FBI agent, won the other elective position in the state government, as secretary of state. Bob Bartlett, who had previously held office as delegate to Congress for seven terms, won an easy victory for the first Senate position, while Ernest Gruening, who had been first appointed by Franklin D. Roosevelt as governor of Alaska in 1939, was much harder pressed to gain the second Senate seat. Ralph Rivers, a former territorial attorney general, is now representative to Congress. The speaker of the state House of Representatives, which the Democrats control thirty-four to six, is Warren Taylor, a veteran Fairbanks attorney and legislator, while the presiding officer in the Senate, in which the Democrats have all but two of the twenty seats, is William Beltz, an Eskimo from Nome.

But there are signs of change. Despite the fact that the Democrats won the national Senate and House seats and retained control of the state legislature, all observers in Alaska are in agreement that the 1960 elections constituted a moral victory for the Republicans. They achieved their ambition of rehabilitating their party and of making it a real force in politics, as evidenced by Nixon's majority of the presidential vote. There is reason to believe that this majority was made possible by the vote of the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds, who have the franchise in the state. This points up the real possibility of Alaska's future as a two-party state.

Pressure Groups

The legislature, like legislatures elsewhere, is deluged with requests from lobbyists for support or defeat of measures affecting the interests of themselves or their clients. Under the Alaskan law, all lobbyists must register, declare the names of the organizations which they represent, and then must file a statement after the end of the session as to how much they spent in their attempts to influence specific items of legislation. From 1913 to 1949, the term "lobby" in Alaska meant the representatives and agents of the Alaska Salmon Industry, Incorporated, and the Alaska Miners Association, who worked together. Their interests so far as legislation was concerned were identical. Each was engaged in exploiting natural resources under control of the federal government. They had nothing positive to ask of the territory. They were interested only in defeating measures which might tend to increase the cost of government in the territory and hence increase taxes. To do so, it was necessary to secure the support of only eight senators. The territorial Senate was composed of sixteen members, and a bill could be killed by the negative action of one house. Representatives of the lobby made no pretense of hiding their contempt for the "yokel" legislators. Today the dominant lobby groups in the state are the representatives of the contractors' association, the various construction unions, and the liquor interests. The pulp industry has not yet done very much in the way of lobbying, or at least has not been too effective. It sent representatives to the meetings of the legislature in 1955 and 1959 to present the industry's views on amendments to the Alaska Employment Security Act but they were far less influential than the lobbyists who spoke for the contractors and labor groups.[7]

Legislative Politics

With the achievement of statehood as well as changes being brought about by the economy, the pattern of politics is bound to change. It must be remembered that statehood, which has been the chief issue, was achieved largely through bipartisan support. In Alaska, as in other parts of the nation, the Democratic party refers to itself as the "liberal" party, which is primarily interested in serving the welfare of the people, while the Republicans term themselves "conservatives who are interested in keeping the government solvent." Labor generally supports the Democrats; business, the Republicans. These labels are somewhat misleading: the Democrats are not so liberal as they sometimes make out, nor the Republicans so conservative. Although the Democrats might be less hesitant about voting appropriations for education and the social services, nevertheless the party, through its legislators and the governor, has warned that the state faces a financial crisis and that many programs might have to be curtailed. Republicans as well as Democrats have supported social services and have expressed the need of aid from the federal government for such enterprises as the development of hydroelectric projects. Republicans condemn what they term excessive spending by both the federal and state government. Bob Groseclose,

[7] Rogers, *Alaska in Transition*, pp. 163–67.

the Republican state chairman, recently declared that the Democratic party was dominated by labor and that Alaska could not expect people from the "outside" to invest money in the state as long as the present administration continued in office. He believes that the chief difference between the two parties is that the Republicans favor the freedom of the individual, while the Democrats are concerned only with building a strong central government and making everyone subservient to it. In the 1960 election, the Republicans waged their campaign against the alleged mismanagement of the state government by the party in power.

The Democrats so dominated the first legislature that they were certain to be blamed for any shortcomings under statehood. But the party, running on its record, and pointing to its achievements in having formed the new government and in having kept the state out of debt, retained control of the legislature.

Divisions exist within the party. Members from central and interior Alaska (the old third and fourth divisions) claim that they are more liberal than the members from the southeastern area. A Democratic senator from Fairbanks regards the unemployment compensation question as the touchstone distinguishing liberals from conservatives. The question of compensation benefits was the big issue in the recent meetings of the state legislature and apparently has brought a rift within the party.

Alaska at present owes the federal government over nine million dollars which it borrowed because of shortages in the fund for payment of compensation benefits. The deficit resulted primarily from the short construction season. Construction work provides employment for many Alaskans as well as men from other states who come in because of the lure of high wages. When the construction season is over, the payment of benefits begins. Various bills were introduced in the past legislature to reform the Employment Security law. Governor Egan vetoed a bill passed by the legislature in 1959, and was successful in having a new bill passed which embodies many of his suggestions to curb the amount of benefits paid to nonresidents of the state, and to raise the amount of covered employment upon which contributions must be paid from $4,200 to $7,500. Representative Richard Greuel heatedly criticized the governor's views and declared that the "Democratic governor and his disciples" had been put to shame by a more liberal measure proposed by the House minority leader Bruce Kendall of Valdez.[8] Egan angrily denounced Greuel's charges and declared that he had not been put to shame.[9] Although not all Republicans agreed with Kendall, the unemployment compensation issue did not seriously divide the Republicans.

Later, labor lobbyist Henry Hedberg denounced the thirty lawmakers "who felt it their duty to be part of Governor Egan's political ambitions — to enable him to shed the 'labor label' he was so fearful had been tagged to him after the recent election." Hedberg declared that the majority of the Democratic legislators could not justify their right to re-election and implied that labor might look

[8] *Daily Alaska Empire* (Juneau), February 12, 1960, p. 1.
[9] *Ibid.*, February 14, 1960, p. 1.

outside the ranks of the Democratic party.[10] John Vinson, a member of COPE, said that it was a sorry sight when labor had to look to the Republicans for redress of its grievances, and he complimented state senators Coghill and Weise for joining the more "liberal" Democrats against Egan.[11] The Democratic state chairman, Senator John S. Hellenthal, entered the fray with the taunt that his party was not dominated by labor and that he welcomed a purge at the hands of such a man as Hedberg.[12]

Shortly after the legislature adjourned the Democratic party held its convention at Anchorage. Lewis Dischner, the commissioner of labor and a union leader, roundly attacked Hellenthal and avowed that labor would "get rid of some ultra conservatives and would elect some people who are for the working people."[13] Hellenthal was allowed to remain as state chairman, but a policy committee was formed to speak for the party when the central committee was not meeting. The policy committee was to consist of five members, including the state chairman. Hellenthal's authority has been very definitely abridged as a result of the recent tussle, but his chief critic in the administration, Lewis Dischner, has been ousted from his post as commissioner of labor by Governor Egan. Democratic leaders have since stated that it was a mistake to hold the convention so soon after the meeting of the legislature when members were tired and tempers were frayed. They claim that the convention metting gave publicity to a more serious split than actually existed in the party.

The division over unemployment compensation benefits was primarily a sectional controversy rather than a party issue. Legislators from southcentral and interior Alaska, who have many constituents working in the highly seasonal construction work, wanted more liberal benefits than those from the southeastern region which has a more stable economy. Southeastern, the oldest section of the state, has been in the past often at odds with other areas. In 1960 the first proposal under the new state constitution involving the use of the initiative was concerned with moving the capital from Juneau to a more "accessible" location in central Alaska. It was defeated.

Unlike most other states, rural groups are not overrepresented in the legislature. The new constitution provides for a division of the state into legislative and senate districts based chiefly upon population. The few large cities together with their suburban areas are dominant in the legislature. Rural dwellers hope that this dominance will not continue in the field of local government, and they are advising caution in the setting up of a new system of boroughs.

Voting Habits

While politics in Alaska has its own peculiar coloring, it also resembles politics in the other states. In recent years Alaska has followed the national trend, or it might be more proper to say that the nation has followed Alaska, for elections

[10] *Anchorage Times*, March 29, 1960, p. 9.
[11] *Ibid.*, March 25, 1960, p. 11.
[12] *Ibid.*, March 29, 1960, p. 9.
[13] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1960, p. 1.

in the territory always took place in October several weeks before elections in the other states, except Maine. With the exceptions of 1946 and 1952, which were Republican years nationally, the Democrats gained control of the territorial legislature. In 1958, the first elections under statehood were held on November 25, and as in the elections three weeks earlier in other parts of the nation, the Democrats won a great victory. This was repeated in 1960, although the state's electoral votes went to Nixon. It is not possible to speak with any degree of accuracy concerning the voting habits of Alaskans. The majority, with the exception of the natives, were not born in the state. Whatever voting habits they might have, they probably brought with them. One woman has attributed the large Democratic vote in Alaska to the large number of southerners in the state.

Impact of National Politics and Trends

In 1960, Alaskans voted in a presidential election for the first time. It is hoped that this may be the spark for Alaskans to shed their political provincialism and to concentrate more on national and international issues. In the past, as long as Alaska remained a territory, local issues were dominant. If Alaskans thought about the United States, it was more in their relationship to a far-away government, which was allegedly depriving them of their rights. When the first election was held under statehood in 1958, the old habits of mind prevailed. Personalities rather than issues dominated the contests for the congressional elections. People were more concerned with what candidates had done in the past for Alaska. Ernest Gruening was condemned by some newspapers as being a "carpetbagger" and not a true resident and was chided as being too much of a cosmopolitan and not sufficiently interested in the future of his state.

Politics in Alaska should be very interesting in the years to come. Now that statehood has been achieved, the issues between the parties should become more clear-cut. Undoubtedly politicians of both parties will continue to make the federal bureaucracy and the "outside" interests whipping boys in their campaign addresses. But there will be differing opinions as to how the development of Alaska should take place, the extent to which social services should be expanded, and how financial stability can be maintained. Sectional differences will continue to cut across party lines. The battle over unemployment compensation, which was the most important, or at least the most heated issue during the last meeting of the legislature, was primarily a sectional controversy. Democrats and Republicans, from the southcentral and interior regions of Alaska, which are most affected by seasonal unemployment, joined together to fight for more liberal compensation benefits against the opposition of Democrats from regions where more stable conditions prevail. A state government has now been formed. This was almost entirely the work of the Democrats, because of the insignificant position of the Republicans in the last legislature. When the Republicans come to power, they will attempt to improve upon the work of the Democrats. Neither party will be able to ignore the problem of local government much longer. Each party is aware that Alaskans want to make statehood a success, and each realizes that no party can remain in office if it fails in that mission.

Amazing Arizona: Politics in Transition

ROSS R. RICE

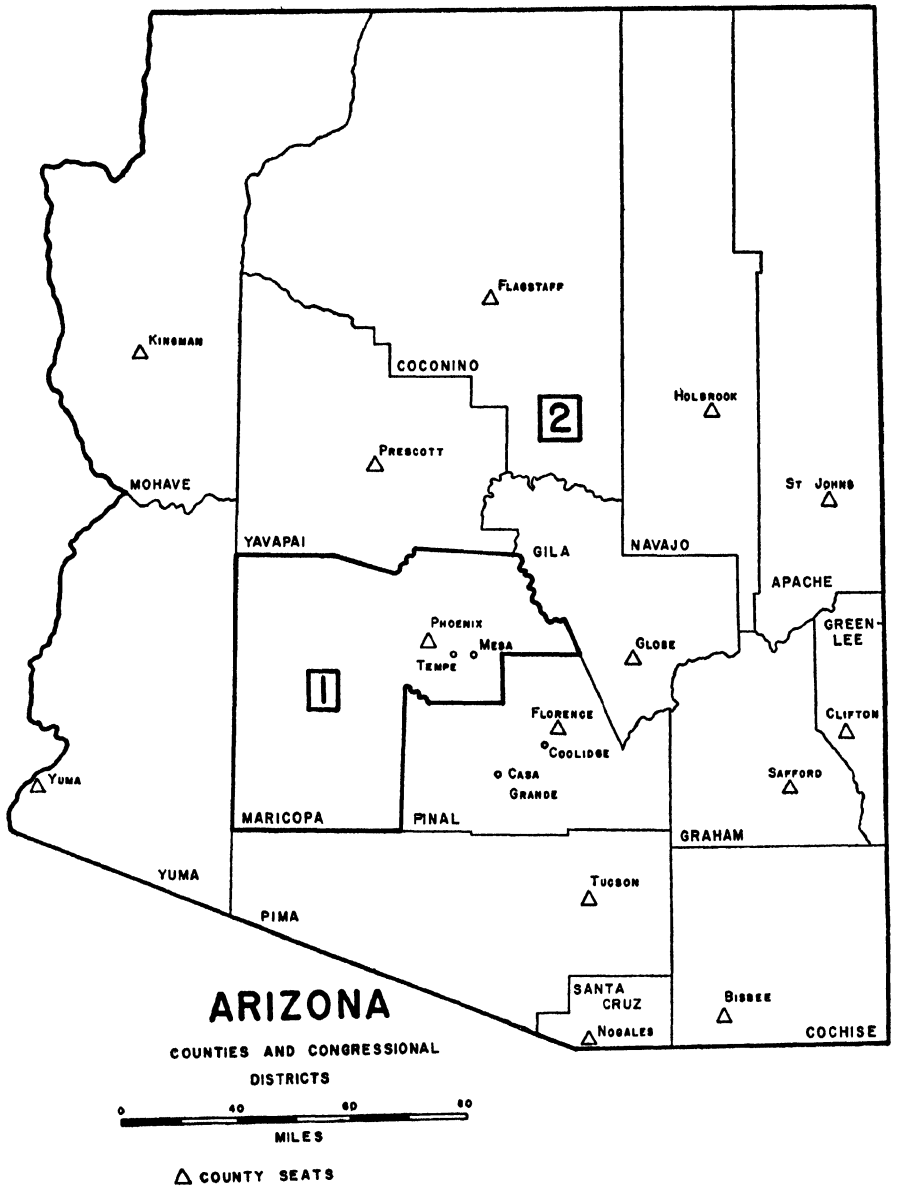
AT THE TIME of statehood, Arizona was nationally recognized as "liberal," "progressive," "radical" — depending on the observer's own political vantage point. Yet most of the subsequent political history has been one of conservatism — under the label of the Democratic party. Since the second world war the Republicans, also highly conservative, have made inroads in state politics. Arizona's political future, as well as her past, can be expected to be conservatively oriented, although the decades to come may finally bring about a working two-party system with perhaps some shifts among the groups wielding effective economic and political power.

Significant factors helping to explain Arizona's political present include her vast distances, sparse yet presently booming population, limited water supply, mineral and other natural resource development, the influence of the press, history as a one-party (Democratic) state, the basis of representation in the state Senate, an outmoded property tax based upon inequities in assessed valuation, and interests put forward by the state's newcomers.

Geography and Resources

Arizona covers 113,909 square miles, placing it sixth in land area nationally. Topographically, there are three zones. To the northeast is a vast expanse of the Colorado Plateau 5,000 to 7,000 feet above sea level, with scant precipitation and sparse population, being largely in the form of Indian reservations (the Hopi and Navajo). A second, narrower, rugged, timbered mountain zone traverses the state diagonally, southeast to northwest. Here precipitation is higher, but population is still scattered. The third zone which covers the southwest quadrant is semiarid, referred to inaptly as "desert," where population is concentrated in two areas. Here the annual precipitation sinks to a mere 7.12 inches at Phoenix and to an even scantier 3.62 inches on the Colorado River at Yuma. The range of elevation in the state extends over 10,000 feet.

Note: The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dennis L. Thompson in the preparation of tables and statistics used in this chapter.



Land, minerals, and forests exist in variety and abundance. A fourth natural resource, water, has been in continuing scarcity, conditioning economic development and the growth of population. The first wave of white men entered the territory following the Civil War, many engaging in mining gold, silver, and copper. Vast areas were available for cattle grazing. Copper and cattle were the big "C's" of the economy to the days of statehood in 1912. Arizona has led the mining states in copper production continuously since 1910; and more recently lead, zinc, uranium, manganese, and sand and gravel used in building construction have

been of increasing importance. The decade of the 1950's saw the state's first gas and oil wells brought in, in the Indian country of the "four corners" area of the northeast. The forests of Arizona cover mountainous areas from the White Mountains along the New Mexico border northwestward to the Grand Canyon. Hardwoods are scare, the mainstay being the relatively soft ponderosa pine.

Facing a deficit of precipitation in the fertile valleys of central and southern Arizona, man early sought ways to provide dependable supplies of supplemental water. Virtually every body of surface water within the state has been impounded behind stone, concrete, and earthen dams. Roosevelt Dam on the Salt River was dedicated in 1911 as the pioneer project of the newly created United States Bureau of Reclamation.[1] Along the Colorado are the Glen Canyon (now building), Hoover, Davis, and Parker dams. These and others supply water for hydroelectric power, flood control, and recreation, plus water for the Yuma and Imperial valleys and the Metropolitan Water District of Los Angeles. During and since World War II underground water was "mined" by electric pumps in the Salt and Casa Grande valleys, chiefly for cotton production. A falling water table prompted the state legislature to place a moratorium on the drilling of further wells for agricultural purposes.

For nearly half a century mining led the brief list of Arizona industries on a dollar basis. The copper-mining counties of Cochise, Gila, Greenlee, Pima, Pinal, and Yavapai count such corporate giants as Phelps-Dodge and Kennecott. The long reign of copper was brought to a halt by the rise of agriculture, particularly crop agriculture led by cotton, during the second world war. The leading cotton counties have been Maricopa and Pinal. Through the 1950's agriculture continued to surpass mining in dollar production, except for a brief period in the middle of the decade. Tourism has experienced a steady prosperity throughout the past two decades. Central and southern Arizona are popular meccas where "winter visitors" from colder regions of the nation headquarter from early December into April, while the higher elevations of the northern part of the State lure the residents of the southern desert during the hot summer months. During the last half of the 1950's manufacturing grew to occupy the first position among Arizona industries. Refrigeration equipment, aluminum, aircraft, and aircraft components have appeared in the past two decades. The most recent important industry is electronics, which has risen rapidly, due partially to the decision of the U.S. Army Signal Corps to locate its electronic proving ground at Fort Huachuca in 1954. Those manufacturing industries which have experienced particular growth have been of the high-value-low-weight category.

The construction industry has prospered steadily in both residential and commercial categories. Middlewestern and eastern capital has been attracted in quantity in recent times, and speculation in raw desert acreage is common practice. The pattern of land ownership in the state contributes more than a little to the current speculative surge. Of Arizona's land area, 71 per cent is

[1] A recent popularized account of the Salt River Project is Stephen C. Shadegg, *The Phoenix Story; An Adventure in Reclamation* (Phoenix: Salt River Project, 1958). Shadegg has acted as U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater's campaign manager, and is now state Republican Chairman.

either federally owned or held in federal trust, 14 per cent is state owned, and 15 per cent is privately owned. The pressure on both federal and state land management agencies to make more land available to private owners is mounting.

The per capita income in 1950 of $1,297 climbed to $1,959 by 1959, placing Arizona near the median of the states of the nation. The climatic attractions and advantages to health-seekers result in depressed wage and salary scales due to competition for available jobs. With more than two-thirds of the state's land area in such forms as Indian reservations, national forests, national parks and monuments, and military installations, the impact of federal spending is considerable.

Population Factors

White men entered Arizona from Old Mexico as early as 1539, but substantial peopling of the area has been relatively recent.[2] At the time of the Civil War an estimated five hundred whites lived in the territory. The United States acquired Arizona by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ending the Mexican War in 1848 and by the Gadsden Purchase five years later. Arizona was part of a joint territory with New Mexico until 1863, when Congress separated the two. The end of the Indian wars, the railroads, further exploration, and limited economic exploitation and population growth by the end of the century made statehood possible in 1912.

By this time Arizona could claim 204,354 inhabitants. Subsequent population increase was modest yet steady, but the impact of immigration did not hit until the war years of the early 1940's. During this decade the percentage of population increase was second only to California, and fourth nationally during the 1950's. In this twenty-year period the population has shot up from half a million to almost 1,300,000.

Recent growth has been concentrated principally within two counties of the south-central region. The most populous county, Maricopa, about doubled between 1940 and 1950, when a total of 331,770 was reached: the estimated number for 1960 is almost double this figure. The same pattern is true in Pima County — from 72,838 in 1940 to an estimated 265,000 in 1960. Maricopa County (Phoenix) has approximately 50 per cent and Pima (Tucson) 20 per cent of the total state inhabitants, but these combined have only four votes in the state Senate. Further, the four smallest counties total only approximately 4 per cent of the state's population, but together have eight votes in the upper house.

Although births outnumber deaths in Arizona, the chief cause of the great population jump has been immigration from other states. Many ex-servicemen, who spent the war years at military installations in Arizona, were attracted as permanent residents. In the decade before World War II migration was largely from the Democratic states of Oklahoma and Texas, but the war years saw the balance swing to the Middlewest and East.

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[2] The best one-volume history of Arizona is Rufus K. Wyllys, *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State* (Phoenix: Hobson & Herr, 1950).

The fastest growing age bracket, percentagewise, in the 1940's in Arizona was the "over 65" category. The socio-economic characteristics are being further modified by the addition of many married couples over fifty years of age, many of whom come to the state to escape the rigors of northern winters. They are often well-situated financially, perhaps able to open a small business.

Churches of most denominations abound in the state. Among those perhaps better represented in Arizona than in numbers nationally are Roman Catholics, Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), Seventh Day Adventists, and Southern Baptists.[3] Various Pentecostal groups are active, frequently sponsoring tent revivals. A combination of church groups successfully sponsored an initiative law in 1956 to require a three-day waiting period for the issuance of marriage licenses, plus a premarital blood test.

The 1960 census figures placed the ratio of Caucasians to Indians at fourteen-to-one, with some 43,000 Negroes in the state. The latter are concentrated, for example, in a strip along the south side of Phoenix near the Southern Pacific yards adjacent to an area largely inhabited by persons of Spanish-American extraction. A Negro has served a south Phoenix precinct in the state House of Representatives since 1951.

Arizona's 83,000 Indians are largely living on reservations, and include Apaches, Navajos, Hopis, Papagos, and Pimas. The Navajo, once one of the poorest tribes, is currently experiencing new wealth as a result of uranium, oil, and gas development in the northeastern part of the state. The Apaches have become noted for beef cattle raising.

Approximately 128,000 residents are of Mexican extraction, and have Spanish surnames; to hear Spanish spoken on the streets and in the stores of many Arizona communities is commonplace. These persons may experience some difficulty in employment, but less than that encountered by Negroes. The political influence of Spanish-Americans has never been great, in contrast to the situation in neighboring New Mexico.

Arizona is a compound of several cultures: Indian, Spanish (later Mexican), the South and West of the United States. The frontier past is still discernible in a number of respects. Slot machines and other forms of gaming, plus houses of ill fame, are not unknown in the mining towns even today. The candidate for county sheriff will have himself pictured wearing a wide-brim hat, boots, and other items of western attire in his campaign publicity.

The present picture in education presents contrasts. On the one hand the state has made a continuing effort to improve its schools, raising both teacher certification requirements and salaries to among the nation's leaders.[4] On the other, it has been parsimonious toward higher education. The educational level of the state's inhabitants is changing as a result of lessened demand for migratory

[3] A number of Arizona communities were founded by Mormons, including Mesa, the state's third largest city. Politically, Mormons expect representation in state and city law-making assemblies, but can hardly hope for control. Despite official church condemnation of polygamous practices in the village of Short Creek along the Utah border, a raid by law enforcement officers countenanced by Governor Howard Pyle may have hurt Pyle with Mormon voters in his bid for a third term in 1954.

[4] *National Education Association Research Report* (1959).

workers, such as cotton pickers, and the increased number of workers in industry. The recent influx of electronics to the state, with its need for engineers and other highly skilled technicians, is being felt in ways extending into voting participation and behavior.

Several types exist among the 305 school districts — the grammar school district, the union high school district, and the county high school district. There is no real trend toward consolidation. School districts are autonomous, having no connection with municipalities. They are aided by state and county payments based upon average daily attendance. A 50 per cent increase in the transaction privilege tax was voted by the legislature in 1959, most of the increase being earmarked for school aid. This makes the state tax 3 per cent on most retail sales, including food.

The structure and future of higher education is in a state of flux. The three state-supported institutions have been under a single Board of Regents since 1945. The University of Arizona is the land-grant institution, having such professional programs as agriculture, engineering, law, and mines. Arizona State University and Arizona State College were formerly teachers' colleges. There being no professional schools of medicine, dentistry, or veterinary medicine in the state, Arizona participates in the Western Interstate Compact for Higher Education.

The state Board of Regents consists of eight appointive members plus the governor and the elective superintendent of public instruction serving in ex officio capacity. Factionalism among the regents has been heated during the past decade. The failure of the regents and the state Senate to act upon a requested name change for the State College at Tempe culminated in the unique use of the initiative for this purpose in 1958, resulting in a two-to-one decision at the polls to grant the designation of Arizona State University.

The development of private colleges within the state has been recent. The only four-year private institution is Grand Canyon College (Phoenix), founded in 1949 by the Southern Baptists. Recently the Latter-day Saints church has expressed a desire to locate a new university in Phoenix, and a Protestant group has indicated an interest in the Prescott area for a new college. A Jesuit high school is maintained in Phoenix, but no Catholic college exists.

A recent issue in state-supported higher education has been the establishment of a junior college system. There are two junior colleges, operated under school districts, receiving an annual legislative appropriation from the state. A 1960 statute may enable other counties to establish additional ones with state support.

The financing of public higher education in Arizona has generally been niggardly. The same conservative economic interests that watch state spending in non-educational areas keep educational spending within bounds.

The Press and Public Opinion

Fourteen daily and about sixty weekly newspapers operate within the state. Residents of Tucson have the opportunity of choosing between competitive papers, the morning *Arizona Daily Star*, published by William R. Matthews,

and the evening *Tucson Daily Citizen*. The *Arizona Daily Star* generally favors Democratic candidates, while the *Citizen*, which is published by William A. Small, lends endorsement to Republicans. People in Phoenix may read either of two jointly owned Republican papers, published by Eugene C. Pulliam. The morning *Arizona Republic* and the evening *Phoenix Gazette* employ separate editorial staffs which infrequently differ on minor local issues.[5] The daily *Gazette* columns, "Under the Capitol Dome," written by the late Bill Turnbow, covered a period of twenty-six years, and dealt with personalities and happenings in state politics, particularly at the legislative level. Early Arizona political events were chronicled in *Dunbar's Weekly* published by Sidney P. Osborn (former four-term governor) for a time, reflective of the Democratic party's views. Publication was suspended in 1946.[6]

The Phoenix newspapers are not averse to editorializing in their headlines and news columns,[7] a fact which in part brought on personal vendettas between these dailies and certain Democratic candidates. In 1958 Democratic nominees for both governor and attorney general, only the latter being successful in the general election, carried on running battles with the twin papers. Defeated gubernatorial candidate Robert Morrison has been a principal organizer of a new Phoenix daily, and former Attorney General Wade Church filed a libel suit against the Phoenix papers.[8]

There are in the state eight commercial television channels: four in Phoenix, three in Tucson, and one in Yuma. With the collapse of public rallies during political campaigns television rallies have come into existence. The unusually large number of sixteen radio stations operate in the Phoenix area, but their schedules in many cases are limited to nonpolitical canned music.

Outdoor advertising is a big business in the state, with campaigners utilizing this mass medium. Some Republican campaigners have "overlooked" including the Republican label in billboard advertising, concentrating upon an appeal directed to Democratic and independent voters to vote for "the man."

Arizona has had no "Campaigns, Inc.," but public relations firms have regularly played leading roles in planning and managing recent campaigns. Charles Garland of Phoenix, former Maricopa County Republican party chairman and present executive secretary of the state fair commission, has operated his own public relations firm.

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[5] Early in 1960 the Phoenix dailies took opposing stands upon whether basic ROTC programs should remain compulsory on state-supported university campuses.

[6] Other dailies are the *Bisbee Daily Review*, *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, *Arizona Daily Sun* (Flagstaff), *Mesa Tribune*, *Nogales Daily Herald*, *Prescott Evening Courier*, *Tempe Daily News*, *Yuma Daily Sun* and *Arizona Sentinel*, and the *Scottsdale Progress*.

[7] On October 9, 1952, the *Gazette* carried a skyline over its nameplate reading: "Ike Will Arrive at Montgomery Stadium at 9:25 Tomorrow Morning; Let's Be There To Say 'Howdy.'" Nathan B. Blumberg, *One-Party Press?* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), records this headline, p. 48, and shows the newspaper's relative coverage for the candidates during the campaign. For a documented article on the handling of the McFarland-Goldwater race in 1958 for the U.S. Senate by the *Arizona Republic*, see "There Weren't Two Sides to the Story in Phoenix," *New Republic*, December 1, 1958, pp. 6–7.

[8] One Republican party leader characterized the role played by the Phoenix dailies to the writer as that of "equalizer" by lending needed aid to enable at least some Republican nominees to win election.

Newspaper editorial opinion cannot wholly be equated with public opinion in Arizona. Editorials more frequently coincide with election results for initiative and referendum measures than with poll results for candidates. The very complexity of the propositions on the ballot throws the less-informed voter onto the editorial advice of the newspaper he reads. Newcomers find themselves relatively dependent upon the recommendations of their newspapers, a situation particularly of concern to Democratic leaders in the Phoenix area where both dailies are Republican. Illustrative of growing newspaper influence with voters is the fact that in 1958 Barry Goldwater's successful campaign for the U.S. Senate received the support of seven dailies while Ernest McFarland's losing effort was endorsed by only one.

Nominations and Elections

The nominating process used in Arizona is the closed primary system, with the single exception of the presidential nominations. The registration system used is the permanent type. The registrant must vote in either the primary or general election, in a given election year, or his registration is cancelled. From an estimated state population of 1,170,000 in 1958, only 391,590 persons were registered. The usual voter qualifications of citizenship, age, residency, and literacy are applied, while constitutional provisions eliminate from balloting the usual groups such as the insane, the mentally deficient, those deprived of civil rights for conviction of a felony, and those who have court-appointed guardians. The last was interpreted earlier to exclude reservation Indians on the grounds that they were under federal guardianship. The state Supreme Court decided in 1948, however, that reservation Indians were not meant to be placed under this exclusion.[9] The decision affected several counties, in particular Apache and Navajo which contain numbers of Hopi and Apache Indians; but other factors of illiteracy, distance, and semipoverty have continued to keep many reservation dwellers from the polls.

There has been a rapid rise of Republican registrations in the state in recent times. From a seven-to-one Democratic margin in 1934, the ratio dropped to four-and-one-half to one by 1950. The postwar influx of Republicans to the state dropped the ratio even further to two-and-one-half to one by 1954. Table I shows party registration by counties in 1958. The ratio has fallen to just under two-to-one in both Maricopa and Pima counties, together having 72 per cent of the total registrations in the state. Maricopa's 220 precincts averaged 900 voters each. Yet party registration figures signify little because of party irregularity among voters.

Third parties have been included in Arizona primaries, but none were listed after 1946 until the Socialist-Labor party qualified in 1960. Statutes provide that a party keeps its place in the primaries by receiving 5 per cent of the total vote cast in the last election for governor, or a new party may gain recognition by petitions showing signatures amounting to 2 per cent of the total vote for governor in at least five counties in the preceding election. Despite these modest require-

[9] *Harrison* v. *Laveen* (1948) 67 Ariz. 337, 196 P.2d 456.

TABLE I
Arizona Election Registration in 1958

County	Number of Precincts	Democratic	Republican	Other	Total
Apache	17	2,664	824	92	3,580
Cochise	52	13,337	2,395	199	15,931
Coconino	29	6,289	2,401	80	8,770
Gila	25	9,908	1,123	70	11,101
Graham	15	5,046	718	13	5,777
Greenlee	12	5,258	284	6	5,548
Maricopa	220	126,657	68,133	3,153	197,943
Mohave	19	2,715	572	26	3,313
Navajo	31	6,108	2,075	93	8,276
Pima	78	53,166	28,750	2,332	84,248
Pinal	28	12,786	2,524	160	15,470
Santa Cruz	6	3,388	420	37	3,845
Yavapai	42	8,892	3,745	146	12,783
Yuma	36	11,667	3,083	255	15,005
Total	610	267,881	117,047	6,662	391,590

SOURCE: Secretary of State, *General Election Registration*, October 27, 1958.

ments the state was without third parties on the ballot for a dozen years, a siuation which coincides with the national eclipse of minor parties during the same period of time.

To have his name appear on the ballot a candidate must file nominating papers. For presidential elector, U.S. senator, or a state office, except for members of the legislature and superior court judges, these must bear signatures equaling at least 1 per cent, but not over 10 per cent, of the votes of the party of the candidate in at least three counties in the state. For representatives in Congress, county offices, members of the legislature or superior court judge, signatures must equal at least 3 but not more than 10 per cent of the party vote in the county or district. This system results in voluminous petitions being submitted to the secretary of state, who, because of a shortage of staff, simply has the signatures counted and makes no effort to check the lists for unqualified voters.

The primaries are held eight weeks preceding the general election. This date, near the middle of September, leaves little time to a party for licking wounds received in the primary contests, for organizing the precinct, county, and state committee machinery, and for mapping campaign strategy and tactics against the opposition. Because of lack of contests, Arizona Republicans seldom suffer intra-party damage from the primary. The only significant exception in recent times was the three-way contest for the gubernatorial nomination in 1956. Recent candidates like Howard Pyle, Barry Goldwater, and Paul Fannin were recruited through party machinery and encountered no primary opposition. The Democrats, on the other hand, are prone to wide-open primaries, with the defeated

candidates and their close friends little inclined to forgive and forget within so short a period as eight weeks. The winner of a hard-fought Democratic primary race may not necessarily be opposed actively by the vanquished and their supporters, but may find that the defeated may simply sit on their hands and render him no effective aid against the Republican nominee.

Recent cases in point include the Democratic nomination races of 1958 for U.S. senator and governor. Ernest W. McFarland, former two-term senator and Senate majority leader in 1951–52, later governor from 1955 to 1959, was opposed in the 1958 primary by Stephen W. Langmade, a Phoenix lawyer and national party committeeman. Langmade's total of 42,199 votes against McFarland's 111,429 was considered to be something of a voter slap at McFarland. The Democratic gubernatorial contest of the same year saw a three-way fight for the nomination involving the outgoing attorney general, Robert Morrison of Tucson; a Scottsdale real estate man and former under-secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior under Harry Truman, Richard Searles; and Marvin Burton, a state representative from Tucson. There were also three-man races the same year for the Democratic nominations for U.S. representative from the First District and for attorney general. Among all the top offices only incumbent U.S. Representative Stewart Udall of the Second District went without a primary contest.

Following the Democratic defeats of 1958 for U.S. senator, U.S. representative for the First District, and for governor, in the face of a simultaneous national trend toward Democratic candidates and despite Democratic preponderance in voter registration, Representative Udall deplored the situation and publicly advocated a system of convention endorsements supposedly borrowed from California Democrats.

The statutory requirement for nomination in the state is a plurality. A high mark of competition in the Democratic primaries was reached in the 1936 congressional race when John R. Murdock won the nomination over ten contestants by garnering only 22 per cent of the votes cast. The year 1950 saw a lively race between six aspirants for the Democratic nomination for governor, in which the only woman contestant, Mrs. Anna Frohmiller, won by capturing but 29 per cent of the votes.

The failure of Republican candidates to bring out a sizable primary vote is not surprising in view of the lack of races. But a small vote does not necessarily augur a candidate's defeat in the general election. For example, Barry Goldwater received only 38,025 votes in the 1958 no-contest primary, but eight weeks later won election with a total vote of 164,593. McFarland picked up only 17,601 votes in the general election over his primary vote, while Goldwater was reaping 126,568 additional votes over his September amount.

Many bills were introduced in the state legislature throughout the 1950's to move the Arizona primary to an earlier date, one in June being most commonly suggested. Precinct committeemen are elected in the primaries, with county and state conventions scheduled before the end of September. Both parties could benefit from a longer period in which to perfect their party organization and plan campaign strategy, but the Democrats would receive greater advantage from an

extension of time to permit healing of intra-party wounds. Although little opposition has been openly evident toward moving the primary date, action has not materialized.

The Arizona election code calls for the use of the Indiana party-column ballot. Despite the ease thus created for straight-ticket voting, split ballots have been increasing since the middle 1940's. Statutes require that names be placed on paper primary ballots in rotation, rather than in alphabetical order. No similar requirement existed, however, for rotating candidates' names on voting machines — alphabetical listing being the statutory rule. In practice there are so few Republican candidates in the primary that all names can be placed in a single column, but there have been so many Democratic candidates that two or three columns have been necessary. In both Pima and Maricopa counties after the 1956 primaries defeated candidates charged that they had been placed at an unfair disadvantage because the law required that their names go in a second column which voters tended to overlook. A case appealed to the state Supreme Court in 1959 resulted in a decision that placing names on voting machines in primaries in alphabetical order was unconstitutional, and that in the future names must be rotated on machines as is the practice on paper ballots.[10]

Electrical voting machines are now in use in the larger precincts of Maricopa and Pima counties; paper ballots are still used in smaller precincts and in outlying counties. Grouped at the top of the November general election ballot are the offices of judge of the supreme and superior courts and tax commissioner under the heading "Judicial Offices." These are presumably nonpartisan because no party label is attached, but nominations are made for these offices eight weeks earlier in the party primaries. Following this group the party columns begin and a straight ticket can be voted for the balance of the ballot. Candidates for the U.S. Congress may, by filing an affidavit of agreement in advance with the secretary of state, have the phrase "Pledged to Recall" printed under their names to signify their willingness to abide by the decision of the voters if the recall procedure of the state constitution is used against them during their terms of office.

On the extreme right hand of the ballot or machine appear any propositions to be voted on, which may include initiative and referendum measures either to amend the constitution or to add to the statutes. This placement is a contributing factor to their smaller vote than that cast for the prominent offices placed on the left side of the ballot. All offices and propositions appear on a single ballot, but the ballot is long. The 1958 general election ballot in Maricopa County contained thirty-six offices and two propositions.

The only use of party conventions in Arizona to make nominations (other than to choose a substitute in the case of a nominee who dies after the primary) is to name delegates to the national nominating conventions every presidential election year. No presidential primary exists in Arizona. The state committee chosen late in September of an off-year election meets in Phoenix in the spring of the next presidential election year to name national convention delegates. In 1960 Arizona had fourteen votes in the Republican convention, seventeen in the

[10] *Kautenburger* v. *Jackson* (1959) 85 Ariz. 128, 333 P.2d 293.

Democratic gathering. As in the past, the Democratic state convention of 1960 named twice as many delegates as there are votes — each delegate casting one-half vote — and voted to bind the Arizona delegation to abide by the unit rule.

The Arizona delegation to the Republican convention of 1952 cast ten votes for Robert A. Taft on the first ballot and four for Eisenhower. The Democratic delegation gave its first ballot support under the unit rule to Senator Robert Kerr (Oklahoma) and then to Senator Richard Russell (Georgia) on the second and third roll calls. Despite considerable Harriman support in the 1956 Democratic delegation, the group awarded its unit vote to Stevenson on the first ballot.

The Democratic state convention of April 1960, after considerable uproar, resulted in control of the national delegation going to the liberal group, the losing conservative strength being chiefly from Maricopa County. Representative Stewart Udall, whose personal choice for the nomination was John Kennedy, was later elected chairman of the state delegation. Governor Nelson Rockefeller never had real support in Arizona Republican circles, the nod going to Vice President Nixon until the Goldwater boomlet started in the late spring which resulted in the designation of the Arizona senator as a favorite-son candidate.

Responsibility for registration of voters and conduct of elections is shared by the county recorders, the county boards of supervisors, and the secretary of state. The recorder is charged with voter registration and distribution of absentee ballots. The boards of supervisors print ballots, purchase voting machines, establish precincts, and name election boards upon the nomination of party officials. The secretary of state receives the nominating papers and canvasses the vote for statewide offices, receives initiative petitions, and serves as a depository for campaign expense reports filed by candidates and their agents.

The style of campaigning in the state has undergone change in the period since World War II. Public rallies, picnics, and barbecues have lost their popularity to television and other forms of diversion. For example, a series of late evening television rallies featured Wade Church, 1958 Democratic candidate for attorney general. A studio audience added live applause, and the candidate offered to supply free cake and cola drinks for stay-at-home audiences watching subsequent programs.

Despite the potentialities of reaching the multitudes through the media of modern mass communications the personal touch in campaigning is still valued. Howard Pyle's campaign manager for the governorship in 1950, Barry Goldwater, flew the candidate into even out-of-the-way communities of the large state. Many candidates still depend upon footleather, a smile, and a handshake up and down dusty small town streets, with visits into stores and shops to greet patrons and proprietors alike. Caravans of candidates have traversed the state by auto. Morning coffees involving a single candidate and a small intimate group of ladies in a home have gained in popularity. U.S. Representative John J. Rhodes has used this technique considerably.

The Arizona statutes are certainly not over-restrictive in placing bounds on campaign spending. Statutory limitations on spending apply only to the primaries and by the candidate himself — $3,500 for U.S. senator, $2,500 for member of

Congress or governor, with other offices scaled lower. There is no limit on spending by the various party and citizen committees, although these groups are required to file reports. Furthermore, the categories of expenditures made exempt by the statutes are more costly than the categories which fall under the restriction. Exempted are costs of television, radio, motion pictures, printing and advertisements in newspapers, outdoor advertising signs, stationery, postage, and personal traveling and subsistence. What few classifications of expenditure remaining for limitation are of minor importance and have no actual limiting effect.

A candidate for the U.S. Senate running from this state of 1,300,000 inhabitants must be able to tap sources in the neighborhood of $100,000 if he is to keep up with his competition. Republican candidates have an advantage in being able to concentrate their spending on the general election campaign, whereas Democratic nominees may have used up sizable portions of their budgets in capturing the party nomination through the primary. According to reports filed with the secretary of state following the 1958 election, candidates Goldwater and McFarland and their supporting committees spent nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

The statutes clearly specify that names and addresses of donors must be reported, but an examination of the filed reports will disclose anonymous contributions and others where first names or addresses have been omitted. The secretary of state has neither staff nor funds to assure that the reports are properly filed. Once received, they go into a folder only to be disinterred by an occasional enterprising newspaper reporter or researcher.

Campaign funds are derived from a number of sources. The "kitty" may still be in operation in some offices headed by elective officials, most of whom must seek re-election every two years. Such funds are presumably voluntary, but the political employee has no civil service protection if he fails to do what is expected of him. Fund-raising dinners supply additional monies. Senator Goldwater's contributors have included oil men, and the roster of donors listed in his expense report filed in 1958 looked like a "Who's Who" of American business. COPE has made contributions in a number of instances.

Party Organization and Leaders

Party organization in Arizona resembles the pyramidal structure found in most states. There are precinct committees, perhaps informal area committees, county and state committees. One element lacking is ward and city organization. Most municipal elections are conducted along nonpartisan lines, the principal exception being the city of Tucson.

Candidates for the party office of precinct committeemen qualify to have their names appear on the primary ballot by submitting nominating papers with a sufficient number of signatures. A party is entitled to one committeeman per precinct for every 125 votes cast in the precinct for the party's candidate for governor in the last general election. Where a precinct has more than one, a committeman may be elected by the group as captain. In a populous county like Maricopa, area committees along the lines of legislative districts may be set up.

The state statutes specify the membership, officers, and meeting time for organization of the county committees. The precinct committeemen elected in the September party primary attend or send written proxies to a county convention. State committees consist of the chairman from each county plus one delegate for each four hundred votes cast in the county for the party's candidate for governor in the last election. The state central committee at its biennial organization meeting chooses a chairman, secretary, and treasurer, and hears partisan speeches by the new nominees for the principal statewide offices.

The day following the state conventions, the statutes require "party councils" consisting of the nominees for U.S. senator and representative, state offices, state senators and representatives, the national committeemen, together with the chairman and members of the state executive committee, to meet at the capitol to formulate party platforms. In 1958 the Republican party council took the approach that a brief statement of principles would be more realistic than a platform and accordingly drafted only a 400-word declaration.

Due to the cumbersome size of the state committee a smaller executive committee is provided by law. It consists of a member of the state committee and one representative from each county for each three thousand votes for the party's nominee for governor in the last general election. Its functions are the usual ones of fund raising, campaign planning and management, and consultation on patronage matters.

Job patronage contributes significantly to the lifeblood of the Democratic party organization in Arizona. No general civil service law exists in the state. To meet federal requirements for grants-in-aid a merit system has been established by the state departments of health, welfare, and employment security, the system being administered by the Joint Merit System Council. The highway department set up its own merit system in 1957. Otherwise, the patronage system still holds sway. An initiative measure establishing a statewide merit system was successful at the polls in 1948, but shortly afterwards was thrown out by the courts on technical grounds save for the highway patrol. Groups of state and county employees circulated initiative petitions in 1958 to require merit commissions on state, county, and municipal levels. The measure was soundly defeated at the general election, 122,071 to 79,657. The proposal, which would have had the effect of blanketing in present employees and which called for a rather cumbersome system of boards, lacked newspaper support.

In the early years of statehood Arizona's seven-term governor, George W. P. Hunt, built up a political machine entrenched through patronage particularly in the state highway department. In more recent years both Howard Pyle (Republican governor 1951–55) and Ernest McFarland (Democratic governor 1955–59) earned the displeasure of their party leadership by exercising a degree of independence from the party machinery in making appointments. The only significant political plums to fall into the hands of the Republicans at the state level have stemmed from the election of Republican governors in four of the six latest contests for that office. Because of the plethora of boards and commissions having long terms and overlapping memberships, Republican control lead-

ing to important appointments has been delayed. Patronage, however, is more a matter of individual than party political machines.

The dispensation of patronage by elected Democratic officeholders in Maricopa County has been diminished since the rise of the Better Government Association (BGA) to power in 1953.[11] This citizen group, consisting largely of Phoenix businessmen with strong support by the two Phoenix daily newspapers, nominated one Republican and one Democratic candidate in each of the three county supervisoral districts in 1952 and then succeeded in electing two of its candidates to the three-man board of supervisors. In subsequent elections the BGA has retained control of the board which sets the county budget — including the budgets of the other elected county officers. Placement of most county jobs under a merit set-up and personnel director has taken away a degree of patronage from the old-line Democratic county officials. Elements of the Democratic party organization in recent elections have unsuccessfully attacked the BGA approach as being destructive of the two-party system. In 1954 Maricopa County was given an All-America City award by *Look* magazine.

Arizona's colorful political history has been the stage for bosses and leaders, machines and organizations. One looks in vain, however, for a single "state boss." Arizona has had but one constitution, that drafted in 1910, which provided an executive branch with a decentralized system of elective offices, boards, and commissions. The state has never seen a successful movement aimed at administrative reorganization, although a 1949 study by Griffenhagen and Associates offered proposals for consolidation of the more than one hundred agencies of state government that had accumulated over the years.[12] One writer, commenting on the subsequent failure of the legislature to implement these proposals, concludes: "The most recent and most nearly successful attempts to secure administrative reorganization were caught up in a whirlpool of opposition generated by an unfortunate political situation, the steady obstruction of groups of job and office holders and the push of special interests who feared the loss of favored positions under the *status quo*." [13]

George W. P. Hunt, who had as many years of schooling as he had terms as governor (seven), used his appointive powers to build up largely a personal machine.[14] Sidney P. Osborn, who won four consecutive gubernatorial elections in the 1940's, gained control of most boards and commissions through his appointive power. In a moment of frustration at some of these plural bodies he is said to have conceived the idea of asking new appointees to sign undated letters of resignation at the time of appointment. These letters could then conveniently

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[11] This reform movement is covered in Donald W. Rehorst, "The Better Government Association of Maricopa County, Arizona: A Study in Grass Roots Politics" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1957).

[12] "Report on General State Organization," Supplement to Arizona, *Senate Journal*, Nineteenth Legislature, First Special Session, 1950.

[13] Robert E. Riggs, "Administrative Reorganization in Arizona" (Master's thesis, University of Arizona, 1952), p. 88.

[14] For an analysis of the prominent issues in the state's gubernatorial campaigns through 1950, see Menzo E. Hatter, "The Major Issues in Arizona's Gubernatorial Campaigns" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1951). Useful appendices include gubernatorial election returns and the biennial party platforms over the same period.

be pulled from the governor's file at a future time for dating and press release if the governor and a board member fell into disagreement.

Radio broadcaster Howard Pyle of Tempe, the Republican "draftee" of 1950 to make the gubernatorial race, had the happy fortune to find that the six-way Democratic primary had given the nod to a woman candidate. He went into office by a narrow margin of 2,991, becoming the first Republican governor in twenty years. His approaches to legislative problems did not win favor even with the conservative Democratic-Republican coalition in the legislature, but he easily won a second term in the Eisenhower year of 1952 against a lackluster Democrat. Despite his frequent criticism of career "politicians," he made a third bid for the governor's chair in 1954 only to lose to Ernest W. McFarland.

McFarland, a Pinal County lawyer and judge, upset Henry F. Ashurst in the Democratic race for a U.S. Senate nomination in 1940, later being elected to two terms. During 1951–52 he was a compromise choice of northern and southern Democrats for Senate majority leader. The Republican sweep of 1952 resulted in his defeat by Barry Goldwater. In 1954 McFarland successfully essayed a political comeback by winning the governorship, where he served two consecutive terms while waiting out the remainder of Goldwater's six-year U.S. Senate tenure. An Arizona governor has little opportunity to perform the spectacular, but McFarland's ineffectual administration hit its low mark perhaps in 1958 when he called a special session of the legislature to consider a five-point program — only to see it adjourn after fourteen days without enacting a single item. One of McFarland's special interests was the preparation of the state's case in the Arizona-California suit over Colorado River water, evidence being presented in San Francisco to a special master of the U.S. Supreme Court. Stepping from the governor's office in 1958 McFarland tried to oust Barry Goldwater from his former Senate seat, only to have Goldwater handily win the off-year election, 164,593 to 129,030.

A three-contestant race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1958 resulted in victory for the outgoing attorney general, Robert Morrison. Running against the twin Phoenix dailies as much as against his Republican businessman opponent, Paul Fannin, Morrison was easily bested, 160,136 to 130,329. The Phoenix newspapers chose to spotlight Morrison's brushes with the law as a young man.[15]

The 1960 sweepstakes for governor did not lack interested Deomcrats, but there was evident a strong feeling that any Democrat would find overcoming Fannin extremely difficult. As a result of intra-party politics to avoid the primary fights of recent elections, Lee Ackerman, well-to-do Phoenix real estate developer and former member of the state House of Representatives, made the race for the Democratic nomination. His record in business was comparable to Fannin's, and his polished platform manner favorably matched Fannin's claim to public speaking ability, sincerity. But the Democratic fears of Fannin's invincibility were well founded, for he was re-elected without difficulty.

[15] See this writer's "The 1958 Election in Arizona," *Western Political Quarterly*, XII, Part 2 (March 1959), 269.

The only other statewide office to be captured by the Republicans in the 1950's was that of attorney general. Despite the trend toward Republican candidates in 1958, liberal Democrat Wade Church won it by as wide a margin as Republican Fannin won the governor's chair.

Anyone who even glances at Arizona's history of representation in the Congress of the United States is immediately struck by the arresting record of Carl Hayden. A native of Tempe, Hayden first went to Washington in 1912 as Arizona's lone representative in the lower house. There he remained until his election to the Senate in 1926. In 1956 Hayden was re-elected to his sixth consecutive Senate term, and at this writing (1960) is eighty-two years of age, having served longer in Congress than any person in history. Hayden's seniority has given him the chairmanship of the Senate appropriations committee, a key committee for a state where federal expenditures are so important. Hayden rarely makes a speech on the Senate floor, but has a reputation among his colleagues for his quiet effectiveness in the committee room and in the informality of the cloak room. He likes to describe himself as a "work horse" rather than a "show horse." His voting record has tended toward the liberal side. Republican election opposition to Hayden in recent years has been less than nominal — even the Republican Phoenix newspapers pull their punches when it comes to Hayden.

Henry Fountain Ashurst, as literate and flowery an orator as the U.S. Senate has had in the present century, lost his seat in 1940 to McFarland. Most observers ascribed Ashurst's defeat to neglect of his relationships with his Arizona constituents.[16] McFarland was swept aside after two terms by the personable Barry Goldwater in 1952.[17]

Goldwater's attractiveness as a candidate has been demonstrated twice — first in the Eisenhower year of 1952 and again in the off-year race of 1958. From a pioneer Arizona mercantile family, Goldwater has traveled the state extensively — including acting as a flying campaign manager in Pyle's gubernatorial campaign of 1950. Presently fifty-one years of age, Goldwater has achieved a reputation in the Senate as an ultra-conservative. Representing one of the first states to enact a right-to-work law, he has hit hard at labor leaders, especially Walter Reuther. He is in wide demand as a speaker before Republican audiences nationally, and acts as chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. He is the acknowledged leader of the conservative wing of the Republican party.

Its population increase gave Arizona a second congressional seat after 1940. Representative John R. Murdock, Democrat of Tempe, and chairman of the house committee on public lands, lost his First District seat (Maricopa County only) in 1952 to youthful Mesa attorney John J. Rhodes. Rhodes' real popularity at the polls has been questioned by some Democratic observers, who point out that on two occasions he may have profited from Eisenhower's appeal. In another race (1954) his opponent's character was assailed at the last minute before

[16] Ashurst's literary skill in oratory is analyzed in George F. Sparks, "The Speaking of Henry Fountain Ashurst" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1952). The senator's political skill is analyzed in Robert E. Cognac, "The Senatorial Career of Henry Fountain Ashurst" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1953).

[17] See Paul F. Healy, "The Glittering Mr. Goldwater," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 7, 1958, pp. 38 ff.

election day, and in 1958 his relatively colorless opponent, probably more conservative than Rhodes himself, lost many normally Democratic voters to Rhodes.

In the Second Congressional District (the remaining thirteen counties) youthful Tucson attorney, Stewart Udall, first went to Washington in 1954 and has won re-election handily since. Udall, a member of a pioneer Mormon family, wears a name that usually has been political magic in Arizona. He is an outspoken liberal, particularly on matters affecting labor. In the summer of 1959 he was prominent in the House Education and Labor Committee's efforts to push its bill rather than the Eisenhower-backed Landrum-Griffin bill. Some observers have felt that he is aiming at the Senate seat of Carl Hayden in the event that Hayden does not seek re-election in 1962. However, on December 6, 1960, he was appointed Secretary of the Interior, the first Arizonian ever to sit in the Cabinet. His brother Morris was elected to fill out the unexpired term in the spring of 1961.

Leadership in the legislature is traditionally conservative. Speaker of the House is W. L. "Tay" Cook, a rancher of Cochise County. President of the Senate is Clarence L. Carpenter of Gila County. Both presiding officers come from mining counties. Senate majority leader Harold C. Giss is a Yuma merchant, reputed variously as an "amender," and "againer," and the most influential member of the legislature.

State party committee chairmen are liberal Democrat Samuel P. Goddard, Jr., a Tucson attorney, and Republican Stephen C. Shadegg, a Phoenix businessman and reputed ghostwriter for Senator Goldwater's newspaper column and best-selling volume, *Conscience of a Conservative*. Long prominent in Arizona Republican circles is Clarence Budington Kelland, who served as national party committeeman many years.

Women's and young people's groups have been active in both parties. Republican women's clubs have been particularly strong, noted for their sponsorship of a series of "coffees" in behalf of the re-election candidacy of Congressman John J. Rhodes in the First Congressional District in 1956. The otherwise competing clubs of younger party members in Phoenix have jointly sponsored a series of monthly debates on issues. The Young Republican organization takes credit for the "draft" of Howard Pyle for the governorship in 1950, and the Young Democratic organization was the springboard for the election of a group of youthful attorneys to the only liberal-controlled House of Representatives in the state's history in 1955–56.

Pressure Groups

Interest groups realize their objectives in the Arizona legislature through two principal avenues. First, some groups have built-in access through overlapping memberships in the legislature and, second, some engage in lobbying. Two economic interests in particular profit from built-in access — the mining corporations and cattle ranchers. For years certain legislators, especially senators, admitted wearing "copper collars." Appropriation committee meetings were at times held in a downtown Phoenix hotel where copper-county lawmakers frequently lodged during legislative sessions.

The state's constitution empowers the legislature to regulate lobbying.[18] Although statutes have been enacted to prohibit bribery and other corrupt practices, no law has been provided requiring registration of lobbyists.

Despite considerable built-in representation by cattlemen, agricultural interests are quite divided in presenting their objectives to the legislature. Of the three largest national farm organizations only the American Farm Bureau Federation has strength in the state. Commodity organizations may be strong, but not always wholly united within. Numerous state agencies deal with agricultural matters, and agricultural groups have repeatedly failed to get behind legislation to consolidate present programs into a single department of agriculture.

It has not been unknown for a lawyer member of the legislature to be on a retainer for a major utility. Among the principal utilities are the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company, the Arizona Public Service Company, and the Tucson Gas and Electric Company. The Arizona Railroad Association, representing the Sante Fe and Southern Pacific, has paid attorneys acting as lobbyists. The principal pipeline company operating in the state is El Paso Natural Gas. One veteran reporter places lobbyists for these utilities as being second in strength only to the mines in the "third house" of the Arizona legislature.[19]

The Salt River Valley Water Users Association (irrigation) and its companion Salt River Power District (electricity) have enjoyed quasi-municipal status and have not had to resort to open legislative activity. The tax-exempt status of their electric power operation became a momentary campaign issue in the Democratic primary race for governor in 1958 — an issue injected by a former Association president. Since that campaign the Salt River Project twins have become very public-relations conscious and have revealed their new public awareness through television commercials and a traveling trailer display.

The existence of the political arm of the AFL–CIO, COPE, and its activity within the state was made an issue in the 1958 campaign by a number of Republican candidates and particularly by the Phoenix dailies. The *Arizona Republic* spoke of an "invasion" by COPE, and ran a photograph of a West Coast COPE representative in the company of Joe Walton, the Democrats' state chairman. Senatorial candidate McFarland denied that he had received funds from the labor organization.

Liquor interests have been active. Arizona has a series of different types of liquor licenses, with quotas assigned to each type. Efforts to change the present licensing system to eliminate abuses were successfully resisted until 1961.

The "school lobby" is of some strength, and a few teachers have been elected to the legislature. To a considerable degree the financing of public schools has been shifted from the local to the county and state levels — a move whole-heartedly supported by the Arizona Education Association, which favors federal and greater state aid to the districts. The Arizona School Board Association and the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers have active legislative programs.

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[18] *Constitution of Arizona*, Art. 22, Sec. 19.

[19] Claiborne Nuckolls' column, "The State We're In," *Arizona Republic*, March 29, 1959.

The legislative objectives of taxpayers' associations in the state seem more often than not to be realized, but not because of direct action taken by the associations themselves. Rather, they are achieved through other interest groups or from overlapping membership in the legislature. The Arizona Taxpayers Association is located in Phoenix, supported by some of the biggest taxpayers, and puts forth a steady stream of publications replete with statistics on "wasteful spending." The Maricopa County Taxpayers Association is particularly active at budget time through sending representatives to public bodies about to fix their annual budgets, in particular to school boards.

Municipalities are represented by the League of Arizona Cities and Towns in legislative matters. Of special concern to the league is the securing of additional funds for the cities of such state-collected taxes as those on retail sales and motor fuels.

Legislative Politics

To discover "Who runs Arizona government?" one must look not at the governor's office but at the 108 men and women serving in the legislature, and especially at its majority leadership.

Surely the large corporate interests, particularly the mines, abetted by railroads, utilities, and cattle, have succeeded in giving state legislative politics a conservative flavor. But the present rate of growth outstrips any past era of expansion, and manufacturing has surged to the fore. Whether political power necessarily follows shifts in economic power is yet to be determined.

Until a constitutional amendment in 1953 gave each Arizona county two seats, the method of apportionment had given four mining counties eight Senate seats out of a total of nineteen. These counties — Pima, Cochise, Yavapai, Gila — could also count on the one vote each of Pinal and Greenlee, the latter almost wholly a copper county economically. As in other western mining states the mining corporations have concentrated on holding down state appropriations and the property tax rate. They also oppose shifting any greater incidence of taxation upon mines. Logrolling between copper and cattle interests has thwarted both a severance tax and increases in grazing fees on state lands.

In 1953 a package constitutional amendment to change the basis of representation in both houses was successfully referred by the legislature to the people. Opposed by publisher William R. Matthews of the *Arizona Daily Star*, the amendment lost in Pima County. But the Phoenix dailies editorialized in favor of the change, and the favorable margin in Maricopa County put the amendment across in the statewide totals. The approved amendment increased the Senate membership to twenty-eight, two from each county, and "froze" the House of Representatives at eighty, based on a variable number of votes cast in each county for the office of governor in the last election. Of the eighty seats Maricopa has thirty-seven and Pima sixteen. No other county has more than four, and three counties are entitled to only one seat each.

Since 1951 there have been annual legislative sessions instead of biennial, and the former frequency of special sessions has been reduced. Several factors

other than the "built-in" influence of the mining and cattle interests exist to impede legislation. One is the fact that no action has been taken to provide for the carry-over of bills from the first session to the second of a given legislature. Another factor tending toward the "bottling" of bills is the committee system, which calls for reference of bills to three or four committees in each house. In one recent legislature there were twenty-eight standing committees — exactly enough to permit every senator to head one. The lone Senate Republican was excepted from a chairmanship. During the current 24th Legislature there are twenty-one standing committees in each house.

The leadership of the Arizona legislature has been traditionally conservative with but a single exception. This occurred in the House of Representatives in the 22nd Legislature (1955–56) when a bloc of liberal Democrats wrested control from the conservatives. In the 23rd Legislature control once again reverted to the conservatives. The present House is dominated by a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans. At the present writing [1960] the forty Democrats have to depend upon assistance from the twenty-five Republicans in order to reach the necessary majority of forty-one votes to pass legislation.[20]

Throughout history party membership in the legislature has been overwhelmingly weighted toward the Democrats. Terms in both houses are two years, and even with the Republican triumphs in the election of 1958, only twenty-five Republicans were elected to the House and but one to the Senate. Before the only liberal-controlled House in 1955–56 it was not unknown for the speaker to appoint Republicans to a few committee chairmanships. One of the major cries of the Democratic liberals in the 22nd Legislature was against the earlier Democratic-Republican conservative coalitions, including the appointment of Republican chairmen. Since the return of the conservative coalition to power, the practice of giving all committee chairmanships to Democrats has been continued. Despite its large margins in the legislature, the party is not the controlling factor in the legislative process.

Sectional rivalry is not generally the most important divisive force within the legislature, but sometimes appears when issues arise that tend to give possible advantage to either the Tucson or Phoenix areas. A case in point was a bill to rename Arizona State College at Tempe several years ago which drew the affirmative votes of all thirty-seven legislators from Maricopa County where the institution is located. On many other occasions Maricopa County legislators will be sorely divided into the conservative Democrat, liberal Democrat, and Republican camps. Yet an urban-rural differentiation is certainly on the increase as the population becomes further concentrated within two areas of the state.

Arizona's legislators are drawn from diverse backgrounds. Business and farming and ranching provide the greatest number of members. Other occupations regularly represented include construction, real estate, and insurance. A number of young liberal Democratic attorneys served in the House in the 22nd Legisla-

[20] The State's constitution requires passage of legislation by absolute majorities of each house, not simply by majorities of members present and voting.

ture; otherwise, attorneys are few. To the present session eleven women members were elected, all in the lower house.[21]

Issues joined between the conservative and liberal factions include the extension of health and welfare programs, increases in the sales tax, financing of education, bills to require that public accommodations be open to persons of all races and religions, state acceptance of federal aid to education, labor-management relations, and leasing and disposition of state-owned lands. Additional issues facing future sessions include property revaluation,[22] establishment of a labor department, consolidation of existing agricultural agencies into a new department of agriculture, traffic safety, and highway financing.

Arizona's population spurt of the last decade is expected to bring a third seat in the United States House of Representatives after 1960. If that occurs a statute of 1947 will go into effect to redistrict the state. Maricopa County with easily half of the population will remain as district one; five counties of southern Arizona (including Pima with Tucson) will be district two with over a third of the state's inhabitants; eight sparsely-populated counties of northern Arizona will become a third district having approximately 15 per cent of the population.[23]

Direct legislation is possible in Arizona through the initiative and referendum. The needed number of signatures on a petition to initiate an amendment is 15 per cent of the total votes cast for the office of governor in the last election. For a new law 10 per cent of that total is required. The measure is then submitted to the electorate where the requirement is approval by a majority of votes cast on the proposition itself. Neither a gubernatorial veto nor legislative repeal is applicable to an initiative measure approved by a majority of eligible voters. A supreme court decision in 1952 held that the legislature is empowered to repeal initiative measures approved by less than a majority of all registered voters. Every initiative proposition on the books was so approved, but the legislature has failed thus far to use this recently interpreted power to remove measures adopted by the initiative.

The referendum process requires mandatory referral of constitutional amendments originating in the legislature. The legislature has the optional power to refer bills to the electorate, an action rarely taken. An act, not including an emergency clause, has a waiting period of ninety days after the close of the session in which it was enacted. If petitions bearing 5 per cent of the total number of votes cast for the office of governor are submitted before the expiration of this period, the act is placed upon the next election ballot. Most bills introduced contain an emergency clause, however, and most bills enacted carry by more than the necessary two-thirds vote to declare an emergency to exist.

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[21] The widow of a deceased senator was appointed to fill out the balance of his term starting in 1960.

[22] "The breakdown in Arizona's property tax administration has operated in such a way as to throw a disproportionate share of the state property tax onto two classes of property (a) City & Town Lots & Improvements, and (b) Utilities, Telephone & Telegraph, and Pipelines." Rod Hastings, *Comparison of Assessed Valuations in Arizona: 1913–1957* (Phoenix: League of Arizona Cities and Towns, 1959), p. 7.

[23] A factual report on redistricting prepared by the research staff of the Arizona Legislative Council is "Congressional Redistricting in Arizona" (mimeographed, August, 1956). Several alternatives in redistricting are considered.

In practice the initiative and referendum process has been used with restraint, quite in contrast with use in neighboring California.[24] Table II indicates that the average vote on propositions has been about 50 per cent of the vote for governor. Less than 23 per cent turned out in the crucial special election of 1953 which resulted in changing the basis of representation in both houses of the legislature.

TABLE II

Initiative and Referendum Measures Presented from 1912 to 1958

Election	*Presented*	*Approved*	*Total average vote*	*Percentage of vote for governor*
November 5, 1912	13	13	18,966	88
November 3, 1914	19	9	38,088	69
November 7, 1916	12	3	37,110	64
November 5, 1918	10	8	27,049	52
November 2, 1920	10	0	38,997	57
September 12, 1922	8	0	33,594	49
November 7, 1922	3	0	39,554	58
November 4, 1924	6	0	49,878	66
September 29, 1925	1	1	20,957	28
November 2, 1926	5	0	49,706	62
May 31, 1927	2	2	12,525	16
November 6, 1928	10	2	43,597	47
November 4, 1930	6	3	52,718	55
November 8, 1932	9	2	85,737	72
October 3, 1933	8	3	26,385	22
November 6, 1934	2	0	50,010	49
November 8, 1938	3	1	72,381	62
November 5, 1940	10	4	95,887	64
November 3, 1942	1	1	44,733	51
November 7, 1944	2	0	92,953	72
November 5, 1946	6	3	104,379	85
November 2, 1948	8	8	124,523	70
November 7, 1950	13	0	113,766	58
November 4, 1952	6	6	175,525	67
September 29, 1953	4	2	59,296	23
November 2, 1954	1	1	119,458	49
September 11, 1956	4	3	112,177	39
November 6, 1956	1	1	196,177	68
September 9, 1958	2	2	87,341	46
November 4, 1958	2	1	215,775	74
Total	185	77		

[24] James E. Alandar, Jr., "A History of the Initiative and Referendum in Arizona" (unpublished mss., Arizona State University, 1958), p. 46. See also William R. Fitzgerald, "Trends in the Use of the Initiative and Referendum in the State of Arizona: 1912–1948" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1949).

The Arizona constitution of 1910 makes Arizona one of twelve states in the nation having the recall process. Through the collection of petitions bearing signatures totaling 25 per cent of the vote cast for the office in the last election a special recall election can be forced. The incumbent officeholder is automatically a candidate in the recall election, and opponents may have their names printed on the ballot by filing nominating papers in the usual fashion. It was the application of the recall provision to judgeships that caused President William Howard Taft to object to the proposed constitution for Arizona, forcing its voters to act to exempt elective judges. With the constitution thus modified, Arizona statehood was granted (proclaimed February 14, 1912). One of the first post-statehood acts, however, was voter approval of an amendment to once again make judges subject to the recall process — a provision of the constitution standing to the present. The recall has seldom been used, and where it has, has frequently failed to oust the incumbent. A successful attempt to remove a judge (superior court) occurred in Pinal County in 1924. No holder of a high state office has ever been removed, most attempts occurring at the county, municipal, or school district levels. One reason for its limited use is the cost involved, but recalls are only one illustration of the expense of campaigning.

State government finances as approved by the legislature reflect the pattern of political power in the state. Rarely does a member of the liberal Democratic minority receive an appointment to the appropriations committee in either house. Appropriations committee sessions may at times be closed, and in earlier days it was the practice for some to be held at a downtown hotel instead of the capitol. No true executive budget system exists.[25] During Ernest McFarland's gubernatorial tenure a sum was provided his office by the legislature for the employment of a budget officer, but the provision was permitted to lapse later. Governor Paul Fannin included in his 1960 legislative program an unfulfilled request for a budget officer.

Approximately one-half of state funds now being spent goes for education.[26] Nearly two-thirds of that amount is aid to the school districts, and about one-third goes for higher education. The legislature has had the reputation of stringency with funds for public health, despite a poor health record in several categories by the state. The large taxpayers, e.g., mines, utilities, railroads, have established a record in holding down the lid.

The four largest sources of state taxes occur in the following order: sales, general property, motor vehicle fuels, income. The general property tax rate has increased in odd-numbered years and decreased in even-numbered, election years. Recent changes in the Arizona tax structure have included an exemption to manufacturers who sell to the federal government (to attract new industry), addition of a use tax, and a 50 per cent increase in the sales tax through adding an educational excise tax in 1959.

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[25] The elective state auditor compiles the requests and passes them on to the governor who simply transmits them to the legislature. In his budget message, however, he may recommend adjustments, but usually does so only in broad categories without offering specific figures.

[26] From State of Arizona, *Budget for the Fiscal Year 1960–61* (January 1960).

Voting Habits

Voting habits in Arizona differ from those of many other states in the urban-rural concentrations of party members and the irregularity of the party vote. Democratic preponderance of registration since statehood has seen a decline from as high as ten to one to the present two-and-one-half to one. In Maricopa County, having half the state's voters, it has fallen to just under two to one. There is a history of Democratic registrations by Republicans to permit the latter to express a choice in the primaries. A further explanation heard is that Arizona Republicans sometimes register as Democrats for business reasons. In the general elections it is clear that registered Republicans remain cohesively behind their party nominees, while a considerable number of registered Democrats are likely to split their tickets for some of the Republican nominees at the top of the ballot.

The highest ratios of Democratic registrations today are to be found in the rural counties where population is most stable. An example is Greenlee, whose economy is principally based upon copper mining, and where the Democratic margin is nineteen to one. By contrast, in the fastest growing counties, Maricopa and Pima, are the most heavily Republican precincts, especially in sections of new homes and higher incomes. Arizona's expansion in electronics, aircraft components, and refrigeration attracts a better schooled, more technically and professionally skilled, and higher paid labor force than that encountered in other areas of the nation which have abruptly found that manufacturing has become important. These middle-class suburbanites have tended toward Republicanism in many other metropolitan centers of the nation the past decade. Arizona's industrialization has been coming faster than unionism.

To Arizona newcomers the Republican party has the advantage of the claim of respectability. Because of Arizona's history as a near one-party state, any excesses of patronage, graft, or corruption can be ascribed by Republican orators to the Democrats. Actually, Arizona has not been noted for corruption in its government.

The pattern of voting is therefore the reverse of that found in many of the older northeastern states where Democratic majorities are rolled up in the metropolitan centers. In Arizona Republican candidates for statewide offices on election night hopefully look for commanding leads from the voting machine precincts of Phoenix (and the other Salt River Valley communities) and Tucson in order to retain a sufficient lead over the Democratic vote which will come in strong later from the paper ballot precincts of the outlying, rural counties.

Party regularity among the state's electorate is increasingly uncertain. In 1958, Republican nominees Barry Goldwater for U.S. senator and Paul Fannin for governor had to depend upon appeals to Democratic registrants for victory, in an off-year election with no Eisenhower to head the slate.

Both Democratic state chairman Joe Walton and Democratic Congressman Stewart Udall following the Republican triumphs in 1958 reached almost identical conclusions on the predilections of Arizona voters. In a post-election analysis Representative Udall declared that despite the dominant Democratic registra-

tion ratio in the state the actual party preference, as expressed at the polls, is 25 per cent each for the Democrats and Republicans, the remaining 50 per cent behaving as independents.[27]

In recent general elections percentages of registered voter turnouts have ranged from 75 to 80, impressive figures in a national comparison. But it should be remembered that a sizable proportion of Arizona adults are new to the state and have not fulfilled residence requirements for voting, and that considerable numbers of eligibles, such as reservation Indians, are not registered.

National Politics

The state, developed to a great extent by federal largess, is approaching a stage of lessened dependence on the national treasury.[28] New capital is being attracted in an unprecedented fashion. Many winter visitors have returned over the years and have become investors in Arizona real estate and burgeoning industry.

Arizona's senior senator, Carl Hayden, was an originator of the modern grant-in-aid concept. His successful co-sponsorship of the Hayden-Cartright bill made federal funds available to the states in the 1920's for building the interstate highway system with matching funds. Senator Hayden is chairman and Representative John J. Rhodes is a member of their respective appropriations committees in the 86th Congress.

The Second Congressional District of the state has a greater Indian population than any other congressional district in the nation. Therefore both the Washington delegation and the state legislature concern themselves with moves to transfer certain problems of the Indians from the federal to the state government. A close watch is also kept on federal legislation concerning public lands — wilderness area bills, grazing and lease legislation, mineral exploration. Members of the Arizona congressional delegation, regardless of party or ideological differences, are usually found together in support of maintaining copper tariffs and peacetime stockpiling of strategic minerals such as manganese.

A long-standing area of resource development in Arizona where the federal treasury has been essential is water, ever since the construction of Roosevelt Dam in the first decade of the present century. Arizona's unwillingness to sign the Santa Fe Compact kept the Boulder Canyon project uppermost in state politics even long after the completion of Hoover Dam. The Arizona Power Authority expresses the state's interest in obtaining and marketing hydroelectric power.[29] Since the second world war the issue of bringing Colorado River water to central Arizona has been kept alive. A Central Arizona Project bill passed the U.S. Senate in the early 1950's, only to be blocked by the much larger California dele-

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[27] Report of Udall's speech, *Arizona Republic*, November 5, 1958.

[28] A study completed in 1957 stated that the then current spending by the federal government in Arizona was coming to about $400 million per year. Philip G. Hudson and F. Paul Bunker, "Federal Aid in Arizona," *Arizona Business and Economic Review* (University of Arizona, May 1957), p. 1.

[29] See Dean E. Mann, "The Administration of Water Resources in the State of Arizona" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1958).

gation in the House. Further efforts have been at a standstill in recent years while an action for the legal division of the Colorado's water has been waged before a special master of the U.S. Supreme Court in San Francisco.[80] The state's delegation to Washington lends support to projects to desalt sea water and to purify brackish waters.

Debate on the issue of federal aid to education has recently been carried on between former Representative Stewart Udall and Senator Goldwater. The former favors acceptance of "federal controls" while the latter, along with Republican Governor Paul Fannin, has led the opposition to the state's acceptance of certain federal funds.

Arizona's congressional delegation has been prominent in efforts in the national capital to investigate conditions in labor unionism and to pass new legislation in the field of labor. As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, Udall took a leading role in 1959 in fashioning the House committee bill and supporting it against the onslaught of the forces behind the eventually successful Landrum-Griffin bill. On final passage Udall voted aye along with the other House member from Arizona, John Rhodes. The weaker Senate version received a favorable vote from Senator Carl Hayden, while Senator Goldwater cast the only dissenting vote as the measure passed. This division in the field of national labor legislation is reflective of the state's recent growth in manufacturing, a development largely occurring after, but not necessarily because of, the adoption of a right-to-work constitutional amendment in 1946.

Arizona's representation in Congress has not been prominent in the shaping of agricultural legislation. Considerable sympathy with former Secretary of Agriculture Benson's farm policies was voiced in segments of the press, but at the same time some of the biggest recipients of price support payments are the state's cotton ranchers. These ranchers also show concern over continuation of legislation permitting the importation of Mexican *braceros* to help with the state's farm and ranch labor needs.

Due in part both to its geographical location and attitudes of recent arrivals from middlewestern states, Arizona is neither strongly internationalist nor wholly in favor of foreign aid programs. An Arizona liberal in his views on domestic problems does not necessarily share the views of big-city liberals living in other parts of the nation. Barry Goldwater's difficulty with Eisenhower Republicanism on domestic issues does not extend far into the field of foreign policy. Foreign policy is generally of little consequence as an area to develop campaign issues, although foreign economic aid has vocal critics.

A number of conclusions concerning Arizona's past and present politics may be drawn. At the time of statehood Arizona had a reputation as a leading progressive state, having adopted a constitution with liberal features such as the initiative, referendum, and recall. The subsequent political history, under effective leadership of the big taxpayers of the state, has tended toward conservatism, which the press, whether Republican or Democratic, reflects. While Democrats

[80] Judge Simon Rifkind's recommendation to the U.S. Supreme Court, announced in May 1960, was favorable to Arizona's claims.

have dominated Arizona since statehood, and presently enjoy a two-and-a-half registration margin over Republicans, their party organization is particularly ineffective. The nominating process results in hand-picking by the Republicans and wide-open intra-party primary fights among the Democrats, and the late primary date in September hampers party organization.

Arizona government has been relatively free of corruption and bossism, although job patronage, particularly in the hands of the Democrats, remains the rule in the absence of a general civil service law. The big taxpayers of the state, especially the mines and utilities, enjoy strong influence in the legislature, which has been dominated by Democratic conservatives, "pintos," with hardly a break since statehood. Republicans, generally conservative, regularly have worked with the conservative Democrats in the House of Representatives to form a coalition. They are concentrated in urban rather than rural areas, reversing the usual pattern. Many registered Democrats are of the nominal variety, tending toward Republicanism or at least split-ticket voting. However, any conclusions must be viewed with caution, since both population and economy are kaleidoscopic, and the political power structure of Arizona is in transition.

California: Enigma of National Politics

TOTTON JAMES ANDERSON

CALIFORNIA POLITICS, to paraphrase a key Churchillian remark, is an enigma inside a riddle, wrapped up in a mystery. Informed analysts constantly invoke such terms as "unique," "atypical," "unorthodox," and "nonconformist," in an attempt to portray the intricate pattern which seemingly violates the accepted canons of American state politics. The symptoms of confusion are readily ascertainable in the polemics utilized by authoritative commentators in classifying California as a one-party state, a two-party state, or simply "a state of mind"!

Without denying the efficacy of the stereotype of unconventionality, Californians are apt to seek its origin in the western heritage of rugged individualism which prompted a dynamic and imaginative citizenry to seek pragmatic solutions to indigenous political problems. The inherent vitality of California politics is exemplified in a wide range of political experimentation, from the sophisticated practice of cross-filing to the frenetic espousal of "loony" panaceas for redistribution of the wealth.

The resultant free-wheeling political milieu is marked by many singular and seemingly incongruous rules, circumstances, and modes of behavior, running counter to accepted norms. Guided by the solicitous ministrations of professional publicists, for instance, the voters have developed a penchant for participating actively in the legislative process through use of the initiative and referendum. The powerful political leverage of patronage has been sacrificed upon the altar of an expanded, virtually all-inclusive civil service system.

Where else in the United States has there been such a heavy traffic in voters crossing party lines at election time under the banner of "nonpartisanship"? Not the least of these political vagaries has been the formation of a fluid coalition between conservatives in both major parties to protect the economic status quo, come what may! In attempting to follow the vacillating and opportunistic political leadership in his state, where candidates are exceedingly reluctant to admit publicly their party affiliation, the voter has developed a certain ambivalence toward his party loyalties. His consequent behavior sometimes borders upon a

rather bizarre political neutralism and provides some of the distinguishing hallmarks of the California mores.

California was spared the usual probationary period in official territorial status. The leaders of the American colony, newly acquired from Mexico, formulated a state constitution and gained ratification from the electorate November 13, 1849. The territory was admitted into the Union as a free state September 9, 1850. Its institutional framework was patterned after that of the other American states. Little of the influence of several centuries of Spanish and Mexican rule remains, with the exception of laws relating to riparian rights, community property rights, land grant titles, and perhaps certain aspects of commission government. However, much of the romantic charm of Old Spain is reflected in the way of life, particularly of Southern Californians.

For the first hundred years of its existence, from the election of Democrat Peter H. Burnett as governor on November 13, 1849, until the inauguration of Edmund G. Brown in January 1959, the predominant party political influence in California has been Republican. Of the thirty-two gubernatorial elections held during this period the Republicans won eighteen, the Democrats, twelve, and two went to "hyphenated" parties.[1] Since the turn of this century the Democrats have been able to elect only two governors, Culbert Olson and "Pat" Brown. During the past two decades the overwhelming majority of Democratic registrants in the electorate have been unable or unwilling to control the political machinery in the state. After they finally elected Governor Olson in 1938, they promptly lost the gubernatorial office for the next twenty years; the most logical explanation, attributed to former Democratic Attorney General Robert Kenney, was that Olson believed he had a mandate to "create the millennium in the biennium."

Republican dominance of the state Senate has been even more impressive, extending from 1891 to 1956. In 1956 each party shared the forty-member body equally, but two Republicans deserted to the opposition and the Democrats organized the upper house for the first time in over sixty-five years. The membership of the first state Assembly, meeting from 1849 to 1850, was nonpartisan. For the succeeding forty years the major parties alternated control for periods extending from two to six years. Beginning in 1894 the Republicans established a virtual monopoly of the lower house until the New Deal era of 1937–40, after which they again controlled the electorate until the Democratic landslide of 1958.

Republicans also maintained a predominant position in national politics. Of the twenty-seven presidential elections in which California has participated since its first one in 1852, the Republicans have been successful seventeen times and the Democrats, ten.[2] The people of California have been directly electing their United States senators only since 1914. The Republicans have had a complete monopoly of one seat and have shared the other with the Democrats roughly 50

[1] The American ("Know-Nothing") party in 1855 and the Union (Republican) party in 1863. Both major parties splintered into factions from time to time: the Lecompton Democrats (southern, pro-slavery) held the governorship for a short period (1859–61) and the Progressives or liberal Republican wing elected Hiram Johnson twice, in 1910 and 1914.

[2] Republican victories include the Whig candidate in 1860 and the Progressive one in 1912. These figures do not include the 1960 election.

per cent of the time. The importance of partisan control of the governor's office was dramatically demonstrated by Earl Warren, who held the Senate seats firmly within the Republican party by power of appointment: Knowland (1945) and Kuchel (1952). The Republicans also dominated the state's congressional delegation from 1900 to 1932 and again from 1946 to 1958.

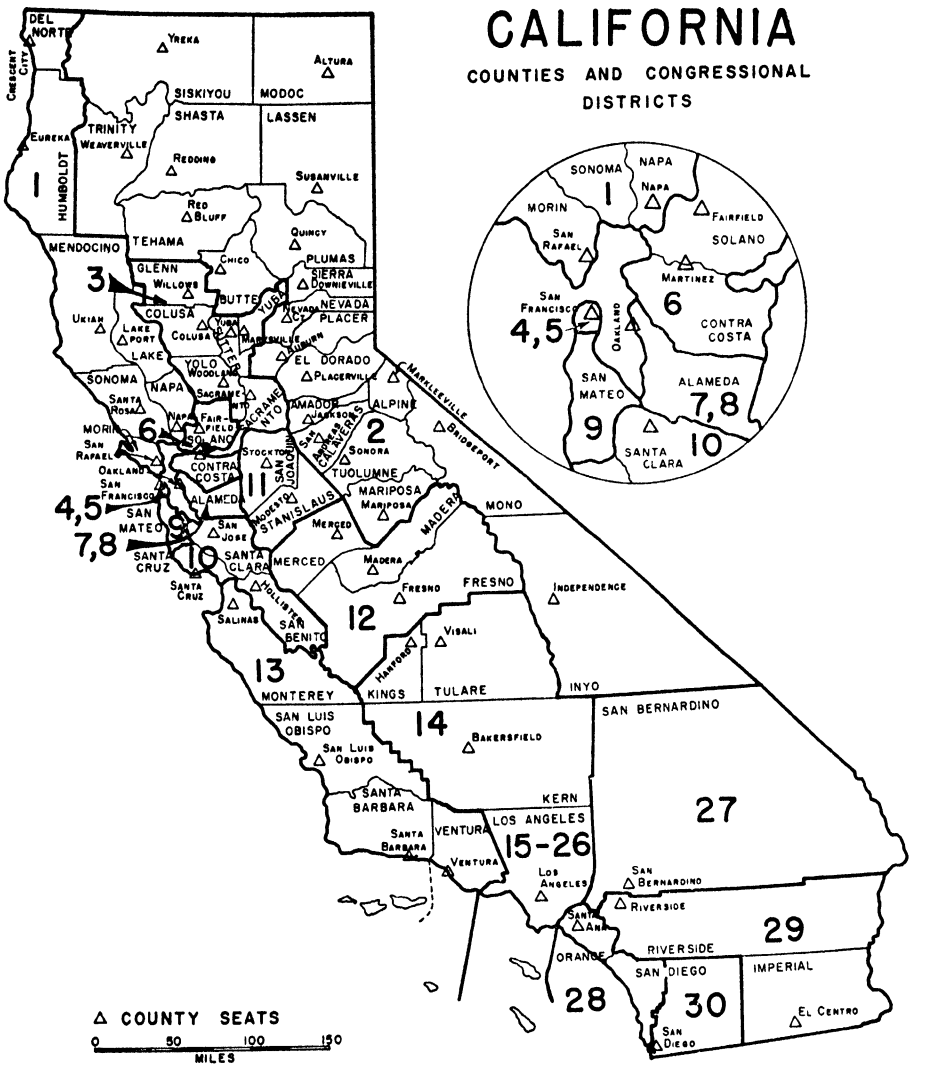
California politics cannot be described accurately, however, in terms of nominal party control over policy, or the machinery by which policy is made. During certain periods of the state's history, interest groups completely dominated state government, splinter groups captured the traditional party organizations, and nonpartisanship became a standard mode of political action despite party labels. Throughout the 1870's and into the early 1890's, for instance, the Southern Pacific machine manned by the "Big Four," Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, Charles Crocker, and Leland Stanford, manipulated state politics. Even under the aegis of a new constitution drafted in 1879, and with the platforms of the Republican, Democratic, Independent, Workingmen's, and Temperance parties denouncing monopoly, unequal taxation, and the great land barons, the machine virtually was the government. In 1916 the old-line Republicans lost control of their party to Progressives. Under the leadership of Hiram Johnson and the reformers of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League the insurgents became the dominant wing of the Republican party from 1910 to 1914.[8]

In 1934, Socialist party leader Upton Sinclair changed his registration to Democrat, seized the leadership of that party and was nominated as the Democratic candidate for governor. Governor Warren (1942–53), was ostensibly Republican but his support was bipartisan and his administrative policy was markedly nonpartisan in character. In order to maintain nominal control over California politics in recent years, at least, the Republican party has been forced to make substantial compromises in both party principles and public policies.

Geography, Resources, and Economy

California's terrain offers dramatic contrasts in natural phenomena. Its land area of 158,693 square miles places it third in size and its 15,280,000 population defers only to New York in numbers. Principal topographic features include the Coastal Range facing the Pacific Ocean and extending the entire length of the state, while the Sierra Nevadas lie on the eastern border. The mountains host vast timber resources of fir, pine, and redwood, offer watershed protection for agricultural crop land, and provide valuable grazing for a flourishing cattle industry. The northern counties of Napa and Sonoma grow the grapes for the wine industry, while Santa Clara produces fruit, nuts, berries and cattle. Cradled between the two mountain ranges is the Great Central Valley, one of the most fertile agricultural areas in the world. The variety of crops produced is astonishing: tomatoes, asparagus, alfalfa, sugar beets, fruit, barley, walnuts, celery, hops, and wheat, to mention only a few. On the west coast, Salinas in Monterey County is rightly called "the salad bowl" of the nation.

[8] See Robert C. Cleland and Glenn S. Dumke, *From Wilderness to Empire* (rev. ed.; New York: Knopf, 1959), pp. 190, 251.



The Tehachapi Mountains constitute the southern boundary of the Great Valley, creating a natural geographic, economic, and political barrier, dividing the state in two. The forty-four counties in the north surround the vital trade area of metropolitan San Francisco, while the fourteen counties in the south are oriented towards the giant, sprawling metropolis of Los Angeles, constituting the second primary trading area of the state.[4] Below the Tehachapis and to the east are the Mojave and Colorado deserts; to the south and west southern California is ribbed by smaller transverse mountain ranges. Here thrive the lucrative cotton

[4] The U.S. Census Bureau groups the fifty-eight counties into ten statistical areas: North Coast, Sacramento Valley, Sierra, San Francisco Bay, South Central Coast, San Joaquin Valley, South Coast, Los Angeles Metropolitan, San Diego, and Southeast. This serves as a useful basis for analyzing election returns and for assembling other political data.

growers of Kern County, the walnut and lima bean farmers of Ventura, the lemon, orange and grapefruit orchards of Los Angeles, Orange, and Riverside counties, and the productive truck farms of San Bernardino, San Diego, and the Imperial Valley. Throughout this area may also be found some of the most valuable oil and natural gas resources in the United States.

Only about one-fourth of the 100,313,600 acres constituting the land area of the state is level, the remainder being rolling hills and rugged mountains. Nearly half the land is publicly owned. The federal government controls over 47,000,000 acres or roughly 46 per cent of the total. Much of this is in national forests, monuments, parks, recreation areas, and installations of the Air Force, Army, and Navy.

The equable climate is one of the most important facts in the political life of the state. It is a tourist attraction augmenting the economy; it is one cause of the incredible "population explosion" which has catapulted the state into second place in the Union; but most importantly, the production and distribution of rainfall is one of the causes of the politically significant north versus south and urban versus rural influences in state politics. The average annual rainfall in the northeastern corner is one hundred and ten inches; in the southeast it is two inches. Efforts to redistribute the available water supply and to tap new resources have brought the allegation that California "is just one big reclamation project." The equitable distribution of water throughout the state through federal, state, or private agencies, the respective claims of the counties of origin in the north and those of greatest need in the south, and the stark implications of limited future expansion for the state as a whole because of inadequate water constitute one of the greatest single complexes of issues of public policy facing the electorate today. State planners estimate that in the next several decades over 10 billion dollars will be required to anticipate the demands of industrial expansion and the increase in population. The completion of such a water project might well become the most significant undertaking of any state government in the present generation.

About 568,000 of the more than two million rural inhabitants, or less than 5 per cent of the population, work the 123,000 farms in the state. Although Californians led the nation in 1958 with a $2,852,800,000 income derived from agriculture, only about 9 per cent of the land area is under cultivation.[5] With the exception of tobacco, every major commercial crop in the United States is grown in California. Cotton, the state's most important cash crop, is heavily subsidized by the federal government and is a prime example of "big business" in agriculture. Over 666,319 bales or roughly 40 per cent of the total 1958 crop was "forfeited" for federal subsidy loans.[6] Most of the nation's supply of lemons, grapes, almonds,

[5] The average size of the California farm has grown from 250 acres in 1920 to 307 in 1954, and the number of farms over 1,000 acres in size from 4,906 to 6,248 during the same period. Roughly 16.6 million acres are designated as actual and potential cropland, but only 12 million can be utilized without an artificial water supply. Total net income per farm in 1958 averaged $7,556 (about three times the national average). Statistics derived from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract* (80th ed.; Washington, 1959), pp. 611–44, and the California State Legislature, *California Statistical Abstract* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1958).

[6] *Los Angeles Mirror News*, November 4, 1959; twelve farmers or farm corporations received over $100,000, the range being $128,488 for 709 bales to $707,970 for 3,900 bales. Grain storage payments in fiscal 1959 totaled $8,144,000.

apricots, plums, prunes, walnuts, olives, dates, and figs are California grown. Three counties lead the country in specific agricultural accomplishments: Fresno claims the greatest value in total agricultural products sold, Los Angeles is the top producer of dairy products, and Monterey is foremost in the value of vegetables harvested for sale.

Important changes affecting agriculture on a national scale are apparent in the state. The rapid growth of industrial phases of farming — processing, canning, and freezing — is converting agricultural economics from small farm to large corporate enterprises. A by-product of this development is the progressive depletion of the farm population and the origin of a farm factory-labor problem.[7] The influx of a thousand new residents every week, most of whom settle initially in the cities, has caused the pre-emption of choice farmland for housing developments, especially in Los Angeles and Orange counties. One of the most perplexing agricultural problems, fraught with international political overtones, arises from the nature of the truck and fruit farming enterprises which demand seasonal labor correlated with crop harvesting time. Farmers have met the periodic seasonal labor demand from local, residential labor sources, migrant labor supply, and contract labor, primarily of Mexican nationals imported for the purpose.

The initial impetus to the state's industrial economy came with the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill near Coloma in 1848: four years later California was credited with more than 60 per cent ($81,000,000) of the world's gold production. The first oil boom developed in the early 1860's, and output reached four million barrels annually by the turn of the century, to be followed by commercial exploitation of natural gas in the late 1920's. In 1957, the output was 339 million barrels of petroleum, 288 million barrels of natural gas liquids and 475 trillion cubic feet of natural gas — together worth 1.3 billion dollars. Other valuable products include cement, sand, gravel, stone, boron minerals, clays, gold, and lime. During these decades the motion picture industry and tourist trade grew, and the second world war triggered expansion in the aviation, automobile, and electronics industries. Since 1940 the economic structure of the state has altered from a predominately basic-industries economy producing agricultural, mining, forestry, and fishing products to a manufacturing economy.

The Chamber of Commerce in an economic survey lists the following reasons for the rapid expansion of industry in California: population growth in the West providing a market of over 25,000,000 persons; increases in transcontinental freight rates which have forced major business enterprises into a program of plant decentralization; expanded western regional sources of supply for basic raw materials and semifinished components for fabrication or assembly; enlargement of the labor supply and attractive living conditions, and finally, the expansion of power, fuel, and water supplies.[8]

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[7] Farmer cooperatives were organized many years ago to process, store, and market crops such as walnuts (Walnut Grower's Exchange), citrus (Citrus Grower's Exchange), and raisins, prunes, and apricots. Other farm interest groups include the Wool and Cattlemen's associations.

[8] *California Bluebook*, 1958 (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1958), pp. 826–27. For this entire section, see the essay entitled "Economic Survey of California" prepared by the Research Department of the California State Chamber of Commerce.

The total labor force in California reached an all-time high of 6,218,000 in September 1959, representing a net increase of 209,000 over the preceding year.[9] Civilian labor increased 40 per cent in the decade 1947–57, but the growth was accompanied by varying degrees of unemployment ranging between 171,000 persons in 1956 and 416,000 in 1949. As a rule, California's ratio of employed to unemployed approximates the national average, while the per capita income is generally well above that of the national average.

Population

A most significant political fact in the life of Californians of the present generation is the post-World War II "population explosion" and its consequences. Each succeeding decennial census has seen the progression of the center of population across the United States from a starting point near Baltimore, Maryland, circa 1790, to a temporary resting place in Richard County, Illinois, in 1950. The direction of the movement is unmistakably toward the Pacific Coast and California, where the population has doubled each twenty years since statehood. During 1950–58, the state received a net gain of over half a million persons each year, representing a total of 4,166,000 inhabitants, or 38 per cent in excess of the annual average increase for the nation as a whole.[10] Nor is the common shibboleth that the state is a retirement haven for "oldsters" true: it has less than the national average of persons over sixty-five years of age. Emergency production demands of the federal government's national defense policy during and following World War II was probably the most important single factor in the population growth of the state.

[9] California State Government, Department of Industrial Relations, "Employment and Unemployment in California," Publication No. 66 (September, 1959). The projected figures for 1965 are 7,475,800: California State Chamber of Commerce (prepared by Stanford Research Institute) "California: Selected Economic Growth Projections to 1975" (San Francisco, February 15, 1958). Manufacturing claims the largest segment of the non-agricultural working force, 1,390,000; trade is a close second with 1,254,000; followed in order by service workers, 922,000; government employees, 846,000; agriculture, forestry and fishing, 564,000; construction workers, 380,000; transportation and utilities, 377,000; and financial employees, 259,000.

[10] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract, op. cit.; ibid.*, "Estimates of the Civilian Population by Broad Age Groups . . . July 1, 1957" (Series P–25, No. 194, February 16, 1959) and "Projected Reapportionment of Number of Congressmen by States" (Series P–25, No. 198, March 26, 1959); *ibid., Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. II, "Characteristics of the Population," Pt. 5, California (1952); California State Department of Finance, Budget Division, "California's Population in 1958–1959" (F 275, July 1958), and "California's Population in 1959" (August 1959); California State Chamber of Commerce, *op. cit.*

Year	*Per cent Increase*	*California in National Ranking*	*Total Population*
1900–10	60.1	21	2,377,549
1910–20	44.1	12	3,426,861
1920–30	65.7	8	5,677,251
1930–40	21.7	6	6,907,387
1940–50	53.3	5	10,586,223
1950–59	44.3*	2*	15,280,000*

* Estimated July 1, 1959.

Census Bureau projections indicate that the present population of 15,280,000 will expand to a total somewhere between 17,000,000 and 22,000,000 by the year 1970, at which time California will contain 11 per cent of the nation's inhabitants. Warren S. Thompson believes that the past rate of growth will not continue and predicts a 1975 population of 19,146,000. *Growth and Changes in California's Population* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1955), p. 327.

The political implications of the invasion of migrants also includes national origins, characteristics, deployment throughout the state, and mode of livelihood. The 1950 census reveals the national origins of the major groups of foreign-born white migrants to be (in descending numerical order): Mexico, Canada, Italy, England-Wales, Germany, U.S.S.R., Sweden, Asian countries, Ireland, and Scotland, the entire category constituting a total of 985,333. This pattern reflects the impact of the federal immigration laws. The non-white segment of the state's population grew from 4 to 6 per cent in the decade 1940–50, the largest element in this category being 462,172 Negroes, who, in nine cities, currently exceed 10 per cent of the total population. Other non-white groups of foreign descent in the state include more than half of the 84,956 Japanese and 58,324 Chinese in the United States, plus 19,947 Indians and 45,651 miscellaneous. The non-whites have settled in the major urban areas where they are increasing more rapidly than the Caucasians. Minority racial or national groups having significance in the tactics of political campaigning are the Mexicans, Negroes, Japanese, and Chinese.

Migration has been the major source of population growth from the days of the gold rush. Eighteen different states have each contributed over 100,000 inhabitants to California, lending credence to the allegation that "natives" are scarce! In 1940, for instance, one person in eight had come from another state within the preceding five years. Also, California has a high degree of urbanization and one of the highest percentages of intrastate migration in the United States.[11]

The political implications of the incredible burgeoning of the state's populalation are not yet altogether discernable. Republicans have dominated state politics during the present century in spite of the presence of a latent Democratic majority in the electorate since New Deal days. The pattern was held virtually intact through the 1956 election, regardless of the impact of over several million migrants on the resident population during the past eight years. The Democratic victory on the state and congressional level in 1958 may have marked a turning point in state politics; but observers are aware that the split within the Republican party, coupled with two controversial issues on the ballot, may have been more important than any awakening in the Democratic party as an explanation of the Republican defeat.

An interesting thesis has been posited and contested, that the majority of the post-World War II migrants came from the South, and are conservative Democrats. Upon viewing the Republican state party platform, they identify themselves with its candidates in state elections, but respond to traditional partisan leanings in the national election and vote the Democratic ticket. Registration figures show that the Republicans enjoyed a substantial majority running as high as 75 per cent until 1934, when the Democrats forged ahead with a total of 52 per cent, a lead that the party has not yet relinquished. The change in registration advantage from one party to the other has yet to alter the basic patterns of state and national politics in California.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 161–89 and *passim*. Migration out of California was less than one-fourth of that entering during the post-World War II period.

The extreme mobility of the population in terms of intrastate migration may be an important factor influencing party identification. Precinct and party ties are undoubtedly made and broken frequently. This factor and the hypothesis that Democrats moving from metropolitan areas join the resident Republican majority in suburbia are well worth further investigation. Some evidence of this development is apparent in the ring of Republican assembly districts surrounding the largely Democratic central city of Los Angeles. Another problem relates to the geographic disposition of in-migrants belonging to minority groups. The assumptions are yet to be tested as to whether they join existing colonies in the metropolitan areas, or strike out for new locations; and in the latter instance, how they identify themselves politically. One vital fact relating the problem of migration to politics is that 60.8 per cent of the population is located in the thirteen southern counties known as Southern California, while the remaining 39.2 per cent is scattered over the forty-five northern counties. This circumstance is at the heart of the entire problem of reapportionment, since the balance of political power is firmly implanted in the "southern state" of California!

The Press: From Crusading Liberalism to Conservative Republicanism

The *Californian* was the first newspaper published in the area. Its initial edition of August 15, 1846, carried a feature story of the declaration of war by the United States against Mexico. California journalism has a proud tradition created by able and public-spirited editors, who fought the corruption of vested interests which were making a shambles of democratic government in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Los Angeles during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

One of the first successful dailies, the *Alta Californian,* had Bret Harte as an editor and Mark Twain as a contributor. James King of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* crusaded in San Francisco in the 1850's, at the time when James McClatchy in the *Sacramento Bee* championed the embattled Sacramento Valley farmers in their fight against land monopoly. Fremont Older of the *Bulletin* along with his fellow Californian, Lincoln Steffens, exposed the all-powerful Southern Pacific Railroad Company which dominated the state government at the turn of the century.[12] Unfortunately, the tradition is dead, or at least dormant. Newspaper publishing has itself become a multi-vested interest, penetrating every important segment of the economy and exercising vast influence over public opinion. The press is conservative, business-oriented, and Republican. With the gradual elimination of Democratic papers California is now virtually a one-party-press state.

The size and competence of the press corps assigned to the "capitol beat" in Sacramento today testifies to the importance of California as a national news source. The Associated Press has ten men in its bureau, the UPI has six: altogether, thirty-nine accredited correspondents covered the 1958 session of the

[12] Federal Writer's Project, *California: A Guide to the Golden State* (New York: Hastings House, 1939), pp. 109–16.

state legislature. Each major daily has at least one correspondent in Sacramento, or is associated with a special news service.

Three leading Republican dailies currently exert the greatest political influence in the state. The *Los Angeles Times* is published by the Chandler family, irreconcilable foe of union labor and vigorous ally of the Merchants and Manufacturer's Association in the promotion of the economic future of Southern California. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, published for many years by George Cameron (recently deceased), has had an important voice in shaping the political and economic destiny of its metropolitan area. The *Oakland Tribune*, published by Joseph R. Knowland, father of former United States Sentator William F. Knowland, has exerted varying degrees of influence in the affairs of people living in the East Bay region and in Oakland, third largest city in the state.

The Hearst press, comprising the *San Francisco Examiner* and *Los Angeles Examiner* (morning) and the *Los Angeles Herald Express* and *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin* (afternoon), has sought a new policy under the direction of William R. Hearst, Jr. The *San Francisco Examiner* has been competitive with the *Chronicle*, but the *Los Angeles Examiner* is reputed to have suffered both financially and in influence from the competition of the multi-faceted Chandler enterprises, which include television and radio stations as well as the afternoon *Los Angeles Mirror-News*.

The only Democratic daily in Los Angeles, the tabloid *Los Angeles Daily News*, succumbed to the competition of the afternoon Republican *Mirror*. Recently, the *Examiner* made a bid for support from union labor by endorsing Democrat Edmund G. Brown for governor in 1958, although its basic policy remains Republican. The Democrats do not have a major metropolitan paper sympathetic to their party anywhere in the state.

The smaller newspaper chains include: the three independent McClatchy papers, the *Bee* of Sacramento, of Fresno, and of Modesto; the Democratic-independent John P. Scripps papers in Tulare, Redding, and Ventura, anchored by the *Ventura Star-Free Press*; the arch-Republican Copley press, the *San Diego Union* and *San Diego Tribune*. There are several fine, locally run papers such as the *Oroville Mercury*, the *San Jose Mercury-News* and the *Woodland Democrat*.

The Negro press in California consists of about half-a-dozen papers. The *California Eagle* (published since 1879), the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and the *Los Angeles Tribune*, with a maximum claimed circulation of roughly 35,000, and a "throw-away" merchandising paper, the *Herald Dispatch*, claiming about 40,000, are published in Southern California. The combined press leaves a great deal to be desired in the matter of a constructive representation of the Negro's interests; none of the papers, for instance, can be classed with the *Chicago Defender* or the *Pittsburg Courier*.[13] Foreign-language newspapers service the various nationality and linguistic groups in the state. Those with the largest circulations are directed to the following: Chinese, Japanese, Italian, French, Spanish, Russian, German, and Greek.

[13] "The Negro in Los Angeles," *Frontier* (June 1955), pp. 14–15.

The preponderantly significant press influence in state and local politics has been the triumverate of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *Oakland Tribune*, known as the "journalistic axis" when acting in concert. Formation of this alliance in 1922 in support of conservative Republicanism is credited to Kyle Palmer, long-time political editor of the *Times*.[14] The axis often joins in support of conservatives as opposed to liberals within the Republican party and opposes virtually all Democratic candidates as a matter of principle. The various publishers exert great influence at city hall. A persistent legend harbored by political sophisticates is that the City of Oakland is run from "the *Tribune* Tower" and Los Angeles, from the "foot of Spring Street" (i.e., the location of the *Times* Building). The axis suffered a spell of political deviationism after the 1958 primary election. The *Chronicle* withdrew its support from Knowland in the gubernatorial race on the grounds that "we have been unfavorably impressed with his subsequent campaign."[15]

There is ample evidence to support the contention that the press is overwhelmingly Republican. *Editor and Publisher*, for instance, found that of ninety-nine newspapers reporting the 1952 election, 78.8 per cent favored Eisenhower editorially (representing 84.2 per cent of a total circulation of 3,791,588); 13.1 per cent favored Stevenson and 8 per cent claimed either independence or indecision. Moreover, analyses of such criteria as editorial policy, party space assignments, placement of partisan news, number and position of photographs printed, slanting of headlines, editorializing in newscolumns, suppressing unfavorable news, and even propagandizing in the society section indicate that several of the most influential Republican papers in California are vulnerable to charges of "manipulating" political news.

The situation would be competitive if a strong Democratic daily existed in each of the four major metropolitan areas. The independent-Democratic press, such as the *Bee* chain in the Valley, and relatively isolated papers such as the *Woodland Democrat* or the *Ventura Star-Free Press*, although influential in their areas, scarcely provide a countervailing influence to the relatively violent Republican partisanship in the rest of the press of the state.[16]

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[14] The issue was the election in 1922 of Friend W. Richardson, a conservative gubernatorial candidate favored by the *Times*. The liberal incumbent, Republican William D. Stephens, was defeated by the axis at the urgent behest of the *Times* publisher. See Richard V. Hyer, "California," in Robert A. Allen (ed.), *Our Sovereign State* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1949), p. 382.

[15] Editorial, October 30, 1958.

[16] See: Phil Kerby, "The Partisan Press and the Campaign," *Frontier* (January 1953); Godfrey Lehrman, "The Coverage in San Francisco," *ibid.*; *Editor and Publisher*, November 1, 1952; Nathan Blumberg, *One Party Press?* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), pp. 49–51; Robert Lasch, "Pride and Prejudice: The Fourth Estate," *Reporter*, November 25, 1952, pp. 10–11; Galen R. Ravick, "California Daily Newspaper Reporting of the 1950 U.S. Senatorial Campaign — A Content Analysis" (Master's thesis, Stanford University, 1951); and Charles G. Bell, "A Study of Four Selected Factors Which Contributed to the Inability of the Democratic Party to Mobilize Successfully Its Latent Majority" (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1958), pp. 151–70. On November 5, 1960, *Editor and Publisher* reported 65 newspapers supported Nixon; 20 endorsed Kennedy and 10 were classed as independent. See also: Joseph P. Harris, *California Politics* (3rd ed.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 59–62.

Nominations, Elections, and Corrupt Practices: the Waxing and Waning of Cross-filing

Nominations to elective office in California are conducted through a series of primary elections. The nonpartisan primary is used to select judges, school officials, and county and municipal officers. The direct, partisan primary has been employed since 1909 to designate candidates for Congress and for state offices, with the exception of the nonpartisan position of state superintendent of public instruction. The presidential primary serves to designate delegates to the national party conventions.[17]

The abandonment of the corrupt convention system and the adoption of the procedure of nomination by primary election was part of the Progressive reform movement which took place during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In order to further loosen the control of interest-group lobbies over the party system, the state legislature passed a statute in 1911 permitting the popular election of United States senators. In 1913 the practice of cross-filing was introduced, sanctioning the attempt of a candidate to obtain the nomination of one or more parties in addition to his own.[18]

During the forty-six years it was in use (1913–59), cross-filing was frequently cited as a primary cause for the general weakness of the party system in California. Some of the consequences of the practice were: reduction of a partisan primary to virtually a nonpartisan election, with voters in both major parties often receiving identical ballots listing candidates without party identification; reduction of the number of candidates presented to the electorate in the primary because of the rise of extra-party, pre-primary, endorsing auxiliaries; occasional election of minority candidates; perpetuation of "incumbent empires," partly because of the automatic placement of the incumbent's name at the head of the candidate list; and loss of partisan identification with issues of public policy, since candidates campaigned under a "middle of the road" banner, often refusing to identify themselves publicly with any party.[19]

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[17] Principal national elective officers: 2 United States senators, 30 representatives, 70 to 162 delegates to each national convention and 32 presidential electors. State officers: (every four years) governor, lieutenant governor, treasurer, controller, secretary of state, attorney general, 4 members of the Board of Equalization, superintendent of public instruction (nonpartisan), 40 senators (one-half every two years for a four-year term), and 80 assemblymen (80, every two years).

[18] A candidate might enter his name on the primary ballot of any party, no test of party affiliation being required. The voter received a ballot listing the candidates without any party identification (until 1954); however, he received only the ballot of the party in which he was registered since all candidates did not cross-file. A "decline to state" registrant was not permitted to participate. To win a "double nomination" the candidate had to obtain a plurality of votes in his own and the opposition party; he was disqualified if he won only the nomination of the opposition party. If he won both, his name appeared on the November ballot carrying both party labels, his own appearing first. Cross-filing was not permitted for either nonpartisan or strictly party offices. See Bernard L. Hyink, Seyom Brown, and Ernest W. Thacker, *Politics and Government in California* (New York: Crowell, 1959), pp. 38–43. For the topics in this section see: Henry A. Turner and John A. Vieg, *The Government and Politics of California* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), chaps. 3, 4.

[19] Between 1914 and 1950, the offices of attorney general, secretary of state and controller were won in the primary in seven out of ten elections; in 1932 only 8.9 per cent of the candidates seeking congressional nominations cross-filed, while in 1952 the number reached 85.2 per cent; in 1944, admittedly a high point in the history of the cross-filing system, more state Senate seats

The effect of cross-filing in California politics was mitigated by adoption in 1952 of an amendment to the election law requiring the identification of the candidate's party, by printing "Rep." or "Dem." on the ballot after his name. The results were spectacular: in the 1952 congressional race with no party label, fourteen seats out of thirty were won in the primary by cross-filed or unopposed candidates; in 1954 the number fell to two and rose to three in 1956. Only eighteen of the eighty state Assembly seats were contested in the general election of 1952, but there were fifty-eight contests in 1954 and sixty-two in 1956. The results in the state Senate were similar, if not quite so spectacular.[20]

The precipitous decline in the number of contests settled in the primary, coupled with the rising cost of running two campaigns and the fact that Governor Brown campaigned on the issue to end cross-filing, prompted the state legislature to repeal that section of the law in 1959. There is some doubt whether cross-filing prevented the reappearance of political machines in California politics, as supporters of the practice maintained, or merely caused a shift in control of public policy to a group of well-organized lobbies, aided by influential elements of the powerful and conservative press. It is generally believed that incumbents were aided by the system, regardless of party affiliation. Clearly, however, the positive identification of the candidate's party has stimulated genuine partisan interest in state politics within the electorate. This development may yet be found to be a primary cause of the resurgence of Democratic party strength in the 1956 and 1958 elections.

California also employs the direct partisan primary for the election of delegates to national political conventions. Adherents of a presidential aspirant may circulate a petition containing the names of those who would constitute the delegation pledged to the candidate. If the required number of names is obtained (along with the candidate's personal endorsement), his name, but not the names of the delegates, will be presented to the voters of his party in the June primary of a presidential election year. The candidate receiving a plurality of votes from partisan supporters may assume that his slate of instructed delegates will support him at least in the initial ballot of the national convention of his party. Presidential primary politics in California reveals the power centers in the major parties, the dominant personalities, any factionalism which may be present, and the ideological and economic compromises which may exist in support of coalitions negotiated within the party.

Certain restrictions hamper the parties in performing their normal function of sponsoring qualified candidates for the presidency, and should be added to the long list of causes for the weakness of the state's party system. By rulings of the attorney general, the state central committee may neither select nor support a slate of delegates for the national convention; county committees may not render

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were uncontested than contested; of 20 seats, 12 went by default, 6 were determined in the primary, and only 2 were decided in the general election. In the same election 22 state Assembly seats went by default and of the 58 remaining, 39 were determined in the primary, leaving only 19 to be contested in the general election. Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–50.

[20] Totton J. Anderson, "The 1956 Election in California," *Western Political Quarterly*, X (March 1957), 105–7.

pre-primary endorsements or particpate in the primary election. Although candidates for delegate must file a statement of preference for a presidential candidate, the question is essentially unresolved as to whether the pledge to support him must be carried beyond the first convention ballot. Presumably, an uninstructed slate of delegates cannot be placed upon the ballot, nor is it possible to conduct a write-in campaign for a slate, because write-in voting has been declared illegal.

These restrictions are so confining that the parties have sought ways and means to circumvent them. One of the most important is the creation of auxiliary groups such as the Republican Assembly and the Democratic Council, to which party leaders may belong. Doffing the party hat in favor of that of a private citizen, they may then render pre-primary endorsements, raise and spend money, campaign, and form slates of convention delegates.

Many other unwritten rules and customs govern the formation of a convention slate. Since the Republicans have dominated the governorship, the incumbent traditionally has led the delegation as a "favorite son" and has used the bargaining power of the large California vote to support one of the presidential aspirants. The Democrats, devoid of strategically placed favorite sons, until now have supported a bona fide presidential aspirant. Slates of both parties contain a liberal represenation of party leaders from both northern and southern California. It is also an unwritten rule that factions within the party be mollified, if possible, by including their leaders in the semi-official group of delegates.[21]

Nomination politics in California invariably reveal the deep fissures in party ranks. Due to the lack of party discipline and leadership, the state is plagued by "personality factions," consisting of ambitious individuals backed by organized elements in both parties. Their support is quite frequently based upon belief in the future destiny of a particular candidate, although ideological orientation may offer powerful motivation.

In 1952, Congressman Thomas Werdel of Bakersfield attempted to rally the conservative wing of the Republican party against the liberal views of Governor Earl Warren. He importuned the assistance of followers of Taft, MacArthur, Eisenhower (before his views were known) and Stassen in an unsuccessful "dump Warren" campaign. Governor Knight felt the wrath of similar groups, aided and abetted by Nixon supporters, in his race for the United States Senate in 1958; his alliance with labor interests and his attempt to perpetuate the Warren "middle of the road" policies threw the Republican nomination for the gubernatorial office to Knowland.

Representative James Roosevelt, leader for a time of the liberal Democrats, attempted to stampede the Truman delegation to Eisenhower (before his commitment to the Republicans) in anticipation of the 1948 Democratic convention. In 1952 he jumped the Brown "free choice slate" to support Kefauver. His own candidacy for governor (1950) alienated the conservative wing of the Democratic

[21] See Thomas S. Barclay, David G. Farrelly and Charles L. Clapp, "California" in Paul T. David *et al.* (eds.), *Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952: The West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954), pp. 217–51.

party. Brown lost to Kefauver 485,578 to 1,155,839, but Roosevelt failed to establish his influence in the party which he had served as state chairman.

In 1956 Paul Ziffren, Democratic national committeeman, was taxed to establish a coalition between the Kefauver and Stevenson factions after a Donnybrook primary battle won by the latter. His device was ingenious: he persuaded the National Committee to double the California delegation (from 68 to 136), permitting each delegate to cast half a vote. All factions of the party in California were given an opportunity for representation in the delegation and the party made its best showing at the polls in two decades.

Campaigning in California presents several novel features. The party organization is forced to divide its efforts north and south of the Tehachapis as if it were campaigning in two separate states. Office staffs are duplicated under northern and southern managers, with San Francisco and Los Angeles headquarters; money is raised and spent in each locality; local candidates are supported along with those seeking statewide offices; and a spate of regional committees for veterans, women, labor, Republicans-for-Democrats, and vice versa, are established.

The political geography of California, which conditions the strategy and tactics of campaigning, consists of urban, suburban, rural-non-farm, rural-farm, and peripheral areas. The centers of population harboring the most significant voting blocs of union labor, Negroes, Jews, Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans, and Catholics are the six counties of the San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area, the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area (Los Angeles and Orange counties) and San Diego County. The rural-non-farm and rural-farm vote is centered in the agricultural heartland of the state comprising the eight counties in the Sacramento Valley, eight others in the San Joaquin Valley, and three in the southeast region. The north coast, mountain, and south coast counties constitute the more sparsely settled, economically mixed, peripheral areas as far as campaigning is concerned.

Candidate itineraries concentrate upon San Francisco and Los Angeles, with side trips to their metropolitan satellites, Oakland and San Diego. Occasional tours in the farm belt begin in the oil and cotton community of Bakersfield and progress through Fresno, and possibly Merced, to the state capitol at Sacramento.

The results of the 1958 congressional election confirmed a trend toward Democratic control over the rural areas of the state. In successive elections the Democrats have won and held the Fourteenth District in 1952 (Tulare, Kings, Kern counties); the Twelfth in 1954 (Merced, Madera, Fresno); the Eleventh (San Joaquin, Stanislaus) and Twenty-ninth in 1956 (Riverside, Imperial); and the First (seven north coastal counties) in 1958. The first three of these districts lie in the Great Central Valley, which is experiencing a remarkable urbanization development centering in Sacramento, Stockton, and Fresno.

Viewing the state as a whole and employing congressional representation as a criterion, Democratic voting strength is geographically well distributed. The San Francisco area has four districts touching on the Bay represented by Democrats, and there are five in Los Angeles County. These nine are joined by eight

more contiguous districts spread the entire length of the state, from the Second in the extreme north to the Twenty-ninth on the south border.

Republican strength lies in seven districts in Los Angeles County, four in the Bay area and vicinity, and three along the southern California coastline (Thirteenth, Twenty-eighth, and Thirtieth). The Republicans can claim a voting majority in only eight of the state's fifty-eight counties, while sharing three (San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego) with the opposition party. Of the eight, three are considered "marginal" (less than 55 per cent plurality), while two are questionable, each having only 55.5 per cent of the Republican vote. The embattled Republican strongholds in the metropolitan areas rest upon the skillful gerrymander executed by a Republican legislature in 1951.

If there is a residue in the political mores from the days of the "wild west," it is probably the rugged nature of political campaigning in California, politely characterized as "vigorous," but occasionally more accurately described as "dirty." The campaign against Upton Sinclair in 1934 was a classic exhibition of political vilification. The tensions which develop between the ideological wings of each party and between the two major parties are invariably reflected in unfair, unethical, and illegal campaign practices. Among the many explanations of this phenomenon, several have at least the semblance of plausibility. The weaknesses of the party system deny the candidates normal leadership, financial support, and discipline. Thus candidates are often largely "on their own" and their behavior often reaches the lowest common denominator of the least ethical contestants in the campaign, whose credo is "win at any price." Successful candidates build "incumbent empires" and declare their independence of any party control. Moreover, candidates for all major offices usually hire professional, political campaign-management firms, whose fees and longevity in the business are contingent upon a reputation for winning an election. Finally, the conservative Republican control of state politics was severely challenged during the days of the New Deal at a time (1934) when Democratic voters first became the majority party within the electorate.

An added complication to normal campaigning was cross-filing, which tended to blur party lines. Since Republican victories were often contingent upon winning conservative Democratic support, the Republican press attempted to equate Republicanism with "nonpartisanship" in the eyes of the electorate, thus placing Democratic candidates beyond the pale of political respectability. As recently as the 1958 campaign, Vice President Nixon was pleading with the citizens to "vote the man, not the party" and the recommended candidates, to the last man, were Republicans!

During the 1958 campaign, Charles P. Taft, chairman of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, stated that his file on campaign smear tactics contained more material from California than all of the other states combined. Since the depression years, supporters of Republican candidates have played variations on the theme of communism in attacking the Democratic party and many of its candidates. Allegations have varied from outright name-calling, through the

limbo of guilt-by-association, to the 1958 formula of "radicalism" employed by Eisenhower when he campaigned in the state.[22]

The abolition of cross-filing, the strengthening of the party system, and the elimination of that political will-o'-the-wisp, the "nonpartisan politician," may force a reorientation of both parties to more realistic campaign issues than the Republican allegation and Democratic refutation of the hypothesis that the latter are pseudo-Communists.

Many of the excesses in campaigning revolve around the "hate themes" inspired by groups supporting or defending ballot propositions. Proposition 16 in 1958, for instance, advocating the return of parochial school property to the public tax rolls, instigated a veritable flood of religious and racial campaign tracts. The "right-to-work" measure (Proposition 18) in the same election was the source of employer-employee, class warfare propaganda.

Occasionally, California presents the ludicrous picture of party civil wars which place lethal campaign propaganda in the hands of the enemy. Thus in the 1950 Democratic senatorial primary election, newspaper publisher Manchester Boddy's attack on incumbent Helen Douglas handed Nixon supporters a neatly packaged smear campaign which they deftly embroidered and used successfully in the general election.[23] In 1958, when the incumbent Republican Governor, Goodwin Knight, was forced out of the gubernatorial election and into the senatorial race to make way for William Knowland, his indignant protestations produced an indictment of his fellow Republican which the Democrats adroitly exploited in the general election.

Candidates and interest-groups have utilized professional political campaign firms more fully in California than in any other state. The first and most successful of these is the husband-and-wife team, Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, operating Campaigns Incorporated, which has successfully handled both candidate and issue campaigns since 1933.[24]

Speculation on why such a phenomenon should have flourished in California centers upon the size of the state; the difficulty of capturing the attention of a politically heterogeneous, and to some degree migratory, electorate, lacking in political tradition; the very high and continuingly increasing cost of commandeering the mass media; and, most significantly, the absence of a strong party system which has forced both candidates and interest-groups to resort to other channels to reach the electorate.

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[22] For recent examples see Totton J. Anderson, "The 1958 Election in California," *Western Political Quarterly*, XII (March 1959), 292–98. For a detailed study of the entire 1960 campaign, see; Eugene C. Lee and William Buchanan, "The 1960 Election in California," *Western Political Quarterly*, XIV, Part 2 (March 1961), 309–26.

[23] For a discussion of the pros and cons of the "linkage with communism" technique employed by Richard Nixon against Jerry Voorhis in 1946 and Helen Douglas in 1950, see Earl Mazo, *Richard Nixon* (New York: Harpers, 1959).

[24] For citations to this and similar firms, see Totton J. Anderson, "Bibliography on California Politics," *Western Political Quarterly*, XI (December 1958), 48–50. For campaign management see Robert J. Pitchell, "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California," *ibid.*, XI (June 1958), 278–300, and Charles G. Mayo, "Professional Campaign Management Firms in California Politics" (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1960).

Although not uniformly successful, campaign management firms have compiled an impressive list of victories. Whitaker and Baxter claim seventy successes in California campaigns against only five defeats between 1933 and 1955. They guided Earl Warren to the governor's mansion in his first attempt in 1942 and elected Goodwin Knight lieutenant governor in 1946. They defeated the private utilities in a Central Valley Project referendum in 1933, defeated Socialist-turned-Democrat Upton Sinclair in the 1934 gubernatorial race, won the San Francisco mayoralty campaign for Elmer E. Robinson twice, and defeated the recall of Mayor Roger Lapham. The firm compiled a remarkable record for defeating attempts at direct legislation by the electorate, including proposals for increasing state aid to public schools in 1946, 1948, and 1952; legislative reapportionment and the railroad "full crew" laws in 1948; and several pension proposals, including the colorful "ham and eggs" issue. The health insurance plans of both President Truman and Governor Warren were defeated by this formidable combination.[25]

No definitive evaluation of the impact of professionally hired campaigning upon the democratic process has yet been made. Proponents of the practice urge that since most firms suffer an occasional defeat, other forces counterbalance technical proficiency in campaigning. Detractors belittle the "box score approach" to measuring the amoral, professional manipulation of the public interest for a substantial monetary consideration, ranging from $25,000 to perhaps $100,000 or more.

Certain aspects of the phenomenon demand serious consideration. Some of the major firms flatly refuse either to take the account of a Democratic candidate in a partisan election or to sponsor a proposition which is counter to the basic program of the Republican party. It is questionable whether a statewide campaign can be successfully budgeted for less than $200,000. Many candidate campaigns total twice that figure, or more, while issue campaigns may reach several million dollars on each side of the proposition.[26] Since issue campaigns involve the direct legislative process of initiative, referendum, and recall, including a check upon the state legislature, the implications of both partisan accessibility to professional management and its cost add a new dimension to state politics. Moreover, the inference that a candidate such as Earl Warren only used a campaign firm in his initial bid for the governorship in 1942, subsequently winning

[25] In a single campaign in 1948, Whitaker and Baxter used "10,000,000 pamphlets and leaflets, 4,500,000 postal cards, 50,000 letters to key individuals, 70,000 inches of newspaper display advertising in 700 papers, 3,000 radio spots and 12 fifteen-minute network radio programs, 1,000 twenty-four sheet billboards and 18,000–20,000 smaller posters, theater slides and trailers in 160 theaters," as well as a three-months' publicity campaign in all of the newspapers and thousands of speeches delivered in every community in the state. Pitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

[26] An experienced political campaign manager, pleading anonymity, recommended the following "realistic budgets" for the various elective offices: for the state Assembly, $12,000–$15,000 in the primary and $15,000–$30,000 in the general election; for Congress, $20,000–$30,000 in the primary and $30,000–$40,000 in the general election; and for a state-wide office, up to $500,000 in the primary, with a probable maximum of $1,000,000 in the general election. The last estimate compares favorably with the acknowledged expenditures of the 1958 gubernatorial candidates: Brown spent $402,391.56 in the primary and $789,864.57 in the general election, while the totals for Knowland were $546,170.87 and $915,999.26, respectively. The largest listed sum in the general election for Congress was $30,931.75.

"on his own" in both 1946 and 1950, might warrant close scrutiny in light of the advantage of incumbency and other corollary factors.

It is doubtful that sources of campaign funds in California differ significantly from those categories common to the other forty-nine states. Laws requiring candidates to file statements of receipts and expenditures are ambiguous and laxly enforced. Public records are incomplete, unpublished, and represent only token manifestations of vast but indeterminable sums of money spent in primary and general elections. Estimates of campaign expenditures vary with circumstances, such as the amount of volunteer help available, the size and population of the district, the degree of previous "political exposure" of the candidate, whether the district majority is in the candidate's party, and whether or not his opponent is an incumbent.

Party Organization and Party Leaders

The formal party organization in California is prescribed in great detail by statutory law. The party structure rests on a geographical base of 26,896 precincts, 80 assembly districts, 58 counties, 30 congressional districts and the state serving as a single district. Ideally, party organization would consist of a captain in each precinct, assembly district committees, county central committees, congressional district committees, a state convention, the state central committee, an executive committee, the state officers, and a national committeeman and national committeewoman. But the party machinery is rarely, if ever, manned in full: the personnel who do serve emanate from two sources. County central committeemen, numbering from a minimum of 21 to possibly 30, are elected every two years at the direct primary election. They serve with incumbents and party nominees of the state legislature residing in the county who are ex-officio members of the committee.[27]

Counties harboring urban populations usually maintain permanent offices, and a full complement of committeemen with an active and capable chairman. Here the functions of fund raising, patronage appointments, registration drives, precinct organization, and campaigning are effectively performed. Most county committees are inactive between elections, however, and in recent years over half of the posts for committeeman have been uncontested. The effect of cross-filing in blurring party lines and the ruling of the state attorney general enjoining county committees from participating in pre-primary endorsement of candidates tended to render the county organization ineffective. Candidates rely upon party auxiliaries and their own campaign organizations for support usually supplied by the party. It is possible that with the abolition of cross-filing and the influx of hundreds of thousands of new voters party responsibility and county organization activity may be regenerated.

The state central committee constitutes the higher echelon of party organization. It is composed of the party's incumbents and nominees for partisan office,

[27] Los Angeles elects 250 members to the county committee every four years. Assembly or supervisorial districts provide the constituencies for county committeemen. *California Elections Code*, Sections 2833–37.

three other members appointed by each nominee (one of the same and two of the opposite sex), and each county committee chairman in the state. The approximately 700 members meet every two years, the day after the party convention, to elect the state officers and to constitute the executive committee of the party.[28]

The executive committee, acting for the central committee, varies in number from 58 for the Democratic party to 250 for the Republican. The party chairman and vice-chairman are elected for two-year terms and the officers must be selected alternately from northern and southern California. Finally, the national committeeman and committeewoman are elected by the delegates to the national convention.

The complexities of organizing a statewide campaign in California, coupled with the inability of the party system to function normally, has given rise to the creation of a plethora of volunteer political groups. These range from *ad hoc* committees which sponsor an issue or a candidate during a single election, to state representation of established national associations such as the youth and women's groups, to orthodox auxiliaries, virtually integrated with the two major parties through overlapping personnel in key positions.

In the wake of the overwhelming defeat suffered in 1932, the more liberal element among the Republicans began a "grass roots" club movement to revive the party and to wrest leadership from the reactionaries who had lost to the New Deal forces.[29] Under the leadership of Edward Shattuck and Earl Warren, this embryonic movement of 1933–34 was incorporated into the California Republican Assembly in July 1935. A state Board of Directors with representation from regional associations in each of the thirty congressional districts was empowered to charter county, assembly district, and local Republican Assembly units. State conventions of approximately 300 delegates are now held four times a year, representing a statewide R.A. strength ranging between 6,500 and 7,000 members.[30]

Through the process of performing specific services which are denied to the party by the state primary law, the Republican Assembly became integrated with the party organization. The amalgamation extended to sharing office space with the various Republican central committees and having key officials in the party hold key positions in the Assembly. This effective, ambidexterous approach to state politics served to circumvent the one prohibition in the law which most critically crippled the parties' activities, namely, the nomination of primary candidates. Through the medium of candidate and fact-finding committees on the congressional district level, possible nominees for national and statewide

[28] The state convention consists of the nominees and incumbents for state and federal offices meeting alone to draft a state party platform and nominate candidates to serve as presidential electors. The 162 delegates convene every two years, usually the first Saturday in August following the June primary. The personnel of the convention constitute the nucleus of the state central committee.

[29] Markell C. Baer and Robert H. Power, *The Story of the Republican Assembly* (rev. ed.; Vacaville, California: Reporter Co., 1955).

[30] Assemblies usually exist in all 58 counties. The Los Angeles County Assembly is empowered to issue sub-charters to the many units under its jurisdiction, some with memberships in the thousands.

offices are recruited, investigated, and screened with recommendations for endorsement reported to the state convention of the R.A. Committees in the appropriate legislative districts endorse candidates for those districts, with the result that for over two decades the Republican party has been remarkably successful in mobilizing its minority in the electorate in support of a single, carefully selected candidate for each partisan office in the primary election.

Since Earl Warren became Republican state party chairman one year after the incorporation of the Assembly and received its endorsement for governor in 1942, 1946, and 1950, the organization was unofficially termed his "personal political machine." However, virtually every nationally known Republican political figure from California and scores of state senators and assemblymen have received R.A. support, ranging from pre-primary endorsement to finances and campaign services.[31]

In addition to preventing bitter intraparty rivalry between two or more candidates in the primary election, the Republican Assembly often attempts to serve as the "voice" of the party between elections. At a convention held in Coronado in March 1959, for instance, resolutions were passed in support of the loyalty oath for public servants, for continuation of the Un-American Activities Committee, in approval of the admission of Hawaii as a state, and in admiration of the "stimulating leadership" of such prominent Republican leaders as Nixon, Dulles, and Eisenhower. Occasionally, the R.A. is the center of power struggles within the Republican party, usually resulting from forays by two or more party factions to capture control of the machinery. Thus, although Warren "willed" the Assembly to Knowland when he accepted the Supreme Court appointment in 1953, Governor Knight's supporters manned the controls; with the defeat of Knight in his 1958 race for the U.S. Senate, Nixon forces are reputed to have dominated the R.A. The ideological factionalism between reactionaries and the "middle-of-the-roaders," and the rivalries between candidates for control of the party machinery are also apparent in the activities of the Assembly.[32]

Plagued by a generally hostile press, lack of proper financing, poor leadership, and a bemused electorate trying to cope with the vagaries of cross-filing, the faction-ridden Democrats watched with dismay while the Republicans often captured their own and the Democratic nominations in the primary.[33] Rationalizations for successive defeats extended from citations of skillfully gerrymandered legislative districts to tacit agreement with the Republican boast that their candidates were better qualified. Over a twenty-year period of uninterrupted Republican Assembly successes, the Democratic party became demoral-

[31] Candidates without Assembly support often do not fare well: incumbent Attorney General Frederick N. Howser was defeated for re-election in 1950; incumbent Congressman Patrick J. Hillings running for attorney general in 1958 lost, even with Nixon's support; however, Harold J. Powers was elected lieutenant governor in 1954 without Assembly endorsement.

[32] One rather disgruntled party official told the author that the Assembly "didn't amount to a hill of beans" in Republican party politics, and it is true that none of Warren's successors used the organization as effectively as he did. In the 1958 election, for instance, the Nixon, Knowland, Knight rivalry practically immobilized it.

[33] In 1950, for instance, the Republican party took four of six Democratic nominations for statewide office in the primaries. Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 65.

ized. Prominent conservative Democrats virtually made a political career of defecting to the enemy, while Democratic candidates for public office frequently mounted their campaigns without reference to the official party organization.

Although sporadic attempts were made to form local auxiliary clubs and county councils before 1952, the candidacy of Adlai Stevenson in that campaign is credited with providing the impetus for a statewide, amateur "club movement."[34] The California Democratic Council was formed as the result of a state convention of over 500 club representatives held in Fresno in November 1953. The Council represents a federation of over 50,000 members grouped in 500 local clubs, coordinated by assembly and congressional district councils and headed by a State Board of Directors. Local clubs are chartered by the official Democratic County Central committees, but assembly and congressional district councils are chartered by the state C.D.C. Thus there is an important link between the county organization and the grass-roots club movement. One member of the Board of Directors is selected from each of the thirty congressional districts.

Two specific purposes of the C.D.C. are to "promote . . . pre-Primary Assembly, County and Congressional District conventions, for the purpose of selection of Democratic candidates for nomination to public office" and "to make pre-Primary endorsements . . . for statewide partisan public office."[35] Thus by February 1954, when parties were identified on the ballot for the first time in a generation, the Democrats had finally developed an auxiliary which might compete effectively with the Republican Assembly.

The C.D.C. differs from the R.A. in several respects. It does not operate through fact-finding committees, and endorsements to major posts are won or lost in open convention battles. Moreover, its very existence as well as its program has been frequently challenged by vested party interests (including heavy donors to the party organization), the party leadership, and firmly entrenched incumbent legislators. It must contend with factionalism within its ranks, although the membership is largely liberal, and with the powerful labor unions that usually pursue a policy different from, but often parallel to, the Democratic party line.

Nevertheless, the initial venture of the C.D.C. in endorsing candidates was spectacularly successful; the party had a complete ballot for statewide offices for the first time in recent years as a result of the 1954 state convention. In both 1956 and 1958, candidates who were refused endorsements — Congressman Samuel W. Yorty for the U.S. Senate and State Senator Robert I. McCarthy for attorney general — lost the Democratic nominations to C.D.C.-backed candidates.

In addition to its function of candidate endorsement, the C.D.C. attempted, with limited success, to become the voice of the Democratic party in the interim between election campaigns. In a series of resolutions passed at its convention held in Fresno in March 1959 the organization demanded "a major voice in the

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[34] State Senators George Miller, Jr., of the San Francisco Bay area, Richard Richards of Los Angeles, and State Controller Alan Cranston of Los Altos (an early club leader) are credited with major roles in revitalizing the Democratic party, along with Democratic National Committeeman Paul Ziffren, an attorney. A comprehensive description of the club movement may be found in Francis Carney, *The Rise of the Democratic Clubs in California* (New York: Holt, 1958).

[35] Constitution and By-Laws of the California Democratic Council, 1958.

affairs of the Democratic party"; repeal of the state loyalty oath; abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; passage of a California FEPC law; abolition of cross-filing; abolition of capital punishment; increase of aid to the needy blind and senior citizens; creation of a State Economic Development Agency; extension of unemployment insurance benefits; comprehensive state and federal support for education; public development of public power; and disarmament.[36]

These two partisan auxiliaries have served to stimulate party activity and loyalties. With the abolition of cross-filing, however, and with reasonable assurance that each party will capture nominations for its own members, the future of both the C.D.C. and the R.A. is in doubt.

Personalities in California Politics

Hovering over California Republicanism at the dawn of the 1960's was the state's adopted son, former President and living legend, Herbert Clark Hoover. A prophet of conservatism, the thirty-first President (1929–33) had long since ceased to be active in party councils, being content to grace successive national conventions, with his own unique interpretation of the role of government in society.

The two ranking California Republicans in public office in 1960 were fourteenth Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court (1953), Earl Warren, and the thirty-sixth Vice President of the United States (1952) and presidential aspirant (1960), Richard M. Nixon. Warren's deliberate climb up the political status ladder began as District Attorney of Alameda County (1938) and progressed to the state attorney generalship. Three successive gubernatorial victories followed (1942, 1946, 1950), punctuated by an unsuccessful attempt for the vice presidency on the Dewey ticket (1948), but capped by the signal honor of the Eisenhower appointment to the highest judicial post in the land.

Adopting the spirit of the Hiram Johnson Progressives, Warren ignored the extreme wings of his party to establish a "middle of the road," nonpartisan program with broad appeal in both political parties. He dominated the party during his regime as governor with his own brand of "new Republicanism," and sponsored legislation in the fields of public education, health insurance, state institutional reform, and the general welfare.

Richard Nixon entered politics in 1946 as a conservative, war-veteran candidate for the Twelfth Congressional District seat, then occupied by Jerry Voorhis, a popular, liberal Democrat. In 1950 he defeated another liberal Democratic incumbent congresswoman, Helen Gahagan Douglas, in a race for the United States Senate. Two years later Nixon was elected Vice President of the United States on the Eisenhower ticket. He repeated this performance in 1956 and became the Republican presidential nominee in 1960.

Since Nixon has not held a state office and others of his party have dominated California politics, his reputation with the electorate was based primarily

[36] California Democratic Council, "Report of the Resolutions Committee" (mimeographed), Fresno, March 14, 1959.

upon his campaign behavior and views in respect to national politics. Utilization of the "linkage with communism" campaign tactic made him a controversial figure among most Democrats in the state and with a sizable number of liberal Republicans as well.[37] The nature of the Nixon support in the state indicated that conservative Republicans were willing to tolerate his essentially internationalist views on foreign policy in return for a basically conservative attitude toward domestic issues. And it was the absentee vote, probably of many of these same conservative Republicans, that gave him his thin California margin over Kennedy.

Two other prominent California Republicans, former United States Senator William F. Knowland and former Governor Goodwin J. Knight, may be placed respectively in the right and left wings of their party. In contrast with Nixon, Knowland has held many key positions of his party in both the state and the nation.[38] He served a term in the state Assembly (1933–35) and one term in the state Senate (1935–39). Returning from a tour of duty with the Army (1942–45), he was appointed to the United States Senate (1945) by Governor Warren to complete the unexpired term of Hiram Johnson. Knowland was elected in the primary to the same post in 1946 and won again in the general election of 1952. He left a distinguished career in the Senate to contest the gubernatorial election of 1958 with Edmund Brown, presumably as a step toward the Republican presidential nomination. His defeat occurred in a bitter campaign, marked by personal rivalry with Knight and Nixon and confusion caused by two controversial ballot issues, "the right to work" proposal and taxation of parochial school property. Knowland, a genuine conservative in the Hoover-Taft tradition, won the loyal support of the right wing of his party in the state.

Goodwin Knight launched his public career through an appointment to the superior court in 1935, was elected in 1936 to that position and re-elected in 1942. He ran successfully for lieutenant governor in 1946 and was re-elected in 1950. He succeeded to the governorship in October 1953, with the elevation of Governor Warren to the Supreme Court, and was re-elected in 1954. In 1958 he became a candidate for the Senate seat vacated by Knowland, losing to Democrat Clair Engle in the general election. During his career Knight held many of the key positions in the Republican state organization.

Knight adopted and exploited the Warren tradition of non-partisanship. His political eclipse may be attributed to alienation of conservative Republican political support through overly enthusiastic solicitation of labor sponsorship, and personal feuding with Nixon in 1956 and with Knowland in 1958. The combined forces of his opponents staged the "squeeze play" which proved his undoing, forcing him out of the gubernatorial race and into the unsolicited and unwanted senatorial contest.

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[37] In the fall of 1959, Rockefeller organizers in California admitted to the writer that a substantial element among their adherents were anti-Nixon Republicans. The planned move to create a "new image" of a so-called "mature" presidential candidate was at least partially vindicated by the Nixon victory over Brown in the 1960 primary "popularity contest," and completely so when Nixon carried the state in November.

[38] Among others: California national committeeman, 1938–42; chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, 1941; chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee and minority leader of the 83rd Congress.

United States Senator Thomas H. Kuchel has miraculously steered past the political shoals created by the ambitions of his fellow Republican leaders. He served in the Assembly (1936 and 1938), the state Senate (1940 and 1944) and was appointed state controller in February 1946, after a tour of duty with the Navy. He was elected to the latter post in November 1946 and again in 1950. In December 1952, Governor Warren appointed Kuchel to fill Nixon's unexpired term in the Senate; he won the election in 1954 and was re-elected in 1956. He is known as a moderate Republican and was a "Nixon man." In the Senate he has served on the Interior and Insular Affairs and Public Works committees, and as Republican party whip.

Prominent among Democrats in California politics *circa* 1960 was Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, the second member of his party to win the governorship in over half a century. He failed in his first attempt at elective office when he ran for the state Assembly in 1927 as a Republican. He was elected district attorney of San Francisco as a Democrat in 1934 and was re-elected in 1947. In 1950 and again in 1954 he campaigned successfully for the state attorney generalship and defeated Knowland by nearly 1,000,000 votes in the 1958 gubernatorial race. Brown may be characterized as a moderate Democrat. In the Warren-Knight tradition, he minimized partisanship during his last campaign, disassociated himself from the ticket he presumably led, and accepted substantial financial aid from Republican sources.

United States Senator Clair Engle's political career includes service for two terms as district attorney of Tehama County, a term in the state Senate (1942) and membership in the House of Representatives extending from 1943 to 1958. As chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, he was primarily interested in problems of water conservation.

James Roosevelt, son of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, is probably the best-known Democrat serving in the House of Representatives, partly because he was known nationally before he came to California and because of the unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign he waged against Earl Warren in 1950. Roosevelt was elected to Congress in 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1960, from the Republican-gerrymandered Twenty-sixth District, where Negro and labor interests are unusually strong. He has served as chairman of the California Democratic state central Committee and is a liberal by conviction.

Richard Richards is a liberal Democrat who won election to the state Senate in 1954 as a representative of the 5,000,000 inhabitants of Los Angeles County. He failed in an effort to defeat Thomas Kuchel in the 1956 campaign for the United States Senate. Richards is generally considered to be one of the most able members of the state Senate, specializing in water, resources, and transportation problems.

Other prominent Democrats in the state legislature are Ralph M. Brown, speaker of the Assembly, serving his ninth term; William A. Munnell, majority floor leader in his fifth term; and Jesse M. Unruh, chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee in his third term.

Party leaders include Paul Ziffren, Democratic national committeeman, credited with being architect of the reconstituted Democratic party organization; Roger Kent, former state chairman; Joseph Wyatt, chairman of the California Democratic Council (1960) and Alan Cranston, state controller and first president of the Council; Glen M. Anderson, lieutenant governor; Stanley Mosk, state attorney general; Mrs. Elizabeth R. Smith, national committeewoman; George Miller, Jr., state senator and former state party chairman; Chet Holifield, congressman; and a financial "angel" for the Democrats, Edwin W. Pauley, regent of the University of California, oil executive, and former national committeeman.

Politics Within the Legislature

The state legislature has experienced several minor internal revolutions with political connotations during the past decade.[39] The powerful and conservative rural-district bloc which dominated the Senate until the mid-1950's was gradually liquidated by normal political attrition. This group of wealthy and astute politicians, who maneuvered to sidetrack or moderate much of the liberal legislation advanced by the Assembly, had no immediate heirs. Their successors, elected from the farm belt, were primarily young Democrats who had the conventional obligations to their political party and appeared to be more amenable to party regularity in their voting behavior.

The Assembly concurrently felt the impact of an internal reform movement, when in 1951 a bipartisan group of insurgents made a move to "de-cannonize" the speaker by depriving him of the power to appoint committees and assign bills. The primary goal was not achieved, but the insurgents were successful in establishing a Rules Committee which might serve as an instrument for curbing the power of the speaker, a reform adopted two decades ago by the Senate.[40]

As presently constituted, the Committee on Rules serves as the "housekeeping" committee of the Assembly. The chairman is appointed by the speaker while six other members, three from each party, are nominated by party caucus and elected by the membership of the Assembly. The speaker pro tempore and the majority floor leader are ex-officio members of the committee. A committee member is not permitted to serve as chairman of any standing committee. The Rules Committee serves as an interim committee during recess of the legislature.

The speaker is a power in controlling the machinery of the Assembly, although in recent years this authority has been used in moderation. He appoints the majority floor leader, who serves as his personal representative on the floor of the Assembly, and the personnel of the twenty-seven standing committees. This function is the responsibility of the Rules Committee in the Senate. Finally, the

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[39] For topics in this section see the following sources: Mary Ellen Leary, "The Legislature," in *California State Government* (Stanford: The American Assembly, 1956), pp. 21–30; Arthur A. Ohnimus, "Organization and Procedure of the Assembly," in *Legislator's Orientation Conference: 1957* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1957), pp. 91–111; Hyink, Brown, and Thacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–11; Dean R. Cresap, *Party Politics in the Golden State* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1954), pp. 52–63; Dick Meister, "With All Deliberate Speed," *Frontier* X (April 1959), 16–17, and "End of the Beginning," *ibid.* (July 1959), pp. 10–12; Gladwin Hill, "That Dark Horse Named Brown," *New York Times Magazine*, December 6, 1959, pp. 38, 90, 95.

[40] Leary, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The Senate Committee on Rules consists of the president pro tem. who serves as chairman and four members elected by the Senate membership.

speaker manages the legislative program through the prerogative of referral of bills to committees. Nearly 400 bills have been introduced in a single day in the Assembly and the average for a session is 5,000.

From the instigation of the reform movement of the Progressive era to the rise of the Democratic club movement in the mid-1950's, the enervating tenet of nonpartisanship has prevailed to greater or less degree in California politics. The legislature was Republican-dominated, but incumbency was often more significant than party identification in electioneering for office. The speaker of the Assembly has nearly always been elected by a bipartisan coalition reflecting sectional and interest-group influences which carried over into committee appointments. In the Senate, the president pro tempore representing the majority party is in the key position on the Rules Committee to control all other committee appointments. The traditional control device of the caucus has existed in some form in the Assembly (but not in the Senate) since about 1935.[41] It has been employed, however, principally for discussion and persuasion purposes; legislators have enjoyed a great measure of freedom in voting inasmuch as party discipline is lacking. Their obligations to interest groups are more important and often prove decisive in terms of voting behavior.

In a selected group of roll calls during the regular session of the 1949 legislature, Cresap reported that, on the average, 75 per cent of the Republicans voted together, while 78 per cent of the Democrats voted alike. In the Senate the figures were 74 per cent for the Republicans and 71 for the Democrats. Using a smaller sample in diagnosing roll calls which pitted the majority of one party against the majority of the other, the same investigator discovered that about 95 per cent of one party voted against the other on controversial party issues in the Assembly. This party cohesion centered upon four categories of measures: social service, taxation, parties, and elections.[42]

However sparse the evidence relating to past experience, the partisan spirit in the electorate born in the mid-1950's was certain to be reflected in both party organizations and in the state government. The sweeping Democratic victory of 1958 brought an efficient and smoothly run party organization to the Assembly. Under the guidance of Majority Floor Leader William A. Munnell, who is also state chairman of his party, the caucus, policy committee, and steering committees operated during the 1959 regular session with harmony and dispatch. Munnell presented legislative bills to the party caucus dealing with each major plank in the party platform.

When discussion and debate produced the necessary compromises for voting support, the bills were introduced to an Assembly with a 47–33 Democratic majority. Democrats also had a majority in twenty-one of the twenty-seven committees; three were Republican-controlled and the membership of the remaining

[41] For legislative partisanship in the past decade, see Cresap, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–63.

[42] Cresap, *op. cit.*, attributes the lack of party organization and discipline in the Senate to the special weaknesses of local parties in the rural areas whose representatives predominate in that body; to the fact that rural voters know their candidates better; and to the supposition that interest groups would rather spend less money in campaigning to obtain a rural senatorial vote than would be required to gain an urban one. Twenty-one of the rural county senators can control the forty-membered Senate.

three was split evenly. Chairmen were appointed by Speaker Ralph Brown. The Speaker was himself an ex-officio member of the Rules Committee, its Democratic members having been selected in party caucus.

The steering committee (constituted in 1959) then guided the legislation through channels to the Senate, where the Democrats enjoyed a 28–12 majority. The senators had the opportunity to be briefed on legislation emanating from the Assembly, since they were invited to sit as unofficial observers in its caucus. Neither party ran a regular caucus in the Senate, although a few Republican senators met for breakfast about once a week during the session. Tradition, conservativism, and the rule of seniority conspired to divide the committee chairmenships equally, ten for each party. Although more conservative than the lower house, the predominant influence in the Senate was Democratic and with a few notable exceptions the liaison with the Assembly resulted in the passage of a substantial amount of legislation.[43]

The temporary setback in Republican party effectiveness may be attributed to: a generation of political dominance during which demands for organizational control were minimal and conflicts were often sectional rather than partisan; involvement of personalities in a struggle for power within a party unaccustomed to the political dynamics of minority opposition, and significant ideological differences between ultraconservatives and "middle-of-the-roaders," sharpened by the bitter factionalism engendered during the 1958 campaign. The installation of the office of party whip in 1959 has increased the effectiveness of the caucus system in both parties.

The 1959 session of the legislature had some historic significance. *New York Times* reporter Gladwin Hill recalls the skepticism directed at the Brown administration in its infancy inherent in predictions that it might be so "indecisive and ineffectual as to unravel the achievements of Californians right back to the Gold Rush." [44] Brown enthusiasts, on the other hand, drew an analogy between his first few months in office and "the first 100 days of the New Deal."

The theme of the Governor's program was "responsible liberalism," and of the forty major legislative bills he sponsored during the session, only five failed of passage. Each of these was "lobby-ridden" to oblivion, aided by bipartisan political cooperation. New legislation included: raising $200 million in new revenue to meet an impending fiscal deficit, a legacy of the previous administration; a fair employment practices act; a comprehensive water plan for the state involving a $1.75 billion bond issue to be voted upon in the 1960 election; a state economic development commission; a consumer's council; abolition of cross-filing; and initiation of many other projects such as a significant Master Plan Survey of the state's vast and complicated system of higher education. Although the record appeared impressive, virtually every major pressure group in Sacramento felt its

[43] Party leaders provided the writer with a firsthand account of caucus procedure. Little effort was made to crack the whip for party discipline, and any assemblyman who was opposed to the caucus majority was asked to stick to the facts during debate, to avoid attacking either his party or its leadership, and to feel free to vote his personal convictions.

[44] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

interests affected by one or more aspects of the program. The test of the Brown administration would obviously rest upon the impact of regrouped lobby forces and a reconstituted opposition party.

Interest Groups and Lobbying

Lobbying has been an integral part of legislative politics in California since the first legislature meeting in 1850 earned a dubious reputation as "the legislature of a thousand drinks." [45] Steeped in the mores of the gold rush days it is not surprising that ethical and moral standards of political behavior reflected indulgence in bossism with its attendant evils of bribery, blackmail, and intimidation. Between the 1860's and the second decade of the twentieth century, the railroad interests — particularly the Central (later Southern) Pacific — emerged as the dominant influence in the legislature.

The reform movement beginning in 1910 modified some of the worst aspects of machine politics by introducing an era of competition between numerous interest groups representing various segments of the economy. By the middle 1930's the semblance of bossism was again brought to the attention of the public in the machinations of a super-lobbyist named Arthur H. Samish, representing at various times liquor, beer, motor transport, and horse-racing interests. Although well known to the legislators, many of whom had been his beneficiaries at one time or another, Samish was unknown to the public until the publication of the now notorious "Philbrick Report" in 1938. The corruption revealed in this compendium was uncovered by a Sacramento County Grand Jury, with the aid of a firm of private investigators at the request of a legislative subcommittee. The document was entered in the *Senate Daily Journal,* but stricken the following day, partly because the damaging revelations affected the legislators as well as the lobbyists!

As the specific target of alleged bossism, Samish remained unscathed. Attempts in 1941 and 1945 to move against the scandalous situation in the legislature, where Samish purportedly controlled thirty of the eighty votes in the Assembly, were quashed. Finally, in 1949, a two-article exposé by Lester Velie, published in *Collier's* and given added nationwide circulation by the *Reader's Digest,* focused attention on Samish to the acute embarrassment of members of the legislature. Richard V. Hyer wrote that "the third House owes allegiance to no party; it flies no flag but the beautiful green banner of the United States currency." After a titanic struggle in the legislature, in which Governor Earl Warren used his influence to the utmost, a legislative lobby control act was passed in the same year. This legislation as amended in 1950 and 1955, and augmented by Section 35, Article IV, of the state constitution, represents the basic law on the subject.[46]

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[45] See "Regulation of Lobbying in California," in David Farrelly and Ivan Hinderaker, *The Politics of California* (New York: Ronald, 1951), pp. 197–200.

[46] See State of California, Senate and Assembly Committees on Legislative Representation, "Analysis of Law Relating to Influencing or Attempting to Influence Legislation" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1956). For comment see Frank C. Newman, "Legal Aspects of Representation," in *Legislator's Orientation Conference: 1957, op. cit.,* pp. 131–36; Lester Velie, "The Secret Boss of California," *Collier's,* August 13 and 20, 1949; Hyer, *op. cit.,* p. 375.

State regulations on lobbying are patterned closely on federal legislation. A lobbyist, called a legislative advocate, is designated as any person hired to influence the passage or the defeat of legislation. He must register his own and his employer's name and address, as well as the purpose, duration, and compensation of employment. He is required to file monthly reports on the sources, purposes, and amounts of all receipts and give details on all transactions involving expenditures over $25. He must report the hiring either by himself or his employer of a legislator to act as counsel. All split-fee recipients must be identified. He must also account for any publications for which he has been responsible.

Lobbying by offering a bribe or employing intimidation is declared a felony and carries a sentence of one to ten years in prison, while receipt of a bribe may bring a penalty of one to fourteen years. Introduction of a "cinch bill" and solicitation of funds to prevent its passage is punishable by a fine of $5,000 or a prison term, or both. In recognition of flagrant "vote buying" in the past, the legislature enjoined transportation companies from offering free passes to legislators. Finally, the lobbyist is admonished to live by a standard of conduct suggested by the legislature.

It is impossible to categorize effectively the myriad groups involved in lobbying at Sacramento, but a few illustrations may suffice. Business groups include public utilities, the petroleum industry, the alcoholic beverage industry, insurance and banking, aviation and electronics, shipping, advertising, fishing and canneries, building trades, retailers, grocers, real estate, race tracks, and employers and business associations.[47] Besides the commodity organizations such as the Sunkist Orange and Diamond Walnut groups, agriculture is represented by the California Farm Bureau Federation, Grange, Associated Farmers, and Agricultural Council. In addition to the California Labor Federation, AFL–CIO, many of the individual unions such as the Teamsters Legislative Council and the railway brotherhoods are also represented. Government and public employee lobbies of considerable influence include the League of California Cities, the County Supervisors Association, the cities of Los Angeles and San Francisco, and the State Employees and Highway Patrolmen's Associations. Effective professional groups are the California Teacher's Association, the Medical, Bar and Dental associations, the University of California, and the State College Association. Finally, there are many reform, religious, and patriotic organizations such as

[47] Typical examples in this category represented either directly or indirectly are: Pacific Gas and Electric Co.; Standard Oil of California, Bank of America, Lockheed Aircraft, Trans-America, Kern County Land Co., Bankers Association of California, California Real Estate Association, California Growers Association, Matson Lines, Los Angeles Turf Club, Foster and Kleiser (outdoor advertising), California Retailers Association, California Motor Transport Association, Merchants and Manufacturers Association, California Taxpayers Association, and the California State Chamber of Commerce. See, for a complete listing: *List of Legislative Advocates and Organizations*, annual (Sacramento: State Printing Office). A select list appears in Joseph P. Harris and Leonard Rowe, *California Politics* (2nd ed.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 22. Identification of the "most powerful" interest groups has been a preoccupation of journalists and scholars alike. In 1947, John Gunther presented such a list in *Inside America* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper, 1951), pp. 37–41, adding the Associated Farmers, the American Legion, and CIO. In 1949 Hyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–413, dwelt almost exclusively on Artie Samish. In 1954, Cresap, *op. cit.*, p. 102, reproduced Gunther's list and added representatives of the petroleum "independents," the railroads, California Teachers' Association, and George H. McLain, old age pension promoter.

the League of Women Voters, the Council of Churches, the Friends Committee, various temperance societies, the American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The strength of interest groups in California politics results from a combination of factors. On the lobbyists' side may be listed unusually capable leadership, occasionally provided by former members of the legislature; and intelligently vigorous advocacy of self-interest programs, involving research in depth on adopted issues; provision of extensive services for legislators, including prepared bills and speeches; and finally, adherence to policies not wholly exclusive of the public interest. On the legislative side of the ledger has been the lack of leadership, organization, discipline, and funds in a chronically weak party system.

Interest groups have frequently usurped normal party functions such as the selection of key officers and committee chairmen in the legislature itself, and the dictation of the selection of candidates for public office and administrative appointment. No one interest group has controlled the legislature in the past decade or so, but particular groups, in coalition, have certainly made public policy in their respective fields.

Interest groups in California tend to intervene in the legislative process when certain specific areas of public policy are considered. They resist taxation, both as applied to their respective enterprises and when increased revenue is to be employed for purposes they choose to designate as "socially undesirable." They become highly energized with any attempt at government regulation of their activities. They will fight bitterly to utilize public policy in gaining a competitive advantage over some segment of their own industry and finally, they will often attempt to obtain legal protection or financial subsidy through legislative action.

Acting in concert, interest groups have effectively prevented vitally necessary constitutional reform in California. Five times since 1879 the electorate has had the opportunity to vote on the question of calling a convention for constiutional revision. The proposition was rejected four times, winning in 1934 by the close margin of 37,837 votes. Strong interest-group pressure prevented legislative action, however, and no convention was called. Successive interim committees on constitutional revision have held hearings to no avail. In 1948 a Joint Senate and Assembly Interim Committee of twenty legislators and a widely representative Citizen's Advisory Committee with members from labor, industry, trade, vocational and professional associations, auto clubs, state and public employees, taxpayers, church, fraternal, local government and women's groups, could not agree on any positive program other than the proposal to eliminate certain obsolete sections of the constitution. Interest groups do not wish to replace, modify, or in any manner disturb the channels of access so carefully constructed into the centers of power in state government.[48]

Examples of major issues which stimulated concerted interest-group activity during the first year of the Brown administration included the Fair Employment

[48] California Legislature, Joint Interim Committee on Legislative Constitutional Revision, "Report," *Journal of the Senate* (Regular Session, 1949), pp. 804 ff. Another of the innumerable interim committees scheduled hearings on constitutional revision in the spring of 1960.

Practices Act, which found business groups arrayed against successful labor sponsorship; a 90-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill for farm labor, supported by the unions but defeated by farm groups; and the entire issue of conservation, flood control, and power production. Private electric utilities, municipally owned systems, urban *vs.* rural and north *vs.* south protagonists took positions on the Eisenhower "partnership plan," as opposed to state power development. Governor Brown offered a compromise plan for a bond issue to be voted on in 1960 which instigated vigorous interest-group controversy. Finally, the oil lobby mobilized to defeat a 2 per cent oil severance tax, which was an important part of the Governor's policy for meeting an anticipated deficit in fiscal 1960-61.

Interest-group strategy is executed in at least three different theaters of operations: lobbying in the legislature, supporting or defeating a candidate in his home district, and appealing to the public at large, primarily on an "issue campaign." Lobbyists used to be permitted on the floor of both houses of the state legislature; later, they were confined to the visitors' galleries. Lobbyists spend money generously in the campaigns of favored candidates, but reporting procedures are so lax that no realistic picture of influence exerted in this manner is ascertainable.[49]

Lobbying is more respectable than in the days when Artie Samish was quoted by Lester Viele as knowing when "a man wants a baked potato, a girl, or money." Representation of the legitimate programs of interest groups is now accepted as not only tolerable, but a necessary adjunct to the democratic process. The first session of the 1959 legislature found five lobbyists in Sacramento for each legislator. Their stock in trade was still free meals and libations, and a goodly measure of "socializing," coupled with generous and grimly purposeful dispensation of campaign contributions.[50]

The effect of the apparently stringent state law on lobbying has been at least to minimize, if not completely to eliminate felonious bribery, blackmail, and intimidation per se. Despite the appointment of committees on legislative representation in both houses to assist in implementing the regulations, a recent report stated that "there has been almost no enforcement of the law and little attempt to publicize it." Attorney General (later Governor) Brown reported only two "apparent infractions" in eight years, neither of which was prosecuted![51]

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[49] A cursory examination of the official records of 50 assemblymen who chose to file financial reports on the 1958 campaign shows that 24 acknowledged receiving sums ranging from $50 to $100 from the Pharmaceutical Institute; 18 acknowledged $100 to $350 from the Teamster's Union; and 14 mentioned $200 to $800 from Mr. James D. Garibaldi, lobbyist for the race tracks and liquor industry. The candidate of the Sixth Assembly District listed $2,761.33 of a total expenditure of $7,360.33 as "anonymous cash contributions"; candidates in districts 3, 7, 8, 12, 30, and 31 were elected in the primary, so filed no statement on campaign expenses. A candidate in the Fifth District reported the smallest sum, $92, which he contributed himself; the largest acknowledged amount in this sample was $13,462.44, received by a candidate in the Fiftieth District.

[50] Much of the bitterness of the lobby fraternity against Samish was based upon jealousy rather than any widespread moral indignation over his tactics.

[51] State of California, Assembly Committe on Legislative Representation, *Lobbying* (Sacramento: Assembly Interim Committee, 1955–57), Vol. II, No. 1. An interesting and significant series of studies on legislative behavior supported by grants from the Political Behavior Committee of the Social Science Research Council is being authored by Professors Heinz Eulau (Stanford University), William Buchanan (University of Southern California), Leroy Ferguson (Michi-

Reapportionment

Democratic control of the legislature for the first time in this century as a consequence of the 1958 elections coupled with the constitutional requirement for mandatory redistricting following the 1960 census made reapportionment the central issue of legislative politics in 1959.[52] The background of the present controversy stems from the constitution of 1879, which provided that the members of the Senate and the Assembly be elected according to population, with due respect for county lines. It was not long before the broad diversification of economic interests in the state, reflected in the commitments of both legislators and lobbyists, erupted in violent controversy over matters of public policy. Pressure groups and sectional interests sought to strengthen their positions by changing the basis of legislative representation.

The basic cleavages pitted north against south and urban against rural areas. The political coalition of northern and rural interests centering in San Francisco finally cracked under the strain of the pressures caused by the growth of Southern California and the concentration of population in the urban centers of the state. As a consequence of the bitter fight for legislative representation after the 1910 census, a stalemate of factional interests was reached causing the postponement of reapportionment until passage of a constitutional amendment in 1926 sponsored by farm interest groups. The resultant "federal plan" favors the rural areas by providing for geographic representation in the Senate based upon the county as an electoral district, considered either singly or in combination.

California suffers both from a form of the "silent gerrymander" as a consequence of certain constitutional limitations governing apportionment and from a political gerrymander imposed by the Republican-controlled legislature. By law, no county may have more than one senator and not more than three counties may be combined to form a senatorial district. Assembly districts must be equal in population, contiguous, composed of whole counties, or completely contained within a county. Congressional districts must be contiguous, and composed of whole assembly districts within a county and whole counties if two or more are incorporated into a single congressional district.

In light of these strictures, the Republican party is credited with performing one of the most proficient, technical gerrymanders in the state's history in the reapportionment of 1951. Using 15 per cent as the maximum permissible deviation from the ideal population norm of 132,328 inhabitants per district, over one-fourth of the eighty assembly districts were gerrymandered: nine were underpopulated and therefore overrepresented, while twelve were overpopulated and

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gan State University), and John C. Wahlke (Vanderbilt University). Data represents intensive investigations of the state legislatures of California, New Jersey, Ohio, and Tennessee. Two typical citations: "The Political Socialization of American State Legislators," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Vol. III (May 1959) and "The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke," *American Political Science Review*, Vol LIII (September 1959).

[52] California Assembly, Interim Committee on Elections and Reapportionment, *Reports* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1951, 1955 and 1957); Margaret Greenfield, Pamela Ford, and Donald R. Emery, *Legislative Reapportionment: California in National Perspective* (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1959); Ivan Hinderaker, "Responsiveness to the Will of the People," in *California State Government*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–42; and California State Constitution, Art. IV, secs. 6 and 27.

underrepresented. Half of the thirty congressional districts deviated from the ideal average of 352,874 inhabitants: eight were under and seven over the norm. Moreover, the geographic configuration of many of the districts proved conclusively the skill with which Democratic votes had been immobilized while well-scattered Republican votes provided narrow margins of victory.[53]

Conceding the established practice of protecting incumbents in any reapportionment plan, Greenfield *et al.* found that "seven of the eight congressional districts that were overrepresented in the 1951 redistricting voted Republican . . . in 1952 and with one exception . . . continued to vote Republican in 1954, 1956 and 1958. . . . Of the seven significantly underrepresented . . . districts, only two were Republican in 1952."[54]

Estimates indicate that the state's population will have increased by approximately 5,000,000 inhabitants between 1950 and 1960. The average number of inhabitants in an average assembly district will be roughly 194,000 and in a congressional district, 420,800. Entitlement statistics based upon these estimates show a continuing trend toward acquisition of assembly districts by urban centers at the expense of rural areas. Southern California has gained three districts while Northern California has lost a fraction (0.13). Central California has lost about three districts (2.92), one-and-a-half from the San Joaquin Valley (1.48). San Francisco will probably drop two assemblymen (for a new total of four), while Alameda will lose one (six to five) and Santa Clara will gain a third seat. Los Angeles may gain one assemblyman for a total of thirty-two, and both Orange (three) and San Diego (five) will gain an additional member. Of the seven new congressmen anticipated in 1961, five will go to metropolitan areas and two will be classed as rural, while the geographic distribution gives Southern California five (5.19), and Central (1.34) and Northern (0.48) California probably one each.[55]

Since the Democrats are the majority party in the state, their control over the legislature and the congressional delegation may extend over the foreseeable future. But the flood of new registrants, coupled with accelerated intrastate

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[53] In Los Angeles County, four congressional districts (the 17th, 19th, 23rd, and 26th) represented by Democrats all have over 400,000 inhabitants: only one Republican district, the 15th, is in this category. Five Republican districts (the 16th, 18th, 20th, 22nd, and 24th) all have less than 275,000. The Seventeenth District (Democratic) with 409,334 inhabitants is contiguous to the Eighteenth (Republican) with 228,712. For an able defense of the gerrymander by the chairman of the committee which prepared the 1951 reapportionment legislation and a political scientist who served as one of his advisers, see Ivan Hinderaker and Laughlin E. Waters, "A Case Study in Reapportionment — California, 1951," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, XVII (Spring 1952), 440–69. See also Hinderaker, "Responsiveness to the Will of the People," *loc. cit.*

[54] Greenfield, Ford, and Emery, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–61. All of the underrepresented districts continued to vote the same congressional ticket in the succeeding three elections. Much the same situation prevailed in the 31 assembly districts of Los Angeles County; although the Democrats had one-third more registrants during 1952–56 than the Republicans, the latter won 68 per cent of the county's assembly seats in 1952, 55 per cent in 1954 and 52 per cent in 1956.

[55] California Assembly, Interim Committee on Elections and Reapportionment, *Reports* (March 1957), *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13. California has a Reapportionment Commission empowered to act when the legislature fails to redistrict composed of the lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, controller, and superintendent of public instruction. A preliminary census report issued to the press in June 1960 indicates that California may be entitled to nine additional congressmen.

migration, changes the political complexion of a district so rapidly that any presumption that a gerrymander will render permanent control for either party is fallacious.[56]

Initiative and Referendum Politics

Citizens of the state of California have been empowered to participate in direct legislation since the adoption of the constitution of 1849, which required that all amendments be submitted to popular vote by the legislature. It was not until the culmination of the reform movement in the election of 1911, however, that statewide initiative, referendum, and recall became a part of the constitution.[57]

California employs three types of initiative and three categories of referenda. A petition carrying the valid signatures of 8 per cent of the vote cast for governor in the preceding general election will qualify a constitutional or direct initiative for statutory legislation. Indirect initiative procedure requires 5 per cent of the vote cast for governor to certify a petition to the legislature for enactment, and failure to pass the requested legislation results in its mandatory submission to the voters in the next general election. In the process of indirect initiative the legislature may exercise the option of submitting a competing measure to accompany the rejected petition. The categories of referenda are: compulsory, applying to bond issues and constitutional amendments; a petition-referendum, supported by 5 per cent of the preceding gubernatorial vote, which causes the suspension of a newly enacted statute until its acceptance by the electorate at the next general election; and, finally, referenda involving a decision on whether or not to call a constitutional convention.

The procedure of direct legislation is certainly not unique to California, since the practice exists in more than a fourth of the states. But Californians have utilized it with a high rate of frequency. Between 1912 and 1952 there were 568 distinct attempts on the part of the interested public to seek official petition titles for potential legislation.[58] By numerical count alone, these attempts have enjoyed only moderate success, statutory initiatives having been rejected by a

[56] The results of the 1960 census released during the summer of 1961 gave the state 5,130,981 new inhabitants, changing the average size of the congressional districts from 352,874 to 413,611 and entitling California to 8 new congressmen or a total of 38. The new reapportionment legislation sponsored by the Democratic party became law on July 8, 1961. Due to the Democratic gerrymander political observers estimate that the present majority of the congressional delegation favoring that party 16–14 will be augmented with 5 to 7 new seats. Prognosticators of the 1962 election trends award the Democrats margins ranging from 28–10 to 23–15, depending upon whether Richard Nixon becomes the Republican gubernatorial candidate.

The state Senate presently divided 30–10 in favor of the Democrats was not affected by the reapportionment legislation. Forecasts of the post 1962 election lineup give the Democrats an edge in the Assembly ranging from 50–30 to 52–28.

[57] Winston W. Crouch, *The Initiative and Referendum in California* (Los Angeles: The Haynes Foundation, 1950); Wallace H. Best, "Initiative and Referendum Politics in California, 1912–1952" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1955). Crouch's basic statistical research was updated through 1952 by Best and data cited below are from this latter source.

[58] Of these, 163 survived for submission to the popular vote: 75 as constitutional and 49 as direct initiatives, 35 as optional referenda, and 4 in the form of indirect initiatives. Submissions originating with the state legislature exceeded those of the electorate by a ratio of 2:1. Of the 326 in this category, there were 288 constitutional referenda (required by law), 24 bond issues, 9 measures and 5 convention calls.

ratio of better than 3:1 and constitutional initiatives by a ratio of 2.5:1. Constitutional decisions sponsored by the state legislature enjoyed greater acceptance, 183 having been adopted and 121 rejected from a total of 304 submissions between the years 1912 and 1952.

Evaluation of the substantive aspects of direct legislation during the same period indicates some interesting trends. The first decade of the reform movement found many proposals dealing with moral and economic problems, such as prohibition, antivivisection, prize fighting, compulsory vaccination, reading of the Bible in public schools, usury, and the eight-hour day. Interest in the 1920's turned to public education where a series of successful attempts was instituted to shift a greater share of its cost to the state. Efforts to improve state administrative practices resulted in the adoption of the executive budget, often cited as among the signal achievements of direct legislation in the state's history.

The mid-1930's was marked by numerous attempts to promote social and economic reform, principally through various pension plans. One such panacea known as "Ham and Eggs" appeared five times between 1938 and 1948. The more widely known Townsend Plan, or "Sixty Dollars at Sixty," qualified for the ballot but lost in the election of 1944. The one successful venture in this field, a proposal of George McLain of Los Angeles to reorganize and staff the department of social welfare, as well as modify the qualifications for old age pensions, won in the 1948 general election, but was repealed in a special election the following year.

On the whole, the electorate has shown rather nice discernment in moderation, when approving or rejecting direct legislative proposals. All of the more extreme pension plans have failed. Significant statutory initiatives served to provide for the University of California Building Bond Act (1914), the Usury Law (1918) and the permanent registration of voters (1930). Constitutional initiatives brought such reforms as repeal of the poll tax (1914), the executive budget (1922), and the "federal plan" of reapportionment (1926).

The proposition that direct legislation is the ideal legal handmaiden of representative democracy is open to debate. The entire process has become thoroughly politicized and access to the procedure by minority groups has been made extremely difficult, if not practically impossible, due to the increase in the size of the electorate, the consequent change in campaign techniques, and the exhorbitant cost.

Political manipulation begins with the attorney general, who may refuse to issue a petition title, or issue two separate titles to pre-empt the subject field. In 1942, for instance, one Marshall E. Leahy, a San Francisco attorney, was given the titles, "Limiting Retail Sales Tax" and "Repeal of Sales Tax." Another tactic involved identical ballot titles termed "Aged and Blind Aid" for two different propositions, one granting such assistance (1948) and one repealing the previous measure (1949), thus causing great confusion in the ranks of the pensioners. In a more recent instance, Edmund G. Brown, then attorney general, changed the title of Proposition 18 (1958) from "Right-to-Work" to "Employer and Employee Relations," thus rendering ineffective the battle cry of conservative Republicans.

Confusion over titles is only a beginning to political manipulation and is followed by comparable treatment of circulation procedures, signature verification and certification, assignment of ballot position, the "pro" and "con" arguments appearing in the official literature which accompanies the sample ballot for the voter, and finally, the rulings of the attorney general, the secretary of state, and the various county registrars of voters during the entire period of activity.

A second hazard to the implementation of theoretical democracy through the direct legislative process rests more upon the circumstances of life in the twentieth century than political partisanship or the vagaries of the personal economic and social philosophies of government officials. In 1914, an initiative petition could be qualified with 74,136 names at an approximate cost of $5,930, or five cents per name. Eight per cent of the 5,255,777 popular votes cast for governor in 1958 would represent 420,462 names, or the total required to qualify a petition between 1959 and 1962. The cost for professional petition circulators had reached forty cents per name in 1952, exclusive of any aid given in the campaign to gain a favorable vote from the electorate.[59] A conservative estimate for professional petition qualification alone would be $175,000 and campaign costs might range from $25,000 to $2,000,000, or much more. The alternative to possession of adequate financing for professional guidance of an initiative measure through both the petition qualification and campaign stages would be a competently led, statewide organization with substantial membership on the grass-roots level. The two requirements for success, money and organizational strength, narrow the opportunities for participation in direct legislation to major interest groups.

The California Teachers' Association has scored a succession of notable victories in the utilization of the initiative. Even with the prerequisites of an efficient organization and adequate funds, and the added psychological advantage of identifying its cause with the emotional overtones of the "welfare-of-youth" argument, the group felt obliged to retain the professional campaign management firm of Whitaker and Baxter to guide the destinies of its propositions in 1944, 1946, and 1952.

The oil industry has mounted campaigns on the battlefield of intiative politics on a truly colossal scale. In a battle over oil conservation, the antagonists on Proposition No. 4 (in 1956), christened the "millionaire *versus* the billionaire" corporations, spent an estimated $5,000,000. Business interests sponsoring Proposition 18 on "right-to-work" in 1958, reported expenditures of $954,389, and organized labor countered with $2,556,037 to defeat the measure. In the same election the sponsors of Proposition 16 to tax undercollegiate, parochial school property spent $471,631, and their opponents acknowledged $1,340,817, while the professional campaign firm of Baus and Ross reported a fee of $25,946 to handle the negative side.

[59] The breakdown: fifteen cents for the individual solicitor, three cents for the precincting contractor, thirteen cents for overhead and nine cents profit. Unforeseen difficulties, last-minute circulations, or a sizable margin of signatures over the minimum required might add $10,000 to the total bill. Best, *op. cit.*, p. 196. A referendum required 262,789 signatures between 1959–62.

The significance of the change of venue of "the trial of public policy by political influence" from the lobby-ridden halls of Sacramento to the electorate at large, where initiative politics are played, has yet to be evaluated. It is undoubtedly significant that the American Legion is so uniformly successful in gaining desired legislation through action by the state legislature that utilization of initiative measures is rarely, if ever, necessary, and that Whitaker and Baxter can point to a phenomenal record of eighteen successes of twenty attempts in initiative campaigning. Republican party sympathizers virtually defeated the move of their Democratic opponents to abolish cross-filing in 1952 (Proposition 13), by placing a competing proposition on the ballot (Proposition 7), calling for identification of candidate party labels.

The California voter in the decade of the 1950's has frequently faced twenty or more propositions of various types on his ballot. Even when highly motivated, his knowledge of the importance of these issues of public policy is largely received through the mass media channels available for hire to the best financed interest groups. The question may at least be posed whether or not the initiative will continue to be utilized in the interests of democracy and whether its use should be re-examined in terms of the goals of representative government.

The Budget

Politics in state finance has been played with new rules following the establishment of the executive budget by constitutional initiative in 1922. The governor now submits the budget, an appropriation bill, and a budget message to the legislature within the first thirty days of the budget session held in even-numbered years. Moreover, he enjoys the power of item veto over appropriation bills; he may reduce or reject, but not increase, individual items. He directs his fiscal policy through the most powerful member of his cabinet, the director of finance, and must work with two other officials elected on a statewide basis, the treasurer and the controller.

Between 1941 and 1955, the legislature developed a formidable system of committees and semi-administrative advisory personnel to assist in the formulation of its fiscal policy. To the traditional Senate Finance and Assembly Ways and Means committees have been added a Joint Legislative Budget Committee, with a legislative auditor (now known as the legislative analyst) as secretary, and a Joint Legislative Audit Committee, with an auditor general serving as consultant.

The Joint Legislative Budget Committee is composed of seven senators: the President pro tempore and six others appointed by the Rules Committee; and seven assemblymen appointed by the Speaker. Members usually belong to the fiscal committees of their respective houses. With the assistance of the legislative analyst, this committee deals with budgetary analysis and reviews and makes recommendations for fiscal efficiency in government. Members of the committee may disagree on the floor of the legislature with particular recommendations made by their own legislative analyst.

In order to run its own check against expenditures, the legislature created a Joint Legislative Audit Committee empowered to employ an auditor general with

authority to examine the records of any state agency. The legislature is thus in a position to receive an independent and complete post-audit report as the basis for its annual review of the budget.

In spite of this elaborate machinery, the budget bill which the governor presents to the appropriations committees represents only a portion of the total expenditures of the state for the current year. In California roughly two-thirds of the expenditure requirements are fixed either by provisions of the constitution or by statute and require supplementary appropriations legislation.[60]

The increasing and rapid expansion of population in California has had a tremendous impact on fiscal policies. A comfortable budgetary surplus in the 1940's disappeared, along with a "rainy day" or deficiency reserve fund, during the last days of the Goodwin Knight administration, a circumstance which became an issue in the 1958 gubernatorial election. From a two billion dollar budget, education claimed 40.6 per cent of the 1959–60 budget dollar, highways, 21.9, and social welfare and health, 11.2 per cent. Other categories included mental hygiene, 8.1; conservation, 7.8; fiscal and general administration, 1.7; and miscellaneous, including the sums returned to local governments, 8.7.[61]

The state sales tax provides the largest single share of the income dollar (31.6 per cent), followed by taxes on motor vehicles (22.2), personal income (11.1), banks and corporations (10.1), motor licenses (6) and liquor, tobacco, insurance, inheritance, horse racing, severance and miscellaneous. Faced with a potential deficit of $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 for fiscal 1959–60, Governor Brown sought $256.6 million in new sources of revenue which stirred up many of the key interest groups in the state. His proposals included: increasing the tax rate on incomes over $15,000 to 7 per cent; a higher rate of inheritance and insurance taxes; raising bank and corporation taxes from 8 to 11 and 4 to 5.5 per cent, respectively; increasing the severance tax on petroleum products to 2 per cent of gross value (defeated); increasing the gross commission on horse-racing pari mutuel betting from 13 to 15 per cent; and placing a three cent tax on each pack of cigarettes, while raising the tax on beer from two to seven cents per gallon — the latter two measures not calculated to win popular support from the unions.

In recognition of the pressures exerted by interest groups in budget hearings of the Senate Finance and the Assembly Ways and Means committees, the budget session of the legislature has been succinctly characterized by political sophisticates as "the biggest floating crap game in the world."

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[60] The legislature exercises limited control over approximately 70 per cent of the total expenditures due to such mandatory requirements as salaries of state legislators, interest and redemption payments on bonds, public school appropriations, and payments toward the salaries of superior court judges. These requirements can be changed only by direct popular legislation. Somewhat more than a third of the total budgetary requirements of the state have been "built in" by legislative statute, without provision for annual review, including state highway construction and maintenance, old age and security payments, aid to the needy, State Employees' Retirement costs and the sharing of certain state-collected revenues with local governments. These latter requirements may be changed by legislative statute, but rarely are. See Malcolm M. Davisson, "Financing State Government," *California State Government, op cit.*, pp. 48–55.

[61] Legislative Auditor, *Analysis of the State Budget, Fiscal Year 1959–60* (Sacramento, 1959); and State of California, Governor's Office, *Budget for the Fiscal Year, July 1959 to June 1960* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, February 1959). The Governor proposed a 2.4 billion dollar budget for fiscal 1960–61.

Voting Behavior

A profile of the California electorate, *circa* 1958, indicated a total population of 14,752,000, of whom 8,716,000 were considered potential voters. Eighty-one per cent of the population was classed as urban, 14 as rural-non-farm and 5 per cent as rural-farm. The median age in 1950 was 32.1 years, educational status achieved was represented by an 11.6 median of completed school years, with 47.6 per cent having completed high school or more. Finally, the non-white population represented 6.3 per cent of the total and was growing considerably more rapidly than the Caucasian element.

The partisan complexion of the electorate at the time of the 1958 election was: Democrats, 3,875,630; Republicans, 2,676,565; Prohibitionists, 4,715; decline-to-state, 167,958; and miscellaneous, 27,553, for a total registration of 6,752,421. The Prohibitionists do not constitute a genuine third party. This organization which had been a part of the California political scene since 1875 failed to qualify as a result of the 1958 election. For sentimental reasons, however, the 1959 legislature lowered the voting strength necessary to qualify a party and the Prohibitionists were reinstated for 1960. The extent of political participation in California in 1958 compared favorably with the records of states of similar population: 61.6 per cent of the potential electorate actually voted. The figures for New York were 54 per cent and for Pennsylvania, 56.8 per cent. The vote for the House of Representatives in 1958 was 13.1 per cent over the 1954 response and paralleled the national trend, showing a net loss for the Republican party of 8.5 per cent.[62]

The behavior of the California electorate can only be rationalized in terms of several circumstances unique to the politics of the state. The number of registered voters has doubled twice within a generation; the practice of cross-filing has deprived the parties of both the right to nominate their own candidates and to normal partisan support at the polls. Paradoxically, the party with the minority of registrants has dominated state politics for virtually half-a-century.

The number of registrants jumped from 1,532,384 in 1922 to 3,140,114 in 1934 and reached 6,408,821 by 1958. A significant corollary development found the traditional Republican majority descending from 63.2 per cent in 1922 to 45.6 in 1934, reaching 41.3 in 1956, while the Democratic minority percentage of 20.8 in 1922 rose to a majority of 49.6 in 1934 and reached 55.8 in 1956.[63]

The Democrats have never relinquished their majority position in the electorate since winning that status in 1934 for the first time in modern history.

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[62] Figures from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Estimates of the Civilian Population of Voting Age for States: November 1958.* Series P-25, No. 185, October 22, 1958; and Research Staff, Republican National Committee, *The 1958 Elections* (mimeographed; Washington, March 1959). The Communist party is banned from participating in state elections. In the 1950 primary and before the law became effective, one Bernadette Doyle, a Communist candidate for the nonpartisan office of state superintendent of public instruction, amassed 605,000 votes from a poorly informed and apathetic electorate.

[63] Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–73. The figures do not represent a steady progression, since there were highs and lows within the periods mentioned. In the decade 1930–40 Bell reports that the total number of registrants increased 1,807,167, the Democrats gaining approximately 2,000,000 voters while the Republicans were losing 200,000. During this Depression decade, it should be noted that additions to the electorate came, in part, from potential, unregistered voters.

Many reasons have been advanced to explain Republican domination of a state with a majority of Democratic registrants: press support, greater financial resources, better and more experienced candidates, less factionalism, utilization of pre-primary nomination machinery, gerrymandering of assembly and congressional districts, and cross-filing.[64]

Certainly one of the most significant results of the Progressive party's reform movement was the introduction of cross-filing which permitted voters to cross party lines in a primary election and therefore to influence the selection of the opposition party's candidate. Under a strong emotional appeal for nonpartisanship, signalized by the admonition to "vote the man, not the party," a substantial "swing-vote" developed in each election, representing registrants who deserted their party's candidate. Both parties must contend with this swing vote, but the Democrats have usually lost a substantially larger proportion of their adherents to Republican candidates, thus nullifying to a marked degree the presumed Democratic majority of registrants. Until candidates were identified by party label on the 1954 ballot, for instance, the Democrats lost between 25 and 45 per cent of their nominal registrants to cross-filed Republicans in primary elections, while about 25 per cent of the pseudo-Republicans voted for cross-filed Democrats.[65]

To the degree that the factors cited explain the ascendancy of the Republican party, they may also support the thesis that Republicans have been better equipped to capture a larger share of this swing vote. Another important consideration is the fact that there is a long-established trend in California politics indicating that voters prefer incumbents, regardless of party. Candidate incumbency has definitely favored the Republicans during recent years.

The year 1954 marked an important reversal of past trends in voting behavior and inaugurated a resurgence of loyalty in both parties. A careful statistical treatment of this election indicates that about 75 per cent of the Democrats and roughly 85 per cent of the Republicans voted their party affiliation. In the same year the dramatic impact of party identification upon the practice of cross-filing was demonstrated.

Since the entire organizational apparatus of both the official Democratic party and its several auxiliaries underwent an administrative and spiritual renascence which coincided with other complicated events of the period, it is not possible to identify the revival of the two-party system solely with changes in registration, the swing vote, or the legal device of cross-filing. In 1958, for instance, during the last election before the abolition of the practice, Democrat Edmund G. Brown cross-filed in the gubernatorial primary to win 22.5 per cent of the Republican vote, while his opponent, United States Senator William F. Knowland, captured 13.6 per cent of the Democratic vote, indicating partisan awareness on the part of the voters of both parties.

An important trend has developed in partisan voting for the United States House of Representatives. In the six elections held during the decade 1948 to

[64] Harris and Rowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–15.

[65] Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 281–82, *passim.*

1958 there has been a progressive diminution in the percentage of the statewide Republican congressional vote: 59.4 (1948), 54.2, 54, 48.5, 47.6 and 40 (1958). The loss of 19.4 percentage points over the ten-year period has occurred in spite of what is considered to be an expert Republican gerrymander executed in 1951, which left that party in possession, as recently as 1956, of 56.7 per cent of the congressional seats, while claiming only 41.3 per cent of the registered voters in the state. This circumstance would seem to confirm the Democratic thesis that the party's support is so great and so widely spread throughout the state that very little gerrymandering will be required to seize and retain control of the congressional delegation since the state legislature was captured in 1960.

The National Scene

California has contributed perhaps a half-dozen outstandingly prominent personalities in national politics during the past generation, but there has been a signal lack of influence and strength commensurate with its economic and social importance in the life of the nation. National attention was focused on California's presidential politics several times during the first decades of the present century. The electorate abandoned its traditional Republicanism to support Progressive Theodore Roosevelt and his California running mate, Governor Hiram Johnson, thus aiding in the defeat of William H. Taft and the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912. It was California's vote that gave Wilson his narrow margin of victory in 1916. By 1928, California had produced its own first successful presidential candidate, albeit not a native son, in Republican Herbert Hoover. But by 1950, only six Californians had achieved cabinet rank. During the first hundred years of congressional representation only eight held major committee chairmanships in the House and eight in the Senate. For the first session of the 86th Congress, not a single Californian achieved that status.[66]

Several explanations may be offered for the state's delayed rise to national political prominence, including late entry into the Union, geographical remoteness from the power centers of the eastern seaboard, and the gradualness of economic integration. Undoubtedly a primary cause has been the weak party system which has proven chronically incapable of providing elected officials with the necessary length of service, and the resulting seniority, vital to the establishment of claims to national power. Of California's members of the 86th Congress only one was in his twelfth term, four were in their first, and twenty-two out of thirty had been elected for five terms or less. In the Senate, the senior member was second ranking minority member on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and seventh on the Appropriations Committee. The junior senator was eighth ranking majority member on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce and ninth on

[66] See David Farrelly and Maurice A. Hall, "Californians in Congress," in Farrelly and Hinderaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–37. California's "doubtful state" status in national politics would tend to belie such a paucity of national recognition: the presidential elections of 1880, 1892, and 1912 were each won by a margin of less than 300 votes and in 1873, 1896, and 1916 the margin was less than 5,000. The change of a single vote in each of the state's precincts would theoretically have provided Dewey with victory in 1948.

the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.[67] Furthermore, the congressional delegation has reflected the schisms which dominate state politics and therefore has not been particularly effective as a unit with national issues of local significance. Only occasionally has it tried to develop a unified policy on matters of concern to Californians.

The decade of 1950–60 has evidenced symptoms of a change in the destinies of the state in national politics. The post-World War II era reflects the integration and accelerated growth and development of the economy, begun under forced draft by the demands of the war. California is deeply involved in a representative cross-section of the major issues of national policy such as agricultural subsidy; highway and school construction; health, welfare and old age assistance; public housing; conservation; water and hydroelectric power development; unemployment compensation; civil defense; veterans' affairs; unionism; racial and religious minority problems; tariff and trade policy; and foreign policy. In 1957, the Federal Bureau of Internal Revenue collected over 6.5 billion dollars from the state while federal aid payments to state and local governments totaled nearly 400 million dollars, and to individuals and organizations exceeded 139 million dollars.[68]

Under the impetus of in-migration, the burgeoning population is providing the raw material for political power. The abolition of cross-filing and the resounding Democratic victory of 1958 may presage the beginning of a genuine two-party system and the recapture by each party of normal political functions usurped by the sundry auxiliaries.

Added to the possibilities inherent in an internal political rejuvenation of the party system in California is the assumption by leaders in both parties of leading roles in the regional associations of the thirteen western states. The Far West is tied together by shared economic interests of great importance in national policy. Both major parties are attempting to transpose this natural affinity for joint economic action into the realm of national politics. Whereas all thirteen states will undoubtedly share in such plans, none will benefit more than California.

The recent manifestations of the state's political power-potential are impressive. California has provided the Republican candidates for the vice presidency during the last three elections: Earl Warren in 1948 and Richard Nixon in 1952 and 1956. Governor Warren was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1953. William F. Knowland has enjoyed a distinguished career (1945–58) as Republican minority leader and policy chairman in the United States Senate. His decision to abandon the Senate in 1958 to compete with Goodwin J. Knight for the Republican gubernatorial nomination was accepted by his friends as well as his opponents as the first step in a bid for the presidency. These events, coupled with the appointment of Senator Thomas Kuchel to the position of

[67] California Representatives in the 86th Congress, 1st session:

Terms of Office	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	
No. of Congressmen	1	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	11	4	3	4	Total 30

[68] State of California, *California Statistical Abstract, op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.

Republican party whip, testify to the capability of the dominant party in the state to project its influence into the national political scene. The nomination of Vice President Nixon as the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1960 is further evidence of the state's enhanced importance.

No matter how devious the political path Californians have trod historically, the state seems destined to become the national axis of the two major parties. The anticipated increment of eight electoral votes following the 1960 decennial census will make California's total of forty a prize in the presidential race second only to New York's estimated forty-two.[69] Political leaders look forward with confidence to assuming first place after 1970. The national leadership of both parties has shown keen interest in the rocketing importance of the Golden State on the political horizon. It undoubtedly faces a brilliant political destiny in the future of the nation.

[69] Electoral votes:

	1941	Place	1951	Place	1961	Estimated Place 1971
California	25	5	32	3 (tie)	40	1
New York	47	1	45	1	42	

Colorado: the Highest State

CURTIS MARTIN

EVER SINCE COLORADO was admitted to the Union in 1876, the Republicans and Democrats have fairly evenly divided the major political offices. Nevertheless, there have been an imposing number of rather strong minor parties, among them the following: Greenback Labor, Populist, Prohibition, Independent, Socialist, Bull Moose, Silver Republican, National Silver, and Progressive. The Progressives elected a United States representative in 1893.

Colorado politics, like that of most frontier states, has always been fundamentally democratic. The originial governmental and political institutions, mining camp rules and regulations, water rights customs, etc., were designed and controlled by ordinary citizens, all of whom had an approximately equal voice in the political process. The first specific statement in the Colorado constitution, written in 1876, is based on and preserves this democratic heritage: "We declare . . . that all political power is vested in and derived from the people; that all government, of right, originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

Of the several unique political practices in Colorado, perhaps the most interesting is the system of nominating candidates for office, a combination of the convention and direct primary methods. Although candidates are nominated by direct primary elections, their names are in almost every case placed on the ballot as a result of action taken by a formal party convention (called an assembly in Colorado), rather than by petition. Although the petition is permitted in Colorado, very few candidates for high office, with a few exceptions in the case of the United States House of Representatives, have ever had their names placed on the ballot in this manner.

This pre-primary convention system gives the parties much control over nominations, while at the same time the voters have a final check on them. It

Note: The writer wishes to thank the Council on Research and Creative Work of the University of Colorado for the award of a Faculty Fellowship which afforded him the time to complete this study.

combines the advantages of both the primary and convention methods of nomination while avoiding their defects.

Political party history in Colorado may be separated into three rather distinct periods: Republican dominance from 1876 to 1909; Democratic dominance from 1910 to 1919; and since 1920, nearly equal competition. Two-party competition is strong and Coloradans are independent, critical, and unpredictable in their voting habits, often times splitting their tickets and voting for the "man and not the party."

Geography and Resources

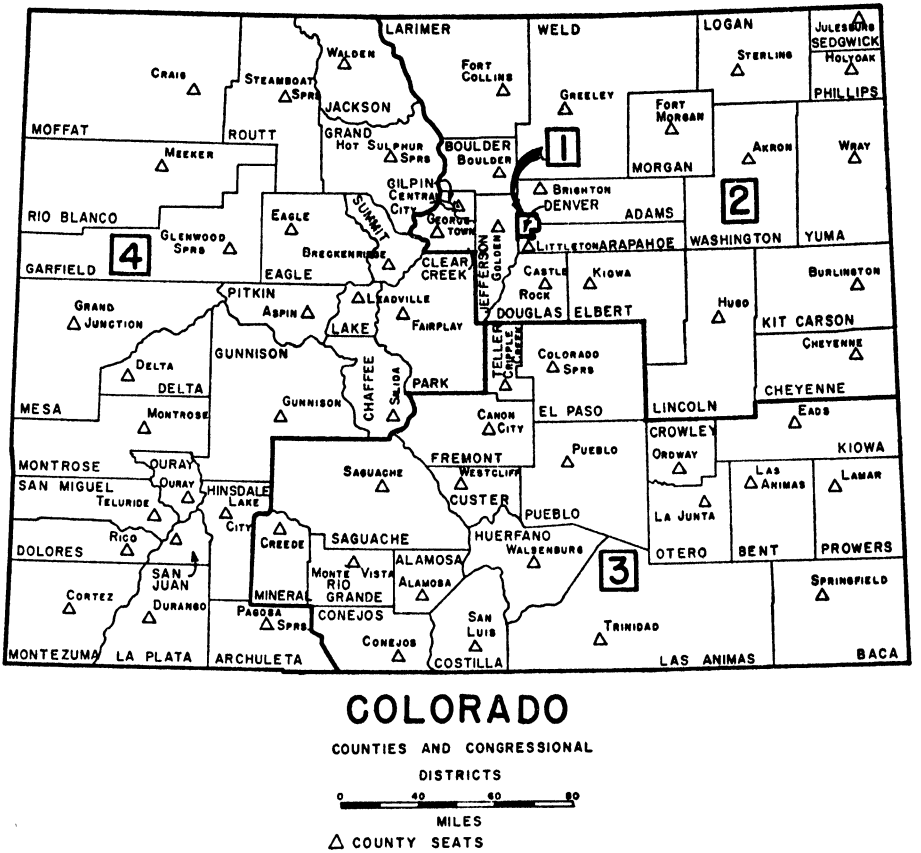
Colorado, popularly known as the "highest state," has many contrasts in its physical and topographic characteristics, as well as in its politics. The two major physical subdivisions are the high plains which comprise roughly the eastern third, and range from approximately 3,500 to 6,000 feet in elevation, and the Rocky Mountains, which dominate the central and southwestern part, with fifty-five peaks along the Continental Divide rising over 14,000 feet.

The concentration of roughly 75 per cent of the population in the Denver area and in a narrow strip along the face of the mountains north and south of Denver presents a number of economic and political peculiarities and problems. This situation, plus the variety of climatic and other geographical conditions, has produced a great diversity of interests and, inevitably, some conflicts among the inhabitants of the different parts of the state. The Western Slope is isolated by the Continental Divide from the metropolitan areas along the east face of the Rocky Mountains, and is distinctly rural in character. This condition has produced an attitude at variance with the mind and interests of the urban dwellers around Denver. Similarly, the interests of the farmers on the eastern plains, although there is no physical barrier, are also far removed from those of the people who live in the densely populated areas.

Not only are the present-day economic interests of the various sections of the state different: in addition, the history, traditions, and attitudes of the people vary from one place to another. The residents of Denver and Colorado Springs have long been typically urban in their outlook; Pueblo has been an important steel city since the 1890's; and mining has dominated the mountain and Western Slope region since the 1860's. Throughout most of the present century, cattle raising has been important in both the mountain and high plains areas while dry farming has been the mainstay of the eastern plains.

Population and Industrial Growth

The most significant development in Colorado during recent years has been the tremendous increase in the population in a few places in the state, while other parts have suffered a loss. The extraordinary rate of growth has been due largely to migrants who have come into the state in a series of waves beginning with the gold rush of 1859. The population of Colorado has increased fifty fold since then, while that of the nation has increased about sixfold. Between 1950 and 1958, according to an estimate made by the Colorado State Planning Division, there was an increase of 386,000, a jump of 29 per cent — about double the rate of



the country as a whole. In 1959, the Bureau of the Census listed Denver as the third fastest growing metropolitan center in the United States, with a four-county area population increase of 48 per cent since 1950, an estimated 2,650 persons a month. This accounts for most of the entire state's gain in the past decade.

While some of the counties grew rapidly, twenty-nine of the sixty-three experienced a decrease in population. Highest gains were registered in those enjoying industrial expansion, growth in military and other federal government operations, oil and gas development, and uranium exploration. Twenty of the counties showing population declines were primarily agricultural, three were depressed coal-mining areas, and the remainder suffered reduced mining operations of other types, principally gold.

Specifically, what were the causes of Colorado's population explosion during the 1950's, and what determined its particular pattern? The number of persons over 65 increased by 20 per cent between 1950 and 1957, about the national average. But this group accounted for a smaller portion of the Colorado total in 1957 than it did in 1950. On the other hand, the state had more young people, proportionately, in 1958 than in 1950, the increase amounting to approximately 40 per

cent, compared with the United States average of about 25 per cent. The relative gain in working-age population was three-and-one-half times the national average.

The greatest increase in employment was among those working for government. In 1958, more people in Colorado were employed as civilians (37,000) by government, than were employed in any single industry in the state. Another 50,000 were military personnel, and about 65,000 were employed by state and local governments. By comparison, manufacturing provided approximately 74,000 jobs. One of every four persons employed in Colorado in 1958 worked for some branch of government, civilian or military. Furthermore, increases in manufacturing employment among private concerns were attributable largely to defense contracts let by the armed forces and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Many economic, political, and social problems have arisen as a result of these rapid changes from a rural to an industrial state. The shift in population has, for example, had a great impact on education. Many new schools are vitally needed, a fact which has had political repercussions in terms of urban and rural demands for appropriations. A rapidly expanding college enrollment, urban renewal, delinquency, care of the sick and aged, are other examples of new problems suddenly thrust upon a state which until a short time ago was frontier in character. Urban-rural conflict and interdependence have supplanted self-sufficiency.

Press and Public Opinion

There are approximately 150 newspapers published in Colorado. Of these, 26 are dailies and the remaining 124 are weeklies, some of them, like the *Record Stockman*, of significance only to specialized groups, and many with a very small local circulation. Only two Colorado newspapers circulate widely across the entire state and beyond its boundaries — the *Denver Post* and the *Rocky Mountain News*. The *Post* devotes a larger percentage of its space to local political news than other papers of its size and circulation normally do. The *Post* crusades with great persistence. It may pursue, over a period of years, a given issue or a proposal that it wants enacted into law and usually it attains its objective. The newspaper has been a dynamo in the fields of reform of the highway department, civil service system, penal system, tax system, utility regulation, and procedures of the state legislature.[1]

In 1952, the *Post* was very strongly pro-Eisenhower and devoted much space to his support. It called attention time and again to the fact that those who liked him must attend the Republican precinct caucuses and vote for delegates to the county conventions who would support him. In a normal year about 6 to 10 persons attend such a caucus; in 1952, as many as 175 people attended, many of of them, apparently, as a direct result of the *Post*'s insistence about the matter.

In 1959, the *Post* took a strong stand against one of the candidates in Denver's nonpartisan mayoralty election. A month before the election this candidate was far ahead of his two opponents, according to reliable opinion polls. During the last weeks of the campaign the *Post* "threw the book" at him, using front page

[1] A. Gayle Waldrop, "Reborn *Denver Post* Has Prestige and Power," *Journalism Quarterly*, Summer 1951, p. 327.

stories, columns, and cartoons very effectively. By election day the paper had created an image of him that sent shivers down the back of many a voter, and he lost the election.

The *Rocky Mountain News* circulates almost as widely as the *Post* and is the only morning paper that is read throughout the region. No doubt it influences many voters but its prestige is not so great as is that of the *Post*, and its greatest impact is upon a different and less influential class of persons. Local newspapers affect local elections more than do the *News* and the *Post* which do not take much interest in local affairs outside the Denver area.

The two parties receive about an even break in the two large Denver dailies. The *News*, a Scripps-Howard paper, supports the Republican cause nationally and ordinarily does so locally, too. The *Post*, according to one of its own editorials, is "an independent newspaper. It is wedded neither to the right nor left, it is wedded neither to the Republican party nor to the Democratic party. Its recommendations will be made regardless of the party affiliation of the candidates." This is a fair statement of the *Post*'s usual policy.

Nominations, Elections, and Corrupt Practices

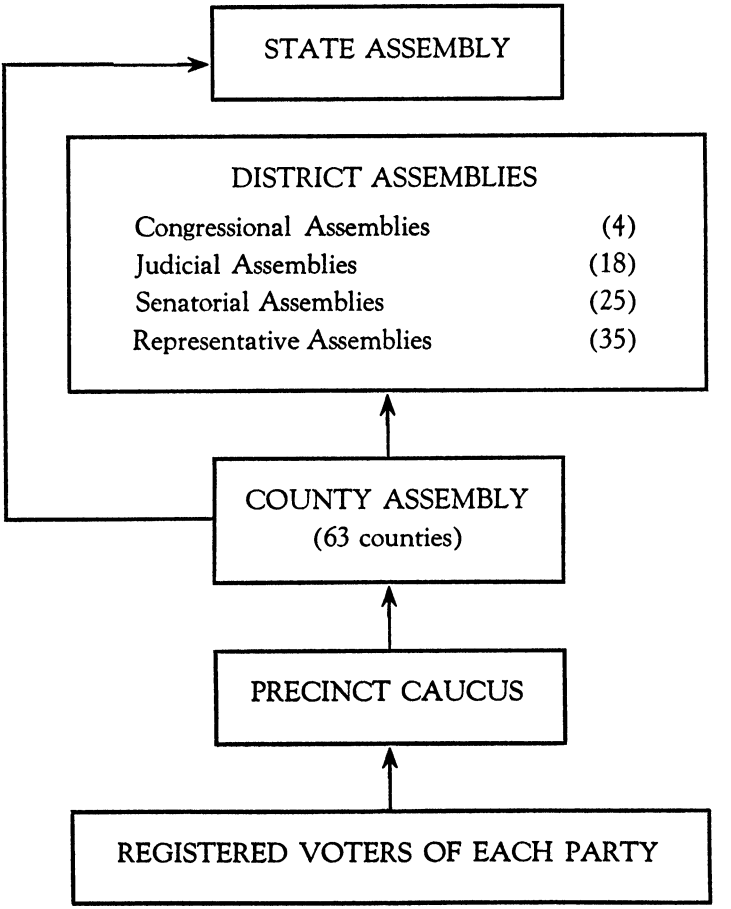
The nominating process is the very heart of the political process. Suitable candidates, since they may not spontaneously seek office because of the expense and personal sacrifice entailed, must be recruited. This should be done by those interested in good government; otherwise the candidates thus produced are not always of the highest caliber. If elections are to fulfill their democratic function, voters must be given a choice between qualified, informed, and honest candidates whose views on issues are made known to the public. Since no elected official can resolve all problems by himself, he must be affiliated with others who will cooperate with him. This means that he must belong to a political party consisting to some extent, at least, of like-minded persons. An ideal nominating system, then, would be one which brings forth good candidates under the umbrellas of responsible parties in direct competition with each other for the support of a majority of the voters.

In Colorado candidates may get on the primary ballot in one of two ways: by designation by a pre-primary convention or assembly, and by petition. The pre-primary convention system was adopted for very practical reasons. During the late 1800's and the first decade of the twentieth century there was a strong movement toward the direct primary method of nomination throughout most of the United States. Colorado was no exception. Still, many groups and individuals wanted to retain the old convention system. A rather bitter struggle ensued, neither side having sufficient power to win. Finally, in 1910 the two sides decided to compromise, to invent a system which incorporated both the primary and convention methods. This went into effect two years later. The pre-primary convention system is the by-product of this power struggle, rather than the result of any farsighted theory. But it has proved successful. The voters, the press, and the parties accept the system and have few reservations about it. There has been no serious effort to abolish or to modify it during the past forty years.

The designating assembly, usually called simply an assembly, is an organized meeting of party members or delegates held for the purpose of nominating party candidates whose names are to be placed on the primary election ballot. Such assemblies are held in the various counties, congressional, judicial, senatorial, and representative districts, and for the state at large. Only one ballot is taken for each office and all persons who receive 20 per cent or more of the votes cast may have their names placed on the primary ballot in the order of their ranking by the assembly.

Assemblies are regularly held every election year. Colorado statutes provide that no person may vote at any party caucus or assembly, or be named a candidate for office by a designating assembly, unless he has been a registered member of that party for a period of one year. The operation of this pre-primary conven-

COLORADO DESIGNATING ASSEMBLY SYSTEM



Legend: ——— Elects delegate to; – – – Are members of.

tion system of nomination gives the parties considerable strength, since they have control — at least to some extent — over who may run for office. The party affiliation rule helps to keep the nominating system within the hands of registered members of each party.

A nominating system should (1) be simple enough for the voters to understand its operation; (2) encourage and facilitate qualified citizens to become candidates; (3) promote party responsibility, and (4) be subject to popular control. How well does the Colorado pre-primary system meet these standards?

The system combines some of the better features of the petition and convention nominating methods and does not have any of the worst defects of either. It is simple and direct; it permits citizens to run for office even though they may not be the "pets" of the party organization, and at the same time it discourages persons without any real stature and public standing from becoming candidates. In this way some degree of party responsibility is developed, and at the same time registered members of each party have the final voice, at the primary election, in the determination of any contest for a nomination.

The requirement that a candidate receive 20 per cent of the delegate votes to obtain a designation at an assembly went into effect in 1928. In the subsequent elections, statistics show that upon almost every occasion more than one person was designated by both parties for each of the highest offices in the state. Only on three occasions during these years did the Democratic party designate only one candidate for the United States Senate, while the Republicans designated only one on seven occasions. In nine contests for governor, the Democrats designated only one candidate; the comparable figure for the Republicans was twelve. In most of these instances, the limited choice was because of the fact that an incumbent was running. In three primaries during these years in the race for the United States Senate, the candidate designated in the number two position by his party won the primary. Only once did this happen in the contest for governor.

These figures prove that — except when an incumbent is running — there is fairly ample opportunity for any strong candidate who wants to compete in the primary to do so. The figures also show that the voters sometimes select the person designated in second place by the party assembly. All in all, the system appears to be a satisfactory one.

Of course, the device is not perfect. Furthermore a nominating system, by itself, does not and cannot determine the entire character of a party system. The governmental organization, the existence of separation of powers, the long ballot, and the attitudes and expectations of the public, among other things, all work to mold a party system — along with the method of nomination. No one of these factors is determinative. It can be contended that the Colorado pre-primary does about as much as any nominatinng system, alone, can do to further responsible parties which are at the same time subject to popular control.[2]

A second way in which a candidate's name may be placed on the primary ballot is by petition. Such petitions must be signed by qualified voters in varying

[2] For nominating methods and the strengths and weaknesses of those now in use, see National Municipal League, *A Model Direct Primary Election System* (New York, 1951), a report prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of Joseph P. Harris.

numbers depending on the importance of the office sought. For example, petitions for county offices require at least 100 signatures; higher offices, 300; and there are special rules if the office be statewide. The names of all persons nominated by petition are placed on the primary ballot in alphabetical order following the names of those nominated by the designating assembly of the same party. The one-year party affiliation rule applies to petition candidates, as well as others.

Candidates who do not wish to affiliate with any political party may be nominated otherwise than by the primary election method. In such cases a "certificate of nomination" may be prepared and must be signed by at least 300 legal voters when the office involved is statewide. For county and district offices, at least 100 signatures are required, while 50 are needed for town or precinct offices. Candidates nominated in this manner are entitled to the same rights as those nominated at the direct primary elections.

The voter, then, has three different opportunities to participate in the nomination of candidates in Colorado: (1) by attending the precinct caucus of the party with which he is affiliated and registered; (2) by signing a petition to place a candidate's name on the primary ballot of one of the parties; and (3) by signing a "certificate of nomination" to place a candidate's name on the general election ballot. During recent years no candidate for high office (United States senator or representative, or governor) nominated by petition has been elected. Indeed, since 1928, only ten persons seeking these offices have been placed on the primary ballot by the petition method, and all of those so nominated were candidates for the House of Representatives. None of these won the primary election. Candidates for lower offices are more often nominated by petition than are those for higher office; and some of these have been elected. However, the election of such candidates is so infrequent as not to weaken the generalization that almost all candidates for offices of any significance are started on the road to nomination and election by action of designating assemblies.[3]

The candidate for each office who receives the highest vote (plurality) in each party primary wins the nomination. In the event that a vacancy occurs between the primary and the general election, the appropriate party committee is authorized to designate another person as the party's nominee.

Delegates to the national convention held by each party for the purpose of nominating presidential and vice-presidential candidates are selected in Colorado by convention. The process begins with the precinct caucus where delegates to the county convention are chosen. Any person who has been a registered member of a party for one year my attend and vote. From that point on — that is, at county, congressional district, state, and national conventions — only official delegates have a vote.

Although the convention system is designed to give the parties considerable control over the selection of delegates to the national convention, the ordinary voter cannot be excluded from the process if he wishes to participate. In 1952, for example, the experience of both parties in Colorado indicated the extent to

[3] Nothing that has been said here applies to nonpartisan city elections or to the presidential nominating process.

which the system can respond to organized insurgency against party leaders. In the Republican party, where Senator Millikin had long been a dominant force, the newcomers of the Eisenhower-for-President movement captured sixteen of the state's eighteen national convention votes from the pro-Taft "regulars."[4]

Since Colorado is a two-party state, almost all campaigns are vigorous and hard-fought. This does not mean, however, that candidates campaign strictly as Democrats or as Republicans. Instead, appeals are made across party lines and on many occasions candidates play down their party affiliation to a bare minimum. For instance, "Big Ed" Johnson, United States senator and governor of Colorado for twenty-four years (1932–56), and one of the best vote-getters the state has ever known, was generally said to be almost as much a Republican as a Democrat, although he was registered in the latter party. In Congress, he voted about half of the time with the Democratic and half with the Republican majority. In his words, he "voted for Colorado, for all the people of the state," and not for one party or the other. This approach may not further party responsibility, but it wins votes in Colorado.

Since the "independent" voters clearly hold the balance of power in almost every election in the state, candidates must not be too partisan in their campaigning or in their votes once they are in office. They therefore pursue "personal" rather than party politics. Furthermore, they must ordinarily be moderates — conservative at the right times about the right things and liberal at other times. Also, as Ed Johnson learned early in his political career, the voters are mainly interested in an issue that affects them directly — such as the roads past their farms. Johnson was inclined to believe that "red-hot primary fights" were more valuable in winning publicity and votes than were bitter general election campaigns. This view fitted in quite well with his almost nonpartisan approach to politics. It has been said of Johnson that he "proved that personality is more important in politics than issues or principles."[5] In some campaigns Johnson attempted to disassociate himself from the rest of the Democratic ticket. In 1948, for instance, in speaking to University of Colorado students, he said: "Do not be afraid to vote for a President on one ticket and a senator or governor on another." Apparently, Johnson believed that President Truman was not strong in Colorado and he did not want to have the President as a millstone around his neck.

Sometimes the issues fail to get much attention in a campaign. In 1952, John W. Metzger was the Democratic candidate for governor. His opponent was Dan Thornton, a Republican who had come to Colorado not many years before from Texas where he had been a Democrat. Metzger is reported to have made the following comment after he lost the election to Thornton: "I tried for two months to get that man to debate issues, but everytime I thought I had him

[4] For a description of how the convention system operated in both parties in Colorado in the 1952 campaign, see Curtis Martin, "Colorado," in *Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952*, Vol 5, *The West*, ed. Paul T. David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph M. Goldman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954).

[5] For a description of the nature of Colorado politics, see Patrick F. McCarty, "Big Ed Johnson — A Political Portrait" (Master's thesis, University of Colorado, n. d.).

cornered he would lead everyone in group singing of the 'Star Spangled Banner.' The 'Star Spangled Banner' was sung more often in this state in 1952 than all other times put together." Metzger also complained that other times when he challenged Thornton to a debate, the latter would launch into a prolonged eulogy about how beautiful Colorado was, and would always end up by saying that if Colorado's mountains were flattened out the state would be larger than Texas!

These incidents characterize Colorado campaigns. On the other hand, sometimes very complicated issues are debated long and hard by the candidates — for example, the "little cabinet" proposal and state finances during the 1958 campaign.

There is no limitation on the amounts that candidates may spend in the general election, but Colorado statutes provide that every candidate for public office must, within thirty days after the election, file an itemized statement showing in detail all the monies contributed or expended by him, directly or indirectly by himself or through any other person in "aid of his election." In primary elections, statements must be filed within ten days, and candidates are limited to "personal expenses" only, defined by law not to exceed $5,000 in the case of a candidate for the United States Senate, $2,500 for a state office or representative in Congress, and $1,000 for any other office. These limits apply to a period of one year immediately preceding the primary election.

The cost of campaigning for local offices in Colorado is ordinarily rather low, averaging from a few dollars to a few hundred. However, it is estimated that in a bitterly fought campaign for a United States Senate seat or for the governorship a total of $200,000 to $250,000 may be spent. Part of this cost is borne by the candidate, part by the party, and much of it by organizations and individuals interested in the outcome of the election. The cost of campaigning is increasing every year. As former Governor Ed Johnson has said: "Television campaign expenses are going to put political careers beyond the reach of all but wealthy men."

The statutes require that the reports of expenditures must be accompanied by an affidavit, subscribed and sworn to by the candidate, stating that the report is in "all respects true." County and state chairmen of the political parties are required to submit a statement of expenditures accompanied by a similar affidavit. The law provides that any one who violates these regulations "shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor." The reports are preserved until the next general election and are open to inspection by the public.

As in other states, the Colorado law depends almost entirely upon publicizing reported campaign costs as the means of restraining expenditures. It is doubtful if this method is effective. In the first place, general election reports need not be submitted until thirty days after the votes are cast, too late to have any bearing on the outcome. In the second place these expenditures are not limited by law, and even the falsification of a report is merely a misdemeanor and does not entail forfeiture of the election or any other drastic penalty. The chief avenue by which candidates escape is that they may disclaim any knowledge of expenditures made on their behalf by others; this may be true in many instances, since there is no

definite centralized responsibility for the management of a candidate's finances. The most serious aspect of campaign finances is that the large contributors, like other human beings, expect value received for their money.

Political Party Organization

Political party structure and organization in Colorado is rather eleborate and complex. State statutes are detailed and specific concerning almost everything pertaining to the nomination and election of county and state officials. With respect to the selection of municipal officers, presidential electors, delegates to national nominating conventions, and the filling of certain unexpired terms, the statutes either exclude party activity, as in the case of nonpartisan city elections, or allow the parties a considerable degree of freedom to operate as they please.

Generally speaking, the parties in Colorado are fairly strong, due to the fact that they have a rather large degree of control over the nominating process. However, party discipline is weak; county organizations are almost completely independent of each other and of the state organization. Party lines waver and often break on issues involving struggles between urban and rural interests. Furthermore "personal politics" flourishes and individual officials respond to what they consider to be the wishes of their own constituents or those of "all the people" — regardless of attempts to establish a party line by majority decision of the leaders of the party. For these reasons, independence is the battle cry of elected officials in Colorado, and the voters ordinarily admire assertions and evidences of "independence" on the part of their representatives. One of the most common statements made in praise of a politician runs as follows: "He has a mind of his own. Nobody tells him how to vote."

Colorado statutes distinguish between a "political party" and a "political organization." The courts have ruled that an association of voters who, by petition, place on the official ballot a nominee for public office is a "political organization," even though it is not its intention to be so. To become a political party, such an organization must participate in a general election and its candidate for governor must receive at least 10 per cent of the total vote cast at such an election. A political party cannot nominate candidates by petition. A political organization cannot coalesce with another political organization, nor lose its identity therein by the mere fact that its candidates, principles, and management are the same.

There are three distinct aspects of party organization in Colorado: the committee system, the designating assembly system, and the convention system. These three elements are closely interwoven in practice. The committee system is similar to that found in other states, except that it is somewhat more elaborate; the convention system is much like that of many other states; the designating assembly system is unusual. Precinct meetings for the purpose of selecting delegates to a county convention are called "caucuses." Conventions may be employed to nominate "special" candidates such as those to fill vacancies created by the death or resignation of members of Congress, for municipal offices in incorporated towns (home rule cities may adopt any legal system they wish), and for

presidential electors. These "special" candidates may also be nominated by a "certificate of nomination," a type of petition method. All other nominations are made by petition or by the designating assemblies. Delegates sent to these assemblies have the responsibility for selecting candidates to be placed on the primary ballot.

Voters are required to register at least fourteen days before an election. If a voter changes his residence just before an election, he may vote in person or by absentee ballot at his place of previous residence, assuming that he is fully qualified and registered there. Registration is permanent as long as the voter continues to reside at the same address and votes in each general election. The voter must state his party affiliation when he registers in order to qualify to vote for party nominations in the direct primary election. He may change his affiliation at the polls if he contends that he has been registered incorrectly. In 1958, over one-third of those who registered declined to state a party affiliation and thus were deprived of the right to vote in the primary election of either party.

County central committees are chosen at the primary elections and are composed of a committeeman and committeewoman from each precinct. The size of these committees varies from six in the smallest county to almost nine hundred in Denver. The state central committee of each party is comprised of all county chairmen and vice-chairmen. Each county that polls 10,000 votes for the gubernatorial candidate of a given party is awarded two additional members on the central committee, and beyond that, two more for each subsequent 10,000 votes, or major portion thereof. These are elected by the county central committees. Members of the general assembly and state officers are members of the state central committee of their respective parties.

During recent years the Republican state central committee has had a membership of roughly 175 to 200, while the Democratic committee has been slightly larger. Such bodies are too unwieldy to make administrative decisions so each party has delegated these duties to an executive committee.

The Democratic party of Colorado has for several years been better organized at the state level than has the Republican party. Campaigning today is a year-around job and the Democrats, with a paid, full-time state chairman (or executive director), have been in a better position than the Republicans (non-paid and part-time chairman) to work effectively throughout the entire year. Since 1960, however, the Republican party has employed a full-time field director, and this officer has tended to offset the lack of a full-time chairman. The chairman of the Republican state central committee is ordinarily almost completely free to operate as he pleases; the Democratic party tends to advise and control its chairman more thoroughly. Each party publishes a weekly newspaper. Congressional, judicial, senatorial, and representative district committees exist for the purpose of organizing and conducting campaigns in each such district, but in some instances these committees are not well led and in others they exist in name only, if at all. Furthermore, at all levels, state and local, individual candidates for office must in the main conduct their own campaigns. They cannot expect much help from the party organization, and, therefore, have no great sense of responsibility to it.

However, in Colorado, candidates are somewhat more obligated to the party than is the case in most states, because of the fact that they must receive some support from the party in order to get on the primary ballot. The designating assemblies thus play a role in the matter of party responsibility.

Conventions are held by each party every presidential election year. Starting with the precinct caucus, delegates are elected to attend the county convention, the congressional district convention, and the state convention. The courts have ruled that participants must have been registered members of their political party for a period of one year prior to the date of the convention.

The state convention of each party (1) elects a national committeeman and committeewoman; (2) nominates presidential electors; (3) elects delegates to the national convention. In 1960, the Republican party of Colorado was entitled to send eighteen delegates to the national convention — two from each of the four congressional districts, and ten elected at large. The Democrats were entitled to twenty-one, four from each congressional district and four from the state at large. In addition, the national committeeman and committeewoman were automatically delegates and had one-half vote each. Neither party requires these delegates to pledge themselves to support a particular candidate and the use of the so-called "unit rule" is prohibited.

Partially as a result of the fact that the parties are fairly strong in Colorado, there are few informal political organizations with any great strength. Such groups as the Young Democrats, Young Republicans, National Federation of Republican Women, Republican Associates, Inc., and Jane Jefferson clubs give some aid to one or other of the two major parties. With the exception of Republican Associates, Inc., which played a very important role in the re-election of U.S. Senator Eugene Millikin in 1950, and which created much of the support given Eisenhower by Colorado in the 1952 convention, these organizations are merely auxiliaries and are subordinate to their respective parties. There are no extra-party groups in Colorado in any way comparable in strength and influence to such organizations as the Republican Assembly and the Democratic Council in California, for example. Perhaps the most significant influence that the Young Republicans and Young Democrats have arises from the fact that many young members have moved very rapidly into positions of prominence in the regular party during the last few years. This situation has tended to integrate the young groups and the regulars rather thoroughly. Integration has been greater in the Democratic party than in the Republican. Quite naturally, the main efforts of the young groups have been devoted to attempts to "liberalize" the parent parties. The "old guard" Republicans continue to control the party structure, whereas the "liberals" have more power than the conservatives within the Democratic party hierarchy on most occasions. In neither case does the dominant faction within the party hierarchy necessarily control the elected officials of the party.

Party responsibility is a problem in Colorado as it is elsewhere. The major purpose of democracy is to make government accountable to the people. Some people believe that this is best accomplished by means of a "responsible party sys-

tem," in which the parties present definite programs to the voters for their consideration during a campaign and the winning party then carries out its program. To achieve either of these objectives, a party must be in a position to assure that those who run for office under its umbrella agree with the major planks in the party platform and will support them by action after an election. It therefore must have considerable control over the nominating process—must have the power to prevent persons who do not agree with its program from using the party name and resources.

In Colorado, there is a decided lack of responsible party government because there is no responsible party system. The present dependence of the parties upon volunteers, the independence of the various units within the party hierarchy, and the general looseness of party organization make it difficult for ordinary unorganized citizens to control government policy. The 96,000 residents of Denver who registered as "independents" in 1958 almost completely ruled themselves out of any effective control over the government of the state. They had no voice at all in the nominating process; they neither attended precinct meetings nor participated in primary campaigns. Approximately one-third of the registered voters in Colorado reside in Denver, and it is perfectly clear that the nonpartisan city government representing these voters does not have its proportionate share of influence upon state policies — decided by a partisan general assembly. By remaining aloof from partisan politics, Denver (and all other nonpartisan cities) simply allows the counties, towns, and other partisan subdivisions to control the politics and, therefore, the government of the state. In the Denver-outstate struggle, Denver thus fails to make use of one of its greatest opportunities.

The change to four-year terms for county and state officials in Colorado, recently adopted, may also tend to decrease citizen interest in politics. In a sense, this change took these officers "out of politics" to some degree. And the larger the number of things that are taken "out of politics" the less control the people will have over their government.

Pressure Groups

In Colorado, as in other states, the citizen may have two types of representation in his government: that given by his elected representatives, and that given by representatives of one or more of the "pressure" groups with which he is associated.

Among the citizens of Colorado there are many interests to be found, and each of these, especially if it is organized, may upon occasion lobby in an effort to influence some aspect of government policy or administration. Some groups are highly organized, large, powerful, and hire expensive lobbyists: others are small and loosely organized and may not make a practice of deliberately and directly employing lobbying techniques.

Colorado statutes require that lobbyists, those working directly to influence the decisions of the general assembly, must register and must indicate what organizations or groups they represent, and the nature of their special interests. In 1959 there were approximately one hundred and fifty lobbyists registered with

each house of the general assembly. Many of these were duplicate, the same lobbyists registering with each chamber. They represented interests all the way from architecture to onions. Most of the lobbyists were associated with the following interests: labor, insurance, the city of Denver, railroads, mining, schools, and motels. The groups represented may be separated into three general categories: (1) corporations and companies; (2) general associations such as the Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturers Association, Grocers Association, labor unions, farmers' organizations, etc.; and (3) "public interest" groups such as the League of Women Voters, women's groups in general, parent-teachers association, etc. The groups and organizations in each of these categories use the same types of methods in their attempts to influence legislation; the major difference between them is that their objectives are not the same. A given corporation may attempt to keep taxes down; another group may try to prevent the passage of regulations affecting it; another may be interested in imposing regulations on competitors. The Colorado Municipal League, for instance, attempts to get legislation passed that will benefit its member cities, and works to prevent the passage of unfavorable legislation. The Chamber of Commerce wants legislation that will bring in new business, new money, more tourists. The Colorado Education Association wants more money for schools, higher wages for teachers, etc. The League of Women Voters is interested in improving the government generally; it fights for equal rights for all citizens and "public," nonpartisan, non-special-benefit legislation.

In January, 1953, the *Readers Digest* published an article in which it was stated that a man named John A. Schwarz, a lobbyist for the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, was the "secret boss" of Colorado. This story was exaggerated, but nevertheless Schwarz was a very influential man. The *Denver Post* printed an editorial about him which illustrates how a lobbyist exerts influence. In part the editorial stated:

> We have watched Mr. Schwarz operate for a good many years. We have theories about the reasons for his success. One is that he works harder at being a lobbyist than anyone else. Also, he knows the legislative process inside and out and he looks ahead.
>
> He starts . . . by trying to get bills into the right committees — the ones where he has friends. Why does Mr. Schwarz have friends in committees? He works at it . . . does favors for everyone. He may ask a committee to approve a bill in which his own company, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, has no particular interest. He may do it for a senator whose help Mr. Schwarz may want to enlist later on in the session in connection with a bill which would affect his company. Nor are Mr. Schwarz' favors limited to the periods when the legislature is in session. If a senator from out in the country wants to come to Denver after the session is over and has trouble getting a hotel room, Mr. Schwarz, we feel sure, could be counted upon to line up the necessary reservation.
>
> Mr. Schwarz even does favors for newspaper reporters whom he likes. He is the best source of "inside news" at the capitol but he is careful not to violate confidences.
>
> Mr. Schwarz has no mystic formula as far as we have been able to discover. He has savvy and puts in long hours. If the people at large do not attend to legislative business as diligently as he does, it is their fault if the laws they want are not passed. That's the real lesson to be learned from his success.

Lobbying is not illegal. It is not even reprehensible unless a lobbyist uses improper methods, such as bribery and other means of paying for votes. The constitution guarantees citizens the right to lobby, and success in the political process very nearly requires that all groups engage in it — since some other groups will do so.

Many interest groups play a role in the campaigns. Those which contribute money but do not work openly and actively in the campaign itself do not receive much public notice, but their role may be decisive. Business, labor, and other groups contribute large sums to the parties, or directly to candidates. However, labor unions contribute something more valuable than money, namely, manpower. In 1956, in the first election held after the CIO-AFL merger, labor made a good showing in Colorado. In Denver, for instance, all but one of the seventeen winning candidates for the state House of Representatives were strongly endorsed by the Colorado Committee on Political Education (COPE), the political arm of the AFL-CIO Colorado Labor Council, and all five of the victorious candidates for the state Senate were backed by the same organization; indeed, three of the five elected were union members. According to Eldon W. Cooper, president of the Denver area COPE, labor concentrated its efforts upon getting union members and other citizens registered and to the polls on election day. In Pueblo, for example, in answer to a preliminary questionnaire, 95 per cent of the union members in the city stated that they were registered to vote. A check showed that only 34 per cent actually were registered. Follow-up action got most of the others on the rolls by election day. "We felt," said Cooper, "that if we could get a good turnout the majority would vote in accordance with what we believe is their best interests. We figured that if all we did was pick up two or three votes in each precinct it would be worth the trouble."

It is sometimes assumed that labor has more influence in Colorado politics than any other group. The unions do not support either party as such; instead, they work for particular candidates. It is clear, however, that the majority of the candidates they support are Democrats.[6] A recent study[7] of labor's political role in Colorado indicates that a high percentage of union members, as well as labor leaders, believe that the Democratic party has generally favored the program of organized labor more than has the Republican party. They believe the Democratic party is in "closer touch with the common man and understands labor's problems and looks toward their interests" more than does the Republican party. Of the union members questioned, 88 per cent stated that they did not believe that the "union leaders control the member's vote" in political elections. They argued that such a thing is "impossible because each man makes up his own mind." Such an argument could be made, they said, only "by those who don't know anything about" the subject.

Opposition of each of the major political parties to bills [in the Colorado General Assembly] concerned with benefits to labor has declined substantially

[6] For details about the 1956 election and labor's part in it, see Curtis Martin, "The 1956 Election in Colorado," *Western Political Quarterly*, X (March 1957), 117–21.

[7] George E. Bardwell and Harry Seligson, *Organized Labor and Political Action in Colorado: 1900–1960* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1959).

[since 1949]. In three of the assemblies a greater proportion of Republicans than Democrats supported labor. However, it is noted that in all but four of the assemblies Democrats voted unanimously to favor labor's position. . . . In the main, the Democrats have shown the most consistent attitude [favorable to labor]. In the past decade, though, there appears to have been a considerable narrowing of differences between the parties on labor issues. Measures unfavorable to labor which reach final reading in the assembly have virtually disappeared in the assembly. . . . It is questionable that [labor] would have done as well through labor-sponsored candidates.[8]

It may be that factors other than party label are the significant ones in determining a politician's attitude toward labor. As Harmon Kallman of the *Denver Post* has pointed out, there is in Colorado an interesting alliance between the unions and the farmers. Leaders of the Colorado Labor Council and the Rocky Mountain Farmers Union have been working together in campaigns and in the general assembly, chiefly with the Democratic party. This informal partnership helped to defeat the "right-to-work" amendment that was on the ballot in 1958; it helped to elect a pacifist college professor to Congress in a "safe" Republican district in the same year; it helped to put a Farmers Union stalwart in as chairman of the Democratic party in 1958, and helped keep a rural-slanted legislative reapportionment proposal off the ballot despite the fact that only the Farmers Union among rural groups opposed it. Nothing comparable to the present farmer-labor alliance has been seen in Colorado since the days of the Populist movement in the 1890's.

The objective of the alliance, according to its leaders, is to fight "middlemen and monopolists" and industrial and farm groups with a conservative bias, notably the Colorado Farm Bureau and the Manufacturers Association of Colorado. Apparently, there is no formal agreement between the two groups. Instead, the effectiveness of the alliance arises from the fact that eight members of the Farmers Union and of organized labor were members of the 1959–60 general assembly, and in several instances were chairmen of important committees. Another part of the underpinning for the partnership is evident in a statement made by George Cavender, president of the Colorado Labor Council. He remarked that the two groups "happen to think alike on highways, institutions, colleges, schools, taxation and many other broad areas of legislation."

This alliance between unions and farmers is the major explanation of the support that labor legislation has enjoyed in the general assembly during recent years, not simply that labor is allied with the Democratic party or vice versa.

If business, or any other group, is unhappy about its own success in the general assembly, its recourse is to take a more active part in the electoral process, just as labor and farmers are doing. There are signs that businessmen are becoming aware that they are confronted with this alternative. Since the 1958 election, local chambers of commerce throughout the state have been conducting seminars in practical politics that have been attended by large numbers of persons. The National Association of Manufacturers is making efforts to educate its members

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff.

concerning the basic facts of political life, including the need for active participation by businessmen in politics.

Legislative Politics

The constitution of Colorado provides that the general assembly, after each ten-year census made by the United States, "shall revise and adjust the apportionment for senators and representatives, on the basis of such enumeration according to ratios to be fixed by law." The general assembly has not reapportioned its seats on a strict population basis since 1913. The only major reapportionment since that date was one forced through by means of an action initiated by the people in 1932.

In 1953, the general assembly fixed the following ratios for its seats: one senator for the first 19,000 population in each senatorial district, and one additional senator for each additional 50,000 (or fraction over 48,000); one representative for the first 8,000 in each representative district, and one more for each additional 25,500 (or fraction over 22,400). On the basis of the 1950 census, a senator from the Sixth District represented 19,438 people, while one from the Twenty-second District represented 56,602. On the basis of the estimated figures for 1958, the former represented 21,400 persons; the latter, almost five times as many. A similar, but more exaggerated pattern obtains for the representatives from the Cheyenne-Lincoln and the Jefferson districts. The former represented about 7,600 people and the latter, about seven times as many (56,000).

The figures cited are instances of the most extreme cases of malapportionment in Colorado. They illustrate the manner in which the more rural areas are overrepresented in the general assembly. In 1958, the six largest senatorial districts contained about 63 per cent of the state's population but had only 43 per cent of the representation in the Senate.

In 1954, an amendment to reapportion the general assembly was placed on the ballot. Known as the "federal plan," it provided for the reapportionment of the sixty-five House seats on a strict population basis after each U.S. census. The proposal would have frozen the thirty-five Senate seats into the geographic districts that existed in 1954, with one minor exception. The main arguments for the proposal were that it would create a "balanced" general assembly, with the House being dominated by the urban areas and the Senate being heavily rural. The measure was soundly defeated, as was a similar proposal two years later. Since then, no action has been taken.

The constitution provides that the general assembly shall have the power to divide the state into congressional districts. Colorado did not gain any more seats as a result of the 1960 census. As in the case of the assembly districts, the congressional districts are not equal in size. In 1950 the Third District, with only 42 per cent as many people as the First District (Denver), had the same representation in Congress. The 1960 census estimate is that the Fourth District will be only one-third as large as the Second. It is doubtful that the general assembly will reapportion these districts after the 1960 census; the same interests that

mitigate against the reapportionment of the legislative districts will be at work in the case of the congressional districts.

Colorado is not guilty of one apportionment practice commonly found in many states, gerrymandering to give an advantage to the political party in power. The districts in Colorado are reasonably compact and homogeneous, and are not changed every time there is an overturn in the control of the general assembly. Urban-rural conflict and undue regard for county lines are the two factors that are chiefly responsible for the determination of district lines in Colorado, rather than outright party manipulation.

There are more rural than urban counties in Colorado. Since the legislative and congressional districts are apportioned to favor the rural areas, these areas quite easily dominate the general assembly. And since the Republicans are strong in the rural areas, during recent years they have controlled the general assembly more often than the Democrats. On the other hand, the governor, elected from the state at large where the weight of the cities comes into play, is more often a Democrat. Between 1928 and 1958, the Democrats won ten of the sixteen gubernatorial elections, whereas the Republicans won control of the state Senate in nine of these elections and of the House nine times, also. Between 1946 and 1958, a period marked by a greater degree of industrialization and urbanization, the Democrats won the governorship five times in seven elections — despite the great popularity of Republican President Eisenhower in Colorado during the latter part of the period. And yet, the Republicans won a majority of the state Senate in five of the seven elections, and won control of the House four times.

This situation explains to a large degree the antagonism that is frequently evident between the governors and the legislators in Colorado. This conflict is not always a Democratic-Republican fight but is more commonly a Denver-outstate contest; party lines are often less important in this struggle than are rural-urban elements.

There is no doubt that the general assembly of Colorado has a rural basis. But the product of the political process in Colorado is a fairly reasonable pattern of compromise legislation which, although not perfectly adjusted to the economic and population facts of life, nevertheless approximates these facts. This result comes about partly from the very nature of the bargaining process, but is in addition partially a by-product of the fact that the political leaders of the various sections of the state are at least secondarily Coloradans. They are primarily defenders of their local communities and interests; but whenever they can do so, practically speaking, they work for the interests of the state as a whole. They have an interest and a pride in Colorado as against other states. For example, when California or Arizona attempts to get more Colorado River water, the East Slope and West Slope residents of Colorado join forces against the "foreign" enemy.

The Colorado constitution provides for the initiative, referendum, and recall of public officials. In 1893, the Populists began an effort to adopt the initiative and referendum, as a result of a decline in popular trust in representative assem-

lies which was then sweeping across the United States.[9] It was not until 1910, however, that a constitutional amendment embodying these measures was adopted. An unusual development took place in 1912 when another amendment was added giving the people the power to "recall judicial decisions." This was declared invalid by the Supreme Court of Colorado in 1921 on the grounds that its operation would make it possible to set aside the supremacy clause of the United States Constitution. In the words of the decision: "The right [of any of the trial courts of Colorado to adjudicate a federal constitutional question when it is raised] . . . can neither be taken away nor that duty abrogated by the state of Colorado, by constitutional provision or otherwise, and any attempt to do so is null and void."

An initiating petition must be signed by qualified electors totaling at least 8 per cent of the vote cast for secretary of state in the preceeding general election, while a referendum petition requires signatures totaling 5 per cent. The general assembly may also refer a proposal to the people. But to prevent referendum action against a bill, the general assembly need only declare the bill to be "necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, and appropriations for the support and maintenance of the department of state and state institutions."

Since 1912, only 13 referenda by petition have been ordered in Colorado, and 12 of these were on the ballot in 1912, 1914, and 1916 — before the general assembly could or did make use of the "safety clause."

In every election between 1912 and 1958, proposals were submitted to the voters of Colorado by their own action or as a result of referral by the general assembly. On only two occasions (1942 and 1946) did the people fail to initiate at least one measure themselves. Of the 164 measures before the voters during these years, 54 were approved and 110 were rejected.

The people, especially during the first years these direct legislative devices were available, made liberal use of them, initiating 57 constitutional amendments and 38 statutes between 1912 and 1958. Fifteen of the initiated amendments were adopted, as were 17 of the 54 which the general assembly referred to the people. In recent years there has been a definite decline in the use of the initiative. In the 12 elections preceding 1960, 18 initiated amendments were placed on the ballot: only 4 were adopted. During the same period, 9 of the 22 amendments referred by the general assembly were accepted. Perhaps the best explanation for the decrease in the use of the initiative is its cost. In 1960 approximately 44,000 signatures were required to initiate a proposal; to obtain this number is both difficult and expensive. Furthermore, in order to assure the success of a proposal, a large-scale campaign must be waged in support of it, regardless of its merits. It has been estimated that the proponents and opponents of the so-called "right to work" proposal that was on the Colorado ballot in 1958 spent well over $100,000 during the campaign.

[9] See Paul Dean Starr, "The Initiative and Referendum in Colorado" (Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1958).

The extensive use of the "safety clause" by the general assembly has made the initiated referendum practically extinct. The general assembly itself referred only two statutes (not amendments) to the people between 1912 and 1958, both of which were accepted. One, in 1948, related to the establishment of pari-mutuel betting: the other, in 1954, concerned the issuance of anticipation war rants for highway purposes.

One of the serious problems relating to the use of the initiative and referendum is the fact that many of the voters who go to the polls do not vote on the proposed amendments and statutes that appear on the ballot. During the 1912–56 period, "of the 159 proposals . . . submitted to the electorate, only 115 received enough votes, combining those for and against, to equal a majority of those who voted for governor. Had Colorado the requirement that a measure, to be adopted, must have a vote equal to the majority vote for governor, the record would read 159 proposals submitted and eight passed."[10] In other words, a minority — even of those who go to the polls — make decisions that affect all of the people.

"Every elective public officer of the state of Colorado may be recalled from office at any time" by action of the voters. So reads the constitution. A petition signed by electors equal in number to 25 per cent of the total of those who voted for all candidates for the position involved (40 per cent for county and municipal officials) is required to put a recall procedure into motion. The governor then fixes the date for a recall election. The names of the persons who have been nominated (by petition) to succeed the person whose recall is sought are listed on the recall ballot. During recent years there have been no attempts to recall any state official in Colorado, and few attempts to recall local officers are on record. About a dozen states have adopted some form of recall procedure, but the device has been successfully invoked in only a few instances. The difficulties and expense involved in obtaining sufficient signatures on recall petitions are perhaps the most significant reasons for the infrequent use of the device.

Voting Trends

The two major parties are very evenly balanced in Colorado. During recent years they have divided the high offices almost equally between them. This does not mean, however, that two-party competition exists in every section and county of the state. Far from it. Denver, during the 1948–58 decade, tended to become a one-party area favoring the Democrats — and about one-third of the registered voters in Colorado live in Denver. There has been a drop in the percentage of persons registered as independents in the city, from 48 per cent in 1952 to 37 per cent in 1958, while the 25 per cent Republican registration held steady and the Democrats increased to 38 per cent. This gives the Democratic party a handsome advantage, especially if the independents divide in approximately the same ratio on election day as do those registered with the two parties. There are other counties which are even more strongly and consistently Democratic than Denver. Las Animas (Trinidad), Otero, Lake, Huerfano (Walsenburg), Pueblo, Costilla,

[10] *Ibid.*

Conejos, and Adams counties give majorities to Democratic candidates in election after election, almost without exception and regardless of how the rest of the state and country votes.

On the other hand, Hinsdale, Kit Carson, Larimer (Fort Collins), Rio Blanco, Elbert, Park, and Custer counties go Republican no matter what happens elsewhere. The larger cities such as Denver and Pueblo tend to be somewhat more Democratic than Republican, whereas the counties dominated by prosperous small cities and towns such as Fort Collins, Greeley, Boulder, and Glenwood Springs tend to vote Republican. The Colorado-New Mexico border counties, where there are large numbers of Spanish-American voters, tend to be Democratic. The counties that have been hard hit by the depression in coal and other mining industries during the last thirty years tend to vote Democratic. The more strongly Republican-oriented counties are likely to have some of the following characteristics: sparse population (in many instances declining); very large farms and cattle ranches; and a high percentage of farm tenancy.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course, and voting habits do change — but slowly, very slowly. In addition, there is much voting for "the man and not the party." Furthermore, even though certain so-called farm counties vote Republican with a fair degree of consistency, it is not necessarily because the majority of active farmers cast their votes for the Republican party. Rather, it is the small towns in these counties that go Republican, and it appears to be the retired farmers and working people in these towns who vote heavily Republican. One Democratic county chairman in such a county contends that it is the combination of a "pull toward respectability" and the "blue uniform influence," dating back to the days when the high plains of eastern Colorado were settled largely by veterans of the Union Army, that causes the retired farmers and workers in that part of the state to vote Republican. All the evidence seems to support the theory that voting behavior in rural areas, especially, originates in the past political history of the region and survives by the force of tradition.

Political party history in Colorado may be divided into three periods. During the first (1876–1909) the Republicans were dominant, electing twenty-one members of the United States House of Representatives, while the Democrats elected only six and the Progressives, one. No Republicans were sent to the House during the second period (1910–19). Nearly equal competition characterized the most recent period (1920–58), when the Republicans elected forty-four representatives and the Democrats, forty-one. A similar pattern exists for the United States Senate but is somewhat different for presidential and gubernatorial elections. Between 1880 and 1960, Colorado gave a plurality of its votes to eleven Republican presidential candidates and nine Democratic ones, while sixteen Republican and twenty-three Democratic governors were elected. On four occasions Colorado voted for a presidential candidate of one party and elected a governor of the other party. Henry M. Teller, United States senator from Colorado from 1885 to 1909, designated himself as both a Republican and a Democrat. Senator Ed Johnson won numerous elections when the political tides were running against his party. In the 1956 election, approximately 21,000 persons who voted for a

presidential candidate did not cast a vote for senator, and about 13,000 did not vote for governor. In Denver County, about 12,000 (approximately 6 per cent) of those persons who went to the polls did not cast a vote in the senatorial contest, apparently being opposed to both candidates. On the other hand in El Paso County (Colorado Springs), about 3 per cent more votes were cast for senatorial than for presidential candidates, an almost unprecedented case. Another indication of split-ticket voting is that frequently since 1930 one party has controlled one house of the Colorado general assembly, and the other party the other house. The Republicans were firmly in the saddle during the 1920's. In 1930 the Democrats gained control of the House, while the Republicans maintained their lead in the Senate. The Democrats, riding on the wave of New Deal support across the entire country, remained in control of the House until the reaction set in against Roosevelt in 1938. Then the Republicans captured and kept control of it until 1956, with the exception of the 1948 election when President Truman and Governor Knous carried Colorado for the Democrats. In 1956, the Democrats won the House in the face of very strong support for President Eisenhower. Two years later they again won a majority in the House, as they did again in 1960.

Between 1928 and 1958, there was a combined total of 72 elections for president, governor, United States Senate and House of Representatives, state Senate and House of Representatives in Colorado. Amazingly enough, the Republicans won 34 of the elections, the Democrats won 33, and 5 were evenly divided. Colorado has indeed been a two-party state during recent decades.

Impact of National Politics and Trends

It would be nonsense to contend that local factors, including the status of local party organization, are no longer significant in elections. Far from it. But it does seem that the voters of Colorado are today giving much more attention to the great national problems than in the past.

Evidence of the impact of national issues on the 1958 election in Colorado is seen in the following statements made by Mrs. Mildred Cresswell, Colorado State Republican vice-chairman, in her analysis of the Republican defeat in Colorado in that year. "A ghost rode with us [the Republican party] throughout the campaign — the ghost of vague fear." She listed a number of fears: fear on the part of the farmers of future Republican policies that might affect prices; fear about a future recession; fear of Russia enhanced by the launching of the Sputniks; fears about the party spawned by the Adams-Goldfine case; and fears about foreign policy created by the Dulles handling of the Lebanon and Quemoy situations of that year. Clearly, none of these things were local issues, and yet at least one Republican leader in Colorado believed that they exerted a great deal of influence on the outcome of the election.

In a presidential year, national issues and candidates quite obviously have a greater impact locally than during off-year elections. This point was made specifically in a statement issued by one of Colorado's veteran Republican Congressmen, J. Edgar Chenoweth, in March 1960. He emphasized that a strong national ticket would be of great help to him in his race for re-election. "If Nixon is

strong," Mr. Chenoweth said, "if he carries Colorado and wins the presidency, it will be a decided advantage to every Republican candidate. It will be very helpful to me. I don't say it will be altogether decisive but it will be helpful."

The farm policies of any national administration have a direct effect upon how many farmers vote. During the entire Eisenhower term Colorado farmers were generally dissatisfied with Secretary Benson's policies and, perhaps, more so with Mr. Benson personally. Many Republican leaders in the state felt that Benson was a millstone around the neck of the party in the farm areas.

The so-called "right to work" proposal that was on the ballot in Colorado in 1958 was in a sense a "national" issue, although the Republican party of the United States did not adopt it as their issue. Nevertheless, many voters in Colorado believed that the Republican party, nationally and locally, was in favor of the proposal and many people voted against some Republican candidates for this reason. In the same fashion, the national image of the Republican party as the party of big business and the "big guy" affects the vote at the grass roots.

Foreign policy has an impact upon the way many people vote in Colorado. For example, in the 1952 election the disenchantment and bitterness relating to the Korean war motivated many votes against Stevenson and for Eisenhower. In a kind of reverse way, the Suez incident just prior to the 1956 election caused the Eisenhower majority in the state to be larger than it otherwise would have been.

Great national issues, especially those concerning prosperity and peace, have a very significant bearing on how many people vote in Colorado, and will have an ever-increasing impact upon what once were more or less strictly "local" Colorado elections. The same thing is, of course, happening in every other state in the union. This is perhaps the most significant development that is taking place in American politics in the mid-twentieth century.

Hawaii: the Aloha State

NORMAN MELLER AND
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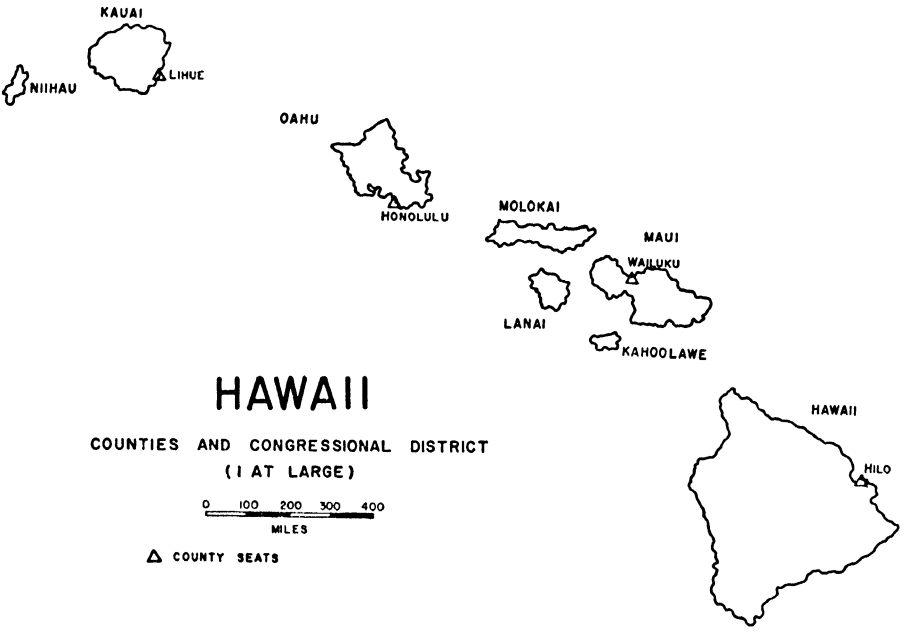
WITHIN THE SPAN of a century, Hawaii moved from the isolated, Stone Age culture discovered by Captain Cook to a nation whose sovereign sought to take his place among the world powers by extending his rule from the Hawaiian archipelago through the South Sea Islands. During the same period, absolute rule evolved into constitutional monarchy. Then, while awaiting annexation by the United States after the overthrow of the monarchy, Hawaii enjoyed an interregnum republic. Upon annexation in 1898, and adoption by Congress of the Hawaiian Organic Act in 1900, the Islands embarked upon their half-century of territorial tutelage. On August 21, 1959, Hawaii was admitted by presidential proclamation as the fiftieth state in the Union.

Many of the factors which contributed to these changes in governmental form continue to influence Hawaii's political and administrative processes. The older forces tending toward "stand-pattism" are now openly arrayed against the factors more recently introduced and their tendency toward innovation. New political leaders are appearing, and large segments of the population are coming to share more actively in the political process.

Geography, Resources, and Economy

The Hawaiian Islands are more distant from a continental land mass than any other large island group in the world. This isolation in the North Pacific has afforded a sense of unity sufficient to compensate for the internal separation of the various island units. Rough as the ocean channels sometimes become, they have proved no barrier to ready communication, which facilitated the centralizing of Hawaii's administrative system. Paradoxically, physical separation by water has permitted each island's people to conceive of themselves as an entity, and has contributed to intra-state cleavages which loom largest in the separation of Oahu from the Outer Islands, or as the latter prefer to be called, the "Neighbor Islands."



The seven major inhabited islands are strung along a span of about 350 miles. Approximately 64 miles of ocean separate the northern-most inhabited islands of Kauai and Niihau from Oahu. Some 22 miles to the south of Oahu, Molokai forms a cluster with Lanai and Maui.[1] Each cluster has long been grouped for local government, and in the first decade of territorial status, they became, respectively, the counties of Kauai and Maui. The largest, and most southerly of the islands in the state is Hawaii, 26 miles distant from Maui. This island constitutes the county of the same name, and alone represents almost two-thirds of the total land acreage of the chain. In none of these three counties are there organized cities, so that their urban areas — such as Hilo, on Hawaii, with its 25,000 people — along with their rural population are all included within the jurisdiction of the county. Similarly, the boundaries of the City and County of Honolulu are coterminous with the whole island of Oahu, and also encompass some of the minor outlying islets not within the other counties.[2]

The political designation "City and County of Honolulu" is somewhat misleading, since it carries overtones of a mainland metropolitan area. While it is true that the urban coastal strip on the leeward of Oahu, stretching from about Pearl Harbor to the easterly tip of the island, has been delineated the "city" for certain administrative purposes, Oahu contains more rural than urban acreage and produces a sizable share of the state's major products of the soil. Hawaii does not present the picture of a predominantly rural upstate New York or a downstate Illinois aligned against an almost exclusively urban metropolis. Nor is the

[1] A fourth island, Kahoolawe, was always named with this group, but is now uninhabited.

[2] The Hansen's Disease settlement on a Molokai peninsula is declared to be a fifth county, Kalawao; actually, it is administered by the state Board of Health.

City and County of Honolulu like the "heart" city and county of San Francisco with its dormitory suburbs in adjoining counties. Business and industrial centers, residential areas, plantations, and farms fall within the jurisdiction of this one local governing unit. Notwithstanding this uniqueness of Honolulu, the old battle of the country districts vis-à-vis the power of the big city is as evident in Hawaii as in many mainland states.

Lacking minerals — only recently have bauxite, and possibly titanium, deposits in commercial quantities been discovered — exploitation of Hawaii's resources has depended upon intensive cultivation of the soil and has capitalized on the year-round growing season possible in the tropics. The monopolistic pattern of land ownership, the lack of adequate markets other than for crops taking up to two years to mature, and the expense of farm development all contributed to the growth of the large-scale sugar plantation, whose economic feudalism replaced that of old Hawaii which disappeared with the absolute power of Hawaiian royalty. The plantation also satisfied much of the need for local government. Until recently, from over a quarter to a third of Hawaii's total civilian population and from at least 30 to as much as 50 per cent of the people dwelling outside urban Honolulu and Hilo, have lived on sugar plantations.

The economic institutions of modern Hawaii rose around its sugar plantations. The large wholesale and retail houses in Honolulu, locally known as "factors," diverted their capital to sugar-growing. Just as in the case of the plantations, the number of the factors shrank as they grew in size, until five remained to dominate the field. Today, the Big Five by contract, stock control, or by outright ownership direct the conduct of all but one of the twenty-seven sugar plantations. A second institution, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, developed out of the mutual problems of the plantations: through it, a united stand toward the rest of the community could be taken. A third illustration of the centripetal forces within the sugar industry is found in its marketing cooperative which operates the largest sugar refinery in the world at Crockett, California. As sugar for long was the dominant economic interest of the Islands, so it was consequently the dominant political interest. A commentator as late as 1935 noted that "the governors, legislators and government officials since 1900 [territorial status] have been to a large degree determined by and considerate of the sugar leaders."[3]

Raising and canning pineapple was long the Islands' second largest industry, unimportant until 1910, when a history of rapid but sporadic expansion began. It, too, relied upon the plantation system. The industry knows a competition and mainland participation foreign to sugar. Notwithstanding, profiting from the example of the sugar industry, it has displayed a united front with respect to common problems, joining with sugar in creating a favorable climate for centralized government. Even though the factor system has not taken deep root, the same individuals who set the policy for sugar have been able to exert their influence over a majority of the pineapple companies.

[3] Frank E. Midkiff, "The Economic Determinants of Education in Hawaii" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1935), p. 132.

Mechanization of the plantations, with a marked reduction in their labor force and a demand for skilled labor, brought dramatic change by the end of World War II. Concomitantly, the rise of militant unionism to challenge the private government of the plantation introduced a disturbing power element into the Islands' economic oligopoly. Ultimately, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union came to encompass practically all of Hawaii's sugar workers, pineapple workers, and longshoremen. There has been gradual assumption by public agencies of many of the local services formerly borne by the plantation areas, and their vote has now generally shifted to the Democratic party, so that plantations are no longer regarded as Republican strongholds.

Hawaii's strategic position in the Pacific has brought an ever-increasing volume of federal defense money to its shores. Today, income from federal expenditures ($421 million) far exceeds that from sugar and pineapple ($227 million).[4] While once plantation crops were considered to be the mainstay of the economy, present hopes are pinned on the growth of the tourist industry, which in 1958 provided roughly $83 million from direct visitor expenditures, and brought over 171,000 tourists to Hawaii for at least overnight stays.[5] Should defense expenditures taper off, tourism is expected ultimately to become Hawaii's major industry.

The hundreds of millions of dollars which poured into the Islands during World War II resulted in sizable capital accretions, particularly by non-*haoles*.[6] In the peak year of 1944 alone the federal government paid out $625 million to persons in Hawaii. The billion dollar total personal income of Hawaii in that year contrasts markedly with the $218 million income for prewar 1939.[7] Today personal income consistently tops the billion dollar mark. The small entrepreneurial, home owning, middle class has rapidly grown in importance. New wholesale outlets have developed and mainland-type retail merchandising, such as the supermarket, has sprung up, independent of the Big Five. Fortunes have been made and reinvested in extensive sub-divisions, and agricultural fields, dairy lots, and pig pens on Oahu are grudgingly giving way to suburban rooftops. The dominant position of the Big Five in the Island economy has been weakened, and the political balance of power has shifted from the small group in control of Hawaii's sugar, pineapple, and allied activities to larger and more diverse publics.

All of this change has added to Oahu's stature, and the schism between the City and the County of Honolulu and the Neighbor Islands has widened. The new state constitution practically preserves for all time the control of the Senate by the Neighbor Islands. While still a territory, it had become the fashion to assure representation of each outside county on major territorial boards and commissions within the executive branch. This trend has been reinforced by statehood and the pattern incorporated in state reorganization legislation promises to

[4] Bank of Hawaii, "Hawaii: Achievements as a Territory, Opportunities as a State" (Honolulu: 1959 Mid-Year Report), p. 28.

[5] Research Committee, Hawaii Visitors Bureau, "Annual Research Report on Visitors to Hawaii" (Honolulu, 1959), p. 24.

[6] *Haole*, a Hawaiian designation, primarily refers to Caucasians of North European stock.

[7] U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics, *Income of Hawaii* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953), pp. 15, 18.

provide Oahu with but a bare majority on executive boards. As the wealth and population of Honolulu grow, the other counties seek collectively to make joint cause in order to achieve their common goals.

Population

The introduction of western civilization with its attendant diseases and the debilitating results which flowed from cultural contact rapidly decimated the native Hawaiian population. From around 300,000 at the time of Captain Cook's discovery, the population decreased to less than 20 per cent of that figure. This trend was reversed in the 1870's, and by the mid-1920's the 300,000 figure was passed. Today, the civilian population stands a bit below 600,000, and is supplemented by 50,000 military personnel stationed in the Islands. As early as the census of 1900, Oahu had far outnumbered all other islands. Here three-fourths of Hawaii's people now live. Despite the expansion of the state's population, there are fewer people in each of the Neighbor Island counties than when the 1950 federal census was taken.

The tenfold expansion of Hawaii's population in less than a century was largely achieved through combing the labor markets of the world for plantation workers. In all, some 400,000 foreign-born laborers, including their wives, children, and relatives, came to the Islands in the last century. Many of the immigrants subsequently either continued on to the mainland United States or returned to their homeland, but enough settled in Hawaii to reshape completely the demographic landscape. The population is unique by virtue of the diversity of its ethnic strains and their combination through intermarriage. Today, Hawaii is the only state of the Union in which Orientals comprise a majority. All seven of the major ethnic groups imported — in order of their introduction, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Korean, Spanish, and Filipino — have become integral parts of the Island community, along with the Hawaiians and the *haoles* who early joined with them in governing the Islands.

Over the years, the latest immigrant group to arrive has tended to occupy the place of lowest esteem and subsequently has risen in stature as it left the plantation or came to fill plantation positions of status.[8] Not all movement up the ladder of success has followed exactly the same course, or occurred in an equal time span, for in the past, top management positions remained closed to Orientals. Today representatives of each ethnic group are beginning to be found in all but the highest levels of Big Five management, and even here the portent of coming events is casting its shadow. The mechanization of the plantations has assured that the Filipinos will be the last ethnic group in the Islands to start as plantation laborers.

Peoples from all ethnic stocks in Hawaii actively engage in formulating public policy, externally through pressure groups and the electoral process and internally as office holders and government employees. This has been a gradual development which has taken half-a-century fully to manifest itself: Oriental participation markedly increased after World War II. Due to federal limitations

[8] See Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

on naturalization, many of the aliens were ineligible for formal political roles; it was not until about 1950 that citizens of Oriental extraction comprised over half of the adult population and probably a similar proportion of the registered voters. By 1955, Orientals also accounted for a little over half of the elected officials and a comparable percentage of territorial government employees. Among the ranks of the public school teachers, they probably enjoyed a larger share. Only in the class of appointed officials was the Oriental lag still evident, and new appointments in the last few years have gone far to bring their component in this area close to the mid-point.[9]

Almost contemporaneous with their advent in the Islands, *haoles* began exerting a formative influence over government. From the Mission days, the *haoles* carried over the concept of the natives as a people who must be carefully guided into following the proper course of public policy and adopting only approved methods for effectuating it.[10] Later, through a number of legal strategems, the *haoles* achieved protection against the numerical superiority of the Hawaiians and immigrant labor imports. With the Organic Act of 1900, the Congress of the United States would accept none of the former restrictive political practices, and for a short time thereafter, the enlarged and predominantly Hawaiian electorate captured the legislature, but the executive and judicial branches remained safely in *haole* hands through appointments from Washington. However, after the first turbulent years of the Hawaiian's Home Rule party, the *haoles* again assumed positions of political leadership. Until recently, most of the Islands' *haoles*, "as members of the favored economic and social strata in Hawaii," have been Republicans.[11] The Democratic party has had greater appeal to large segments of the laboring peoples. To an extent this also had ethnic overtones, but both major parties, alarmed by the ill-fated attempt of the short-lived Home Rule party to make a racial bloc of the Hawaiian vote, early adopted the policy of appealing to all races.

The last several decades have witnessed the entry into politics of citizens of ethnic groups not dependent upon *haole* economic and political leadership for their livelihood or advancement. Politically, their opportunity lay in the perennially disorganized Democratic party. From World War II the hegemony of the *haole*, transliterated in political terms of ties with the Republican party control, has been challenged. As might be expected, one of its manifestations has been the burgeoning of the Democratic party in the Islands and the overturning of the near monopoly which the Republicans long enjoyed. A new power element has been introduced into the political scene, one which is fully understandable only through a knowledge of Hawaii's ethnic past. Lest these new developments too

[9] See George K. Yamamoto, "Political Participation Among Orientals in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research*, XLIII (May-June 1959), 359; and Norman Meller, "Centralization in Hawaii: Retrospect and Prospect," *American Political Science Review*, LII (March 1958), 98.

[10] See Norman Meller, "Missionaries to Hawaii: Shapers of the Islands' Destiny," *Western Political Quarterly*, XI (December 1958), 788.

[11] Andrew W. Lind, "Hawaii at the Polls," *Asia*, XXXVI (October 1936), 644. See also Robert M. C. Littler, *The Governance of Hawaii* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1929), p. 72; Stephen B. Jones, "Geography and Politics in the Hawaiian Islands," *Geographical Review*, XXVIII (April 1938), 211.

readily be interpreted as just an ethnic drive, particularly a move by the Oriental majority, organized through the Democratic party against the *haole* minority, it need only be pointed out that in the first statehood general elections held in Hawaii, the Republicans ran as candidates but one *haole* for the five top federal and state posts to be filled, while the Democrats ran three.

Education

A good part of the explanation for the upward mobility of Hawaii's ethnic groups lies in the Islands' educational system. Relatively early in the history of the monarchy, an Islands-wide, centralized public school system was established. Despite certain past discouragement of high school education for the laboring groups, which carried with it ethnic overtones, students were not expressly barred because of their race. Paralleling the public schools is a private educational structure, many of its schools with parochial ties. Some of the latter were founded for the express purpose of educating non-*haoles*, and even the most exclusive, whose student bodies are primarily *haole*, admit students of other races.[12] Publicly supported collegiate education dates back to the founding in 1907 of what is now the University of Hawaii, supplemented recently by small, private, denominational colleges. It is this system which has equipped Hawaii's polyglot population with the understanding, ideals, and skills necessary to participate in political affairs, and prepared the children of the immigrant plantation laborers to enter Island business and professional life to play their part in Hawaii's peculiar game of ethnic musical chairs.

Considerable dissatisfaction has been voiced, especially by the Parent Teachers Association, over the central board of education's alleged lack of concern for grass-roots opinion. The state constitution provides for a state board with appointments made from nominees named by local advisory boards. Once the constitution was approved at a plebiscite in 1950, the PTA was reluctant to press for an amendment until after Congress granted statehood. At the special session in 1959 which followed, an amendment to require election of the state board of education was pushed through the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives. However, the Republican majority in the Senate killed the proposal, and party lines are now sharply drawn over the question.

Neighbor Island sentiment favors the establishment of public institutions of higher learning outside of Honolulu. A branch of the University in Hilo offers a junior college curriculum. Pressure on the University Regents to establish similar institutions in other Neighbor Islands has been heavy. If the University does not soon act, the near future may well see the state Department of Education being directed to operate junior colleges in competition with the University's offering.

Press and Public Opinion

Hawaii's press, like most other Island activity, is concentrated in Honolulu. Eighteen newspapers are published regularly in the state. However, only one of

[12] An exception is Kamehameha Schools which were established for the education of Hawaiians.

the seven which are issued daily, the *Hilo Tribune*, is published outside Honolulu. The weekly *Garden Island* serves Kauai, and the *Maui News* appears twice-weekly on Maui. All others, whatever their frequency of publication, emanate from Honolulu.[18]

When circulation is considered, the pattern of concentration is even more evident. Statewide readership of more than 15,000 can be claimed by only two, the morning *Honolulu Advertiser* and the evening *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, which fly daily editions to the Neighbor Islands. Average daily sales of the *Star-Bulletin* now exceed 100,000, approximately double those of the *Advertiser*. However, since the former published no Sunday edition, the *Advertiser* has enjoyed a Sunday circulation in recent months of over 90,000 copies. On November 1, 1959, the *Star-Bulletin* began publication of a Sunday edition, thus quickening the lively competition which has existed between these two dailies since the turn of the century.

The *Star-Bulletin* is a member of the Associated Press, houses the local office of this association, receives standard day reports of the United Press International, and maintains a Washington Bureau. The *Advertiser* is serviced by United Press International and accommodates their Hawaii office. Both major dailies have modern plants, and each is commercially allied with a radio and a television station. Both are locally owned and thus free of any "chain" attachments. In format, size, coverage, and features these dailies compare favorably with those published in metropolitan areas with comparable population. However, national and international events appear to have received somewhat less space than that accorded elsewhere.

The other Honolulu dailies are either published in a foreign language or use bilingual format. As a result, they are read largely by older persons and are in no sense competitive with the major dailies.

All newspapers in Hawaii maintain either a "Republican" or an "Independent" editorial policy. Closest to a Democratic point-of-view is the weekly *Hawaiian Reporter* (which in 1959, in effect, replaced the *Honolulu Record*). It is owned by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and enjoys a circulation of approximately 10,000. It tends more, however, to represent the views of the labor organization than those of Democrats. It is officially "Independent."

Insofar as press political policy maybe viewed as an asset, the Republicans enjoy a great advantage, most keenly felt in Democratic circles. But the Democrats have mounted no sustained attacks on Hawaii's press coverage as most party leaders appear to have believed that greater advantage could be gained by exploiting the competitive position of the two major dailies. This informal strategy has resulted in some apparent dividends for Democrats.

The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, owned and published by the Farrington family, long prominent in appointive and elective public office, remains staunchly Republican, while the *Advertiser*, commercially and politically less secure and dedicated, has moved in the past decade from an extremely conservative Republican

[18] N. W. Ayers and Sons, *Directory Newspapers and Periodicals 1959* (Philadelphia, 1959).

position to an "Independent" policy more responsive to public opinion as revealed by election results. This is perhaps best illustrated by its open endorsement of Democrat Daniel K. Inouye for the United States House of Representatives in the 1959 statehood general election and its admonition to readers to vote for one Republican and one Democrat, take your choice, in the two contests for seats in the United States Senate. Such an election-time policy underscored a departure from the straight Republican-line position formerly taken by the *Advertiser*. Yet, this still remains a far cry from giving the state a Democratic paper to balance the consistently Republican policy of the *Star-Bulletin*.

Other than opinion which has emerged from the vote of a statewide public at election time and impressionistic, partial glimpses which have appeared via letters-to-the-editor columns and in various interest-group publications, very little is known about public opinion in Hawaii. Because the territorial delegate lacked a vote and his role relegated him to a position of less influence in Washington than that enjoyed by the appointed governor through the secretary of the interior, popular interest in the delegate race never particularly coalesced. Except at brief moments when all Hawaii has appeared united, as in the ground-swell support for the appointment of Samuel Wilder King as governor, little occasion for universal expression of opinion presented itself until 1959, when five statewide positions were filled at the first state election.

In 1948 and again in 1955, fairly comprehensive surveys of political opinion were conducted by the Hawaiian Economic Service. Supplemented by a 1959 survey, these show little change over the years in the pattern of personal identification with political parties. Most islanders (52 per cent) consider themselves "Independents"; about 20 per cent claim Republican and 28 per cent, Democratic identification. The 1955 survey gave more depth insight, showing that Hawaii's citizens were most concerned about job opportunities, schools, taxes, housing or sewerage, roads, streets, and the high cost of living. This same survey showed that many (36–42 per cent) voters who held opinions felt that neither major political party was "being run" by a "special group." Some 28 per cent identified the Republican party with business groups and 1 per cent with labor groups, while 17 per cent tied the Democrats with labor and 2 per cent with business.[14]

A survey conducted in 1959 for the Democrats gave further insight concerning political issues. A majority of the persons interviewed (53 per cent) cited some "economic" matter as being the Islands' biggest problem — the need for new industry, for more jobs, for land reform. Thirty-three per cent mentioned educational problems. Next in line of concern were taxes (22 per cent), and roads (13 per cent). Six per cent were fearful of future strikes.[15]

Publics identified with a particular island have long been evident in Hawaii. They have actively expressed themselves at county and legislative elections, though attention usually focused more upon personalities than upon issues. With enlargement of the legislature and its reapportionment shortly before statehood,

[14] *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 17, 1955, p. D–1.

[15] Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., "A Study of Voter Preferences and Attitudes in the Hawaiian Islands" (May 1959), p. 15.

these diverse cultural, economic, and religious publics have been given additional opportunity for expression and will likely be accorded more political attention in the future. The content of their collective attitudes and the extent of their influence have yet to be analyzed fully.

Nominations, Elections, and Corrupt Practices

All adult citizens, twenty years or over, may register and vote in Hawaii excepting those who are unpardoned felons, mentally incompetent, or illiterate. State citizenship is achieved only after a year's residence. By express provision of the constitution illiteracy is defined as inability "to speak, read and write the English or Hawaiian languages." The Hawaiian component of the Islands' population has long been able to meet an English test, so attention to the enforcement of a comparable literacy provision in the Organic Act was unnecessary. However, with the recent relaxation of the federal naturalization laws, permitting a number of aged Oriental residents to achieve citizenship after passing examinations in their ancestral tongues, this limitation has again assumed temporary importance. In view of the youth of Hawaii's population, the reduction of the voting age to twenty in 1959 has greater import than would be true for a similar change on the mainland. The impact of this new voting group on Island politics has yet to be evaluated.

Hawaii has a system of permanent registration. Once an elector registers, so long as he continues to vote at the general elections his name remains on the official rolls. Periodically the rolls are purged. Hawaii prides itself on its consistently high turnout of voters at the polls. Lest it be assumed that the phenomenal 93 per cent vote of the 183,000 registered voters at the July 1959 general election can be explained solely in the light of statehood, it need be merely pointed out that in the 1958 election, 88 per cent of the 175,000 registrants appeared at the polls and that this compares closely with the 89 per cent at the 1956 general elections. Even if these percentages were to be discounted by computing into the base the unregistered citizens otherwise qualified to vote, Hawaii's election participation would yet remain high when measured by mainland standards.

Officers are elected to federal, state, and county posts at a general election after having first succeeded in obtaining the nomination of their party at a primary election. In view of the refusal to apply a narrow construction to the definition of "political party," a splinter group may merely declare itself in token fashion to be a party, as did the "Commonwealth party" which ran candidates in 1958 and 1959.

The new state constitution has not modified election dates or long-standing procedures. The people of Hawaii will still choose their legislative officers from multi-membered tickets, as the century-old practice of multi-membered districts has not been changed. On the first Saturday of October in each even-numbered year, Hawaii will continue to hold its primary elections. Approximately one month later, on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, general elections will occur.

For the last quarter-century territorial and county elections were consolidated, and statehood has not disturbed the dominant part played by the central government in their conduct. Joint elections will continue to be held at the same time, place, and with one set of election officers. The governor determines the number and size of precincts and the location of polling places, and appoints the election officials who count the ballots for both state and county offices. State instructions guide the election officials and state appropriations cover the salaries of poll officers at both primary and general elections as well as the expenses of setting up the polls. Ballot and supply expenses are shared between the state and the several counties. Only on rare occasions will a county be called upon to meet the full cost of an election, as in 1958 when Honolulu voted at a special election on the adoption of a proposed charter.

Until 1949, Hawaii had a "wide open" primary law which permitted the voter to cast his ballot as he desired, irrespective of the party affiliation of the candidate. In that year, legislation denied the voter the privilege of cross-voting. The new law is referred to locally as a "closed" primary, despite its falling within a class which political scientists label "open." The situation is further complicated by the failure to consolidate state and county primary ballots: the voter may choose among the candidates of one party for federal and state officials, and indicate his preference for local candidates of the other party. Each session, measures have been introduced to consolidate primary ballots but have failed of passage. Until each party is more confident of its strength in both state and local elections, and until the legislators consider party rather than personal following more important to their success at the primaries, it is unlikely that Hawaii will adopt a true closed primary election law.

To prevent the subversion of the election process, Hawaii's election laws expressly declare it a crime to bribe voters or seek to influence them through threat or promise of reward. Similarly, interruption of the orderly process of the holding of an election is made criminal. Harkening back to the days of election *luaus* (feasts), the furnishing of food or entertainment on election day to affect the vote is proscribed by law. As an added precaution, candidates and parties may not locate their headquarters on premises licensed to sell alcoholic beverages.

Within twenty days following an election, both candidates and agents or committees acting on their behalf are required to file sworn itemized statements of expenditures. Although permissible expenditures are detailed in the law — printing and advertising, stationery and postage, rent and supplies, salaries of clerks and messengers, poll watchers, and a candidate's personal expenses — no maximum amount is stipulated. The Democrats have publicly acknowledged that at the 1959 state primary and general elections, the equivalent of more than $600,000 had been spent "by or on behalf of the Democratic party."[16] The lavish campaigns on the part of some Republican aspirants suggest that Republican expenditures materially exceeded that amount. Campaign statements of candidates fail to reflect such sums and committees, as has been customary, did not even bother to file. A recent test of the validity of Hawaii's corrupt practices

[16] *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 16, 1959, p. A–23.

law found Hawaii's Supreme Court holding the filing of the reports by candidates to be mandatory, but silent on the inadequacy of the law's administration.[17] In the absence of effective policing, this portion of Hawaii's corrupt practices law has become virtually meaningless.

Party Organization and Party Leaders

Beyond defining a political party and directing each organization to file a list of its officers before the primary election, Hawaii's statutes leave all other party matters to be resolved by the parties themselves. As a result, both the Republicans and Democrats operate under rules established by their respective state conventions. Although legally free to experiment, both have generally followed mainland precedents and have constructed organizations which are remarkably alike.

Because Hawaii has never adopted a true closed primary law, the parties have been forced not only to develop organizational structures and procedures, but also to define and record membership. Each today limits participation to those who have registered with the party and who carry properly authenticated "party cards." Any elector or person eligible to become one at the next state general election may, without fee, join. The Republicans will, in addition, accept persons as young as eighteen.

The organizational hierarchy is essentially the same for both parties. It includes precinct clubs (240), district committees (18, corresponding to the state House of Representatives districts), county committees (4), and the state committee. Both parties hold state conventions, the Republicans meeting annually and the Democrats, biennially. In order to minimize the adverse effects of factionalism, for the past five years Republicans have chosen their officers in off-election years and reserved pre-election conventions mainly for platform drafting. Since 1958, Democrats have provided for county conventions which must meet at least semiannually.

As a territory, Hawaii did not participate in presidential elections: however, since 1900, Hawaii's parties have been permitted to send voting delegates to national conventions and have enjoyed representation on the national committees equal to that accorded each of the several states. Both parties continue to utilize the state convention for choosing national delegates and committee members. Although there has been some pre-convention maneuvering, delegates customarily go to national conventions uncommitted to presidential aspirants and unbound by any unit rule. Despite the deterrent of distance, Hawaii is usually represented at major national party meetings, today including those sponsored by youth and women's organizations.[18]

Enrolled party members in Hawaii probably do not exceed 20 per cent of the electorate, and only a fraction of these are active in organizational work. Membership bookkeeping has been poor and contests over membership status have

[17] *Territory* v. *Fasi* (1954) 40 Haw. 478.

[18] See David, Paul T., Moos, Malcolm, and Goldman, Ralph M. (eds.), *Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952: The West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954), V, 268–84.

plagued more than a few precinct clubs, particularly at times when territorial (state) convention delegates were being chosen. Even today, neither party can give a precise membership total. Republicans have been able for some years to maintain a fairly permanent secretariat, but Democrats have not been so successful.

Many precinct clubs are inactive in both parties save at club election meetings, and some fail to function even then. The district committees (newly created since reapportionment in 1956) and county committees tend to be more efficiently handled. Territorial central committees were never very active because only the delegate contest occurred on a territory-wide basis and there was little business to transact. Most activity at this level centered around the territorial chairman. With statehood, candidates will now seek five or more statewide elective offices, and a revitalizing of the central committees may be anticipated.

State conventions like their national counterparts are large, unwieldy assemblies, usually numbering around 1,400 delegates in the Republican and about 1,000 in the Democratic organization. Proxy systems prevail in both parties to augment delegates in actual attendance. All but a few of the delegates attend as a result of their selection at the precinct level. Platforms in recent years have tended to be short and specific; in earlier times wordy documents seemed to be the vogue.

Rules of both parties provide for revocation of membership, but seldom is any attempt made to enforce them. Although active support of candidates running under the aegis of the opposite party is cause for dismissal, such practice customarily goes unpunished. Particularly is this true in the Democratic party where, unlike expulsion procedure of the Republicans, enforcement apparently can originate only at the precinct or the district level, although this is subject to question. Censure at the polls has appeared to be equally difficult.

Hawaii's party organizations today are in most respects similar to those in other states. Membership-wise, they are probably more aware of their weak foundations than parties in jurisdictions where affiliations are registered publicly for primary election participation. Lack of sufficient organization workers, reliance upon part-time volunteer leadership, poorly equipped secretariats, unwieldly basic policy bodies, factional quarrels, and lack of funds combine to insure that only those tasks which somehow must be accomplished are actually undertaken.

Inter-party competition has developed rapidly during the past decade, but personality politics continues to dominate the political scene. Prior to 1954, the personal appeal approach seemed to be the only way whereby Democrats could secure even isolated offices. The Republicans, too, had many a "lone wolf," although in the main Republican candidates were apparently able to sweep into office on the basis of their party's support by the dominant economic groups and the feebleness of the Democratic opposition. There has been no sustained effort to encourage the development of leadership in either party separate from the successful or perennially potential candidates. The lesser economic groups in Hawaii, later to constitute core strength for the Democratic party, had neither the time, resources, nor educational background to support many who could be termed party leaders as opposed to candidate personalities. The dominant economic

(and usually well-educated) groups, content with their possession of political influence through the Republican party, had little reason to build a strong professional party leadership which might differ substantially with them. Lack of a hierarchy of elective offices in the past may have been a major deterrent not only to many persons who might otherwise have risked the uncertainties of political careers, but also to others who would have been attracted to leadership positions within the party if there had been greater scope for their political talents. Currently, a viable, two-party system and the newly created elective offices augur the appearance of a more strongly institutionalized party leadership.

Republican leadership patterns are now more clear than at any time since the party's general defeat in 1954. Success in electing Governor Quinn, in 1959, clarified a situation that for five years had been characterized by bitter self-criticism and wide-open factionalism. Even on the threshold of the statehood election, only the death of former Governor Samuel Wilder King apparently forestalled a primary battle that could well have presaged early or ultimate defeat for Governor Quinn. Careful slate-making, apparently managed by Oahu County Chairman Ben Dillingham, provided a semblance of party unity which did much to make the 1959 Republican victories possible. Though wealthy industrialist Dillingham had once registered opposition to immediate statehood and his role as a party leader was widely viewed as damaging to the Republican cause, his behind-the-scenes efforts apparently provided a type of leadership that Republicans had for some years lacked. Honolulu's Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell and State Chairman Arthur Woolaway also are widely recognized as active Republican leaders. Although Blaisdell's stature as a party leader has undoubtedly been adversely affected by five years' service as mayor under a weak-mayor plan with a council dominated by Democrats, he is often mentioned as a likely future contender for higher office. Woolaway, like Dillingham, has recently played a quiet but effective role in developing greater unity within his party's legislative contingent.

Current Republican unity may be more apparent than real. Even before the 1959 election returns became official, a rift between Governor Quinn and Lieutenant Governor James K. Kealoha erupted into headlines. Later, as the Republican state Senate blocked early implementation of important sections of Quinn's legislative program, speculation over a quick return to open factional disputes has heightened. Once initial patronage questions have been resolved, the true significance of these differences will undoubtedly emerge.

Unexpected losses by Democrats at the statehood election compounded their leadership problems. Following an open rift in 1950 which resulted in two distinct territorial organizations, Democrats moved from extreme factionalism to uneasy unity. The election of Delegate John A. Burns in 1956 and again in 1958 gave Democrats a nominal leader, and, as of 1958, Democratic legislative leadership, consisting largely of young war veterans, seemed to have matured: however, events of 1959 altered this pattern of developing unity.

A split in Democratic ranks when organizing the last session of Hawaii's territorial House of Representatives (February 1959) led to the defeat of the

1957 speaker of the House, O. Vincent Esposito. An eight-man Democratic group, later commended by Delegate Burns, joined with minority Republicans to select one of their number as speaker. Despite this tension-packed episode in the immediate background, Burns was conceded top leadership as the party hastily moved to prepare for the first statehood election. Then, while Republican leaders avoided intra-party conflict at the primary by privately deciding upon single candidates for the five congressional and state executive positions, Democrats contested all of these offices, with Burns remaining generally aloof. Indeed, he did not declare his candidacy for governor until May 20, 1959, and returned from Washington, D. C., less than three weeks before the primary election.

Although many factors contributed to the recent Democratic reverses, factionalism was undoubtedly the most prominent. As a result of his failure to obtain pre-election rapprochement among party personalities, Burns's position as top party leader became less secure. However, the former territorial delegate and his associates still were able generally to dominate the 1960 state convention, largely because opposition to their leadership, while substantial, was disorganized and lacked any discernible sense of direction. For the immediate future, Burns's state party leadership thus seems reasonably secure, while factionalism yet constitutes a major problem for Democrats. Unless quickly resolved, it will likely lessen their chances for clear-cut party victories in 1962.

Pressure Groups

There are over 250 interest organizations in a position to influence the course of governmental policy in Hawaii. All attempts to enact a lobby registration law have failed, so any catalog of groups which such a law might afford is lacking. In the absence of provision for popularly initiated legislation, these groups exert pressure on government mainly through lobbying in the legislative and executive branches.

Lobbying on an organized basis characterizes post-World War II Hawaii to a far greater extent than in the prewar years, when large businesses and business groups could mainly direct their appeal locally to the "organizational man" of the Republican party. The art of influence was confined largely to the use of highly direct and personal techniques by sugar, pineapple, shipping, and mercantile interests. With ownership and management interlocked in an intricate pattern, these groups were able with little apparent difficulty to block legislation inimical to their basic interests. Even the fact that the vicissitudes of national presidential elections might see the appointment of an unfriendly governor did little to threaten such a situation. Whenever necessary, these groups could and did forward to Washington, without much fear of contradiction, information favorable to their interests, sufficient to satisfy national leaders who had little reason to become concerned about problems of the mid-Pacific.

Apart from sporadic labor movements with an ethnic character, labor unions were slow to develop in Hawaii. The American Federation of Labor primarily concerned itself with organizing urban occupations and missed the opportunity to go into the plantations. By 1946, the International Longshoremen's and Ware-

housemen's Union had not only organized the dockhands but could also claim most plantation workers as members. AFL activity had also borne results in greatly expanded representation. Labor contracts in force jumped from a mid-war figure of 12 to 167 in 1946. By mid-century, labor groups had been sufficiently successful in their immediate economic objectives to exert growing political influence. The CIO Committee on Political Action became active in 1944. COPE, which came into being in the early 1950's, gave evidence of growing effectiveness in the first state election.

Contemporaneously, rapid organization was also taking place on professional, civic, and broad social fronts. Businessmen intensified their efforts to organize. Today, pressure groups cover virtually the entire spectrum of human endeavor in the Islands. Not all attempt direct legislative lobbying, but those which do have found a fertile field in Hawaii's environment of rapid political change.

The larger pressure groups employ full-time executive secretaries, lobbyists, or both. Those which do not, usually retain, on a part-time basis, attorneys or others skilled in public presentations, including former legislators. Most evident in legislative corridors are the representatives of the chambers of commerce (organized not on a state basis, but along both geographic and ethnic lines), the ILWU, the Hawaii Government Employees Association, the United Public Workers, the AFL-CIO, the Hawaii Education Association, Tax Foundation, Visitors Bureau, Hotel Association, and Small Business Association. Individual concerns, as a number of airlines and shippers, and the several counties all have their own representation in direct attendance during the legislative sessions.

In recent years, a few of the larger groups organized for pooling resources to influence public policy have maintained direct "public service" programs via radio, television, and other mass media. The Pineapple Companies of Hawaii, the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association, the Hawaii Employers Council, the ILWU, HGEA, and IMUA (an anticommunist community association) are numbered within this group.

Official and covert endorsements of candidates for public office have been made by a growing number of organizations during the past five years. In 1959, all major unions in Hawaii publicly endorsed candidates for most elective offices. Business groups were more restrained in public pronouncements, but many, behind-the-scene, were heavily involved in Republican campaigns. Following mainland practices, there is a discernible tendency toward the selective endorsement of candidates and not entire party tickets. Although the unions lean toward the Democratic party, in 1959 for statewide offices the ILWU gave its nod to Republican Hiram Fong over Democrat Frank F. Fasi for the U.S. Senate, the AFL-CIO COPE endorsed Republicans Quinn and Kealoha over Democrats Burns and Kido for governor and lieutenant governor, and the HGEA limited its statements to state legislative aspirants of both parties.

Most controversial of all pressure groups is the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, largely because of its solidarity, agressiveness, and the alleged past Communist associations of its leadership. It shares control with shipping companies over Hawaii's vital transportation link with the mainland.

Moreover, its participation in the rapid development of the Democratic party after World War II early caused division in party ranks and remains its major, dynamic problem.

The ILWU is recognized as a major factor in most county and state legislative races. Candidates of both parties from all but districts of high socio-economic rank customarily hope for union neutrality or seek union support. Neighbor Island politics are far more responsive to union wishes than those on Oahu. Estimates suggest that the union influences 9,000 to 15,000 votes on a statewide basis, but only 3,000 to 5,000 votes on Oahu. Well known in political circles is the rule-of-thumb appraisal which past election results support: the ILWU, except in its strongholds on Kauai and Maui, may not be able to elect you, but in any island election it can most certainly defeat you, barring extraordinary personal popularity and campaign effort.

Since 1956, the ILWU has sought to pitch its political pronouncements to a lower key. It has been less active on radio and recently reorganized its press organ (now the *Hawaiian Reporter*). Seeking to reduce counter-pressure attacks, the union has made a series of endorsements recently in districts where it is known to possess little if any strength. Often these endorsements have gone to probable victors and have had the dubious advantage of causing them embarrassment.

Republicans, concentrating on the 1959 governor's race, gave great prominence to the close ties between Democratic candidate John Burns and the ILWU. In these efforts, they received the support of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and one of Honolulu's most popular morning disc jockeys. Governor Quinn remained aloof from this phase of the campaign, possibly because he had received the union's endorsement when he had unsuccessfully campaigned in 1956 for a territorial Senate seat. Burns steadfastly refused to alter his position of friendship for the union. Although he and his supporters repeatedly insisted that he was not in any way controlled by it and was the victim of misquotations and improper journalism, Burns failed to involve Quinn in this give-and-take and lost much support he had received from independent voters in his race for delegate in 1958. Unquestionably, the rumor of a partnership between Hoffa's Teamsters and the ILWU to embark upon an Islands-wide organizing program also contributed to the movement of the uncommitted voter to Quinn.

While the ILWU failed to gain considerable hoped for influence in the first state administration as a result of Burns's defeat and Republican senatorial victories, the union remains a major and controversial factor in Island politics. It will only diminish in relative power as the emphasis of the new state's economy continues to shift from the plantations and as migration to the unorganizable white-collar population sector grows. If more intensive union organization drives succeed, the ILWU may even expand its political influence.

Legislative Politics

In the past, the legislature has been the keystone of party politics in Hawaii, playing a role in policy-making that was relatively greater than that of most counterparts on the mainland, because of the extremely centralized administra-

tive system. Legislators have not been adverse to fishing in local governmental waters, passing special legislation for particular counties, sometimes to the chagrin of the county officials. The simplicity of Hawaii's system of local government and the absence of "home rule" powers which would label areas of municipal jurisdiction as *kapu* (protected, sacrosanct) have facilitated such legislative interference. In the absence of enabling legislation, it yet remains a question whether Hawaii's new constitution, which authorizes local self-government charters and also contemplates conferring of powers upon local units only by general laws, will mark any significant change in past practice.

No person is eligible to serve in Hawaii's twenty-five-member Senate unless he has attained the age of thirty. Delegates to the fifty-one-membered House of Representatives must be at least twenty-five. Residence in Hawaii for three years and status as a qualified voter of the district from which the candidate seeks to be elected are also required. Most states fix lower minimum age and shorter residence requirements: nevertheless, legislators in Hawaii tend to be relatively young, and the three-year span of residence may well have little importance, as most legislators are *kamaainas* (native-born), or long-time residents. In the first state legislature, four-fifths of the members were born in the Islands and the median residence of the fourteen non-*kamaainas* was twenty-seven years. The median age of the 1959 senators was forty-six, somewhat higher than the thirty-seven years of the representatives. Admitting incomplete data for previous sessions, it would appear that the average age of legislators has gradually declined over the last three decades. Recent legislatures clearly show the impact of the introduction of young blood into political activity since World War II.

Lawyers comprise the largest single occupational group — 56 per cent of the state Senate and 49 per cent of the House of Representatives. The election of labor leaders as representatives has lost all novelty. Almost half of the legislators are veterans, open testimony to the part Hawaii played in World War II and in Korea. Each session a few women are elected, and in 1945 when Hawaii yet had the smallest bicameral legislative body in the United States (45), they accounted for a ninth of the total membership. For the decade immediately prior to the augmentation in size of the 1959 legislature, between 50 and 60 per cent of the members were returned to office at least once, while turnover statistics for previous comparable periods indicate that only 40 to 50 per cent came back to the legislative halls.

The ethnic composition of the legislature has tended to reflect that of Hawaii's adult citizen population.[19] For the first state legislature it was 47 per cent Japanese, 32 per cent Caucasian, 13 per cent Hawaiian, and 8 per cent "other." In other respects, legislators in Hawaii do not mirror well the characteristics of the population which elected them. Their religious affiliations are atypical: of the sixty law-makers in the first state legislature who were members of an organized religious group, only 17 per cent were Buddhist and 28 per cent Roman Catholic, while the Protestant component reached 55 per cent. Legislators are better educated; non-*haoles* display greater virtuosity in their ancestral

[19] See Meller, "Centralization in Hawaii," p. 103.

tongues;[20] more of them are married; and on the average all enjoy a higher socio-economic status than is true of the adult population of Hawaii. All this lends credence to the conclusion that the Islanders seek qualified men for their legislative halls, rather than merely choosing at random among their own ranks.

Republican strength in Hawaii has best been illustrated by the number of party members elected to the legislature. After the "Lady Dog Legislature" of 1901 in which the Home Rulers captured a majority of seats, the Republicans organized[21] every subsequent one until 1955. The success of the Democrats in electing half the members of the House of Representatives in 1946 carried the portent of events to come, even though one Democrat ultimately joined with the Republicans in the 1947 session to permit them to organize the House. Finally, in 1955 the Democrats succeeded in obtaining a majority in each house, a feat they duplicated in 1957 and 1959. Only with the statehood elections in 1959 was the seemingly irresistible Democratic tide abated; at the moment, Democrats hold a safe majority (33–18) in the House of Representatives while the Republicans once again control the Senate (14–11). Whether this balance can be attributed to the momentary impact of statehood and the exhilaration which accompanied the initial election of a state governor and federal congressmen, time alone can determine.

Republican legislative victories in the past were so complete that up to World War II, in only one session (1914) could a Democratic governor rely upon a large enough legislative minority of his own party to sustain his veto. Not until Governor Stainback's (Democrat) first term in 1945, did the Democrats finally obtain each session more than a third of the membership in one of the legislative houses. With such a dominant position in the legislature until the end of World War II, the Republicans, when united, could force their program through for the whole of the Islands, irrespective of the political affiliation of the governor.

When the Democrats commenced organizing the legislature in 1955, they found themselves in a power position in relation to the Republican-appointed governors that was comparable to the Republican position since 1945. It therefore took them three sessions (1955, 1957, and the special session of 1957) to enlist the aid of a few sympathetic Republicans in order to pass a Democratic tax reform bill over a gubernatorial veto. In the first year of statehood, Republican control of the Senate and the governor's office assures that party a share in lawmaking somewhat reminiscent of its earlier role.

Growing Democratic strength has gradually contributed to a degree of party polarization previously unknown in the Islands' legislative halls. Island governors appointed from Washington were in poor position to exert strong party leadership, and the forceful legislators who were elected did not take too kindly to "outside" party interference. Now each party is tending to draw its lines more

[21] However, the majority of the 1903 House of Representatives, although nominally Republican, chose a Home Ruler as Speaker and battled with a Republican Governor.

[20] See Norman Meller, "Bilingualism in Island Legislatures of the Pacific as an Index of Acculturation — A Hypothesis," *Sociology and Social Research*, XLIII (July-August 1959), 408.

tightly and, through legislative caucuses, to seek unity through imposition of the unit rule.

Various forms of non-party factionalism have long distinguished Island politics. The schism between Oahu and the Neighbor Islands assures that geographical lines may have greater impact upon certain issues than party labels. The position of any majority in the House of Representatives is particularly vulnerable inasmuch as Neighbor Island members constitute a majority in the Senate. Party leaders are therefore obliged to compromise. Mandatory requirements for Neighbor Island membership on state boards and commissions and disproportionate (population-wise) allocation of state revenues may be expected to continue as a price of intra-party harmony.

Another deterrent to tight party discipline in the legislature is the different ideologies represented within each party, and powerful legislative figures have not hesitated to utilize this to their own advantage. The organizing of the House of Representatives in 1953 by a Republican minority faction joining with Democrats, and a comparable coalition of a Democratic minority enlisting the aid of Republicans in 1959, both illustrate the leverage afforded to groups attendant to strong legislative figures.

A final line of cleaveage, which dramatically came to the fore at the state legislature's first special session of 1959, is that separating the two houses. Occasionally, chamber loyalty transcends all other factors. This was well evidenced when all fifty-one members of the House of Representatives, Democrats and Republicans, voted for adjournment because they considered the honor of the House had been impugned by Senate conferees allegedly reneging on a free conference agreement. In view of all of this, the growth of party polarization within the legislature will fall short of full realization unless it meets adequately the challenge of countervailing pulls of geographical, ideological, and charismatic factionalism.

Forewarned by the inability of the territorial legislature to reapportion itself for half-a-century, the constitutional convention provided for automatic gubernatorial apportionment of the lower house every decade. Should the governor fail to act, any registered voter may apply to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus to compel him to perform his duty. Errors made in reapportionment may similarly be corrected through court action. Even before the state constitution became effective, these provisions were engrafted into the Organic Act by Congress, moving to forestall judicial reapportionment as the result of a suit brought by a citizen resident of Honolulu claiming denial of equal protection and due process of law.[22]

The 1956 amendments to the Organic Act increased the size of the House to fifty-one. The eighteen multi-membered House districts are grouped by counties, and under no circumstances can a county fail to have at least one representative. Beyond this minimum, a county's share is determined by the number of registered voters. The actual apportionment is accomplished by applying the mathematical formula of equal proportions. Should a representative district drop

[22] *Dyer v. Abe et al.* (1956) 138 F. Supp. 220.

below roughly 1 per cent of all registered voters in the state, the county will be redistricted, so that the county's share of representatives will be spread among a smaller number of districts.[23]

Statehood was accompanied by reapportionment problems. In view of the amendments to the Organic Act, the governor would have been required to reapportion the territorial House of Representatives after the 1959 regular session. However, the statehood enabling legislation passed by Congress called for the special election for the first state legislature to be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the constitution drafted in 1950. The schedule of districts in the constitution did not reflect the population shift which had taken place during the ensuing decade, so the districts which stood to gain by reapportionment pressed the governor for action, while those whose delegations would be reduced insisted upon strict observance of the enabling legislation. Adding to the emotional content of the dispute, the Neighbor Islands stood to lose three seats to Honolulu. The Attorney General sided with the strict constructionalists, the Governor followed his advice, and a test suit heard by the territorial Supreme Court gave a decision to the advocates of reapportionment.[24] Thus it was that the state legislature which convened in special session on August 31, 1959, represented the first application of Hawaii's automatic reapportionment provisions.

The Islands have been governed under six constitutions and an Organic Act. However, only the last constitution, that of the state of Hawaii, was ever submitted to the people. It alone has made provision for popular ratification of amendments and for a vote at least every decade on the question of calling a convention for constitutional revision. But it contains no mention of either initiative or referendum. Indeed, the attitude prevails among many Islanders that such devices are suspect as being somewhat radical.

The Democratic party advocated both the initiative and the referendum in its 1956, 1958, and 1960 platforms. The Democratic legislative majority made the initiative part of its program, but failed to pass a bill putting it into effect. Use of either form of direct legislation on the territorial level was legally questionable, due to the terminology of the Organic Act, and is equally doubtful under the state constitution. However, the new charter for the City and County of Honolulu expressly permits popularly initiated charter amendments, and it can be anticipated that the issue will again come to the fore when the state constitution is subjected to its first periodic scrutiny.

Since the turn of the century Hawaii has, however, actually witnessed a degree of direct participation. In 1910 the people in a plebiscite voted against prohibition more than three to one. Residents of the City and County of Honolulu on two occasions approved local bond issues at the polls. Recently (1958), at a special election called for the purpose, the proposed charter for the City and County of Honolulu was ratified, the voters defeating a number of alternative proposals. Two decades ago (1940), in an Islands-wide plebiscite, statehood

[23] See Kennenth K. Lau, *Reapportionment of the Territorial Legislature*, Legislative Reference Bureau Report No. 2, 1958 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1958).

[24] *Davis et al.* v. *Quinn et al.* (1959) 43 Haw. 261.

was approved. Again, after the passage of enabling legislation by Congress, voters approved statehood and also agreed to certain modifications in the proposed constitution and to special provisions on public land as set forth in the enabling legislation.

Voting Habits

Reference has been made to the general pattern of party support by voters in Hawaii. Until 1956, Democrats were elected as delegates to Congress on only three occasions and their tenure totaled a minimal six years. Republicans on the legislative level maintained majorities which, except for the period 1945–54, were customarily sufficient to override the vetoes of Democratic governors. Democratic territorial legislative victories in 1954 could probably best be attributed to the congealing of favorable sentiment in plantation areas on all islands and in lower economic areas on Oahu, and to the attractiveness of the 1954 Democratic slate to middle-income groups. Unless analysis currently underway[25] reveals otherwise, it is doubtful that the 1959 Republican victories reversed this trend. They probably represent "personality break-throughs" within a public dedicated more to "independence" than to party voting habits.

There is considerable evidence that voters now practice extensive "ballot scratching." A sample survey of ballots cast on Oahu in 1948 indicated that only about 26 per cent voted along straight party lines for territorial senators and representatives.[26] A sample of ballots cast for executive and legislative officials in Honolulu's 1954 election revealed even more extensive cross-party voting, showing that only about 12 per cent had solely supported candidates of one or the other major party. This pattern was further illustrated in 1959 when Democrat Daniel K. Inouye was able to poll 111,727 of 171,383 votes cast for U.S. representative while Republican Kealoha was able to amass 90,652 to Democrat Kido's 75,156 in the lieutenant governor race. The tendency to "scratch" does not appear to have been reversed by statehood.

On the basis of admittedly inconclusive information, women apparently vote more heavily for Republican candidates than do men. This has been apparent in opinion studies conducted during the past four years among students at the University of Hawaii.[27] This tendency was further confirmed by a series of community polls conducted by University of Hawaii students prior to the 1959 state election, which indicated that women may well have been a determining factor in electing Republican Governor Quinn. However, evidencing the tentativeness of the generalization, their support for Democrat Inouye as U.S. representative was somewhat more pronounced than among men, a finding confirmed by a 1959 pre-election poll conducted by Robert S. Craig Associates which utilized different sampling techniques.[28]

[25] Comprehensive studies of voting habits in progress at the University of Hawaii as well as those undertaken during 1958–59 by a researcher from the mainland promise to be much more revealing than observations contained herein.

[26] Joint Faculty Committee, University of Hawaii, "Voting Behavior in the Territory . . . ," May, 1949, unpublished.

[27] Dan W. Tuttle, "A Quantitative Analysis of Political Opinion at the University of Hawaii, 1957–58," *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Academy of Science*, XXXIII (1958), 30–31.

[28] *Pali Press* (Kailua, Oahu), August 13, 1959, p. 2.

In ethnically diverse Hawaii, the question of the extent of ethnic bloc voting has inevitably arisen. Findings are contradictory and inconclusive. A survey conducted by a Joint Faculty Committee and student teams in 1948 at the University of Hawaii reported little tendency to vote solidly for all Japanese, all Caucasian, or all "Other" candidates.[29] Later, in 1954, two University researchers applied the technique of multiple factorial analysis to the precinct vote recorded at the combined territorial and city-county election on Oahu and to a sample of ballots cast on the city-county level. Two major factors emerged: party affiliation and ethnic affiliation. "Of the two factors, party affiliation appeared to be somewhat stronger."[30] The results of a pre-election poll conducted by Robert S. Craig Associates pointed clearly to heavy bloc voting along ethnic lines at the 1959 general election.[31]

It would be naïve to discount completely the influence of ethnic considerations on political events in Hawaii. Strategists of both parties give rather careful consideration to devising slates which are balanced to reflect the various major groups present in the population. Lacking specific knowledge, just as on the mainland, voters will tend to identify with candidates of their own ethnic group. This probably characterizes, in particular, the groups only recently introduced to fuller participation in Hawaii's politics. Nevertheless, mainland stereotypes are hardly applicable. Let a candidate play too hard upon the theme of race, correlatively demeaning that of an opponent, and he may well find he has alienated rather than garnered votes.

Impact of National Politics and Trends

Hawaii in 1960 participated for the first time in a national presidential election. As a result of past territorial status and the delegate's token power in Congress, public interest in national politics has been only a degree more than casual. Other than to change the governor and the political complexion of the judiciary as vacancies occurred, to the man in the street national election results have had little apparent influence on trends in the Islands. Several Island residents have in the past occupied positions of prominence in national party work, but this has been of minor importance inside Hawaii.

Even before Hawaii was officially admitted as a state, efforts were being made locally to encourage potential 1960 presidential candidates to visit the Islands. Senator John Kennedy did not campaign in the Islands, but his brother, Ted, represented his interests at the Democratic state convention in May 1960. Vice President Nixon did visit the Islands. Although Hawaii's three (now prospectively four) electoral votes may not loom very large on the national scene, apparently both candidates believed them to be worth some campaign effort. Hawaii's extremely close vote in the presidential election, with Nixon first being declared the winner, culminated in a complete recount by unpaid volunteers which

[29] Joint Faculty Committee, *op. cit.*

[30] John M. Digman and Dan W. Tuttle, "Statistical Analysis of Oahu's 1954 General Election: Patterns Emerging from the Vote as Reported by Precincts," *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Academy of Science*, XXXI (1956), 10.

[31] *Pali Press, loc. cit.*

testifies to the sincerity with which Hawaii's citizens have assumed the burdens as well as the privileges of statehood. The state's three electoral votes were finally cast for John F. Kennedy.

Tours of the Far East and the Pacific Islands in late 1959 by Senators Fong and Long and by Representative Inouye undoubtedly heightened voter awareness of Hawaii's new role in national affairs. National and international attention which has focused on the impact of these trips promises to be even more significant. In a somewhat different vein, speaking engagements fulfilled by Governor Quinn on the mainland in the wake of his election victory led to the suggestion in some quarters that he was a potential 1960 Republican vice presidential nominee. This illustrates that political events in Hawaii may in the future be felt more in national circles than the size and location of Hawaii superficially suggest. And unquestionably, now that statehood affords Hawaii an assured role in Washington, public concern within the Islands about national issues will be translated into greater public interest and participation in national politics.

Idaho: the Sectional State

BOYD A. MARTIN

IDAHO, "geologically young," with her rivers, mountains, and plains probably formed within the last sixty million years, is also historically young. Prior to 1805 little is known of the state's history. It was in that year that Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark, generally recognized as the first white men to see Idaho, led their expedition of thirty men into the territory near Salmon City. As the party moved north from Salmon City over Lo Lo Pass they met both Lemhi and Nez Percé Indians who apparently had never before had contact with white men.

Following the Lewis and Clark expedition knowledge of Idaho spread among people of strong hearts and pioneer spirits. Fur traders were soon looking for both adventure and fortune in the fabulous mountains and plains of the new country. In September 1809, just three years after Lewis and Clark left the Nez Percés in the Kamiah Valley for their return home, David Thompson, an English explorer, traveled into Idaho from the north to erect a trading post (known as Kullyspell House) at Hope on the northeast side of Pend 'Oreille Lake. Fur trading became increasingly important and competitive. Hudson's Bay Company, operating out of Fort Vancouver, Washington, and the Northwest Company, with headquarters at Fort Williams on Lake Superior, were major competitors until their merger in 1821.

Idaho's fur-trading days were filled with examples of heroism, tough competition, disappointment, and riches. Donald McKenzie was the first to visit the Boise Valley. John Jacob Astor organized the Pacific Fur Company in 1809 and sent traders to Fort Astoria in 1810. By 1811 Wilson Price Hunt and his party were gliding down the Snake River in canoes. By 1825 Peter Skene Ogden was exploring, trading, and being harassed by Indian problems in the Snake River country. Between 1820 and 1830 Idaho passed through her most rewarding and dramatic fur-trading period.

The missionaries followed the fur traders in their efforts to Christianize the Indians. The Nez Percés, the most religious of all the tribes, sent a small delegation in 1831 to St. Louis to seek help from Captain William Clark in learning

about the white man's religion. Henry H. Spalding and Marcus Whitman came to the new Oregon country in the summer of 1836 where the former immediately founded the Spalding Mission on the Clearwater River. He was followed by numerous other missionaries, among them Father Peter DeSmet who made frequent trips to Idaho and the Northwest. DeSmet Mission, south of Coeur d'Alene, was named for him. Many Protestant missionaries carried their work into the new mining camps. The first wagon train of Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) moved into Lemhi Valley in 1855, one of the first settlements in southern Idaho. This event proved to be one of the most significant in Idaho's history as the "Mormon" question became a burning political and economic issue for decades to follow.

While the early missionaries were spreading the word of God, miners began to seek yellow dust in the streams and mountains. Many found their way west on the trails made by the fur traders, missionaries, and explorers. Numerous immigrants moved across the territory to Oregon and California and then returned to Idaho. The miners often followed a similar course. The discovery of gold in Orofino Creek by Captain E. P. Pierce started the great gold stampede. One discovery led to another until Idaho became one of the chief mining states in the Union. The gold discovery led to the establishment of Idaho Territory in 1863; also at this time, the Republican North was looking for new states to offset the future readmission of southern states following the Civil War. Miners were followed by wholesale and retail firms which served the mines. Gradually settlers filled the ranks as the mining stampede declined. Agriculture slowly acquired the dominant position in the state's economy and has retained it to the present day.

Unlike many western states, Idaho's economic growth has been stable but slow. At first more immigrants passed over the plains area of southern Idaho on the Oregon Trail than settled. Later, with the gradual introduction of irrigation in the arid southern area and the discovery of the rich dry-farming and mining areas in the north, settlers moved in on a slow but steady schedule.

In the beginning of Idaho territorial days three factors largely determined the political complexion of the state: first, religious strife growing out of the Mormon question; second, sectionalism which started from the first; and third, a strong pioneer democracy where great emphasis is placed upon the equality and the significance of the individual, free from class lines. These three characteristics still play an important role in the background of Idaho's political behavior.[1]

Geography and Resources

Geography has been a major determinant of sectionalism in Idaho politics. The shape, the topography, and the climate of the state has much to do with its politics. With 83,557 square miles, Idaho is thirteenth in size in the nation, but still is larger than Maryland, Delaware, and the New England states combined.

[1] There are numerous histories of Idaho. Cornelius J. Brosnan, *History of the State of Idaho* (rev. ed.; New York: Scribner's, 1948), an eighth-grade text, is still one of the best. Merrill D. Beal and Merle Wells, *History of Idaho* (Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1960), is a new and the most complete history of the state.

Nevertheless, the total population of approximately 664,566 persons is fewer than the city and county of San Francisco claim. Both distance and topography make Idaho one of the most fantastic states in the Union. It is over 500 miles by highway from Bonners Ferry south to the State Capitol in Boise; and yet the state is less than 50 miles wide at the Canadian border. The direct distance from Idaho's southern to her northern boundary (480 miles) is, on the same line, the total distance for Washington and Oregon combined.

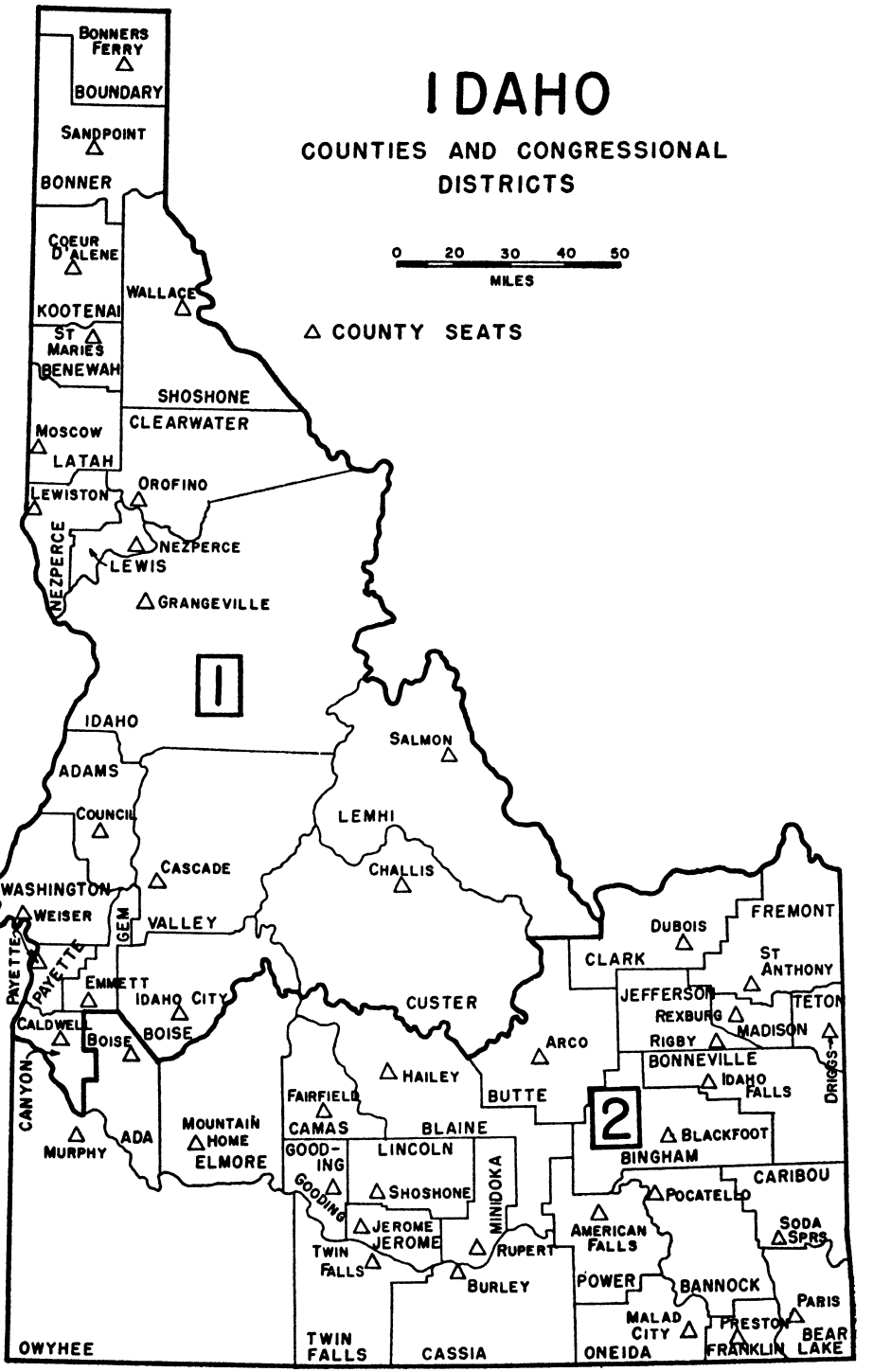
More important than distance is the unique topography. Agriculture and community life follow the Snake from its upper valley, through southern Idaho, north to Lewiston, where this river, the longest to flow in any one state, enters Washington and joins the Columbia. Central Idaho, America's largest primitive area, divides the state so completely that no railroad goes from Boise to Lewiston, let alone Coeur d'Alene, Sandpoint, or Bonners Ferry. There is neither highway nor railroad from Idaho Falls running northwest to Lewiston. Consequently, with the exception of traffic carried on highway U.S. 95, most north- and south-bound traffic is diverted through either Oregon or Montana. Culturally, economically, and especially religiously, southeastern Idaho is more closely linked to Utah than to its own state. Southwestern Idaho is closely allied with adjacent Oregon and the northern part of the state has very close relationships with the Spokane area in Washington. In like manner geographically and politically, the state is divided into three sections — southeastern, southwestern, with the dividing line near Twin Falls, and northern Idaho, with the dividing line at the Salmon River.

Southern Idaho is a rich agricultural area comprised of irrigated and grazing lands. The north is rich in farming, lumbering, mining, and livestock raising. With the exception of a small part of the southeast, the entire state lies in the basin of the Columbia River. Lewiston, Idaho's only port, stands at the head of navigation some 480 miles from the Pacific.

Contrary to a common belief, Idaho lies wholly west of the Continental Divide. The northern part of the state averages lower in elevation than much of the central and southern portions. The lowest point, at Lewiston (738 feet), is lower than the towers of the Golden Gate Bridge, while the highest is Mount Borah (12,655 feet) in Custer County. Idaho has neither a continental nor a coastal climate. However, the influence of the Pacific Ocean is noticeable in the northern part, while continental climate prevails in the southeastern section.

The average annual temperature is a product of both geography and topography. The highest averages are found in the lower elevation of the Clearwater and Little Salmon River basins and in the Snake River Basin from Bliss to Lewiston. The highest mean is 54.8 degrees at Swan Falls and the lowest, at Obsidian, is 35.7 degrees, Monthly mean temperatures of 32 degrees prevail in the Snake River area between Idaho Falls and Twin Falls from December through February. The areas in and around Riggins and Lewiston have no monthly means during the year below freezing.

Precipitation varies greatly. The Clearwater, Payette, and Boise River basins receive an average of 40 to 50 inches of rainfall per year. Challis has an average of 7 inches. The upper Snake River plains and the southwestern valleys receive


IDAHO
COUNTIES AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
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MILES
△ COUNTY SEATS
BONNERS FERRY
BOUNDARY
SANDPOINT
BONNER
COEUR D'ALENE
WALLACE
KOOTENAI
ST MARIES
BENEWAH
SHOSHONE
CLEARWATER
MOSCOW
LATAH
LEWISTON
OROFINO
NEZPERCE
LEWIS
GRANGEVILLE
1
IDAHO
ADAMS
COUNCIL
WASHINGTON
WEISER
GEM
VALLEY
PAYETTE
PAYETTE
EMMETT
IDAHO CITY
CALDWELL
BOISE
BOISE
CANYON
MURPHY
ADA
MOUNTAIN HOME
ELMORE
OWYHEE
SALMON
LEMHI
CHALLIS
CASCADE
CUSTER
HAILEY
FAIRFIELD
CAMAS
BLAINE
GOODING
LINCOLN
SHOSHONE
JEROME
JEROME
TWIN FALLS
TWIN FALLS
BURLEY
MINIDOKA
RUPERT
CASSIA
ARCO
BUTTE
DUBOIS
FREMONT
CLARK
ST ANTHONY
JEFFERSON
TETON
REXBURG
MADISON
RIGBY
BONNEVILLE
IDAHO FALLS
DRIGGS
2
BLACKFOOT
BINGHAM
CARIBOU
POCATELLO
SODA SPRS
AMERICAN FALLS
POWER
BANNOCK
PARIS
MALAD CITY
PRESTON
BEAR LAKE
ONEIDA
FRANKLIN

less than 10 inches. The major mountain ranges accumulate heavy snow during the winter months. In the Snake River Basin above Weiser, the melting snows furnish irrigation water for approximately two million acres. Hurricanes are practically unknown in the state, although windstorms are common over most of the region. Destructive storms, as compared to those in the central part of the United States, are few and mild. Floods occur most often during April and May when the mountain snowpacks start to melt. Principal flood areas are in the Kootenai River Valley near Bonners Ferry and the upper Snake River Valley above Idaho Falls. Flood control dams have been generally successful.[2]

Idaho is predominately agricultural. Of the total land area, 10.3 per cent is in cropland farms and 43 per cent in pasture and range land. Of the three chief sources of personal income derived from basic industries, agriculture accounts for approximately 25 per cent, forestry for 12 and mining for 10 per cent.[3] The largest source of agricultural income is from field crops which produce about 53 per cent of the total. Eighteen per cent of this comes from wheat, 8.5 from potatoes, 5.5 from sugar beets, 3.5 from hay, 3.5 from edible beans, and 3.5 from barley. Although Idaho is the nation's largest producer of small seeds, such as seed corn, the total income from this is negligible compared to other field crops. The rest of the farm income is derived from livestock and livestock products, of which the cattle business produces 21 per cent, dairy products produce 14, and sheep and lambs, 5.5.

The above figures do not indicate the extent of agriculture in the state. The variety of crops, livestock, and general farming activities is broad and highly specialized in different areas. Idaho ranks third in the United States in the production of potatoes. Ninety per cent of these are grown on 110,000 acres of irrigated land on the Snake River plains. Another 100,000 acres of irrigated land between Gooding and Minidoka counties are devoted to dry edible beans of which the state is the third largest producer, as it is of sugar beets to which another 50,000 acres are devoted. It ranks first in the nation in the production of clover seed and wheatgrass, second in pears and prunes, and fourth in sheep and lambs.[4]

The significance of agriculture to the state is vividly portrayed by the fact that Idaho's farm population of 24 per cent, as compared to 12 per cent for the nation, has the fifth highest ratio in the United States of gross farm income to total consumer spendable income. Its gross farm income is in excess of $500,000,000.[5]

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[2] The author is indebted to David G. Stevlingson, who wrote *Climate of the States, Idaho,* U.S. Department of Commerce, Weather Bureau, Climatography of the United States, No. 60–10.

[3] Much of the information concerning agriculture was furnished by Dr. James Kraus, dean of the College of Agriculture, director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, and of the Agricultural Extension Service, University of Idaho. The above figures were furnished by Dr. William Folz, head of the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Idaho.

[4] Of Idaho's total land area of 52,972,000 acres, 22,659,000 is in pasture and range lands, 5,476,000 in crop lands, and 1,855,000 in irrigated crop lands. It is estimated that at least 1,000,000 additional acres could be put under irrigation.

[5] See *Idaho's Major Mass Market,* an advertising brochure published by the *Idaho Farmer,* 1959.

Idaho's agriculture and forests are closely related, especially in the cut-over timber lands, mountains, meadows, and valleys. Twenty-seven per cent of the state's total area is in forest lands.[6] Ten million acres of these lie north of the Salmon River. The state has 3.2 per cent of the country's total forests and 2.9 per cent of its commercial forest lands. Currently, approximately 6 per cent of the nation's live sawtimber is located in Idaho: the major portion of this is softwood. There is an estimated sustained yield potential of three billion board feet per year. Forty per cent (13.4 million acres) of the forested land produces timber of commercial value: various agencies of the national government own 72 per cent; 22 per cent is privately owned; and 6 per cent belongs to various Idaho governmental agencies. The major species of trees are the western white pine, ponderosa pine, western red cedar, western hemlock, western larch, Engelmann spruce, lodgepole pine, and the Douglas fir. The nation's largest stand of white pine is in northern Idaho.[7]

Many Americans associate the mining industry in Idaho with the stampede following the discovery of gold in 1860. Gold is now largely a by-product of mining for other minerals, especially for silver, lead, and zinc in Shoshone County.[8] As the significance of gold declined other metals rapidly took its place in major production. In the ninety-seven years since records have been kept, Idaho has produced approximately 2.5 billion dollars in mineral wealth, and 87 per cent of this has come from lead, zinc, silver, copper, and gold. But today gold accounts for less than 1 per cent of the state's mineral production. More than half the value of all the minerals has come from those mined since 1938. Idaho leads the nation in the production of zinc, silver, columbium, and tantalum, and is second in the production of lead. The significance of the major metals has been declining in relation to the growing importance of strategic metals, phosphate, and construction minerals. These now represent 30 per cent of the state's total. The value of Idaho's mineral output has fluctuated from 22 million in 1935 to 84 million in 1951. This variation demonstrates the critical position of the mining industry. A large percentage of its production is of metals very sensitive to business cycles, to national defense needs, and to foreign competition. Non-metallic minerals are in a much more favorable position pricewise.

Metals are currently mined in twenty of the forty-four counties. This has resulted in the industry having more political influence, especially in the Capitol,

[6] The author is indebted for much of the data here presented on agriculture, forestry, and mining to R. A. Postweiler, of the College of Business Administration, University of Idaho, and to an address of his entitled "A Survey of Idaho's Natural and Human Resources." See also his article "Idaho," University of Washington *Business Review*, College of Business Administration, Vol. XIX, No. 3. Robert H. Seale, assistant to the dean, College of Forestry, University of Idaho, furnished considerable data on forestry and the timber products industry. Also his address presented to the Latah Chamber of Commerce in 1958 on "The Significance of Forest Resources and Forest-Based Industry in the Economy of Northern Idaho" was very useful.

[7] E. Malcolm Hause, "Idaho," *American*, XIV, 650–60.

[8] For data concerning mining the author is especially indebted to Dr. E. F. Cook, dean of the College of Mines and director of the Idaho Bureau of Mines and Geology, and two of his addresses entitled "The Future of Idaho's Mineral Industry" and "The Idaho Mining Industry in a Year of Decision." Also see the chapter by Kenneth D. Bober, Frank B. Fulkesson, and Norman S. Peterson, "The Mineral Industry of Idaho," *Minerals Yearbook*, 1958, Vol. III, Area Reports, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior; *The Mineral Industry of Idaho in 1959*, Area Report B–74, Minerals Industry Surveys, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior.

than its relative position in the production of wealth or in the number of people employed might warrant. This situation is changing, however. Gradually the industry has been developing and expanding in a few centers. The principal production comes from Washington, Bannock, Caribou, Lemhi, Bonneville, Custer, and Shoshone counties: Shoshone produces 65 per cent of the total value. The following metals are mined: antimony, beryllium, cadmium, cobalt, columbium-tantalum, copper, gold, iron ore (new), lead, mercury, nickel, silver, titanium, tungsten, uranium, zinc, and zirconium. A number of nonmetals — including barite, cement, clay, garnet, gypsum, mica, phosphate rock, pumice, volcanic cinder, sand and gravel, stone, and sulfuric acid — are either mined or produced.

Population

In population,[9] Idaho is one of the six smallest states in the Union. Among the Rocky Mountain states only three, Oregon, Montana, and Wyoming, have fewer than Idaho's 7.1 persons per square mile. Jumping from 14,999 in 1870 to 664,556 (according to preliminary figures) in 1960 represents an amazing growth in ninety years. Over 60 per cent of Idaho's people live in nine counties: Ada, Bannock, Bonneville, Canyon, Twin Falls, Bingham, Koatenai, Latah, and Shoshone. Population figures for sixteen counties have declined since 1920 or before. Agriculture and geography have been the major factors in determining the distribution. Irrigated farming results in a denser population than dry farming or livestock raising. The period of greatest urban growth was from 1900 to 1910. Since that time growth has been quite constant. Approximately 40 per cent of the people are urban although in 1960 only two cities were above 30,000, Boise with 34,703 and Idaho Falls with 33,005. Nine cities have in excess of 10,000. Thirty per cent of the people live in the ten southwestern counties: this constitutes the largest population area.

With the exception of the early mining days, when conflicts were common between the natives and the Chinese (who migrated into the mining camps), Idaho has had a very homogeneous population, if not the most homogeneous in the nation. Since the first settlement, with the exception of the Indians, the state has been predominately white. The Caucasian population has never dropped below 90 per cent. In 1950, 98.8 per cent were white. Most of the Negroes and Chinese live in cities while most of the Indians and Japanese live in rural areas. The number of Negroes has never exceeded 920. The total non-white population does not exceed 5,000. Politically, the state has no race problems. Approximately 20 per cent of the people are of foreign stock as compared to 26 per cent for the nation. Most of the foreign stock derive from Europe, particularly Germany, England, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The birth rate has always been slightly above the national rate and the mortality rate one of the lowest in the nation.

Migration, both external and internal, has had little influence upon the politics of the state. Native-born residents will probably continue to constitute an

[9] The author has relied heavily upon Harry C. Harmsworth, *Sixty Years of Population Growth in Idaho, 1890–1950*, General Research Project No. G–8, Department of Social Science, University of Idaho, 1952, in the preparation of the subject.

increasing percentage of the population. Most of the migrants traveled long distances to come to Idaho. Most of the internal migration has been from dry-land farming areas to irrigated land and to the city. This trend is gradually changing the political picture. The urban labor vote is becoming much more important, especially in statewide elections where the impact of its numbers count most.

Education

Idaho has had difficulty in meeting all of its educational needs. The University of Idaho, created by the territorial Legislature in 1889, discovered it was necessary to start a preparatory school. Young men and women of college age had been unable to find high schools — which were then few and far between. However, the people of the state have long believed in the educational objective that every child is entitled to whatever level of education he is capable of achieving.

For years Idaho passed through the stage of creating hundreds of independent school districts, with local boards of control, subject to a minimum of state regulation and supervision. Many of these maintained one-room schools with one teacher for the eight elementary grades. Almost every village had a local high school regardless of its population or assessed valuation. The state is now completing an enormous consolidation program which has greatly reduced the number of schools and districts. Probably the most common sight on the highways in the early morning and late afternoon hours is the hundreds of school busses carrying thousands of children, in some cases great distances, to consolidated schools.

Idaho is more fortunate than many states in that the educational duties of the legislature are clearly defined in the constitution. A constitutional amendment passed in 1912 places control over all public education in the State Board of Education, which is also the Board of Regents for the University of Idaho and is the State Board for Vocational Education. Thus, a single board is the chief policy-forming body and the chief executive body, with the exception of the state superintendent of instruction, over all schools. The state superintendent is executive officer of the Board. This office is still filled by election. With this exception, the educational organization is well planned.

The major educational problem has been inadequate finance. Local districts, with great differences in assessed valuation, depended largely upon the property tax. This proved inadequate to support the schools and resulted in great variation in the quality of education. Consequently, the legislature has been appropriating state monies on an equalization basis. Even though the legislature does raise millions of dollars for schools they are still inadequately financed. The state government spends about one-third as much on schools, not including institutions of higher learning, as it spends on highways. To finance adequately her public obligations, Idaho faces the problem of reappraising sources of revenue and revising laws to tax those sources equitably.

The state has long been proud of her institutions of higher learning. The University, located at Moscow, consists of ten colleges and is the land-grant insti-

tution. Its experiment stations and programs of agricultural extension cover the state. The University has a commendable record for its high level of teaching and research. Lewis-Clark Normal, at Lewiston, is operated as a division of the University. Idaho State College, independent of the University, is a rapidly growing institution. Located at Pocatello, one of the largest population centers, it has served a somewhat different type of student. Much attention is given to nonacademic industrial-technical training for those who do not wish to work toward academic degrees. In addition, Idaho State College has a School of Pharmacy and Colleges of Liberal Arts and Education. The University and the State College complement each other's programs in terms of geography and educational needs.

There are also several excellent private colleges. The College of Idaho, at Caldwell (Presbyterian) is an old liberal arts institution. Ricks College at Rexburg (a junior college), is a part of the L.D.S. program of higher education centered at Brigham Young University in Utah. Northwest Nazarene College at Nampa has a program in education and liberal arts. Two new schools are the Magic Valley Christian College at Albion and St. Gertrude's Academy at Cottonwood. The latter is just starting junior college training. Magic Valley is launching a four-year program.

Junior colleges have earned a secure place in Idaho's public educational pattern. Boise Junior College and North Idaho Junior College at Coeur d'Alene have both academic and nonacademic programs. They both serve the needs of the local communities and give sound training for those who wish to transfer to senior colleges and universities.[10]

A weakness of the educational program from the viewpoint of state solidarity results from the fact that a large percentage of the population in southeastern Idaho, members of the L.D.S. church, have strong religious and cultural ties to institutions in Utah. The headquarters of the church is in Salt Lake City; and three major educational institutions — the University of Utah, Utah State University of Agriculture and Applied Sciences, and the church's Brigham Young University — are all in close proximity. It is natural that thousands of Mormon boys and girls raised in southeastern Idaho would migrate to Utah to go to college.

Press and Public Opinion

The rural character of the state is demonstrated by the fact that there are seventy-three weekly newspapers with a total circulation of 100,000 but with an average circulation of only 1,356. The smallest has a circulation of 200 and the largest, 3,606. There are thirteen daily papers, thirty-two radio stations, and six television stations covering the state. Twelve of the daily papers have registered as being politically independent, but this means they are basically Republican. Of the weekly papers, only a few are Democratic.

Idaho reveals the influence of several important out-of-state papers. Those published in Salt Lake City have special editions with wide circulation in

[10] Although out-of-date, the best description of Idaho's schools is *Public Education in Idaho*, a Report of the Idaho Education Survey Commission, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee, n.d.

southern Idaho, especially in the southeastern section. The Spokane papers cover most of the area north of the Salmon River. Papers from Portland, Oregon, have relatively wide circulation within the western border of the state. The major political influence of these out-of-state papers is Republican.

Public opinion is rather conserative. On questions of public finance the Democrats are often just as conservative as are the Republicans. On questions of morality, gambling, Sunday closing laws, and the like, the people as a whole are conservative. Church groups, including the Latter-day Saints (Mormons), Methodists, Presbyterians, and numerous smaller Protestant churches have had considerable influence. The state is predominantly Protestant.

While Idaho is conservative in morals and public finance, the voters, especially in the northern part, do not hesitate to vote for candidates advocating a high Hell's Canyon Dam and various economic and social reforms. Many liberal candidates have been elected in the state.

Although the people of Idaho have seldom taken the lead in governmental reforms or major social legislation there has long been a basic acceptance of certain fundamental concepts of neighborhood democracy. The people as a whole, except in some of the larger cities, have resisted the hardening of class lines. There is great faith in the opportunity for a free education and the ability of the individual to succeed, regardless of his cultural heritage, in politics, business, farming, or whatever occupation he may choose. Intermarriage among persons of different income levels is very common. Intermarriage among persons of different religions, although strongly opposed by several churches, is becoming more common. The people of Idaho believe in and practice democracy.

Nominations and Elections

The pattern of elections and the process of nominating in Idaho is not unique. But Idaho has had more experience with a greater number of varieties of the direct primary than almost any other state. Starting in 1909, everything but the closed primary and the pre-primary convention has been tried.

Election administration in Idaho is typical of other states. The secretary of state is the chief election officer. Most of his duties are ministerial and involve little or no discretion. He sets the machinery in motion for the preparation of the election ballots, and candidates for congressional or statewide office file with him. The county clerk is the chief election officer for the counties. The county commissioners select election officers on a bipartisan basis who are paid by the county. Third parties are not represented on any of the boards, agencies, or offices conducting any part of the election process. Selection of election officers is entirely on a partisan basis or on a basis of who is available and willing to serve. Elderly retired women or housewives most commonly serve in these posts.

To qualify for suffrage one must be twenty-one years of age, a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Idaho for six months and of the county for thirty days. The normal disqualifications provided by law include insanity, treason, felony, embezzlement of public funds, selling votes, and prostitution. Voting participation is above the national average. The primary vote seldom runs

below 50 per cent of the eligible and commonly runs to 70 per cent. Participation in the general election has on occasion been much higher.

Idaho's corrupt practices laws are not only inadequate to accomplish their objectives but are easily evaded. No effort is made to control the source of funds. Persons, corporations, labor unions, interest groups, farmers, and others wishing to give to a party or candidate need not report such gifts to a state official. Parties and party committees are virtually beyond the law in this regard. The major effort is to control personal expenses. This provision limits what a candidate may spend in behalf of his own primary election. Idaho has just not worked out a planned policy for corrupt practices legislation. There has been little public demand for such a program. The cost of conducting a campaign often eliminates candidates of great potential.

Nominations for practically all public offices, with some minor exceptions, are made by direct primary. New parties or parties which have not been able to poll 10 per cent of the vote in the previous election may make nominations by convention. The only recent example of this was the action of the Progressive party in 1948.

Under the direct primary law candidates file with the secretary of state if seeking a national or state office and with the county auditor if seeking a county office. The declaration of candidacy involves a statement that the candidate is a member of the party and represents its principles. For the office of governor or United States senator, the declaration must be supported by a petition signed by 800 to 1,000 party voters and not more than 50 signers may be from one county. This has already proven to be a barrier to some hopefuls. The preparation of the ballots is directed by the secretary of state and the county auditor. All costs of conducting the primary election are borne by the county and the state. Although Idaho has long used the open primary the latest legislature introduced a new provision. It provides for neither the open nor the closed primary but rather a semi-closed primary. The voter does not register or enroll as a party member but he does ask for a ballot of the party of his choice. A record is kept of which party ballot he votes. In case of a run-off election he must vote the same party ballot in the run-off which he voted in the previous primary.

With the exception of party raiding and minority nominations Idaho's experience with the direct primary has been successful. The new provision calling for a semi-closed primary may minimize raiding. Whether or not it will achieve this result remains to be seen. The 1959 legislature attempted to overcome the evils of minority nominations by introducing the run-off election for the office of governor, United States senator, and congressman. If no candidate for these offices receives 40 per cent of the vote a run-off election is held between the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes. One point often overlooked is that all nominating systems, whether by convention, direct primary, or otherwise, face the necessity of eliminating candidates. In most instances minority candidates are inevitable if many candidates seek the nomination.[11]

[11] See Boyd A. Martin, *The Direct Primary in Idaho* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1945).

Party Organization and Party Leaders

Formal party organization in Idaho is determined by the direct primary law. The county central committee of each party consists of the precinct committeemen who are elected by the party members at the primary election. The county central committee elects a chairman, a state central committeewoman and committeeman, a secretary, and a vice-chairman. The chairman, the committeewoman, and the committeeman are delegates to the state platform convention.

Each party holds a platform convention after the primary election. This convention is under the direction of the state central committee. It formulates a platform which is filed with the secretary of state. The convention also elects a state chairman and a first vice-chairman who must be of opposite sex. All party candidates selected at the primary for United States senator, representative in Congress, and elective state offices are delegates-at-large. County delegations consist of all candidates nominated at the primary for state senator, state representative, and the county chairman. Also, all state central committeemen and committeewomen are delegates. The state central committee consists of members chosen by the county central committee. This committee conducts the party campaign and provides for the nomination of presidential electors. In presidential election years the state central committee calls a convention to elect delegates to the national convention and to designate candidates for a national committeeman and a national committeewoman.

Idaho's system of party organization, including committees and conventions, has been largely a success. The system of selecting delegates to the platform convention has been especially realistic and successful because it provides representation for the party organization as well as for candidates.

Geographical diversity and distance make political campaigns both difficult and costly. The Republicans traditionally have a better financed campaign and a tighter party organization. Both parties find it difficult to maintain continuous working arrangements with county committees. Both parties are plagued by candidates who establish their own campaign headquarters and attempt to separate themselves from the party. This is prompted, in part at least, by the independent nature of the Idaho voter. The major financial support to both parties comes in the form of indirect help from interest groups engaging in campaigns independently of the parties. For example, organized labor usually has national representatives in the state promoting the interests of labor. Their activities tend to aid the Democratic party. The activities in recent years of the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Idaho Allied Civic Forces have lent support to the Republican candidates.

Party leadership in Idaho is difficult to define and to locate. The major leadership may lie with a United States senator, a congressman, a governor, a state chairman, or with some person working entirely from behind the scenes. For example, the late Senator William E. Borah, although generally considered to be larger than his party, never gained control of the Republican party. Senator Glen Taylor won over the opposition of his party organization and the Republicans but never gained control of the state central committee. Currently, the

major leadership of the Democratic party lies with the state chairman. On occasion major decisions have been made by a banker, a real estate broker, or a person of great influence, unknown in the state as a party leader.

Idaho has had some great and colorful leaders. George L. Shoup, the last territorial governor, left his mark indelibly on the state. Fred T. Dubois, a champion of statehood and Idaho's anti-Mormon crusader, gained control of the Republican party. William J. McConnell, the late Senator Borah's father-in-law, served as United States senator and Idaho's third governor, for two terms. Governor Frank Steunenberg, who served two terms, lost his life at the hands of an assassin over the northern mine labor troubles. Frank R. Gooding served as governor twice and as United States senator. Few leaders have had greater influence than Senator Weldon B. Heyburn. He fought Borah in his efforts to secure the adoption of the direct primary. Governor and author James H. Hawley won when Democrats weren't supposed to win and won because he stood on a definite program of progressive leadership. Governor David W. Davis put through Idaho's first and only administrative reorganization bill. Other distinguished leaders would include Burton L. French, congressman-at-large and later from the First District, for twenty-six years, and Senator William E. Borah who served for a third of a century. C. Ben Ross, three times governor, was one of the most colorful leaders in the state's history. He definitely gained control of his party. Robert E. Smylie, Republican, who will have served longer than any previous governor, has had the peculiar role of serving as a "captive governor" while the Democrats control the legislature and all other elective state offices.

Leadership in Idaho politics has not been difficult to achieve. The candidates who stood for definite and sound principles and were articulate in expounding these principles have risen to the top. The harmony candidates who had few ideas, let alone the courage of their conviction, have found it difficult to gain real statewide recognition.

Pressure Groups

Not all interest groups engage in pressure activities and not all pressure groups represent legitimate interests. Idaho has had her share of experience with all kinds. The major interest groups are farmers of various types, the forest interests, the mining people, the utilities, the railroads, and small manufacturers. There are dozens of less well-known groups. The farmers can control the state when and if they wish. They are less articulate than most groups unless their problems are more acute. There are many specialized farm groups, such as the Idaho Wool Growers Association or the Idaho Cattlemen's Association. There is no single pressure group which represents all farmers. The public school people have become very powerful as they have an organization in every school. At times the liquor interests, especially the beer people, become vocal and powerful. The activities of these groups depend largely upon the issues up for consideration. For instance, a few years ago a bill was introduced regulating drugstores. Almost overnight the drug people were converging on Boise to stop the legislation. A number of small groups have far more influence than their

numbers or income would justify. Over the years the utilities have probably been the most consistent in their efforts to influence policy formation. Several times one individual, usually highly placed in some business, has been able to defeat or get approval for legislation against the activities of several groups.

Contrary to a common belief, lobbying groups in Idaho seldom rent a floor of a Boise hotel. More often they work alone and buttonhole legislators and members of the executive branch in the hotel lobbies, corridors of the legislature, and at the city's principal bars. Most lobbying is done in a quiet way, sometimes using false information, subtle propaganda, and occasionally outright distortion. Some lobbyists serve a real function in that they furnish the legislators with much needed information. Most interest groups have been perfectly honest and fair in pressing for their needs. Often it is impossible to know who or what group is supporting a lobbyist. There has been little real public demand for lobby regulation or registration. Not even the legislature seems to be concerned.

Legislative Politics

Few voters in the nation are as independent as those of Idaho. Scratching a ballot is commonplace. The voter thinks nothing of sending a member of each party to the United States Senate and to the House of Representatives, splitting up the elective offices in the executive branch of the state government and doing the same for the state legislature. Idaho voters are extremely discriminating. This is especially true in elections for the legislature. On a county level the voters are often personally acquainted with all the candidates. Local and county problems, as well as neighborhood friendship, may have more to do with voting patterns than party labels.

For many years it was common practice for the village lawyer to go to the legislature. He was often employed by some of the principal interest groups in the state and was, therefore, on the alert for their interests in the legislature. This pattern has changed greatly; some recent sessions have had few lawyers. For example, in the two houses of the 1957 legislature, farmers and ranchers totaled 44 members out of a possible 103, while business had 23, lumbering 7, law 13 (a high number for recent years), service businesses 11, all others 5. Legislative inexperience is quite common. In 1957, 29 members had not served before.

The Republicans have controlled the legislature more often than have the Democrats. During the period 1920 to 1930 they had a firm command. The tidal wave of 1932 swept the Democrats into power which they held until after 1936. Currently, the Democrats are in control of both houses.

Historically, sectionalism has been a dominate factor in the state's politics, but now other issues common to all sections are becoming increasingly important. Dr. Robert J. Huckshorn's recent study of the legislature indicates how modern problems of a statewide character have influenced the thinking and attitudes of the legislators.[12] Seventy-two members of the legislature believed questions of public finance to be the most important facing them. Thirty believed that financing education is the major problem, and twenty-one held labor legislation to be

the most important. A majority of the members of the Thirty-Fifth Session believed the major dividing issues to be "spenders vs. hold-the-liners," "labor vs. labor opposition," "liberals vs. conservatives," "governor's supporters vs. governor's opponents," and "Republicans vs. Democrats." This study also indicated that of 103 members, 62 were Protestants, 26 were Mormons, 9 were Catholics, and 6 had no religious preference. Of the Protestants, 18 were Methodists, 8 Episcopalians, 8 Presbyterians, and 28 of other denominations.

Problems of legislative reapportionment for the state legislature have never been serious in Idaho. Because of its rural character, the pressing problem of recognizing the population growth of cities versus rural areas has been nominal. Each county has at least one member in the House of Representatives. Each is entitled to one representative for each 17,000 population and remaining fraction thereof amounting to 3,000 or more. The 1960 census will without doubt result in giving Ada County two additional representatives and Bonneville one. The reapportionment law is automatic and does not require a legislative reapportionment act after each census. Frequently, there has been agitation to gerrymander the First Congressional District, which has 255,565 people as contrasted with 408,990 in the Second Congressional District, and which has gone Democratic with only two exceptions since 1932, by adding Ada County, generally considered to be safely Republican.

Although Idaho has had recall, initiative, and referendum legislation since 1933 only slight use has been made of these legal provisions. The author knows of no case where a major state official has been displaced by a recall election. The initiative has been used seven times. Three of these really constituted one action known as the anti-gambling acts.

Three major pieces of legislation have been approved by initiative elections. The Idaho State Fish and Game Commission Act was approved in 1938. The Senior Citizens Grant Act won a large plurality of 39,746 votes in 1942 only to be repealed by the next legislature. The latter action was sustained by the state Supreme Court. The Dredge Mining Law was enacted in 1954. In 1946 three separate propositions, the Anti-Gambling Act, the Sobriety Act, and the Local Option Act, commonly referred to as the anti-gambling acts, were easily defeated. In 1958 the so-called "Right to Work Bill" lost by 3,072 votes. Idaho's referendum provisions have been used but once, but with resounding results that time. In 1936 the sales tax was repealed by 75,468 to 68,728 votes. Since that time the legislature has been unable to enact another sales tax and most candidates standing for such a tax have been defeated either in the direct primary or in the general election.

Budget and Appropriations

The governor is the chief budget officer but he appoints a director of the Bureau of the Budget who is also director of administration. The director issues

[13] From materials in Robert J. Huckshorn's unpublished memorandum based upon results of a project conducted in 1958–59 under a grant from the Committee on Political Behavior of the Social Science Research Council.

the call for budget estimates, and he compiles all reports on proposed expenditures and expected income. After preparing this material in consultation with the governor and the governor-elect, if there be one, the director meets with the budget committee which checks all phases of the budget. This includes a complete presentation of all receipts and expenditures for the preceding biennium as well as requests for the next biennium. The budget committee makes recommendations by including its approved figures with the requests. This committee consists of three members from the Senate appointed by its president and three members from the House appointed by the speaker. It meets prior to the legislative session. The governor presents the budget with his recommendations to the legislature within five days after it convenes.

The budget is referred to a committee from each house charged with appropriation measures. These committees sit jointly while considering the budget and hold regular hearings in open session. Major decisions are made during executive sessions of the joint committee. The director of budget attends all committee meetings and serves as its chief aide. The committee has complete discretion over the budget. It prepares the various appropriation bills. Appropriation bills may be introduced in either the Senate or the House on or before the forty-fifth day of the session. No others may be considered by either house until the committee's appropriation bills have been acted upon by both houses. The governor does not have the item veto.

Voting Habits

In most presidential elections Idaho could serve as a barometer for the nation. However, certain exceptions stand out. In 1892 the Populists carried the state, as did William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and 1900. In 1952 Idaho gave General Eisenhower 65.4 per cent of its vote, comparable to the Republican vote in Maine. In 1960, for the first time in sixty years the state failed to give its vote to the country's choice for President. Minor and third parties have played a profound part at certain periods. From 1895 to 1900, the Silver Republicans, the Progressives, and the Fusion party all won one or more seats in the legislature. In 1918 the Non-Partisan League stole the Democratic party by filing in the Democratic direct primary. The Progressive Republicans caused grave concern for the Republican party for many years, especially from approximately 1915 to 1924. This splinter consisted of liberals who were opposed to the conservative position of the Grand Old Party. The GOP conservative position was demonstrated by the actions of a number of regular party members on more than one occasion in their efforts to prevent Senator William E. Borah's renomination. Also the struggles over the enactment of direct primary legislation have been largely within the ranks of the Republicans. The Progressive Republicans voted with the Democrats in favor of such legislation. Such informal coalitions were common from 1915 to 1924.

Two major early-day issues, anti-Mormonism and demands for the annexation of North Idaho to Washington, left deep imprints on the sectional character of Idaho politics. Since most of the Mormons migrating into Idaho from 1860 to

1872 settled in the southeast, it was natural that the Mormon question became a sectional problem. Sectionalism is still a dominant character of the state's politics and is reinforced by geographical characteristics. Although southeastern Idaho has no mountains separating it from the southwestern part of the state, it is culturally and religiously tied to Utah and especially to Salt Lake City, the headquarters for the L.D.S. church. For years many of these Idaho Mormon people considered themselves to be citizens of Utah. Numerous communities were at least 95 per cent Mormon. Local anti-Mormonism spread across the state and especially into southwestern Idaho. The Mormons were opposed for both religious and economic reasons. The issue was carried so far that they were denied the privilege of holding office in 1884. Vigorous attempts to deny them the privilege of suffrage at the constitutional conventions were narrowly defeated. The controversial role of the L.D.S. church in Idaho's politics has continued through the years. The Mormons have failed to elect a governor or a United States senator although both parties will give them congressmen, superintendents of public instruction, secretaries of state or other comparable offices to balance a ticket. Anti-Mormon feeling has declined rapidly in recent years, although the church was again charged in 1956 with telling its members how to vote. It is obvious that most anti-Mormons have accepted a more tolerant attitude in recent years.

The other major issue of sectionalism arose over a demand for uniting northern Idaho, eastern Washington, and western Montana to form a new state, to be called Columbia or Lafayette. Cut off by the Salmon River Mountains, people from northern Idaho strongly felt closer ties with these areas rather than with southern Idaho. Many times southwestern Idaho, and especially the Boise area, has been able to maintain a balance of power by playing northern and southeastern Idaho off against one another. This sectional conflict has made it virtually impossible for the northern part of the state to elect a governor or a United States senator. The latter has been achieved only when Boise Republicans have taken the initiative in promoting a northern candidate in an effort to balance the ticket. The sectional position of Boise is strong because it is the center for about 30 per cent of the state's population. One of the wonders of Idaho politics has been the reluctance of the northern and southeastern sections to form a coalition against Boise. This reluctance is probably due to sectional rivalries and to the fact that each section has stronger ties, both economically and religiously, to other areas outside the state.

Idaho's voters, like those of the nation, have been changing slowly.[18] A majority of the early settlers came from below the Mason-Dixon Line. Consequently, politics in the early days was compromised by southern attitudes. But gradually the influence of the Republican Homestead Acts was felt. Although Idaho became a protest state from 1892 to 1900 and partially from 1914 to 1918, the gradually increasing power of the Republicans was apparent. Republican supremacy, firmly entrenched during the decade 1920 to 1930, was broken in

[18] See Quentin H. Whybark, "The Dynamics of Idaho Politics, 1890–1920" (Master's thesis, University of Idaho, 1950), and Garrett O. Forbes, "Dynamics of Idaho Politics 1920–32" (Master's thesis, University of Idaho, 1955).

1932. The state voted consistently for Roosevelt and Truman. But Republican strength, on a local level, was on the mend during New Deal and Fair Deal supremacy, and the Republicans were soon winning back some of the major state offices. Republican strength has always been greater for offices in the legislature and state government than for United States senators and presidents. In off-presidential elections, Idaho has voted Republican 70 per cent of the time; half of the time it has also voted against the party controlling the White House. In presidential elections, Idaho has voted Democratic 60 per cent of the time since becoming a state.

The farm and labor vote is becoming increasingly significant. Although farm and ranch voters tend to be Republican during prosperous times, they do not hesitate to go Democratic when prices drop. A new force in Idaho politics is the labor vote. Approximately 150,000 laborers are located in fifteen of the most industrialized counties. These voters are difficult to contact. If they are not immediately concerned they may not vote; if they are concerned they have been able to throw the election. For example, in 1950 at least 34 per cent of them stayed away from the polls: that year the Republicans carried ten of the fifteen counties; in 1948 they carried two.

Idaho has long had a sizable liberal vote. This vote seldom reaches a majority but when combined with a party's normal dependable support it spells success. This is illustrated by the election of Senators William E. Borah, Glen H. Taylor, and Frank Church. Borah combined the liberal protest vote with the regular Republican vote to win. Taylor, until he decided to run for Vice President on the Progressive party ticket in 1948, combined the liberal protest vote with the regular Democratic vote to win. Church succeeded with the same combination.[14]

The Impact of National Politics on Trends in Idaho

The statement "such a proposal is a violation of states' rights" is still good for considerable emotional response, but the citizens of Idaho have been quick to look upon the national government as their government also. Had it not been for federal grants-in-aid Idaho farmers would still be in the mud. Although Idaho is more isolated than some states, the people take an active interest and participate directly in many national events. Most appeals to the slogan of states' rights are used by those opposed to a proposed activity rather than by those with any real conviction on the matter of states' rights. This does not mean that Idahoans will not defend the traditional state activities, but it does mean they will not hesitate to cooperate with the national government on such activities as the Social Security Act, federal highways, airports, the National Defense Education Act, etc. Idaho, like all states, is taxing her citizens heavily to meet her obligations. She, too, looks to other sources of income — even from Washington.

Idaho is a part of the developing national culture. Most Americans read the same weekly journals and syndicated press columns as well as watch the

[14] See the articles on elections in Idaho in the *Western Political Quarterly*, March of 1949, 1951, 1953, 1957, 1959, and 1961, and December of 1954.

same television programs. They read the same plays, books, and headlines. Consequently, local provincialism is declining. The substitute may not be better, but it is different. With modern transportation, San Francisco, Seattle, or Washington, D.C., are almost as close for large segments of the state's population as is Boise. Idahoans read, see, and hear of more events from Washington, Moscow, London, or Tokyo than they do from Boise. This does not indicate a decline in interest concerning problems of the state, but it does indicate a new level of national and international sophistication. These new interests do not, however, detract from the significance of local and state issues. They simply mean Idaho's people are carrying more responsibilities than ever before.

Under the Copper Dome: Politics in Montana

THOMAS PAYNE

MONTANA is a land of contrasts, always noticeable and often stunning, in its terrain and weather. The land, stretching endlessly in level plains from the east, abruptly meets the Rockies in the western third of the state, confronting the unsuspecting observer with a landscape markedly different from the Great Plains and more characteristic of the Pacific Northwest. The weather also may change abruptly — variations of as much as 75 degrees in temperature have occurred within a twenty-four hour period. Montana's political pendulum sometimes swings as violently and intensely as the sudden and unpredictable changes in weather patterns.

A search for clues to the volatile pattern of political behavior must start with a survey of the history of this colorful state.[1] From its organization as a separate territory in 1865 (following discovery of gold at Bannack, Alder Gulch, and Last Chance Gulch) to the present, the Treasure State has known in kaleidoscopic intensity the experiences in economic development and politics which elsewhere might have unfolded over a much longer period of time. If benefit might have been derived from the political and governmental mistakes of older commonwealths, it is not apparent from reading either the history of Montana or its constitution.

Contemporary political developments have their origin, to some extent at least, in the nature of the economy which evolved after settlement. The inducements attracting settlers were a veritable treasure-house of rich resources — vast copper reserves, gold, silver, abundant stands of virgin timber, and a fabulous sea of grass which earlier had sustained enormous herds of buffalo. Few spoke out then for conservation and they were not heard above the commotion of the multitudes who came to exploit the rich resources which seemingly were theirs

[1] The best recent works which deal extensively with Montana's past are: Joseph K. Howard, *Montana; High, Wide, and Handsome* (rev. ed; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959); and K. Ross Toole, *Montana: An Uncommon Land* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959). Of less general interest but containing much valuable detail are: Merrill Burlingame and K. Ross Toole (eds.), *History of Montana* (3 vols.; New York: Lewis Historical Pub. Co., 1957); and John W. Smurr and K. Ross Toole (eds.), *Historical Essays on Montana and the Northwest* (Helena, Montana: Western Press, 1957).

for the taking. Hillsides were denuded, grasslands overgrazed, and sod never intended for cultivation plowed. An "extractive economy" [2] developed quickly, in which the prime objective was to get all that could be gotten and then clear out. From a background such as this, a stable political tradition could not develop quickly.

The most colorful and, perhaps, significant heritage out of Montana's political past is derived from the titanic struggle for economic and political supremacy carried on for a dozen years before the turn of the century between the "copper kings," [3] William A. Clark and Marcus Daly. In brief, Clark, having built a huge fortune from mining and banking, aspired to a seat in the United States Senate while his equally affluent adversary Daly, the founder of the Anaconda Copper empire, determinedly opposed these aspirations. Enormous sums of money were expended on both sides, augmented by the employment on an intensely personal and flamboyant basis of the newspapers owned by the two dynasties. Charges of large-scale bribery — some merely alleged, others proved — were fairly common. Indeed, in a later struggle with Amalgamated Copper the colorful F. Augustus Heinze was accused of bribing the judiciary of Buttel

It is possible under these circumstances to understand (if not to justify) the determination of the powerful Anaconda Company, once it attained economic hegemony in the state, to maintain a tight control of the press and political affairs of Montana. Clark, Daly, Heinze, and others had demonstrated that control of newspapers could be powerful weapons in public affairs. Henceforth, Anaconda would own outright most of the major newspapers of the state[4] and, through a web of pecuniary relationships, would use its great power to block effectively any changes in the status quo which it regarded as detrimental to its perceived interests. The press became and on the whole has remained neutral and sterile politically, carefully avoiding the publication of any stories calculated to produce "unrest."

If the political heritage of Montana as depicted does not evoke an especially hopeful picture, signs on the contemporary horizon point toward better days to come. There is much evidence to indicate that the days of her extractive economic practice and philosophy are past. For one thing the major mining and timber interests appear converted to conservation. Moreover, an economic structure long noted for its monolithic character is moving toward diversification. Among the dominant corporate interests there are indications of a growing sense of responsibility and of political and social maturity. The political system of the state will undoubtedly be affected by the evident transition now taking place in the economy.

Geography and Resources

Montana's allegiance is divided, as a result of geography, between the Great Plains and the Pacific Northwest. It is bounded by Canada, the Dakotas, Wyo-

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[2] A term employed by Toole in *Montana: An Uncommon Land.*

[3] A popular but useful treatment is found in Carl B. Glasscock, *The War of the Copper Kings* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1935).

[4] Until June, 1959, when the "Company" papers were sold to the Lee Syndicate, a transaction discussed *infra.*

ming, and Idaho. The state's total area of 147,138 square miles is exceeded only by Alaska, Texas, and California. A land of great distances, it is 560 miles from the most westerly point to the eastern boundary, and nearly 320 miles from the Canadian border to the southernmost place in the state.[5]

Montana owes its name to the mountainous terrain which dominates the western one-third of its landscape. Traversing the state from north to south is the main range of the Rockies, which forms the Continental Divide. Here the headwaters of both the Missouri and Columbia River drainage systems originate. Major mountain chains other than the Rockies include the Bitterroot Range which forms part of the western boundary between Montana and Idaho, the Mission Range, the Belt Mountains, the Crazy Mountains, and the northern portion of the Absaroka Range. Although Montana has the lowest mean elevation (3,400 feet) of the Rocky Mountain states, four peaks rise above 12,000 feet: the lowest elevation is 1,800 feet at the point where the Kootenai River leaves the state in the northwest.

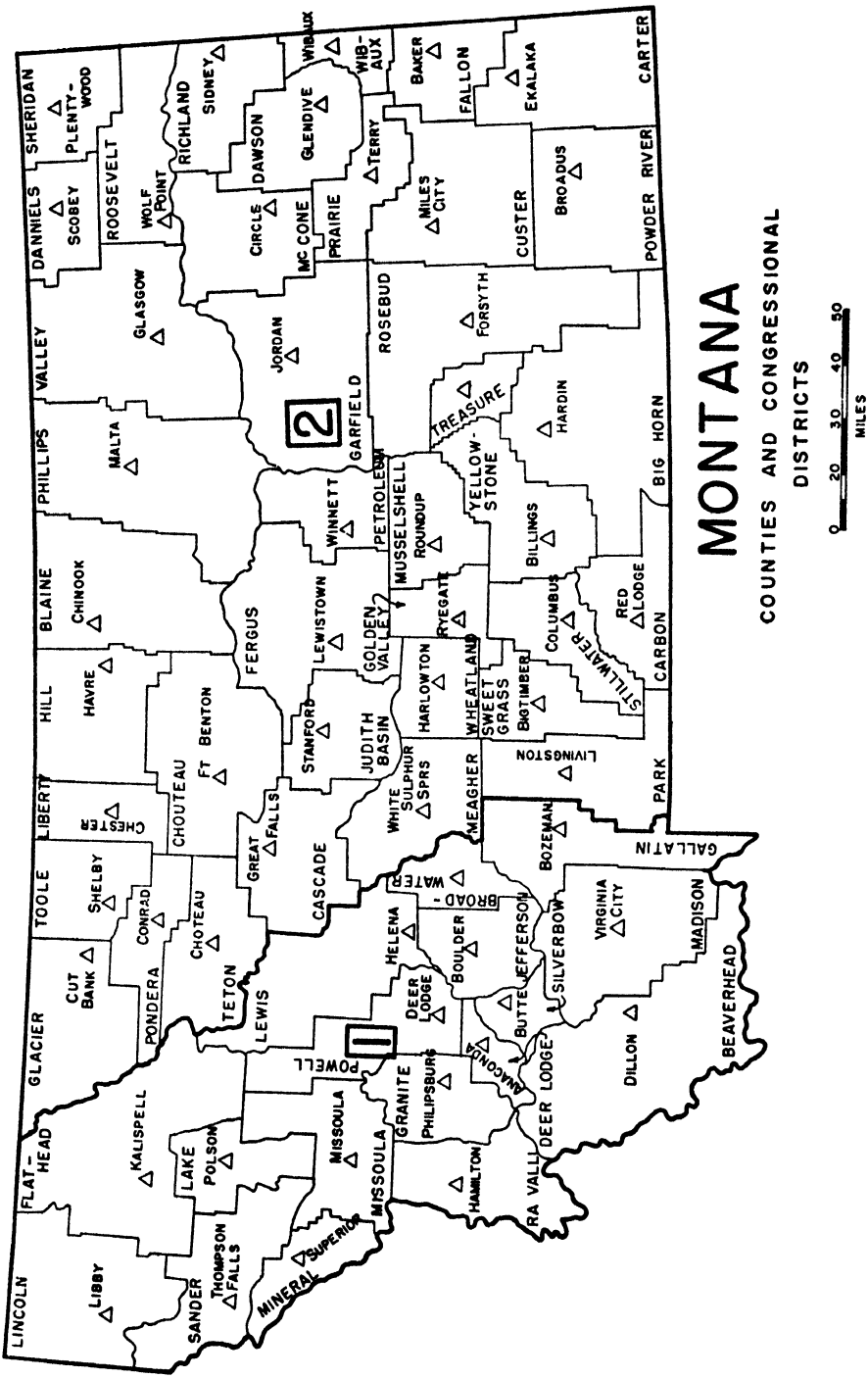
The eastern two-thirds, while not completely devoid of mountains, is predominantly a region of high level plains sloping gradually toward the eastern boundary. Through this generally treeless section course two of the state's principal rivers, the Missouri and the Yellowstone, both augmented by numerous tributaries. The principal river systems of western Montana are the Clark Fork and the Kootenai. Of the average 108,000 acre feet of water which flow out of the state daily, 63 per cent drains into the Columbia through these two rivers while 37 per cent is carried out through the Missouri Basin.

The Continental Divide separates the state into two climate regions: that to the west receives its weather pattern largely from the Pacific Ocean, while to the east of the mountains weather is more typical of the northern plains and of Canada. The average mean temperature is 43 degrees, but extreme fluctuations may occur. A distinctive feature is the chinook which blows down the eastern slopes of the Rockies after cold and blizzard periods producing a remarkable warming effect. Montana must be classified as semiarid with average annual rainfall ranging from about 18 inches in the western portion to as little as 13 inches in the east.

The principal resources, soil, water, minerals and forests, determine the principal types of economic activity. Montana soils are quite fertile, requiring, however, more moisture than is commonly available through rainfall. Consequently, there are three principal kinds of agriculture — dryland farming, irrigated farming, and grazing livestock. The major uses of the total land area are as follows: cropland in farms, 13.5 per cent; pasture and range, 60.3 per cent; and forest land, 24 per cent.

Agriculture is, and has been for many years, the principal source of personal income, ranging during the past quarter-century between 15 and 35 per cent of total income in the state. Agricultural production normally is divided about

[5] Much of the factual data in this section is taken from *The Montana Almanac* (Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1958), *passim*, and from Roland R. Renne, *The Goverment and Administration of Montana* (New York: Crowell, 1958), pp. 1–10.


MONTANA
COUNTIES AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
0 20 30 40 50
MILES
△ COUNTY SEATS
1
2
LINCOLN
FLAT-HEAD
GLACIER
TOOLE
LIBERTY
HILL
BLAINE
PHILLIPS
VALLEY
DANIELS
SHERIDAN
SANDER
LAKE
LEWIS
CHOUTEAU
CASCADE
FERGUS
PETROLEUM
GARFIELD
ROSEBUD
POWDER RIVER
CARTER
MINERAL
MISSOULA
POWELL
DEER LODGE
SILVERBOW
MADISON
GALLATIN
PARK
CARBON
STILLWATER
SWEET GRASS
WHEATLAND
GOLDEN VALLEY
MUSSELSHELL
YELLOW-STONE
TREASURE
BIG HORN
CUSTER
FALLON
BAKER
WIB-AUX
WIBAUX
TERRY
PRAIRIE
MC CONE
DAWSON
RICHLAND
ROOSEVELT
SCOBEY
PLENTY-WOOD
SIDNEY
GLASGOW
MALTA
HAVRE
CHINOOK
FT BENTON
CHESTER
SHELBY
CONRAD
CHOTEAU
CUT BANK
PONDERA
KALISPELL
POLSON
LIBBY
THOMPSON FALLS
SUPERIOR
PHILIPSBURG
GRANITE
HAMILTON
DEER LODGE
BUTTE
ANACONDA
BOULDER
HELENA
BROAD-WATER
GREAT FALLS
STANFORD
JUDITH BASIN
WHITE SULPHUR SPRS
LEWISTOWN
HARLOWTON
RYEGATE
ROUNDUP
WINNETT
JORDAN
CIRCLE
GLENDIVE
MILES CITY
FORSYTH
HARDIN
BILLINGS
COLUMBUS
RED LODGE
BIGTIMBER
LIVINGSTON
MEAGHER
BOZEMAN
VIRGINIA CITY
DILLON
BEAVERHEAD
RA VALLI

equally between crops and livestock. The principal cash crop is wheat, the harvest averaging around 86,000,000 bushels annually, sufficient to rank Montana third among wheat-producing states. In 1957 receipts from sale of cattle and calves were $142,000,000. Other major agricultural products include hay, barley, sugar beets, sheep and lambs, and wool. Montana ranked fourth among wool-producing states in 1957.

Farms and ranches are considerably larger than those found in the Midwest and South. In 1954 the 33,061 farms and ranches averaged 1,859 acres, with an average value of $43,000. At that time 44 per cent of Montana farm operators were full owners, 41 per cent were part owners, and 14.5 per cent were tenant operators. As in the nation as a whole the trend in the state has been toward larger farm and ranch units, with a consequent reduction of the number who are directly engaged in agriculture. At the same time agriculture has become more diversified with less reliance on wheat and livestock.

The vital importance of water resources has been recognized since territorial days. Speaking before the Montana Constitutional Convention in 1889 John Wesley Powell, the noted conservationist, remarked that "all the great values of this territory have ultimately to be measured to you in acre feet." Montana long has been interested in the development of reservoirs on major streams. At this writing dams have been completed at Fort Peck and Canyon Ferry on the Missouri and at Hungry Horse on the South Fork of the Flathead River. These dams are not only for storage, but constitute multipurpose developments with facilities for generating large quantities of hydroelectric power and with flood control and recreation benefits. Three important multipurpose projects still in the planning stages are the proposed dams at Paradise on the Clark Fork, at Libby on the Kootenai, and near Hardin on the Big Horn (Yellowtail).

Montana aptly has been called the "Treasure State" because of its vast storehouse of mineral deposits. Copper has been the most important mineral product to date, although rising petroleum production may alter its status in the future. More than 2 billion dollars' worth of copper, one-fourth of all copper produced in the United States, has been taken out of Butte, earning it the title, "richest hill on earth." The giant firm born in Butte, the Anaconda Company, has become the world's largest producer, smelter, and fabricator of copper. Other important metallic minerals include silver, gold, lead, manganese, and chromium.

Among nonmetallic minerals, coal, petroleum, and natural gas exist in enormous quantities. Known reserves of sub-bituminous coal exceed 400 billion tons. If converted to gasoline these coal reserves would be sufficient to supply the needs of the United States for four hundred years at present rates of consumption. Natural gas is produced in considerable quantity. At the beginning of 1958 reserves were estimated at 670,450 million cubic feet.

Petroleum production in the state began in 1915 in the Montana section of the Elk Basin field near the Wyoming boundary and continued to develop at modest proportions until 1951, with major discoveries in the Williston Basin. By 1957 total crude oil production had risen to 27,215,000 barrels which, while

only 1 per cent of the nation's total output, was triple the state's production only ten years earlier. As a result of this growing production and prospects for the future, major oil companies have established refineries in the state chiefly in the Billings area, causing the rapid growth of that city since 1950. A pipeline between Billings and Spokane has been completed recently to carry petroleum products.

One-fourth of Montana's land area, 22.4 million acres, is in forests. The greatest concentration of timber is found in the eleven national forests which contain 16,635,000 acres of forest land. Approximately 70 per cent of the forest acreage is suited for commercial timber production, and it is this, now managed largely on a sustained yield basis, which provides the raw material of Montana's flourishing and expanding lumber and timber products industry, which in 1957 employed 35 per cent of all persons engaged in manufacturing. The principal species used in lumber production — all softwoods — are ponderosa pine, western larch, Douglas fir, and Engelmann spruce. The tourist trade and tourism is of growing importance. Montana's recreational resources include two major national parks on its borders plus hunting, fishing, dude ranching, and winter sports opportunities. In 1957 it was estimated that tourist expenditures reached $92,727,000, a sum of considerable importance in the economy of a sparsely populated and relatively underdeveloped state.

Population Trends[6]

Montana is blessed with an abundance of space, but few people. In 1950 the Census Bureau reported a population of 591,024, resulting in an average density of 4.1 persons per square mile, compared with a national average density of 51 persons per square mile. A recent estimate of the Census Bureau places the state's population at 687,000 as of July 1, 1959.[7] Based on this estimate, the increase was 16.2 per cent between 1950 and 1959, compared with a national population increase of 17 per cent. Among western states Montana grew in this period at about the same pace as Washington and Oregon, while the increase was greater than that for neighboring Idaho (12.8 per cent) and Wyoming (9.9 per cent), but considerably less than the explosive rates registered in Arizona, Nevada, and California. The over-all increase for the state between 1930 and 1950 was only 53,418, or 9.9 per cent.

Although Montana remains a rural state, the urban proportion has been increasing. Whereas in 1930, 33.7 per cent lived in urban centers, by 1950 the figure had risen to 42.8. Rural-farm population declined one-third in the same twenty-year period, while rural-nonfarm gained 29.1 per cent. By 1950, the rural percentage was 57.2 and was divided as follows: farm, 23.9 per cent; nonfarm, 33.3 per cent.

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[6] The chief sources for this section have been U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950*, II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 26, "Montana" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952); W. Gordon Browder and Harold J. Hoflich, *Population and Income in Montana* (Missoula: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Montana State University, 1953); *The Montana Almanac*, *op. cit.*; and Renne, *op. cit.*

[7] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 210, December 27, 1959.

The urban population is concentrated mainly in a few major cities, the larger ones being Billings, Great Falls, Butte, Missoula, and Helena. There are only thirteen cities with populations in excess of 5,000 and only twenty-six urban centers altogether, including all incorporated places of more than 2,500. All told, approximately half of the population is concentrated in the eight leading counties. Of the fifty-six counties in the state, only fifteen have populations in excess of 10,000, highlighting the rural character of most of Montana. The center of population in 1950 was located in Judith Basin County a short distance to the south and west of the state's geographical center in Fergus County.[8]

Persons of the white race account for approximately 97 per cent of the total population. Indians constitute the largest non-white group: they numbered 16,606 in 1950. There were 43,119 foreign-born in 1950, coming chiefly from Canada, the British Isles, and the Scandinavian countries. The population as a whole is largely Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Germanic, and Scandinavian in origin. The Irish long have been a dominant group in Butte, for example, while Scandinavians have occupied much of the High-Line section between the Missouri River and the Canadian border.

About one-half of Montana's people (275,923 all told) are affiliated with some organized religious group. Slightly more than half of those who are members of churches (143,156) are of the Roman Catholic faith, while slightly less than half (132,767) are Protestants. Among the latter, the leading denominations are Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Congregational, in that order. The Mormon church, a powerful force in parts of the intermountain West, has a small membership in Montana but has been proselytizing vigorously and building churches in the last few years.

The role of religion in Montana politics has not been determined precisely. On the surface, Protestants and Catholics are so evenly balanced that religion appears to have been neutralized as a factor in the political equation. Undercurrents of strong, if indeterminate, religious identification with issues in politics may be detected occasionally, however. Some observers believed, for example, that an issue smouldering beneath the surface at the 1959 session of the Legislative Assembly involved the matter of public support for parochial schools. On the whole a greater degree of religious tolerance probably exists in Montana than in the East or South, and the political system benefits accordingly.

Educational Conditions

Education always has been esteemed highly by most Montanans who, in turn, have contributed more to its support than to that of any other function in the state. A school system was established by the first territorial legislature in 1865 and a state-supported university system was created by the 1893 legislature. In 1950 the median years of schooling completed by Montanans over twenty-five was 10.1, compared with a national median of 9.3, a ranking of tenth among

[8] Gordon Browder, "The Center of Population in Montana," *Montana Business Review*, February, 1959, p. 5.

the 48 states. Moreover, in recent years Montana often has had the lowest incidence of rejection in the military draft for mental disability of any state in the Union.

The six publicly supported institutions of higher learning are known collectively as the University of Montana. Control of the University system is vested in an eleven-member Board of Education which consists of three ex-officio members (the governor, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction) and eight appointive members selected by the governor equally from the two major political parties for eight-year overlapping terms.

Elementary and secondary schools are administered through school districts, of which there were 1,120 in 1958, most of them operating small one- and two-teacher elementary schools.[9] By comparison, only California among the thirteen western states has more school districts. This excessive number results in inefficient utilization of funds. Montana's $385 per pupil expenditure for education in 1957–58 was exceeded by only three of the western states while, at the same time, Montana ranked third from the bottom among them in average salary paid to elementary and secondary teachers. When the state's basic plan for providing state aid to local school districts, the so-called Foundation Program, was adopted in 1949, it omitted any reference to school district reorganization. The issue has arisen again as a result of a study of school organization completed in 1958.[10] The report was not acted upon by the 1959 Legislative Assembly, but increasing needs for funds for education plus an active campaign among education groups seem likely to assure some kind of action in the near future.

Although some state aid is provided through the Foundation Program, the bulk of its financial support (excepting the University system supported exclusively by the state) comes from local sources. In 1957–58, of the $64,483,260 expended on schools, 76 per cent came from local sources, 20 per cent from the state, and 4 per cent from federal funds, largely for those areas enrolling children of Indians or children of military personnel based in the state. Most Montanans do not understand the complex formula followed in financing public education under which there are mandatory county-wide and district levies on property, augmented by permissive district levies and further augmented, with voter approval in the district, by voted levies, supplemented in turn by state funds derived from general fund appropriations, from interest on the permanent school fund, and from royalties secured through the leasing of state-owned school lands.

The desire to keep education out of politics is manifested through such devices as the nonpartisan election of school district boards of trustees and the requirement of bipartisanship in the composition of the appointed state Board of Education. That the ideal is not fully attained is apparent in the election on a partisan ticket of both the state superintendent of public instruction and the county superintendent of schools. Moreover, the University system has at times become a center of contention over which conflicting sectional interests

[9] Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Montana, *Biennial Report*, December 1, 1958, p. 41.

[10] Division of Surveys and Field Services, George Peabody College for Teachers, *Public Schools of Montana: A Report to Montana Taxation-Education Commission*, 1958.

have collided. A recent example is afforded by the prolonged dispute over the allotment of funds from the successful 1948 University building bond referendum. After voter approval of a $5,000,000 bond issue, the money was not allocated for more than two years, while the Board of Examiners (composed of the governor, secretary of state, and attorney general) differed with the Board of Education on how the money should be distributed. The dispute focused attention on the extent to which political and sectional forces are a factor in formulating educational policy in this state.

Press and Public Opinion

Montana's geographical remoteness and its sparsity of population increase the dependence of its people on its news media. In 1959 there were 16 newspapers with a daily circulation of 163,651 and a Sunday circulation of 147,151. The state's 75 weekly papers had a combined circulation of 134,000.[11] In 1957 a daily was circulated for each 3.9 persons, as against the national average of one newspaper for each 2.9 persons. The circulation of weekly newspapers in the state somewhat moderates this discrepancy. Only the larger cities are supplied with dailies, and daily morning papers are published only in the four largest cities.

Montana relies heavily upon radio and television as media of communication, although television to some extent is hampered in the western section by the mountainous terrain and throughout the state by the problem of distance. Radio service began in 1922 with the establishment of a station in Great Falls. Thirty stations now are broadcasting in Montana, more than half of which are affiliated with networks, and nine television stations are currently operating.

Until recently, a discussion of the press and its role would have been meaningless without reference to the important position of the so-called "Company Press." The Anaconda Company has now disposed of all of its newspapers in Montana, but the existence of a "Company Press" during practically the entire period covered by this study makes essential the discussion of its place in politics. Why the Anaconda Company decided to acquire control of a network of major newspapers during the past fifty years probably cannot be known definitively for some time; but the disturbing episode early in the century when F. Augustus Heinze challenged the position of the Amalgamated Copper Company (predecessor to the Anaconda Company) by his dramatic appeals to public opinion undoubtedly had something to do with the decision. Moreover, the Anaconda Company seemed determined to employ any legitimate means available to maintain its position of dominance. It must be remembered also that the "image" of Anaconda in the state has been important as it has served often as a "whipping boy" for various discontented groups.

Anaconda's ownership and control of Montana newspapers was maintained through a subsidiary, the Fairmont Corporation. The Company newspapers,

[11] N. W. Ayer & Son, *Directory Newspapers and Periodicals* 1959 (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1959), pp. 582, 1223.

including all dailies published in four of the five largest cities, were: the *Billings Gazette*, the *Livingston Enterprise*, the *Butte Post* and the *Montana Standard* (published in Butte), the *Helena Independent-Record*, the *Daily Missoulian*, and the *Missoula Sentinel*. Between them, these seven had, early in 1959, 55.4 per cent of the total daily circulation in Montana, and 59.4 per cent of the Sunday circulation.

Among techniques employed by the Anaconda-controlled press, that aspect noticed immediately by a new reader was the neutral flavor of all editorials. If there was an editorial policy at all, it was one of avoiding stands on any controversial issues. Consequently, a variety of historical, exotic, or irrelevant topics appeared, constituting in all probability the blandest diet of editorial comment ever served up to any American newspaper readers. The editors carefully avoided printing any stories which might put the Anaconda Company or its friends in a bad light. However, they were generally fair to both sides in political campaigns; studies of recent ones reveal that the papers gave approximately the same space to candidates of both parties.

In the early 1920's the Anaconda newspapers were generally believed to be far more biased in their news reporting.[12] In his liberal days Senator Burton K. Wheeler once said: "If you ever see my picture on the front page of the Company Press you'll know I've sold out." [13] The selection of columnists and syndicated political cartoons reflected a pronounced conservative bias. The *Daily Missoulian*, for example, subjected its readers for a number of years to a steady fare of David Lawrence, George Sokolosky, and Westbrook Pegler. Some readers of the *Missoulian* are not fully recovered from the shock they received when the new owners recently dropped Westbrook Pegler and added Ralph McGill and Marquis Childs. The Company Press also vexed its readers over the years by its show of disinterest in community affairs. A reader of a Company paper was far better informed through its columns on national and international developments than he was on state or local issues. Nor was the safety-valve device of a letters-to-the-editor column available; the owners seemed to assume that all would be better off without such a column. In sum, the people served by the Company Press were without a forum to serve as the market place for ideas.

Rumors began to circulate late in 1958 that the Anaconda Company planned to sell its newspapers. However, no official confirmation was available until the June 1, 1959, announcement that all of the papers had been purchased by Lee Newspapers, Incorporated, a midwestern chain noted both for its successful business operations and for the relative autonomy in editorial policy it allows each of its member newspapers. Montanans of both liberal and conservative persuasion applauded the sale. A number of important changes have occurred already. Each paper has begun to take editorial stands, at least on community issues. Each has strengthened considerably its local news coverage. Some have

[12] Shirley Jean DeForth, "The Montana Press and Governor Joseph M. Dixon, 1920–1922" (Master's thesis, Montana State University, 1959).

[13] Joseph K. Howard, "The Decline and Fall of Burton K. Wheeler," *Harper's Magazine*, 194 (March, 1947), 227.

added letters-to-the-editor columns and liberalized somewhat their choice of syndicated political columns.

There have always been some independent newspapers in Montana speaking both for the political right and the political left. The major independent, the *Great Falls Tribune*, has gained the reputation of providing the best news coverage of state affairs available. It is classified as Democratic but pursues a cautious brand of liberalism. The *Lewistown Daily News* is perhaps the least equivocal of the dailies in stating its views, as it speaks out with candor on a wide variety of issues. It tends, on the whole, toward a conservative orientation in politics, although it classes itself as independent politically. The most liberal and outspoken is the *People's Voice*, which is published in Helena by the Farmer's Union. The *Voice* staunchly supports the liberal wing of the Democratic party and is militantly pro-farm, pro-labor, and anti-Company in its editorial outlook.

Public opinion in Montana has a mercurial and evanescent quality which cannot be described precisely. In a state with vast distances, sparse population, and generally inadequate facilities for mass communication, there is a tendency to rely heavily on the informal processes of grapevine and rumor. Typically, Montanans are better informed on national affairs than on state and local concerns. As a result, a substantial amount of apathy exists, as far as public opinion at the grass roots is concerned. For longer than most people can remember the shadow of Anaconda's power has hovered forebodingly over the political horizon. A sense of pessimistic fatalism has resulted in which failures and inaction are excused, far more than is warranted, by fixing all blame on a convenient Company "scapegoat."[14]

If public opinion is registered ultimately through election results, these are a poor guide in Montana which, like most of her western neighbors, prefers splitting tickets and "voting for the man" rather than for the party. In only four of the past ten legislative sessions, for example, has a single party controlled simultaneously both houses of the legislature and the governorship. And during the same twenty-year period it has been normal for the elected governor to find himself in the political minority on the three-member Board of Examiners, which possesses much of the actual executive power which elsewhere is the prerogative of the governor. The practical consequence of "voting for the man" thus is often the creation of an irresponsible governing arrangement — one in which neither party can point to a clear mandate of public opinion or be held fully accountable by the public.

The formation and expression of opinion are hampered by an inadequate system of communication and a kind of voter and party irresponsibility, nor do means exist for the measurement of opinion. No opinion polls are maintained aside from infrequent and sporadic samplings by members of the academic pro-

[14] Typical of Montana skepticism toward the Anaconda Company's professed benevolence is the tale, widely repeated, of two Butte miners who were discussing the imminence of war. A heated argument ensued with one miner asserting, the other denying, that war would occur. The latter finally advanced this clinching argument: "Everybody knows that the only enemy would be Russia. If they attack us they will come down through Alaska and Canada to invade Montana. And everybody knows the Company won't let them into Montana!"

fession. Newspaper editorial comment has been so sterile in the past as to have little value as a gauge of opinion. The closest measurement occurs in popular votes on referenda and initiative measures which, however, are possible only at two-year intervals. Between elections no reliable indices of actual opinion exist although the seasoned politician will sense the broad currents through his conversations, contacts, and correspondence.

Nominations and Elections[15]

Political parties decide through the nomination process which candidates they will support in the general election. In Montana all nominations by a political party which polled 3 per cent of the popular vote at the preceding election must be made through a direct primary, a provision insuring that both major parties will choose their nominees exclusively by this method. Anyone eligible to vote may vote in the primary, although in practice the turnout is always considerably less than in the general election.

Montana law prescribes the use of the open primary, rather than the closed primary found in most states. Its distinguishing feature is that a voter is not required to reveal his political party affiliation or offer any promise to support the nominees of his party in the general election in order to participate in the primary. That party affiliation will remain secret is assured by the requirement that the ballot of each party entering candidates in the primary is given to the voter who, in the privacy of the voting booth, selects one and marks it, and then folds the ballots separately, depositing the marked one in the ballot box and the unvoted one in another receptacle provided for the purpose.

This procedure minimizes party responsibility and voters may and do cross from one party to the other with impunity. However, any candidate expecting to compete seriously for the nomination, normally must have a recognized standing within his party. Neither party endorses an "organization slate" in advance of the primary, but there is a tendency for organization support to coalesce about that candidate who informally has secured the blessing of party leaders. The extent to which members of one party may invade the primary of the opposition to vote in a spirited contest is not known. It has been demonstrated repeatedly however, that the outcome of a general election cannot be gauged by the size of the vote in the respective party primaries.

The state's delegates to national presidential nominating conventions, with the exception of 1956, have been chosen at state conventions. After the 1952 Republican national convention, in which most of the Montana delegation stayed with Taft to the bitter end, the Legislative Assembly in 1953 adopted a measure providing for a presidential preference primary law. The presidential primary was employed in 1956 without generating a great deal of enthusiasm in either party. Consequently, it was repealed outright by the 1959 Legislative Assembly, which reinstated the old procedure.

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[15] In this section data regarding election procedures is derived chiefly from *Election Laws of the State of Montana 1956* and the *1960 Supplement* (Helena, Montana: Secretary of State, 1956 and 1959).

Montana employs a system of permanent registration of voters. Once registered, the voter may miss primary and local elections but if he fails to vote in a general election he must re-register. In addition to the usual eligibility requirements, the further qualification is prescribed for voting in elections authorizing the incurrence of public debt or the levying of additional taxation that one must be a tax-payer upon property, real or personal, within the state.

The administration of elections is decentralized, the conduct of election machinery being largely in the hands of each county's board of commissioners and clerk. It is the responsibility of the county commissioners to draw the boundaries of the 1,095 election districts or precincts and to serve as a board to canvass the results of the election. The county clerk registers voters, prepares the official registration lists and poll books, supervises the preparation and distribution of ballots, and receives the official returns from the election officials in the various polling places.

On the ballot, names of candidates are grouped by office sought rather than by party column. Party designation of each candidate is specified, but in order to vote a straight ticket one must mark separately the square of each candidate of the party; it is impossible to vote a straight ticket by marking a single square. Split-ticket voting is facilitated if not actually encouraged by this ballot form. Six counties now employ voting machines, and the trend toward their use is likely to continue in the urban counties.

Like her sister states, Montana has a great deal of "corrupt practices" legislation on the statute books, pertaining largely to the role of money in election campaigns. One may assume in the absence of instances of prosecution of violators that such legislation is more often honored in the breach than in the observance.

Among specific corrupt practices legislation provisions are those outlawing the intimidation or deception of voters, the bribing of members of caucuses of conventions, betting on elections, employer coercion of employees, and fraudulent registration or voting. A candidate may spend no more than 15 per cent of the annual salary of the office he seeks in his campaign for nomination and no more than 10 per cent in his campaign for election. Exempt from the above limitation are expenditures for travel, office rent, advertising, and campaign literature. Corporations and public utilities are expressly prohibited from making any contribution toward the political candidacy of any individual. Every candidate is required to file with the secretary of state or county clerk within fifteen days after the election an itemized statement of all monies received and expended in behalf of his candidacy. Failure to file such a statement makes them liable to civil or criminal proceedings. This writer knows of no instance in which legal proceedings have been instituted against a delinquent candidate although instances of delinquent reporting, while uncommon, do occur. It is, indeed, exceedingly difficult to observe this process continuously, inasmuch as reports are not kept permanently, and a casual scrutiny of reported expenditures in a campaign leads one quickly to conclude that it is futile to attempt to construct from them a full story of what actually was expended.

Party Organization and Party Leaders

Those who think of political parties as disciplined and responsible bodies learn quickly that such concepts are not applicable in Montana. Moreover, the state is not, nor has it been, frequented by identifiable political bosses. It is well known that the monolithic economic giant, the Anaconda Company, often in consort with the Montana Power Company, does take a lively interest in political affairs, but one is far from the mark in describing "the Company" as a political boss. On the whole, Montana resembles a catch-as-can land in which personalities and personal followings are of more importance than traditional organization.

This is not to say that party organization can be disregarded. Indeed, it is carefully prescribed, at least in outline, by the statutes.[16] At the bottom of the organizational structure are the precinct committeeman and committeewoman who are chosen for two-year terms at the June primary. Meeting together they comprise the party's county central committee which selects a chairman who becomes the local leader and spokesman of his party. Among the principal functions of the county committee are the coordination of the work of the party in that county and the all-important task of finding financial sources of support. In theory each precinct is manned with workers engaged actively in promoting the fortunes of the party. In fact, however, local organization is mostly a hit-or-miss arrangement in which a small band of the faithful, spread far too thin in both parties, struggle valiantly to plug the numerous leaks in the organizational dike.

At the state level is the central committee, composed of a state committeeman and committeewoman from each county chosen by its central committee. The state central committe in turn selects the state chairman who, in the party of an incumbent governor, normally is the governor's choice. Because it is too large to meet frequently the state central committee chooses a smaller executive group to act in periods between its meetings. Both parties' state committees do maintain permanent headquarters with small staffs mainly to handle correspondence, but the party chairmanship is a non-paying position and is not regarded as a full-time job. The state committee assumes the tasks of coordinating party activities and maintaining party harmony, speaking for the party between conventions, raising funds to finance party activities, and supporting the campaign for victory at the biennial general election. It also selects the national committeeman and committeewoman for four-year terms. These influential leaders carry much weight in state party councils in addition to having a voice in national party affairs.

Ultimate authority to speak for the party at the state level is vested in the convention. There are actually two which meet in presidential years. It is the task of the first to select delegates to the national convention. A short time after the primary a second convention meets to formulate a state platform. It consists of members of the state central committee as well as nominees of the party for all statewide elective offices.

Discussion of the formal aspect of party organization tends to obscure the vital behind-the-scenes conflicts for control. While these can be known inti-

[16] See *ibid.*, pp. 201–3 and *Revised Codes of Montana*, 1947, 23–929.

mately only to insiders an occasional explosion may reveal something of the power structure. Both parties are coalitions of important economic interests within the state, some major interests being content to avoid taking sides and to work with both organizations. Within each party there appears to be a liberal-conservative division:[17] the "liberals" generally possess the whip hand in Democratic circles while the "conservatives" appear to be in the ascendancy on the Republican side.

The dominant liberal group in the Democratic party is made up of a coalition of organized labor and the Farmers Union, the leading farm group in Montana. Practically every active leading Democrat is currently identified to some extent with the liberal coalition, although the junior senator, Mike Mansfield, has built a nonpartisan "image" for himself which doubtlessly has proven attractive to some Republican voters. Senator Murray, on the other hand, is out-and-out identified with the liberal wing and makes no bones about it. Since the defeat of Senator Wheeler in 1946 it has become increasingly difficult to locate conservative Democrats although some, mainly in the professions or small business circles, do exist. Some observers have sensed that former Governor John Bonner has moved closer to this position since his 1948 election victory.

The Republican party remains today as it has been since statehood — a coalition of stockmen and business, professional, and financial interests. The rising oil interests appear to have gravitated strongly toward the Republican side, especially in the 1956 gubernatorial campaign, while major mining interests, notably Anaconda, carefully cultivate friendly relations at all points in the political spectrum. Since Governor Dixon's retirement from politics in 1924 there has seldom been an effective spokesman for the liberal or moderate wing of the Republican party. Practically every Republican candidate during the past twenty years has presented an ultraconservative viewpoint. An exception of sorts may be noted in the flurry of pro-Eisenhower activity before the 1952 convention among younger Republicans but little of this zeal has been carried over into the hard core of the organization.

As regards political leadership the time since 1940 may be subdivided into three parts: (1) 1940 to 1946; (2) from 1946 until 1952; and (3) since 1952. During the first period, Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler was serving his fourth term in the Senate, and had gained a considerable measure of bipartisan power through an alliance with his good friend, Republican Governor Sam C. Ford. He was also closely allied with another powerful Republican, Wellington D. Rankin, and the Wheeler-Ford-Rankin triangle appeared to be a formidable political combination during the early 1940's. However, the triangle collapsed

[17] As used here the admittedly amorphous terms "liberal" and "conservative" refer to orientation toward domestic social legislation and governmental intervention in the economy and toward involvement internationally in foreign aid and internatioal organization. As one surveys political orientation along a continuum, one finds greater advocacy of goverment action toward the "liberal" side and of government abstention from action on the "conservative" side. Thus "conservative" Republican congressional candidate Jean Walterskirchen described the United Nations building as "a monument to folly" in the 1958 campaign, while "liberal" Democrat Lee Metcalf presides over an organization of more than one hundred Democratic congressmen currently pressing for more government action in housing and federal aid to education than appears to be supported by the Democratic congressional leadership.

with the successive political defeats of Rankin in 1942, Wheeler in 1946, and Ford in 1948.

In the second period, from 1946 to 1952, the Republicans produced two new faces, Senator Zales N. Ecton, and Congressman Wesley A. D'Ewart. Both were conservatives with agricultural backgrounds and they shared the political spotlight during these years with Senator Murray, Congressman Mike Mansfield, and Governor Bonner, on the Democratic side. The period ended as Ecton lost the sole Republican Senate seat to Mansfield in 1952. That year launched the third period in Montana's recent political history, characterized by a bipartisan devotion to Eisenhower and Republican Governor Hugo Aronson while witnessing the growing importance of Mike Mansfield, the new Democratic senator. The current period has seen also the complete elimination of Republicans from the Washington contingent of Montanans.

The five men who loom largest in the past twenty years are Wheeler, Ford, Murray, Mansfield, and Aronson. There is enough color in the career of each of these men to fill a fascinating political biography. Of the five, Wheeler is easily the most enigmatic. After serving for twenty-four years in the United States Senate and basking frequently in the national limelight he was defeated in his own Democratic primary in 1946 by Leif Erickson. Why, is one of the unsolved riddles of Montana politics.[18] Always the political maverick, it may be that party irregularity had finally brought him to a political reckoning, although a more plausible thesis would be simply that by 1946 Wheeler had grown too remote and out of touch with Montana affairs. Since his defeat he has remained in Washington as an attorney for railroad interests with only an occasional excursion in political strife. In 1958, his name was seriously proposed by Rankin as a candidate for Mansfield's Senate seat — on the Republican ticket!

James E. Murray who retired in 1960 after twenty-five years of service, earned the distinction of having been a senator longer than any other Montanan. He first entered the Senate in 1935 by winning election to the remainder of the unexpired term of the late Senator Walsh. Throughout his distinguished career Murray was unrelenting in his liberal stand — earning the friendship of labor and farm groups. While lacking the color of a Wheeler in his prime or the political talent of a Mansfield, he managed to survive a number of extremely close races in retaining his seat. His junior colleague for the past seven years, Senator Mansfield, is now established firmly as a major force in Montana politics. A former assistant professor of Far Eastern history and politics at Montana State University, he has become an important member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee highly regarded for his knowledge of the Far East, and is currently serving as Democratic whip in the Senate.

Both Republican governors of the past twenty years, Ford and Aronson, have been noted for their businesslike management of public affairs. Markedly different in background and temperament, each tended toward conservatism in

[18] See Joseph P. Kelly, "Senator Wheeler's 1946 Democratic Primary Loss" (Master's thesis, Montana State University, 1959).

outlook and policy. Governor Ford owed his victory in part to the support he received from Senator Wheeler and showed his appreciation by retaining in a number of key positions Democrats known to be loyal to Wheeler. An important episode during his eight years in the executive mansion was his feud with the Republican national committeeman, Dan Whetstone, over patronage, which led in 1948 to the ousting of Whetstone and his replacement by Wellington Rankin.

Former Governor Aronson is genuinely a self-made man in American politics. A Swedish emigrant, he rose to prominence in the Montana oil and trucking industries, and served in the Legislative Assembly prior to his election as governor in 1952. He completed his second term and announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election in 1960. As the "Galloping Swede" of Montana politics, Aronson was an appealing candidate. With his retirement the Republicans lost their best vote-getter, but succeeded in electing their gubernatorial candidate, Donald Nutter.

Pressure Groups

The growth and diversification of the economy of a state, a region, or a nation leads inevitably to the formation of a host of specialized group interests,[19] which make claims upon the organs of government. As such groups arise naturally out of the economic and social conditions peculiar to a particular state, one finds in Montana a basis for main group interests in livestock, wheat, mining, petroleum, lumber, and a variety of business, professional, and labor activities.

One of the most conspicuous business groups is the Chamber of Commerce. Its major publication, the *Montana Citizen,* takes a vigilant interest in legislative proceedings, and keeps members informed on governmental developments affecting them. The Montana Taxpayers Association, which publishes the *Montana Taxpayer,* maintains a critical eye on tax and spending plans whether by local school districts, counties, cities, or the state government. In the field of transportation, the Montana Railroad Association has a reputation as an effective organized interest with able lobbyists to represent it. In recent legislative sessions one of the most controversial measures has been a proposed weight-distance tax on trucks, which has been powerfully and effectively opposed by the Montana Motor Transport Association. The Licensed Beverage Dealers Association is an active group which attempts to block proposals which are a threat to the prosperity of its members.

The most effective business interest cannot be called, in any strict sense, a pressure group at all, but is a single powerful corporate concern, the Anaconda Company. Long known for the excellence of its lobbying activities, Anaconda's attorneys follow with keen scrutiny the course of every measure under consideration by the legislature. Its strength rests not only in its wealth and resources, but also in its elaborate network of relationships with key citizens, banks, legal firms, and business organizations throughout the state. Rare is that unit of local

[19] The writer prefers the term "interest group" partly because of the value-loaded connotation of "pressure group," but the latter term survives in both popular and academic writing on the subject of politics.

government — county, city, or school district — that does not have among its official family an associate, in some capacity, of the Anaconda Company. And Anaconda men are invariably among the leaders of the power structure in every large community in the state. Until June, 1959, the Anaconda network was further strengthened by its control of most of the leading daily newspapers.[20] It should be emphasized that Anaconda has used its great power largely in a negative fashion — to prevent government actions which it opposed. The Montana Power Company normally has been closely associated with Anaconda in its lobbying activities, and in its general approach to policy questions.

Labor is a force to be considered among Montana interests — always numerically significant, albeit lacking the cohesive quality of the business community. Three principal labor groupings are important — the AFL-CIO, the independent Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Labor's numerical advantage is vitiated by its concentration in urban mining and manufacturing centers. On the whole its voice from and for labor concerns is much stronger in Washington, D.C., through Montana's pro-labor Democratic delegation than it is in Helena.

Of the three nationally important farmer's groups — the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Farmers Union — the Farmers Union, which has approximately 15,000 members, or more than twice the membership of the other two combined, is much the most important. As one would expect, remembering that about half of Montana's agricultural cash income is derived from livestock, associations of cattle and sheep men, notably the Stockgrowers' Association, the Cattlemen's Association, and the Wool Growers Association, are powerful indeed. The stockmen are a force for conservatism, while the farmers, especially in wheat, are liberal. Both have enormous advantages over labor because of the pattern of geographical distribution of seats in the legislature.

Numerous professional associations manifest their interest whenever issues adversely affecting their fortunes arise, including the Montana Medical Association and the Montana Bar Association. Among public employee groups the Montana Education Association is respected for its affectiveness. It is a revealing commentary on the prevailing power of rural areas that the County Commissioners Association is relatively strong, while the Executive Secretary of the Montana Municipal League lamented at its last session his inability to get a single major item of his legislative program adopted by the 1959 Legislative Assembly.

Methods employed by pressure groups are typical of those encountered in most states. The greatest energies are concentrated during the brief legislative sessions when at least one hundred and fifty topflight lobbyists descend on Helena and are, in turn, aided by the thousands of constituents who either are brought to Helena for personal appearance before committees or submit their views by correspondence. Lobbying flourishes with little restriction; the sole check is an act to "Regulate and Control Lobbying" passed in 1959, with only the moderate stipulation that all paid lobbyists must register with the secretary

[20] See *supra*, under Press and Public Opinion.

of state and secure a license.[21] An important weapon of the lobbyist with ample resources is the social lobby, and numerous "water holes" with their free liquor are accessible to thirsty legislators. The forces of public opinion are mobilized on important issues and the powerful corporations are especially successful in getting their stockholders to communicate the sentiments of the corporation to their legislators. The better lobbies maintain staffs of experts who are not only valuable to their employer in an immediate sense but often constitute the only expertise available to counsel with ill-informed legislators.

Between sessions of the legislature a variety of techniques are employed by pressure groups, depending on their resources and size. A few maintain permanent headquarters or offices in Helena, as for example, the Education Association. Some engage in long-run advertising campaigns designed to inculcate a favorable opinion. Most hold annual meetings which are publicized and which furnish the occasion for the adoption of resolutions by the membership. The better organized interests publish periodicals at regular intervals to rally the faithful to the cause of the group.[22]

Legislative Politics

In their choice of legislative personnel the people of Montana are characterized by a strange ambivalence which causes them generally to select liberal politicians to represent them in Congress, while simultaneously preferring, on the whole, conservatives in their state legislature. This pattern of marching both ways at once is an illustration of the proposition that differing factors, indeed, it would seem, differing constituencies are involved in the selection of national as contrasted with state representation. It might be added that partisan politics does not operate as a controlling factor in the liberal-conservative orientation of the legislature. The 1959 Legislative Assembly, which was not distinguished by its liberalism, was Democratic by approximately two to one.

The Republicans have controlled the state Senate three times as often as have the Democrats since the end of World War I, while control of the House has been divided on virtually even terms.[23] For the period since 1940 the Republicans have controlled the state Senate on eight occasions to two for the Democrats: control of the state House of Representatives has rested with each party five times. Since 1940, the greatest margin of Democratic control in the state Senate occurred in 1959 when there were 38 Democrats and 17 Republicans; their greatest margin in the House was in the same year, 62 to 31. The Republicans enjoyed their largest margin in the 1947 Senate (41–15) and in the 1953 House of Representatives (62–32).

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[21] *Laws of Montana* (1959), Chap. 1957.

[22] The following groups publish their own organs at varying intervals: Dude Rancher's Association, Montana Farm Bureau Federation, Montana Farmers Union, Montana Education Association, Montana Department of American Legion, Montana Stockgrowers' Association, Montana Wool Growers Association, Montana Food Distributors Association, Montana Taxpayers Association, Montana Chamber of Commerce, Montana Citizens Freight Rate Association, Montana Congress of Parents and Teachers, Montana Grain Growers Association, Montana Motor Transportation Association, Montana Municipal League, and Montana Automobile Association.

[23] Ellis Waldron, *Montana Politics Since 1864: An Atlas of Elections* (Missoula: Montana State University Press, 1958), *passim*.

Party control of the Legislative Assembly has seldom, if ever, been accompanied by any collective sense of party responsibility for a particular program. Indeed, until the 1959 session, when for the first time a bipartisan Legislative Council functioned, no systematic means of program planning was provided. Party control has meant chiefly the ability to determine the organization of the legislative body along partisan lines — but party lines do not appear especially significant in legislative decision-making.

Montana has been depicted as predominantly "rural," although with a growing urban population. The pattern of representation favors the rural areas to a greater extent than is justified by population. The eight counties containing the largest cities now contain 52.8 per cent of the state's population but have 41.5 per cent of the representation in the House and only 14.9 per cent of the Senate. Hence, urban areas are decidedly underrepresented. The legislative product reflects the rural supremacy revealing only perfunctory attention, at most, to the needs of urban areas. The Municipal League in particular finds itself in the frustrating position of attempting to present the pressing needs for municipalities to a Legislative Assembly which is composed largely of members unsympathetic to these needs.

Irrespective of which political party happens to control one or both houses of the legislature, a conservative orientation is normally characteristic of that body. Given the pronounced rural composition of both houses, it would be unreasonable to expect to encounter any number of fire-breathing liberals in its midst. Little, if any, leadership in legislative matters ordinarily is provided by the governor. This official, irrespective of party, has not developed the earmarks of a strong executive with a responsibility for legislative leadership found in some states. Consequently, it is seldom that proposals broader in concern than the local or sectional interests of legislators are brought forward for consideration. The two groups, farmers and lawyers, which are most heavily represented, tend to be inherently conservative in outlook.

Reapportionment occurs at intervals of ten years and is based on the decennial census, with legislative districts confined to county boundaries. The current law[24] fixes membership in the Senate at one senator for each county, a total of fifty-six. By this formula the representation accorded Yellowstone County, with an estimated population in 1957 of 75,700, is identical with that granted Petroleum County, estimated at 900. A more nearly equitable pattern prevails in the House of Representatives where, although each county automatically has one representative, it is entitled to an additional one for each 7,500 population beyond a base quota of 3,500.

Montana's constitution sets up machinery for direct legislation. The devices of initiative and referendum may be employed, the former providing a means for enactment of legislation directly by the electorate, and the latter a means of considering and possibly reversing action already taken by the legislature. Since 1940 four initiative and fourteen referendum measures have appeared on

[24] *Laws of Montana* (1951), Chap. 191.

the ballot, and twelve proposed constitutional amendments have been referred to the electorate. In general the voter response to direct legislation measures indicates a healthy respect for the normal patterns of representative government. Only one of the four initiative measures was adopted, while all but three of the fourteen acts of the Legislative Assembly referred to the people were sustained. Thus, in only four of eighteen instances can it be said that direct legislation was needed to achieve a popular goal at variance with legislative action. Six of the twelve constitutional amendments proposed by the legislature were adopted.

This summary of action on direct legislation does not tell the entire story. Some referendum measures, notably the statewide mill levy to provide some of the funds for the operation of the University system, which must be resubmitted for voter approval at ten-year intervals, have survived by shaky margins, and their adoption at all is a tribute to the extensive organized citizen campaigns in their behalf. Both labor and management have, on occasion, been able to block initiative proposals which would have damaged their respective interests by squelching the measures during the petition-signing stage. In 1952, a measure which would have provided industrial accident benefits for victims of silicosis was kept off the ballot through united action by the Anaconda Company and its friends. On the other hand, labor was able to rally enough support in 1958 to keep a right-to-work measure off the ballot.

The legislative process has been conspicuously weak in the area of budget and appropriations because of the absence of sound machinery for financial planning. In 1951 Montana began an eight-year experiment with budget preparation by a newly established independent officer known as the controller. He was required by the statute to submit a budget in which proposed expenditures would not exceed existing revenues, a patently absurd arrangement in a period of mounting costs. The controller's only recourse was the familiar "meat axe" technique in which all estimates were reduced on an across-the-board percentage cut basis, resulting in a "balanced budget" which, in practice, was deliberately ignored by the legislature. Finally, the legislature abandoned fiscal fantasia in 1959 by adopting an executive budgeting plan patterned after those in effect in most states as well as in the national government.

Much of the actual work of legislative financial planning is done in the committee stage, the responsible committees being Appropriations in the House and Finance and Claims in the Senate. Leaders of the majority party seek to arrive at a ceiling on the amount the state can spend in terms of existing or anticipated revenues in conference with the party members of the committees which are responsible. How well this procedure works is, of course, dependent on party discipline, which is never complete and varies from session to session. At this crucial point in the legislative process it is evident that interest groups with competent technical staffs to provide information and favorable patterns of access will be most effective, especially since the average citizen is in no position to follow the complex maze of procedure at this stage. It should not be surprising that groups favoring the status quo have been most successful, given their superior resources of access and technical competence.

Voting Habits

In each of the first fourteen presidential elections since 1900 Montana's electoral votes have been in the column of the winning candidate. The state had become a political weathervane registering with consistent reliability the tides of American presidential politics. The complete explanation of this phenomenon has yet to be advanced, although the mobility of population (an estimated 50 per cent were not born in the state) together with the absence of either a clearly structured society or a disciplined political party system may be suggested as partial reasons for the behavior. But in 1960 the state lost its weathervane status, and gave its electoral votes to Richard Nixon. From the beginnings of statehood and the Clark-Daly feud down to the present politics has normally been more personal than partisan. While the organization man is not unknown in Montana politics, his role has been decidedly secondary. The state has never had a political machine which could, with ruthless and impersonal efficiency, deliver its votes to a candidate irrespective of merit or personal following. On the only occasion in recent years in which the charge could be made that a political machine of bipartisan character was being developed by Burton K. Wheeler, the Senator demonstrated that the machine was ineffective, if it existed at all, by losing in his next primary, something a machine politician rarely does.

With the importance given to personalities by the electorate naturally goes a penchant for split-ticket voting. If any discernible pattern can be said to have emerged from this display of political ambivalence, it is a general disposition, of marked proportions in the past twenty years, to prefer Democrats in national politics while preferring Republicans in both the legislative and executive wings of the state Capitol. The Democrats have won twenty of twenty-eight contests for seats in the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives in this period, while the Republicans were winning seventeen of twenty-five state contests involving control of the governorship and the two houses of the Legislative Assembly.

At first glance it would seem fruitless to search for significant geographic patterns in Montana politics; it is a truism that if anything can be more uncertain than the state's weather, it is its politics. However, some areas do tend, on the whole, to exhibit a steady allegiance to one or the other of the parties. Areas which are rather consistently and dependably Democratic include the mining counties and the tier of so-called "High-Line," wheat-producing counties lying north of the Missouri River. These are usually joined in the Democratic column by certain lumber-producing counties of western Montana. The Republicans over the years have fared best in the livestock counties south of the Missouri River and in the western counties with diversified crops and irrigated farming.[25]

A review of actual political trends on an election-by-election basis must of necessity omit much interesting and important detail.[26] In presidential politics

[25] See especially the political maps in Waldron, *op. cit., passim.*

[26] But see the series which has appeared in the *Western Political Quarterly's* symposia on Western elections, and including Jules A. Karlin, "The 1948 Elections in Montana," II (March 1949), 109–13, and "The 1952 Elections in Montana," VI (March 1953), 113–17; Thomas Payne, "The 1954 Election in Montana," VII (December 1954), 610–13, "The 1956 Election in Montana," X (March 1957), 127–31, "The 1958 Election in Montana," XII (March 1959), 313–16, and "The 1960 Election in Montana," XIV, Part 2 (March 1961), 343–46.

the state remained in the Democratic column in 1940 and 1944 with Franklin D. Roosevelt and continued its allegiance to the Democrats in 1948 with Harry Truman, although by a substantially reduced margin. Montana voters changed sides in the 1950's, however, and gave sizable majorities to the Republican winner, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in the 1952 and 1956 contests. With the exception of the single six-year term of Republican Zales N. Ecton (1947–53)* both Senate seats have been in Democratic hands throughout the 1940's and 1950's. While Senator Murray securely held one of them during the past twenty-five years the other has had three different occupants. In 1940 Montana's then senior senator, Burton K. Wheeler, seemed politically invincible after decisively beating his Republican opponent, E. K. Cheadle, by 112,812 votes. After he lost in the 1946 primary, his opponent was defeated by Ecton, who held the seat for a single term and lost to Mike Mansfield in 1952. Senator Mansfield was reelected decisively in 1958.

Of Montana's two congressional districts the First (western) has been solidly Democratic, while in the Second (eastern) the two parties have been evenly matched. In 1940 Miss Jeanette Rankin, a Republican, did win a single term in Congress from the First District, duplicating her previous victory in 1916, and achieved the unique distinction of having voted against America's entry into both world wars. Since 1942 the western district has been firmly in the hands of Democrats. Mike Mansfield captured the seat in 1942 and held it until 1952 when he was succeeded by Lee Metcalf, now Murray's successor. Arnold Olsen was then elected in 1960. The Democrats controlled the eastern district from 1940 until the death of the incumbent James F. O'Conner in 1945, when a Republican, Wesley A. D'Ewart, was elected to the seat which he held until 1954 when he relinquished it to run unsuccessfully against Senator Murray. Since 1954 it has been held by Orvin B. Fjare, a Republican, for one term, then by LeRoy H. Anderson, a Democrat, who was followed by Republican James F. Battin in 1960.

Montana voters have preferred Republican governors in five of the past six elections. They elected Sam C. Ford to two successive terms (1941–49). He was defeated in 1948 by John W. Bonner, the only Democrat to serve in the period. Bonner in turn bowed in 1952 to Hugo Aronson, who served two terms in the executive mansion. He was succeeded by still another Republican, Donald Nutter. The offices of secretary of state, auditor, and attorney general have been monopolized by Democrats during the past twenty years, while Democrats and Republicans have shared almost on equal terms the offices of lieutenant governor, treasurer, and superintendent of public instruction.

Impact of National Politics and Trends

Montanans may boast that their individualism and self reliance, preserved since frontier days, enable them as a state to fend for themselves with no helping hand from Washington, but they are sensitive to national politics and trends, and at times take an even greater interest in what is happening in Washington than in what is taking place in Helena. In many respects national and state

politics are woven inextricably into a single fabric, and personnel do move from one level to the other in party and other political affairs. National and state political campaigns occur at the same times, but as a general rule national issues are unlikely to be injected into contests at the state level. This explains partially why there is so little "coat-tail" effect in Montana politics — Montana registers with weathervane reliability national trends in its support of national candidates, but voting behavior in national elections seems to have little to do with the outcome of state contests.

Whether they like to admit it or not, like all Westerners, Montanans are dependent to a great extent upon the activities of the federal government. A few examples will suffice to show how sensitive the state is to federal activity. To begin with, the federal government is one of the largest single employers in the state, with approximately 7,500 civilian employees alone; a proposal to transfer a major field installation from Montana to another state will invariably bring protests from every segment of the population. The federal government is an important factor in the economy as the state's largest landholder, owning about one-third of all the area, which has serious implications for local government finance, in that the property tax base is proportionately restricted. This has been offset partially through the federal practice of making payments in lieu of taxes, for example in those counties with timber sales from federal forests.

Finally, the federal government is important in Montana because of far-reaching projects and activities in which it engages. The construction of major multi-purpose dams like Fort Peck, Canyon Ferry, and Hungry Horse have promoted significant agricultural and industrial development, and have been endorsed by most groups. The location of large military aviation bases near Great Falls and Glasgow also has been of importance in the expansion of the economy. Indeed, candidates in all parties seem to vie with each other in bidding for the location of additional federal projects in Montana, and in claiming credit for those which have been established already. A former Republican Congressman, Orvin B. Fjare, owed his 1956 defeat in part to the belief of many of his constituents that his position was responsible for delaying the construction of Yellowtail Dam on the Big Horn River, a major Bureau of Reclamation project in his district.

Policies and programs of the federal government which significantly affect Montana's economy and politics include the tariff, metals policy, and price supports for basic crops. Tariff considerations are of vital concern to groups such as the wool growers, the sugar beet producers, and the copper mining interests. Few politicians in either party who were unsympathetic to these tariff concerns have enjoyed political preferment or advancement. The state has a long record of enthusiasm for causes such as free silver, populism, progressivism, and the silver purchase policies of the New Deal. Copper and Zinc producers are deeply concerned about the stockpiling by the federal government of these strategic metals. Montana wheat farmers have prospered in unprecedented fashion since the 1940's because of the program of government price supports to basic farm crops, including wheat.

This examination of economic interests which benefit from national policies provides a key to an understanding of one of the paradoxes of Montana politics, the tendency to be liberal in national and conservative in state politics. The liberal face which Montana directs toward Washington may, after all, be reconciled with the conservative face which she directs toward Helena. The same configuration of interests which apparently receives benefit from political liberalism in national politics may sense the advantages of political conservatism in state affairs. In a state with sparse population and an economy based mainly on the production of raw materials rather than finished products, a policy of restricting state expenditure and seeking supplementary spending from Washington may well coincide wtih the interests of a substantial majority of the population.

Nevada: the Silver Dollar State

DON W. DRIGGS

DESPITE THE FACT that Nevada ranks forty-ninth among the fifty states in population, it has an extremely interesting political history and has produced several prominent national figures. The exigencies of politics brought the territory into the Union long before its population (approximately 20,000 at the time) would have warranted such action. Its admission in 1864 was accomplished by behind-the-scenes political maneuvering by President Lincoln and the Radical Republicans in order to assure congressional approval of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Throughout most of its history, Nevada's social, economic, and political life have been dominated by mining interests. Prior to 1900, all of its United States senators, save one, were connected with the mining industry. Although the Nevada congressional delegation continued to press for legislation favorable to mining interests in the post-World War II period, the heavy decline in value of certain key minerals in the 1950's meant a corresponding decline in the importance of the industry in the state.

Since Nevada was strongly pro-Lincoln and pro-Union at the time of its admission to the Union, its early years found the Republican party in control of the political scene. Then in the 1890's the Silver party was formed, and by drawing members from both major parties it became the dominant force in state politics overnight. The new party had a platform calling for the free coinage of the precious metal which was so important to the state's economy. The Silver party was not able to achieve its purpose, so the major parties returned to power after 1900. The period from 1900 to 1920 was marked by a general Democratic preponderance, only one Republican governor being elected during that time. Following the national trend, the twenties found the Republicans again in the ascendancy in Nevada politics; then 1932 ushered in another era of Democratic triumphs at the polls and the state has been generally in the Democratic camp since that time. Yet during this period enough individual Republicans have emerged victorious to keep the state out of the "safely Democratic" category.

Geography and Resources

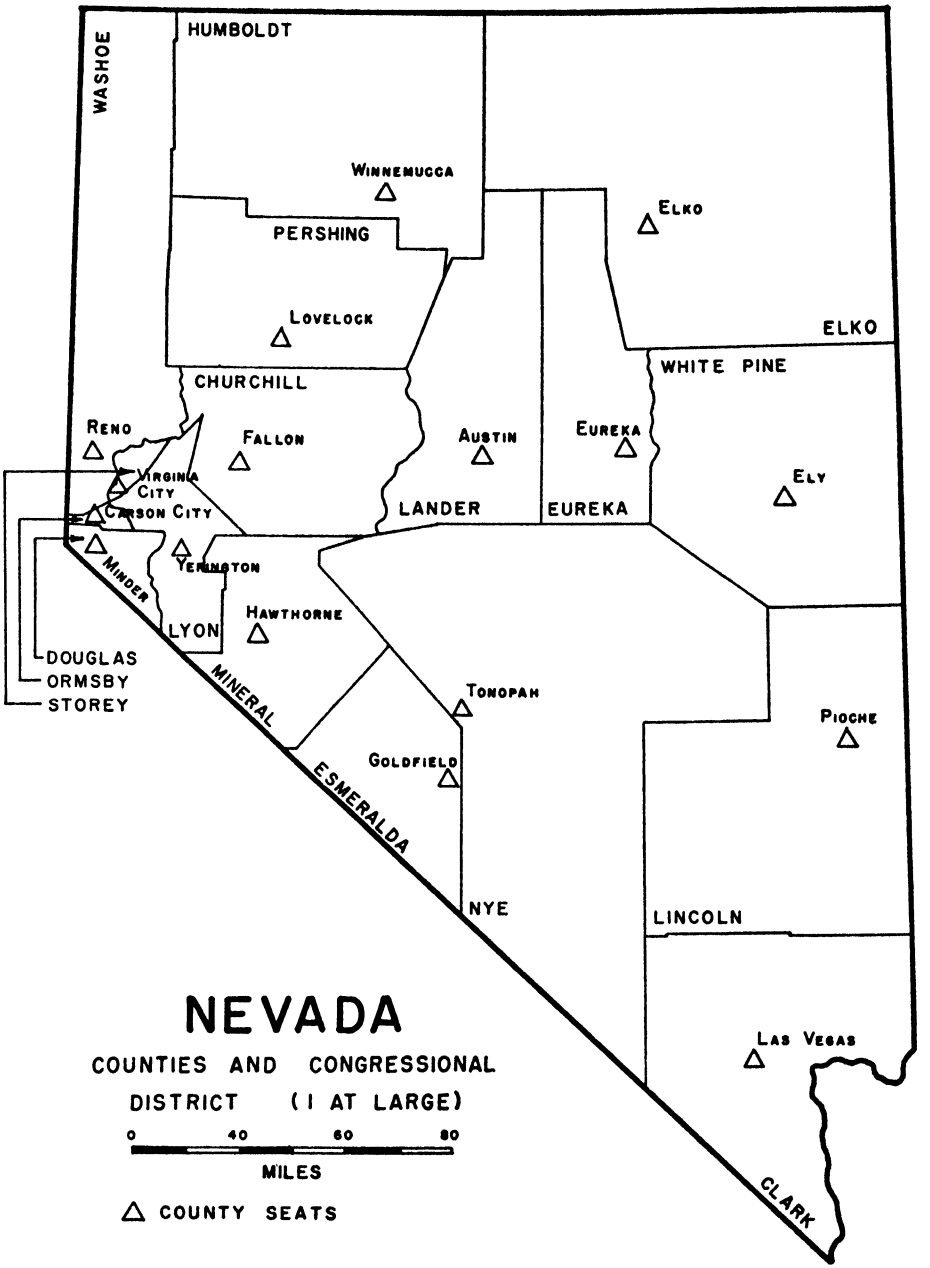
Nevada is the seventh largest state in the Union in area, with 110,540 square miles, only 751 of which are water surface. Most of the state consists of desert territory, although there are four rivers of importance — the Humboldt, the Truckee, the Carson, and the Walker. The latter three rivers are fed by the snow accumulation in the Sierra Nevada Range. The Humboldt River winds its way through 290 miles of territory in the northeast part of the state and receives part of its water from the other large mountain chain in the state, the East Humboldt Range, which attains a height of 11,000 to 12,000 feet.

Nevada's arid condition is responsible for the limited amount of agricultural production in the state. Farming is almost completely dependent on irrigation; by far the most important crop is hay. The total number of farms has decreased steadily since 1940, while the total acreage under cultivation has increased. Nevada is in step with the agricultural trend over the country in that the average-size farm has increased greatly in acreage since the 1930's. Most of the cultivated crops are used to support the cattle industry in the state — an industry that is dominated by large ranching interests. The largest cattle and sheep ranches are concentrated in the northeastern section; Elko County has the greatest number of livestock by a large margin.

Mining was at one time the dominant industry, but depletion and other circumstances have resulted in a growing list of "ghost" mining towns. Silver was by far the most important metal in the state around the turn of the century, although it was not generally known at that time that, in terms of value of the metals extracted from the Comstock Lode, gold made up 45 per cent of the total. Silver is no longer among the leading minerals, for the silver mines have been exhausted. Hence, the silver that is mined must be extracted from copper or lead ore as a by-product. The same is true of gold, but the much higher price paid for gold makes the return on such extraction more remunerative than for silver. Copper, the most important metal produced, accounted for over half of Nevada's total mineral output in 1958. Other important minerals are manganese, gold, iron, gypsum, and mercury. Low prices forced the last of the state's major tungsten mines to shut down in 1958. White Pine County leads the state in mineral production, Lyon and Clark counties being the other two important mining areas.[1]

The lack of water has been a factor in the failure of the state to attract many large industrial concerns. A special Department of Economic Development has been established to "sell" Nevada to industries throughout the nation. In the meantime, the state thrives on tourism. Nevada benefits economically from its geographic location. It is a wide land-bridge between California and the states to the east and thus has a thriving motel trade and a large number of service stations. Visitors are attracted by legalized gambling, especially in the Las Vegas and Reno areas where lavish casinos operate. Las Vegas attracts the bulk of its

[1] The value of Nevada's mineral production dropped from $86,023,000 in 1957 to $68,293,000 in 1958. White Pine County bore the brunt of the decline with production falling from $32,397,804 to $21,976,963 in the same period.



tourists from the region around Los Angeles while Reno pulls most of its pleasure-seekers from the San Francisco Bay area. Although the gambling tax ranked third in 1959 from the standpoint of revenue to the state, much of the money derived from the two leading sources, the sales tax and the motor vehicle fuel tax, is supplied by tourists attracted by gambling. Unless industry can be in-

duced to move into the state in large-scale fashion, gambling seems destined to remain the major bulwark of the state's economy.

In keeping with its liberal tradition in the realm of public mores, Nevada's divorce laws attract people from all parts of the country who are interested in a speedy severance of their matrimonial ties. Although six months' residence is required as a qualification for voting, a person is a local "citizen" for divorce purposes after only six weeks in the state. Surprisingly, despite the thriving divorce business, there are more weddings consummated than divorces granted within Nevada's jurisdiction.

Population Factors

Nevada, with the possible exception of Alaska, is the fastest-growing state in the Union. Its population grew from 110,247 in 1940 to 160,083 in 1950 and to an estimated 280,000 in 1959. This amounted to a 45 per cent increase between 1940 and 1950, a 75 per cent increase between 1950 and 1959, and an over-all increase in the two decades of a staggering 155 per cent.

The state's population is concentrated in two counties — Clark and Washoe Estimates for 1959 showed Clark County (Las Vegas) to have slightly under 50 per cent of the entire population while Washoe County (Reno) had close to 30 per cent. This left the fifteen small-population counties with less than a fourth of the total permanent residents of the state. From all indications, the population will continue to "explode" in the years ahead, with the Las Vegas and Reno areas getting the lion's share of the additional inhabitants. In 1950, 57 per cent of the people resided in urban areas, but the figure jumped to well over 80 per cent by 1959.

Nevada has a predominantly white population — 93.7 per cent in 1950. The remainder was divided in the following manner: 3.1 per cent Indian; 2.7, Negro; 0.2, Japanese; and 0.2 Chinese. The colored population, although growing in Las Vegas and Reno, is not large enough to provide an effective pressure group; as a consequence, the legislature has repeatedly shelved antidiscrimination bills.

Religion has not played the important role in the politics of the state that it did during the days when the area was part of the Utah and Nevada territories. Between 1854 and 1861 the politics of the western part of Utah Territory (what is now Nevada) centered around the struggle between Mormon and anti-Mormon factions. Anti-Mormonism was still strong during the period of Nevada territorial government, even though most of the Mormons had responded to Brigham Young's call and returned to the Salt Lake area in 1857. Today the religious affiliations of political candidates are generally not given very much publicity. The Roman Catholic church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) are the two largest religious denominations, both of them being especially strong in the Las Vegas area. A situation with religious implications arose during the 1958 election campaign when Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, who is an apostle of the Mormon church, openly endorsed Senator George Malone's bid for re-election against the challenge of Mormon

Howard Cannon of Las Vegas. Although Benson's support of Malone was not construed as an official church endorsement, Cannon's ability to capture 71 per cent of the vote in Clark County where there is a large Mormon population indicates that the members of that denomination do not necessarily follow the advice of their leaders on political questions. The other religious denominations have likewise not undertaken the task of converting their followers to the support of specific candidates and there is reason to believe that such endorsement might well boomerang among the independent-minded Nevada electorate.

Educational Conditions

Since the publication of a study of the educational system of Nevada (the Peabody Report) in the mid-fifties, state leaders have been very concerned with educational conditions. The school districts were consolidated into a county system of school administration by the 1955 legislature, so that there are now only seventeen school districts. State aid to the counties for school purposes was greatly increased after a state sales tax was levied. The University of Nevada is the state's only institution of higher learning. Although there is a branch of the University in Las Vegas which is destined to grow with the burgeoning population of that area, most of the students and the facilities are on the Reno campus. This was the scene of a faculty-administration squabble in the 1950's which received nationwide publicity and resulted in drastic legislative action.

The trouble started in 1952 when the popularly elected Board of Regents chose Dr. Minard W. Stout as president of the University. Dr. Stout had been principal of the University of Minnesota's laboratory high school: he attempted to handle the University faculty in the same manner as he had his high school teachers. It was only a short time until some faculty members were accusing the President of "dictatorial" practices. Stout added fuel to the fire by attempting to discharge several members of a so-called "dissident minority" who had openly opposed some of his policies. The controversy resulted in the sensational Richardson case in which the biology professor was finally reinstated as a faculty member by the state Supreme Court. In the meantime, the University was placed on the "black list" of the American Association of University Professors because of Stout's activities. The faculty was split into pro- and anti-Stout factions, charges being made by the latter group that the President discriminated salary-wise against those faculty members who were not "on his team."

The legislature finally took official notice of the controversy during its 1955 session when it passed a bill providing funds for a survey of the University of Nevada by a group of out-of-state university presidents and professors. Dr. Dean E. McHenry, professor of political science at the University of California at Los Angeles, was appointed director of the survey team by the Legislative Commission. The fourteen-man McHenry Committee made a lengthy report to the 1957 legislature.[2] Among its specific recommendations were enlargement of the number of members of the Board of Regents to eleven (including the governor and

[2] Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, Bulletin No. 28, *The University of Nevada: An Appraisal,* December 1956.

the superintendent of public instruction as ex-officio members), provision for geographical representation on the Board, and a constitutional amendment to change the mode of selection of Board members from election to appointment by the governor. The report as a whole was an indictment of the Stout administration for the unwholesome atmosphere which prevailed on the campus, although the committee did give credit to Stout for certain improvements in the areas of better faculty salaries and a much-needed building program.

In accordance with the recommendation, the 1957 legislature proceeded to pass a bill immediately increasing the membership of the Board of Regents to nine and dividing the state into three geographical districts, each to have three residents on the Board.[3] Some legislative friends of Dr. Stout charged that the bill was an obvious attempt to oust him; and there was no question but that this was a principal motivation of some of the strongest backers of the bill.[4] Many students whom Stout had antagonized made the trek to Carson City to urge legislators from their respective home counties to pass the measure.

Attorney General Harvey Dickerson claimed that the bill was unconstitutional because of a provision giving the legislature power to fill vacancies on the Board of Regents. Nevertheless, Governor Russell signed the measure into law.[5] The legislature then held a special joint session and elected four men to fill the vacancies which it had just created. All four of the new regents were opposed to Stout's manner of administering the University, so there was little doubt about the sentiment of the legislative body.

As soon as the four new regents had taken the oath of office, Dickerson went to the Supreme Court to apply for a writ of quo warranto in each case to oust individuals he claimed were holding office illegally. The Supreme Court granted the writ in each instance, ruling that while the legislature had the power to increase the number of members of the Board of Regents, the appointive power to fill vacancies rested with the governor. The new positions were thus temporarily vacated. Governor Russell then appointed the same men elected by the legislature to the vacant positions.

The expected aftermath came in the fall of 1957 when the expanded Board asked for and received the resignation of Stout as president. The situation quieted down almost immediately and the 1959 legislature did not attempt to interfere with the administration of the new president, Dr. Charles J. Armstrong.

One reason why the McHenry Committee recommended appointment of the regents rather than election was its belief that this would remove university

[3] Clark and Washoe counties each comprised a district, the fifteen other counties making up the third district.

[4] At the time of the legislative action, the Board of Regents was divided 3–2 in favor of Stout. Between 1952 and 1954 the five-man Board had solidly backed the President. In 1954 two pro-Stout regents were re-elected at the same time that a strong anti-Stout candidate (Bruce Thompson) who had been Professor Richardson's attorney was elected. Two years later, one pro-Stout and one anti-Stout candidate were victorious. The people seemed to cast their votes for well-known personalities regardless of their stands on the Stout question, so election results did not accurately mirror public sentiment.

[5] There was no love lost between the Republican Governor and the Democratic Attorney General. Russell almost invariably consulted lawyers of his own choosing rather than relying on Dickerson. This situation is a not-too-uncommon occurrence under a system wherein most of the leading executive officials are elected directly by the people.

problems from politics to a considerable extent. The 1957 legislature proposed a constitutional amendment providing for appointment of nine regents by the governor, but two years later the law-makers made changes in the amendment which made it necessary that the measure be again considered by the legislature elected in 1960. A constitutional amendment must be passed by a majority of those elected to each house of two successive legislatures before going to the voters for final approval. The report of the study team established by the legislative act of 1955 thus had a far-reaching impact on the administrative set-up of the University.[6]

Press and Public Opinion

The most influential newspapers in Nevada are published in the two population centers, Las Vegas and Reno. The Las Vegas *Review-Journal* and the Las Vegas *Sun* are Democratic papers, the *Sun* being the more liberal of the two. The *Review-Journal* is part of the Reynolds chain which owns several other papers as well as radio and television stations throughout the state. *Sun* editor Hank Greenspun, a hard-hitting opponent of the late Senator McCarran and his "machine," gained nationwide notoriety when he was indicted and later acquitted of charges that one of his editorials advocated the assassination of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy. Greenspun continued to oppose the remnants of the McCarran "machine" when he came out strongly for Grant Sawyer in the latter's successful anti-Cord campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1958.

Although both of Reno's daily newspapers are owned by the same national chain, they differ markedly in political views. The morning *Nevada Journal* is oriented toward the Democratic party, while the Reno *Evening Gazette* is outspokenly Republican. The same predilections are present in the weekly political columns in the two papers. However, in keeping with the general political tenor of the state, both papers are conservative on financial matters and on federal aid to the states.

There are many weekly newspapers and a few dailies published in the smaller towns. Such papers are not without influence, especially with a state legislature which is safely controlled by representatives from the small-population counties. A majority of these papers are Republican in editorial policy, although Democratic editors tend to be almost as conservative politically as are the Republicans.

In weighing the impact of the press of the state on public opinion, stress must again be given to the fact that almost half of the state's population resides in Clark County. The combination of Democratic editorials in the Las Vegas papers and the preponderantly Democratic registration in the county pose a serious problem for the Republicans. Yet, as indicated by the Eisenhower victories, the Democrats will cross party lines to vote for an appealing Republican candidate. And in 1961, despite a two-to-one edge in Democratic registration, Kennedy won the state vote by a very narrow margin.

[6] In addition, the stress placed by the survey team on the need for greatly improved library facilities was instrumental in obtaining approval of a generous appropriation by the 1959 legislature for a new library building on the Reno campus.

Nominations

Like most of the states, Nevada has a closed primary system of nomination for state offices. A voter must register his party affiliation in order to vote in a party primary. Registration as an independent restricts the individual to voting for nonpartisan offices only, such as judges and members of the University's Board of Regents. Party affiliation may be changed between elections: the deadline for such changes is forty-five days before the primary.

The selection of delegates to the presidential nominating conventions of the two parties is made by the respective state conventions. Precinct meetings select delegates to county conventions which in turn elect delegates to the state convention.

Nevada's election laws are similar to those of other states. However, the state does not have a "little Hatch" act as do some, to regulate the political activity of state employees. Members of some commissions and boards are instructed by law to be nonpartisan, although such provisions have not been stringently enforced.

Party Organization and Party Leaders

Being a small-population state, Nevada's politics lends itself to control by small groups of men. Two United States senators, William Stewart and John P. Jones, dominated the political scene in the late nineteenth century. Then around the turn of the century George Wingfield, the leader of a small group of influential mine-owners and financiers, became the power behind the scene in Nevada. The representatives of the Wingfield "machine" in Washington were Senators George S. Nixon, Francis G. Newlands, Tasker L. Oddie, and Key Pittman. The group operated on a bipartisan plane, supporting candidates of both parties at times.

The Roosevelt landslide of 1932 swept Patrick A. McCarran into a seat in the United States Senate. From this position he soon became the dominant figure in Nevada politics. McCarran was re-elected three times, serving on Capitol Hill until his death in 1954, at which time he was a key figure on the Senate Judiciary Committee. During the latter years of his power McCarran was aided by a new "bipartisan machine" headed by Democrat E. L. Cord and Republican Norman Biltz, both multi-millionaires with a flair for pulling political strings.

McCarran's power declined temporarily in 1952 when his protégé, Alan Bible, was defeated in the Democratic primary by a young political neophyte, Tom Mechling. Mechling ran on an anti-McCarran platform and achieved his startling upset by an intensive personal door-to-door campaign. His success with the personal-contact type of campaigning has had marked effect on the methods employed by candidates in the state since that election. McCarran had his revenge, however, when the senior Senator threw his weight to George Malone, the Republican candidate, in the waning days of the campaign and might well have influenced enough votes to give Malone his narrow victory over Mechling.

Alan Bible apparently learned some valuable political lessons from his 1952 defeat, for he rebounded to win election to the unexpired term of Pat McCar-

ran's Senate seat upon the latter's death in 1954. Bible was re-elected for a six-year term in 1956 with the help of Cord and Biltz against the formidable opposition of Clifton Young, two-time Republican congressman. Young attempted to characterize Bible as the "machine" candidate but the charge had a hollow ring inasmuch as Young had been aided in his two successful runs for Congress by the same duo.

Cord attempted to hand-pick the governor in the 1958 state elections, but his candidate, Attorney General Harvey Dickerson, failed in the Democratic primary. Young Elko County District Attorney Grant Sawyer was encouraged to file against Dickerson by a liberal anti-Cord group and surprised even his most optimistic supporters by the ease with which he defeated the Attorney General. Sawyer went on to defeat Republican Governor Charles Russell by a wide margin in the general election.

On the Republican side of the picture, Malone, with his two terms in the Senate, and Russell, with his two terms in the governor's chair, were the most influential GOP politicians in the post-World War II period. Malone was helped in both his successful bids for the Senate by a split in the Democratic ranks and was defeated badly in 1958 when he was opposed by a united Democratic party and a well-liked candidate from populous Clark County, Howard Cannon.[7] Russell had the support of Cord and Biltz in his election campaigns in 1950 and 1954, but the Republican Governor had a falling out with the two financial tycoons during his second term over the gambling control issue and therefore did not have their backing in 1958. The general election that year found erstwhile political boss Cord in a peculiar position since Sawyer had renounced him repeatedly during the primary campaign. Cord and Biltz "sat out" the election since both candidates were outspokenly opposed to the operation of the so-called "bipartisan machine."

The Democratic landslide in 1958, which was withstood only by popular Republican Lieutenant-Governor Rex Bell, has posed a serious problem for the Republicans. Since Nevada now has an overwhelming two-to-one Democratic registration, the Republicans must not only solidify their organization in the state but also come up with colorful candidates of the Rex Bell variety if they are to challenge the Democrats effectively in the future.

Pressure Groups

As might be expected, the state legislative and executive leaders receive pressure from the industries and occupational groups of importance on behalf of favorable treatment for their respective interests. This means that gambling, educational, and mining representatives are very active around Carson City, especially during the legislative sessions.

The gambling interests have not been entirely united on their attitudes toward the control of the spin of the silver dollar. Many of the casino operators favor close control, believing that this is the only way that legalized gambling

[7] Malone had been unsuccessful in two previous attempts to win a seat in the United States Senate, in 1934 and 1944.

can survive in Nevada. There are some who believe, however, that the Gaming Board and its parent group, the State Tax Commission, have too much power. As the law operates, a casino loses its gambling license immediately if the Gaming Board finds that the establishment is engaged in cheating or other illegal activities. During the 1957 legislative session, a bill was introduced in the Senate to give the gamblers "their day in court." The bill would have made it possible for a casino to stay in operation until it had carried an appeal through the state court system. Such a procedure could be stretched out over a period of months. There was tremendous pressure exerted on the legislators by certain gambling interests in favor of the bill, even though many of the largest casino owners in the state opposed it. E. L. Cord, the affluent political boss who was sitting in the state Senate, used his not inconsiderable influence on behalf of the measure and the bill sailed through the Republican-controlled Senate and the Democratic Assembly by margins large enough to override a veto by the Governor. The extent of the majority in each house was important since a veto by Governor Russell was considered to be inevitable in view of his unyielding opposition to any relaxation of strict control over gambling. As a matter of fact, Cord's strong support of the bill was in part motivated by a desire to reduce Russell's influence as chairman of the State Tax Commission. Russell did veto the gambling control bill toward the end of the legislative session and returned it to the Senate. Even though the pressure was greater than ever on the senators during the debate on overriding the veto, one of the Republican members who had originally voted with the majority was converted to the opposite side by the governor's veto message.[8] So the vote in favor of overriding was 11–6, falling one short of the necessary two-thirds majority. Russell's successor, Grant Sawyer, continued the "tough" policy of strict supervision of the "silver dollar" gambling industry.

Since education accounts for by far the largest share of the expenditures out of the state general fund, teachers' groups are very active in Carson City during a legislative session. In 1955, as mentioned previously, the legislature passed a law providing for a sweeping revision of the state school system. With the prospect of additional revenue from the newly imposed sales tax, the legislators greatly increased the amount of state aid to schools and thus enabled the local school districts to boost teacher salaries tremendously.

Mining interests continue to be a potent force in Nevada politics, even though the industry has suffered some severe setbacks since the end of World War II. Kennecott Copper Company, with its large mining operations in White Pine County, is especially active in the lobbying area.

Since many of the interest groups in Nevada have neither sufficient size nor adequate financial resources to enable them to have full-time lobbyists on their payrolls, some lobbyists represent several different groups. Two Reno lawyers, George Vargas and John Mueller, are among the more prominent men engaged in this activity in Carson City during the time the legislature is in session.

[8] The senator made the statement at the time he changed his vote that he was probably writing finis to his career in the Senate by his action.

Mueller is a business partner of E. L. Cord and Norman Biltz and is therefore interested in protecting their many and varied interests in the state. Although Nevada has fewer important interest groups than do the larger states, the pressure on the legislators is still present on most important issues.

Legislative Politics

The apportionment of seats in the Nevada legislature is patterned after the Connecticut Compromise of the federal Constitutional Convention of 1787. Each county has one senator and the allocation of seats in the Assembly is supposedly based on population, each county having at least one. This arrangement has led to great overrepresentation of the rural areas and consequent underrepresentation of the two urban counties. The overrepresentation of the rural areas is further entrenched by the fact that the reapportionment which is constitutionally required after each decennial census is performed by the rural-dominated legislature itself. The 1950 census showed the two populous counties, Washoe (Reno) and Clark (Las Vegas), having over 60 per cent of the state's inhabitants, yet they were given only 40 per cent of the seats in the Assembly. When the Senate seats are added, Washoe and Clark counties together have only a third of the total seats in the legislature. The disparity is bound to grow unless another reapportionment procedure is devised. It is anticipated that the 1960 census will disclose that almost half of the population is living in Clark County alone, and that when Washoe County is added, the two will account for more than 80 per cent of the state's population.

The Nevada constitution puts a limit of seventy-five on the total membership of the legislature. In addition, another section of the document states that the Senate cannot be more than one-half nor less than one-third the size of the Assembly. With seventeen counties (each county having one senator), the limit on the size of the Assembly is therefore fifty-one. The reapportionment after the 1950 census raised the Assembly membership from forty-three to forty-seven, so that only four more seats may be added to the lower house if the number of counties remains the same. Therefore, any significant increase in the representation of Clark and Washoe counties in the Assembly will have to be accomplished at the expense of seats now representing the other counties. With the fifteen so-called "cow" counties firmly in control of both houses of the legislature, it is doubtful that the large-population counties will even get close to the amount of representation they deserve in Carson City.

The control of the two houses has been divided between the two parties for a number of years. The 1959–60 legislature found the Republicans controlling the Senate (10–7) and the Democrats dominating the Assembly (33–14). Despite this disparity, the two houses work together fairly smoothly. There is also no real cleavage along rural-urban lines on most issues other than the reapportionment problem. An exception was the law passed in 1957 by which the gambling table tax money was divided equally among the seventeen counties of the state. This statute was a big boon to the small counties, although Washoe and

Clark could take solace in the fact that this increased revenue probably tied the small counties more to gambling's silver dollar than they had been in the past.

There was a conservative-liberal split in the Assembly in the 1950's, the real battle being waged between liberal and conservative blocs within the Democratic party, which has been in control of the lower house. The main distinction between the two groups centers around their respective attitudes toward state spending. The conservatives, headed by Cyril Bastian of Lincoln County and William Swackhamer of Lander County, had enjoyed a long period of power. The liberals took over in 1959 when they elected Chester Christensen of Sparks to the speakership. Christensen held a meeting in a Reno hotel two days before the start of the Assembly session and the day before the Democratic caucus, and was able to swing sixteen other Democrats (just enough to control the caucus) behind his candidacy by promising them key committee chairmanships. Even first-term assemblymen were given chairmanships in order to gain their support.

The occupational breakdown of the legislature shows an unusually small number of lawyers. The 1957 legislature had only one attorney in the seventeen-man Senate and only four practicing lawyers in the forty-seven-man Assembly (plus one auto dealer having a law degree). The other members of the Senate included eight businessmen, six ranchers, and two civil engineers. The Assembly membership was made up of more varied occupations. Besides the four lawyers, there were nineteen members engaged in various business pursuits, five in ranching, three in mining, two in civil engineering, and one of each of the following: electrician, carpenter, well-driller, locomotive engineer, railroad conductor, newspaper editor, retired schoolteacher, labor representative, power-shovel operator, dairy farmer, housewife, and a retired federal government employee. The occupations of two are unknown.

With the election of Grant Sawyer as governor in 1958, there was a sharp break in the traditional executive-legislative relationships. Sawyer's immediate predecessor, Charles Russell, was content to allow the legislature to set its own course for the most part insofar as a legislative program was concerned. He vetoed a few bills, but did not assert much influence in the course of a legislative session. Governor Sawyer, on the other hand, pushed hard for the passage of a very thorough legislative program which he himself introduced in his "State of the State" message. Sawyer had almost nightly conferences with legislative leaders during the session in order to "sell" his key ideas. Despite the break with tradition, he was able to secure the passage of an amazing percentage of his proposals.

As is generally the case in all states, money matters are the most important considerations of the Nevada legislature. The budget procedure begins with each department and unit of the state compiling its monetary needs for the next fiscal year and filing them with the budget director, who is appointed by the governor. After conducting hearings with representatives of these agencies, the budget director and the governor get together to hammer out budget recommendations. The governor must submit a budget and a budget message to the

legislature within the first ten days of a regular session. Then the legislature takes over, the key committees being the Assembly Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee. Since the governor does not have an item veto, the legislature has an additional advantage compared with the situation in most states.

Along with many other western states, Nevada's voters have both a positive and a negative check on the legislature in the form of initiative and referendum devices. The initiative has been used quite extensively in recent years. The "right-to-work" law is the most publicized statute which was so enacted. This law was first passed by the voters in the 1952 election. In both 1954 and 1956 labor groups were able to obtain enough signatures on petitions to place a proposal for repeal of the law on the ballot. The repeal movement was voted down in both instances. In 1956 the defeat was even more conclusive than in 1954. An initiative petition was filed with the secretary of state for inclusion on the ballot in 1958, but the signature gatherers had been rushed and the validity of enough signatures was successfully challenged to void the petition because of an insufficient number of qualified signers.[9]

The repeated attempts to repeal the "right-to-work" law by initiative resulted in a movement to stiffen the signature requirements for the initiative. A constitutional amendment was proposed by initiative petition to make necessary the securing of the signatures of 10 per cent of the voters in three-fourths of the counties in addition to the over-all requirement of the signatures of 10 per cent of the voters in the state. The amendment was approved by the voters, but a question was then raised as to the constitutionality of amending the constitution by initiative since this was the first time it had been successfully accomplished. The initiative section of the constitution states: "The people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and the power to propose amendments to the Constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls. . . ." But the wording on procedure is ambiguous, since no differentiation is made between the procedure for proposal and passing of laws and that for constitutional amendments. This lack of distinction between the two types of law would theoretically make it possible to pass a constitutional amendment by a petition signed by 10 per cent of the people in the state and passed by both houses of the legislature by simple majorities. In an advisory opinion to the Attorney General in January 1960, the Nevada Supreme Court upheld the power of the people to propose amendments through the initiative process.[10]

The most-publicized attempt to use the referendum in order to reject a law passed by the legislature in recent years was the unsuccessful effort to repeal the sales tax in the 1956 election. Since the passage of the sales tax had made possible a drastic overhaul of the school system including a boost in teachers' salaries

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[9] An initiative petition must be filed with the secretary of state not less than thirty days before a regular session of the legislature. Since the only regular session between November 1956 and the 1958 election was scheduled to begin the third Monday in January 1957, the group favoring repeal had only about six weeks in which to gather signatures after the repeal attempt failed in the 1956 election.

[10] The 1958 amendment greatly reduces the possibility that Clark and Washoe counties can pass a reapportionment of legislative seats by initiative.

much-needed to place the state in a competitive position in the educational market, the opponents of the repeal measure coined the slogan "SOS" — "Save Our Schools." The repeal was turned down and the sales tax was upheld by a vote of 60,685 to 27,499. An interesting sidelight is that a legislative measure approved by the voters in a referendum can be changed only by the voters; thus, the hands of the legislature are tied with respect to repealing the sales tax. There is a constitutional question as to whether the present 2 per cent sales tax can be raised or certain items exempted from the tax by legislative action.

Voting Habits

Although the party registration in Nevada has been overwhelmingly Democratic since the early 1930's and the state would have to be classified as "generally Democratic," there have been enough individual Republican victories at the polls to place the state in the "doubtful" column in many elections. For one thing, there has been a tendency for the Democrats, generally speaking, to poll a smaller vote in the general election than the registration figures would indicate. Then, too, Nevadans are swayed enough by individual personalities so that an especially attractive Republican candidate stands a good chance of success. All in all, however, here a Democratic candidate starts with an initial advantage.

There was an unbroken string of successes for Democratic candidates for national and leading state offices from 1932 through the 1944 election. In 1946, Republican George Malone capitalized on a Democratic split engendered by a fierce primary fight to defeat Berkeley Bunker for the United States senatorship. In the same election, long-time Republican state legislator Charles Russell was elected to Nevada's only congressional seat. The national political picture probably had something to do with the triumphs of these two, since there was a general Republican sweep over the country as a whole. All other state elective executive positions were won by Democrats.

The 1948 election found Nevada going along with the national trend, giving both Truman and the Democratic candidate for Congress, Walter Baring, narrow margins. Then, in 1950, two Republicans won election to state offices in an otherwise Democratic year. Republican Charles Russell benefited by a split in the Democratic ranks between the McCarran and Pittman forces to capture the gubernatorial race by over 9,000 votes at the same time that Pat McCarran was re-elected to his seat in the United States Senate by almost 10,000 votes. Interestingly enough, the bipartisan Cord-Biltz "machine" backed both McCarran and Russell. A popular Republican candidate, Peter Merialdo, was elected state controller.

Dwight Eisenhower swept to victory in Nevada in 1952 with over 60 per cent of the presidential vote. Malone was re-elected to the Senate, once more benefiting by a split in the Democratic party because of a bitter primary battle in addition to being helped by the Eisenhower coat-tail. The difference in voter appeal between two successful Republicans can be seen by contrasting Malone's 2,722-vote majority with Eisenhower's 18,814 margin. Clifton Young, an intel-

ligent young Republican attorney, unseated lackluster incumbent Democrat Baring for the congressional seat by a razor-thin margin of 771 votes.

In the 1954 election, the voters engaged in large-scale ticket-splitting, as indicated by the fact that they elected a Democratic United States senator, a Republican congressman, and split the six leading state offices between the parties. Four Republicans who were personally popular — Young, Russell, Merialdo, and Bell — were victorious. In 1956, President Eisenhower won a large vote of confidence from the Nevada electorate at the same time that the voters were electing a Democratic senator and congressman. The Democrats swept the important offices on the ballot in 1958, with the exception of lieutenant-governor, to which post popular Rex Bell was re-elected. They repeated this pattern in 1960.

Impact of National Politics and Trends

Of the twenty-five presidential elections held in Nevada from its admission to statehood through 1960, the state supported twelve Republican candidates, twelve Democratic nominees and one Populist candidate.[11] The winner on the national level was also the winning candidate in Nevada in nineteen of those twenty-five elections.[12] Since 1908, when Nevada backed William Jennings Bryan for the third time in a losing cause, the state's electoral votes have consistently gone to the man elected President. It would appear that on the whole Nevada's voters are swayed by the same considerations as are voters in other states in a national election. Economic considerations and the question of war and peace have certainly been important forces in determining Nevada's leanings in presidential elections.

The great depression and the personality of Franklin Roosevelt were responsible for the solid majorities run up by F.D.R. in Nevada during his four presidential election campaigns. Democratic candidates for state offices also benefited from the national popularity of the party. The reaction to wartime restrictions and the desire to place some controls on labor unions helped elect a Republican senator and a GOP congressman in 1946. Then in 1952, President Eisenhower's personal popularity and the dissatisfaction with the Korean War undoubtedly helped elect a Republican senator and congressman. Although there have been these instances in which national issues and trends have had important effects on the election of United States senators, congressmen, and state officials, local personalities and issues often overshadow the national problems in the minds of Nevada voters. An illustration of an emphasis on state personalities was the 1956 election when Democratic Senator Bible was easily re-elected while Eisenhower was winning the Nevada electoral votes by a comfortable margin.

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[11] General Weaver, the Populist candidate in 1892, was supported by the Silver party in Nevada.

[12] The importance of the silver question in the state accounts for four of the times that Nevada's electorate supported an unsuccessful presidential candidate (Weaver in 1892 and Bryan in 1896, 1900, and 1908). The state's voters also backed losers (Hancock and Blaine) in 1880 and 1884.

Although Nevada's political history does not fall into a consistent pattern, the state has settled down since the radical days of the Silver party and the Progressive movement around the turn of the century. Nevada has been basically conservative in its politics in the twentieth century in contrast to its liberality in the area of individual mores. This basic conservatism has been highlighted by the political control exercised by two financial wizards of conservative stripe, George Wingfield and E. L. Cord. Pat McCarran, who is Nevada's lone representative in the Hall of Fame in the Capitol Building in Washington, was a conservative Democrat and made his imprint on both the national and state scene by his insistence on placing national security above considerations of individual rights. The fact that the state has a right-to-work law which has been upheld repeatedly at the polls is another indication of Nevada's conservatism. Political liberals can take some solace, however, in the tremendous growth of population in Clark County where politics tends to be more liberally oriented than in the rest of the state.

As far as the future is concerned, Nevada will probably continue to have its political bosses. However, these bosses, especially the monied variety, operate more effectively when there is little publicity about their activities. When "bossism" and "machine dictation" are made important issues in a campaign, as they were in the Democratic primaries in 1952 and 1958, the outcome may be disastrous for control by such political leaders.

More and more the focus on politics in Nevada is shifting to Las Vegas and the Clark County area. Unless there is an abrupt shift in the population trends, southern Nevada holds the key to future political success in statewide elections and this gives the Democrats a commanding advantage. However, the apportionment problem in the legislature assures the small counties of a dominant voice in that body for years to come.

New Mexico: the Political State

FREDERICK C. IRION

THE FLAG of New Mexico, with the ancient Zia sun symbol emblazoned in Spanish red on a field of Spanish yellow, flutters over the capitol of the forty-seventh state. This capitol, of Spanish colonial design, is quite distinctive, especially when compared with the domed imitations of the national capitol which appear in most of her sister states. And if the flag and the capitol are distinctive, so is the politics of New Mexico, for there has been no capitulation to McCarthyism, to the purveyors of race hatred, or to the promoters of the other divisive forces of our time. There have been no witch hunts, no smears, and no unpatriotic deeds performed in the name of patriotism.

The Zia sun shines brightly over the Anglos, the Spanish-Americans, the Pueblo people, the Navaho, the Apache, the Negro, and all the others living in New Mexico. Every known condition which might breed race hatred exists in the state with its diversity of population and religion and its wide range of resources and economic conditions. Yet the people do not live in mere toleration of each other; they live together in friendship and harmony.

There can be no claim for perfection, however, in New Mexico's politics and government. Politics here can be viewed as the illegitimate product of the worst of the Anglo tradition as exemplified by the Tweed Ring and the worst of the Spanish tradition as practiced by the decayed patron system. As for public administration, spoils politics is pervasive. The words of Andrew Jackson, "to the victor belongs the spoils," usually have been enshrined as precinct-county-state practice.

If New Mexico's politics is a stronghold of inefficiency, how can the waves of McCarthyism and race hatred dash themselves against it into oblivion? The answer is found in the state's political tradition of patience, individual initiative, and civil rights in a rural setting which only recently has had to face the machine age, the organization man, and urbanization. New Mexico's politics is geared to liberty, not efficiency. Can it then retain liberty while adding efficiency to administration?

To the Dawn of History

The tradition of patience is a result of New Mexico's history. Twenty-five centuries ago, when Greece won freedom for Western Civilization at Marathon and Salamis, the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians may have been performing their dances — dances which can be seen today, some of which have been virtually unchanged for more than ten centuries. It is likely that "these surviving Pueblo communities constitute the oldest republics known." [1]

As for European origins, New Mexico's political life begins with Coronado's expedition of 1540–42. There has been an uninterrupted line of governors since Onate was appointed on October 25, 1595 — or 1598, when he actually took office. This line of succession is longer than that of any other state of the Union.[2] Even discounting Pueblo history and the early explorations, New Mexico still has long-standing political institutions. For instance, in the establishment of Santa Fe, probably in 1610, "we meet the first indication of representative government" in New Mexico.[3] Santa Fe, with the oldest public building in the United States (the Palace of the Governors), was the northern terminus of America's oldest highway, El Camino Real, from Mexico City.

The Inquisition came to New Mexico in 1626.[4] It was active during much of the seventeenth century and apparently had some influence during the eighteenth century. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 saw the Spanish driven out until the reconquest of 1692. New Mexico became a province of Mexico in 1821, the year which also marks the opening of the Santa Fe Trail. General Kearny raised the American flag over the Palace of the Governors in 1846. From 1846 to 1851, New Mexico had a temporary government. It was then ruled by a territorial government until 1912, when it was formally admitted to statehood.

New Mexico's constitution was drawn up in 1910 by Republicans of a conservative bent.[5] This half-century-old document, as amended, is the basis of New Mexico's government today. It seems destined to remain in force for the foreseeable future, despite talk about a new constitutional convention.

The state started its career in the Republican camp, teetered between the Republican and Democratic parties at the congressional and gubernatorial levels for about two decades, became overwhelmingly Democratic during the depres-

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[1] Edgar L. Hewett, "My Neighbors, the Pueblo Indians," *Art and Archeology*, XVI (July-August 1923), 10.

[2] Lansing B. Bloom, "The Governors of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (April 1935), 152–57. See also Dorothy Woodward and John H. Feth, *New Mexico — Land of Enchantment* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941); 77th Cong., 1st Sess., S. Doc. No. 91.

[3] Lansing B. Bloom, "Beginnings of Representative Government in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XXI (April 1946), 127.

[4] France V. Scholes, "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (July 1935), 195–229.

[5] As one father of New Mexico's Constitution wrote: "We [the Republicans] are sure to have a two-thirds majority in the convention, and we think we are better able to make a good constitution than the Democrats. We know they would not hold a nonpartisan convention if they were in the majority. To make it nonpartisan means that we would have to give away some of our strength, and I do not believe any political party can succeed by surrendering a part of its strength." Letter of T. B. Catron to Wm. H. H. Allison, June 28, 1910, as quoted in Thomas C. Donnelly, *The Government of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1947), p. 43.

sion and war years, and has remained mainly Democratic in the post-World War II era.[6] New Mexico has always voted for the winning presidential candidate. Since 1935, its congressional delegation has been solidly Democratic. The Republicans have elected governors in 1918, 1920, 1926, 1928, 1950, 1952, 1956, and 1960. The legislatures elected from statehood through 1930 were solidly Republican, except for the 1923 and 1925 sessions which saw Democratic majorities in the House; the legislatures elected from 1932 to date have been solidly Democratic, except in the 1952 election which gave the Republicans a one-vote control of the House.

Resources

First among the resources by which New Mexicans make a living should be listed federal military and related activities, which have expanded enormously in the last two decades. Los Alamos, for example, was a boy's school in 1940. Within a few years it became what David E. Lilienthal, as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, once called the most important spot in the world. Today it is a community of more than 13,000 persons — scientists and technical personnel, their wives, and a great number of children. (It is freely admitted that Los Alamos, even today, is somewhat isolated and that there is little to do but work and have children.) In Manzano Base and Sandia Base, Albuquerque has two of the seven A-bomb storage sites in the United States.[7]

Something new in history was seen when the first atomic bomb exploded at its test site near Alamogordo on July 16, 1945. And New Mexico was in for another surprise when it was discovered that approximately 68 per cent of the uranium ore reserves known to exist in the United States are within its borders.

Despite these assets, the mining industry seems to be in some difficulty. Potash is being over-produced and is facing rugged competition from Canadian fields; there has even been talk of the potash industry deserting Carlsbad entirely. The oil and gas industry, if not viewing the future with alarm, is none too pleased with what it sees ahead. Yet, in general, the future of New Mexico in relation to its natural resources looks bright. However, the trend is not a straight line upward: it is more like a roller-coaster built on a gradual upward slope.[8]

Water or its lack may be New Mexico's biggest problem. However, almost endless studies on the topic of water have produced what appear to be inconclusive results. Yet the state is growing. It may "just naturally" attract people. Its pleasant climate and comparatively cheap housing may eventually "catch on" with the aged, although at present it has the youngest population of any state.[9] The cold war may become colder or "hotter," or the need for "special weapons"

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[6] Charles B. Judah, *The Republican Party in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1949).

[7] Albuquerque *Tribune*, July 30, 1958, p. 1.

[8] William J. Parish in *New Mexico and Its Natural Resources — 1900–2000* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1959), p. 1.

[9] Ezra Geddes, *Aging Population in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1955).

NEW MEXICO

COUNTIES AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT (2 AT LARGE)

0 40 60 80

MILES

△ COUNTY SEATS

increase, or the demand for certain types of scientific investigation and production may increase. But always in the background lurks the problem — water!

The extreme contrast of per capita income by counties indicates another economic problem of New Mexico. In 1957, the people of Sandoval County averaged $499, while those of Los Alamos averaged $3,135.[10]

[10] Vincent T. Ximenes, *1957 Income by Counties in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Bureau of Business Research of the University of New Mexico, 1958), p. 16.

An over-all view of the state's assets is afforded in terms of land ownership and of finances. The federal government controls more than 44.6 per cent of the total area of New Mexico, while about 15 per cent of the land is owned and administered by the state. In the fiscal year 1939, federal loans and expenditures in New Mexico totaled less than $50 million; in 1956, about two-thirds of a billion dollars,[11] or perhaps 40 per cent of the state's gross product.[12] Preliminary estimates for the fiscal year 1960 indicate that federal expenditures will be $955 million; of this, about $405 million will be spent by the Atomic Energy Commission, $287.5 million by the armed forces, and $262.5 million by forty-one other federal departments and agencies. Adding nonduplicating state and local expenditures to the federal outlay, it seems likely that 50 per cent of New Mexico's gross product now originates in government.

Viewing economic realities, a considerable amount of business is noncompetitive in terms of prices. For instance, fair trade laws establish the minimum prices for alcholic beverages and cigarettes. Transportation, public utilities, and certain other enterprises use the state public service and corporation commissions to fix prices. Through licensing laws, many professional and trade groups have a good deal to say about money charges. Probably a fourth of the economic activities come within the protection of state laws prohibiting or limiting direct economic competition of various kinds. When activities, which are protected from direct price competition, are added to those paid for by government, probably only one-fourth of New Mexico's economy operates in terms of traditional free enterprise. The question may properly be asked if New Mexico does not have a kind of economic socialism for private gain.

Population

New Mexico's population increase has been quite uneven. Although it has tripled in the last four decades, its distribution throughout the state has shifted appreciably. For example, Bernalillo County in 1920 had 29,855 inhabitants, while in 1958 it had eight times that number. In the same period Lea County had multiplied by almost sixteen (from 3,545 to 56,200) while Union County lost nearly two-thirds of its people (from 16,680 to 6,000).

During the period of most spectacular growth, that since 1950, the population of fourteen counties has actually decreased. In another nine, the increase has been less than the excess of births over deaths; that is, there has been a net migration out of these counties. In only nine counties has there been a large population influx. Ranked in the order of their percentage increase, San Juan comes first, followed by Otero, Lea, Bernalillo, Valencia, McKinley, Chaves,

[11] For the fiscal year 1956, federal agencies spent $338,660,000 in New Mexico, Atomic Energy Commission contractors spent an additional $152,191,000, and the Department of Defense contractors probably spent an amount of similar size. Stanley J. Brasher, *The Federal Role in New Mexico's Economy* (Albuquerque: Bureau of Business Research of the University of New Mexico, 1957), p. 13.

[12] See Stanley J. Brasher, *Income and Product in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Bureau of Business Research of the University of New Mexico, 1957). There is no contradiction of the gross product with the distribution of personal income as cited in footnote 15 (Ximenes), for only direct government employment was included in the 27.9 per cent personal income figure while the 40 per cent includes direct federal payrolls plus prime contractors.

Luna, and Dona Ana. The development of the oil and gas industry accounts for the increase in Lea and San Juan counties; in McKinley and Valencia, the discovery of uranium deposits and the subsequent mining and milling operations are responsible; in Otero, the special-weapons program set up at the White Sands Proving Ground and Holloman Field has attracted military, scientific, and related personnel; neighboring Dona Ana County has shared in this development, but other factors of irrigated agriculture, New Mexico State University, and the growth of Las Cruces as a commercial center must be recognized; Chaves County has witnessed the expansion of Walker Air Force Base; and Luna County, which has made somewhat of an economic recovery since 1950, must be taken off the list of long-term growth counties, since its present population is smaller than it was in 1920. Bernalillo County, which contains Albuquerque (with an estimated population of more than 200,000 in 1960), presents a complex problem of population growth.[13]

The fundamental basis in the past for New Mexico politics has been a rural population which has emphasized individual initiative. In 1890, the population was 93.8 per cent rural; in 1910, 85.8 and in 1930, 74.8 per cent. But it is evident that an urban population is rapidly replacing the rural one, having grown from 33.2 per cent in 1940 to 50.2 in 1950, and 67 per cent in 1958.[14] In the early 1960's, New Mexico's people are expected to be three-fourths urban.

The movement away from agriculture is illustrated even more dramatically by the distribution of personal income. In 1957, 66.3 per cent of personal income was from private, non-farm sources and government contracting; 27.9 per cent came from government directly; only 5.8 per cent came from agricultural sources.[15]

Furthermore, the agricultural population is moving rapidly into the urban orbit, due to the expansion of the highways and roads, schools, radio and television, and the other things which break down the distinction between farm-ranch living and urbanization. The increased use of electricity perhaps best illustrates this point. By 1920, nearly all of New Mexico's city dwellers had electricity. Yet in 1935, when the Rural Electrification Administration came into existence, this was true of only 3.3 per cent of the farms. In 1945, the percentage had risen to 29.8; and in 1954 to 81.3. Although no figures are currently available, the percentage today is probably in the high 90's, for REA expansion has been both rapid and continuous. Still there are gaps to fill. For instance, only 38 per cent of New Mexico's farms had telephones in 1958, while the United States average was 60.3 per cent and the Mountain States average was 69 per cent.

One problem facing the state in the shift to metropolitan areas is the fact that the municipalities are not prepared for growth. The Bureau of Business

[13] Ralph L. Edgel, *New Mexico Population: Its Size and Its Changing Distribution* (Albuquerque: Bureau of Business Research of the University of New Mexico, 1958), pp. 3, 6–9.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[15] See O. V. Wells, "Agriculture in New Mexico," in *New Mexico and Its Natural Resources — 1900–2000* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1959), pp. 54–67, for a detailed survey of agricultural data. The data on income distribution appears in Ximenes, *op. cit.*, p. 13. See also footnote 12, *supra.*

Research of the University of New Mexico concludes that "it is fairly clear that most New Mexico municipalities are financially unable to provide the services expected of modern cities, that the over-all problem of city financing has never been attacked, that the financial procedures are archaic and confused, that the structure of revenues and expenditures is a make-shift arrangement which has been built on expediency, and that a complete overhauling is urgently needed

New Mexico's rapid population increase is causing a drastic shift in the to prevent civic decay and provide a sound basis for economic development." [16] ethnic composition. Unfortunately, comparable data are not available. It seems probable that 40 to 45 per cent of the population in 1930 was essentially Spanish-American. According to the 1950 census, 36.5 per cent had Spanish surnames. It seems likely that these will have diminished in the 1960 census count to about 25 per cent. There were 28,941 Indians in New Mexico in 1930, 34,510 in 1940, and 41,901 in 1950. There were about 56,000 in 1960, approximately 6 per cent of the estimated total population for that year.[17] Negroes constitute the only other significant ethnic group: they numbered but 8,408 in 1950; the number in 1960 was 17,063.

The political pattern of population influx appears to be this: (1) the rapid population increase of Albuquerque, which has made Bernalillo County a single metropolitan area, favors the Republicans; (2) the migration from Texas into "little Texas," the popular name for New Mexico's East Side counties, favors the Democrats; (3) the population movement into cities and towns in other areas may favor the Republicans.

Education

New Mexico is generous in its treatment of its young people, and ranks among the highest of all the states in its per capita expenditures for public education. As a result, the schools compare favorably with those in other states. The number of its educational employees per 10,000 people is 30 per cent greater than the average of the nation. This is in marked contrast to New Mexico's customary attitude toward government. The national average figure for noneducational state and local government employment is 11 per cent greater than the New Mexico total. The proportion of New Mexico's population employed in state-supported education — elementary, secondary, and higher — is greater than that of any of the other twelve western states. Only Utah has a larger proportion of its population employed in higher education, and only Montana and Wyoming have larger proportions at the elementary and secondary levels.[18]

New Mexico, despite its usual passion for politics, has been fairly successful in keeping its public educational system out of broad-scale political disputes.

[16] Arthur A. Blumenfeld, *Some Aspects of Municipal Finance in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Bureau of Business Research of the University of New Mexico, 1959), p. 14.

[17] New Mexico Indians gained the right to vote in *Trujillo v. Garley* (U.S. District Court for New Mexico, August 11, 1948, decision not reported). Indians who lived off reservations and paid *ad valorem* taxes voted prior to this decision, but not Indians on reservations. The Indians are voting both Democratic and Republican, with the Republicans apparently having a substantial margin. For an analysis, see Helen L. Peterson, "American Indian Political Participation," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCCXI (1957), 116–26.

[18] Arthur J. Blumenfeld, "Evaluation of Government Services in New Mexico," *New Mexico Business*, August 1959.

This may be due to the fact that equalization is mainly a technical, not a political, problem. The Emergency School Tax Act of 1935 established a sales tax — technically, a gross receipts tax — at the rate of 2 per cent on most transactions. This plus certain other taxes, all earmarked for the public schools, have kept pace, almost miraculously, with public school needs. Higher education also has been generally successful in keeping out of politics, although the disaccrediting of the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts[19] aroused considerable interest in the late 1930's and the early 1940's. In 1951, the legislature created the Board of Educational Finances, which has kept inter-university competition for funds within reasonable bounds.

The trend toward professionalization in education seems to be accelerating. A constitutional change, approved in 1958, replaced an elective state superintendent of public instruction with an elective State Board of Education which appoints the superintendent.

The outlook for the 1960's, however, is not encouraging. The 1961 legislature left the schools in a condition of serious financial crisis. This crisis may not be resolved for many years.

Consensus and Public Opinion

New Mexico's intricate political system has weathered quite well the population increases and shifts, the utilization of new resources, the vast differences in per capita income, the influx of government and military personnel — forces which have revolutionized life patterns in less than a decade-and-a-half. Apparently two different sets of political mores now exist side by side. The old system is based on a rural consensus, and it is this system which has upheld civil rights in New Mexico. A new system, based on urban public opinion, which is only now beginning to make itself felt, is destined to take over the politics of New Mexico.

A distinctive feature of New Mexico's politics is the Spanish-American bloc, which in fact does not bloc vote. Any interpretation of the state's politics in terms of, say, the New England pattern of candidate selection related to race, religion, and similar factors can only obscure what goes on in New Mexico. Of course there is in the state a balancing process in the selection of candidates. Certainly there are many communities with a strong preponderance of Spanish-Americans. Such communities have their own particular needs and make their own particular political demands. Yet there is no Catholic or Spanish-American politics as such, but rather, only traditional Democratic and Republican politics. The Spanish-Americans belong to both parties and split on every issue; and this is their strength as well as their weakness. They have been and are much in-

[19] William H. Edwards, "Politics and Higher Education in New Mexico," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, XXVIII (October 1942), 452–64; and "The New Mexico Boards of Regents," *New Mexico Quarterly*, XI (February 1941), 5–24. New Mexico A & M became New Mexico State University, at Las Cruces, when a constitutional amendment providing for the name change was ratified by the people at the general election in 1960. New Mexico State University has had such rapid growth recently that its boast — that it will surpass the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, as the outstanding university of the state — is now taken seriously by all.

terested in politics, which often is both a continuous vocation and avocation. There is a political hierarchy, of which the Spanish-Americans are much more aware than the Anglos. This hierarchy, from the precinct on up, it admired by the Spanish-Americans. To be a part of it confers prestige. Therefore there is a continuous conflict — fought out with verbal ferocity — among the "ins" and "outs." The Anglos have a concept that politics is dirty and therefore have little interest in the political hierarchy, unless it is directly and personally useful for gaining office or payola.

In Spanish-American areas, the Anglos often keep out of precinct politics. However, if an Anglo should want to get into the precinct game, he is welcomed by the Spanish-Americans. An Anglo vote is just as good as any other vote. In predominantly Spanish-American communities or counties, the superior political leader of either group may strive for a position in the political hierarchy above the precinct level. Both Spanish-American and Anglo politicians are "realists." They recognize and work with political leaders from each other's areas. They want any support.

The Spanish-American concept of the family is both broader and somewhat different from the Anglo concept. As developed historically, the Spanish-American feels an intense personal responsibility for family and friends. Recognizing this, the Anglo politician usually has cooperated actively in seeing to it that the Spanish-American politician gets his share of the patronage when he wants to put his family or friends on the public payroll. The Spanish-American finds prestige in public employment, even in low-paying positions. Between jobs of equal pay, the Spanish-American almost always will accept public employment, while the Anglo accepts private employment.

These are broad generalizations: the actual working out of these political accommodations is infinitely more complicated. But the fact is that the Spanish-Americans and the Anglos over many generations have continuously worked out successful operating arrangements to the satisfaction of the politically ambitious in both groups. The patterns of accommodation are stable. The essential fact is that votes count. In such a situation, it is certain that any introduction of "racial" issues, McCarthyism, and the like, would upset the aspirations of many politicians, whether Anglo or Spanish-American.

New Mexico's tradition of patience, individual initiative, and civil liberties makes sense to all. Furthermore, it makes sense in terms of political ambitions. There is nothing to be gained from pitting one bloc against another. Everything is to be gained from working with the political machinery that has been functioning smoothly for many decades.

New patterns of public opinion have begun to form in the urban areas. In 1920, Bernalillo County, which contains Albuquerque, had about 8 per cent of the population of New Mexico; in 1950, about 21 per cent; in 1958, about 26 per cent; and by the middle 1960's, it is expected to have about one-third of the state's inhabitants. The increase has been so rapid that Albuquerque no longer can be considered within the traditional political consensus of New Mexico.

This fact is indicated by its unfavorable and indifferent attitude toward the state legislature.

After each legislative session since 1955, a poll was taken for the Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico. The questions and the conditions of polling were kept as nearly identical as possible. The results appear in Table I.

TABLE I

Albuquerque Opinion Concerning the New Mexico Legislature

	PERCENTAGE			
	1955	*1957*	*1959*	*1961*
Good	7	16	10	9
Fair	16	32	32	24
Bad	50	22	25	35
Don't know or withholding opinion	27	30	33	32

SOURCE: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico.

The people of Albuquerque tend to show little concern for each other. For instance, Albuquerque has not started work on an urgently needed system of flood control; and for about a decade the comparatively well-to-do apparently have deliberately opposed flood control plans which would provide protection for the less well-to-do on the basis that taxes would be increased.

Furthermore, the people of Albuquerque seem to be downright fearful, due in part to the world situation. A poll taken immediately after Russia released its first sputnik in 1957 showed that most Albuquerqueans were solely concerned with their own individual safety and had little, if any, interest in the welfare of the entire United States.[20] The same fright was evident in May 1960, when the Paris summit conference collapsed.

That there is some racial discrimination in the city is evident. The following newspaper report in 1959 is informative: "Albuquerque Bridge Club members have voted by a one-vote margin not to exclude Negroes from playing in club games."[21] This statement must be viewed in the context that there are very few Negroes in Albuquerque. There seems to be more discrimination against political candidates with Spanish surnames in Anglo areas than there is against candidates with Anglo surnames in Spanish-American areas.

On the basis of interviews accompanying public opinion polling, it can be said that newcomers to Albuquerque know little and care less about the New Mexico political tradition. And, on the basis of extensive interviewing of New Mexico legislators from counties other than Bernalillo, it can be said that most of them know little and care little about the problems of Albuquerque. An ur-

[20] Frederick C. Irion, "Initial American Reaction to the First Russian Satellite: A Report of Interviews at Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 5–7, 1957," *Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Society*, VII (1957), 70.

[21] Albuquerque *Tribune*, August 5, 1959, final edition, p. 1.

ban concentration of Albuquerque's size simply does not come within the traditional framework of New Mexico politics. This is true to a greater or lesser extent of all the rapidly growing urban areas in New Mexico. Their inhabitants are parts of a rootless, traditionless urban mass.

The press reflects the development of urban opinion. The Albuquerque *Journal,* which has the largest number of statewide readers, consistently deplores the control of government by special interests. Although this morning paper classifies itself as independent, it is editorially generally Republican. Some Democrats tend to blame the *Journal* for the propensity of Albuquerqueans to vote overwhelmingly Republican in the race for governor.

The Albuquerque *Tribune* and the Santa Fe *New Mexican,* both evening papers, also have considerable statewide circulation. Self-styled independents, they are usually Democratic editorially, and join with the *Journal* in opposition to special-interest influence in the legislature. Although there has been no serious clash between urban and rural interests up to 1960, the symptoms are developing which may make such a conflict inevitable. The New Mexico political consensus emphasizes patience; the urban masses demand quick and decisive governmental action in all areas. It stresses individual initiative; urbanization requires collective action. The New Mexico political consensus favors civil liberties; in the growth of urbanization with its tensions, there is a possibility of the development of attitudes not unsympathetic to McCarthyism, "racism," and the like.

Nominations and Elections

Although New Mexico politicians usually do not think in terms of urbanization, the depression and the New Deal taught them that change was coming. Governor John E. Miles, in his inaugural address in 1939, said that "the land of *mañana,* the land of *poco tiempo,* is fast becoming the land of hurry and bustle" and added a plea that care be taken to preserve New Mexico's picturesqueness.[22] The challenge of change was met by a purely political device. In the next year, 1940, a primary system of nominations replaced the convention system which had been in effect since New Mexico became a state in 1912. The law required nominations by direct closed primary of all elective officers except those of municipalities and those chosen by special elections to fill vacancies.

In 1948 the New Mexico legislature adopted a rather complex pre-primary nominating system. The issue was referred to the voters at the 1950 general election. When the constitutionally required 40 per cent of the voters did not go to the polls the referendum failed and the law went into effect. The pre-primary system survived two stormy election periods, 1952 and 1954. Both parties then pledged to return the direct primary, and the 1955 legislature redeemed the pledge.[23] Since then, New Mexico has had a primary system although the legislature in 1957 and 1959 gave serious attention to the possibility of a return to a convention system for nominations.

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[22] Santa Fe *New Mexican,* January 2, 1939, p. 1.

[23] Charles B. Judah, *Aspects of the Nominating Systems in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1957).

Election procedures and the conduct of elections have been somewhat less than perfect. A spectacular climax was reached in 1952 when U.S. senatorial candidate Patrick J. Hurley challenged incumbent Democratic Senator Dennis Chavez' election. The faults and difficulties with New Mexico's election laws and procedures were aired in detail in the local press and were given national publicity. Senator Chavez was eventually sustained, but not until a number of voluminous Senate documents were released.[24] Since then, election procedures have improved somewhat. The wide-scale adoption of voting machines, it was hoped, would go far in improving matters. However, a not untypical situation, as reported in the Albuquerque *Journal* of May 19, 1960, in regard to the primary election of that month, is as follows; "A recheck of both voting machines used in [one voting division] of Bernalillo County . . . revealed [many] mistakes by election officials in copying vote totals from the machines to result sheets."

Party Finance, Organization, and Leaders

In his textbook on New Mexico government, Thomas C. Donnelly stated: The party in power in Santa Fe customarily levies a regular monthly assessment (usually two per cent) on the salaries of all politically appointed employees to finance its activities, and special assessments are sometimes made in campaign years. Contributions from those who are receiving, or hope to receive, favors from the State administration help to swell the funds of the party in power. The party out of power has to depend largely on the contributions of its adherents, and aid sent it from national party headquarters. Contributions from the candidates and their friends also are an important source of funds to both parties.[25]

A Republican was governor from 1951 to 1954 and from 1957 to 1958. This marks a transition period in which the collection of funds from state employees became less direct. In 1959, when a Democrat became governor, the party tried to institute a 1 per cent payroll levy. At least partly because of public protest, this compulsory assessment was cancelled. A system of "voluntary" contributions to the Democratic party was inaugurated in October 1959, but it is not clear exactly how it worked.

When the Democrats were not in the governor's office, a system of "note signing" was developed by about ten Albuquerque Democrats who controlled the entire state Democratic organization. These note-signing Democrats would

[24] *Senator from New Mexico. Report of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to the Committee on Rules and Administration, Eighty-third Congress, Second Session, Relative to the Contested Election of November 4, 1952.* Report 1081, Part 1 (majority), Part 2 (minority). Also published under the title of *Senator from New Mexico* were the *Hearings . . . on the Contest of Patrick J. Hurley v. Dennis Chavez . . . April 27, May 1, 7, 11, 27 and August 12, 1953* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1953).

[25] Donnelly, *The Government of New Mexico*, p. 85. Somewhat more graphic detail is supplied by an editorial from the Carlsbad *Current Argus* as reported in an Albuquerque *Journal* editorial of October 9, 1948: "In November of last year [1947] state liquor inspectors called on liquor dealers in Eddy county for $100 contributions to the Democratic party. Carlsbad liquor dealers raised a fuss over having to kick in $100 apiece in a non-election year and some of the liquor boys even refused to pay. But most of them . . . kicked in with the money. The $100 entitled the liquor dealers to membership in a so-called 'State Democratic' Club. But now it develops that the membership cards — although sold last November — expire this month [October]. And the state liquor men are back putting the bite on the defenseless liquor dealers for campaign contributions again."

borrow money for campaign purposes. After the campaign was over, tickets would be sold to banquets, which would be heavily attended by Democratic office-holders in various state and local agencies still under Democratic control. Banquets could be held as often as necessary to pay off any debt. Contributions from businesses and other activities were both solicited and welcomed.

The Republicans have complained consistently about their inability to raise enough funds. Party financing, at least from the Republican viewpoint, has been heavily in favor of the Democrats.

New Mexico, like other states, has its quota of ineffectual and unenforced laws concerning campaign expenditures, reporting of expenditures, and the like. A crisis may be developing at the heart of the political process, for it is necessary to raise huge sums to finance political activities. Lobbies always are available to supply money to politicians — for a price. This problem must be faced and solved, if our democracy is to survive. In order to get the public interest adequately represented in politics, it may be that public funds should be used, in substantial amounts, to support political parties and activities.

The organization of political parties in New Mexico can be summarized briefly. The precinct, county, and state echelons function in accordance with tradition. Party rules and regulations usually are vague and ambiguous and therefore can be interpreted in any way a group of "insiders" wishes — and there is always a group of insiders in any political meeting. The New Mexico Assembly on State Government (jointly sponsored by the American Assembly of Columbia University and the University of New Mexico) found:

> New Mexico's party system is unhealthy. . . . Parties adopt platforms that reflect few or no policy differences between them and that result in empty statements of purpose. The parties' candidates, having no meaningful platforms on which to stand, tend to run on their personal platforms. This situation destroys party lines, discourages party responsibility, and makes party discipline almost impossible. Unless parties become accountable to those who support them, their members have no remedy for inaction or irresponsible conduct.[26]

Issues usually are conspicuously missing in the race for governor.[27] Yet in a way, New Mexico's whole political attitude is "mature." It has developed "permanent peace" on issues which tend to divide the United States, its regions, and many of the states into hostile and contending groups. Perhaps the reason that politics in New Mexico is a constant preoccupation, is that it has been mainly a game, possibly even a mania, with so many of its citizens.[28]

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[26] See Charles B. Judah and Frederick C. Irion, *The 47th State — An Appraisal of Its Government* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1959 edition), p. 61.

[27] From the viewpoint of New Mexico politics, there are issues. In 1950 Edwin L. Mechem (R.) remarked that "the sole requirement to run on the dinero-crat ticket is to make black appear white." Albuquerque *Journal*, October 20, 1950. His election that year broke the twenty-year Democratic control of the governorship. The contest between Mechem and the Democrats still goes on: Mechem ran against the incumbent Democratic governor in 1960, and defeated him.

[28] "In the 'thirties and 'forties the saying was prevalent in New Mexico that the problem of the state was not the textbook category of non-voting and indifference; it was rather to keep the New Mexican from voting twice in the same election. This was not said in his disparagement; it was said to indicate the seriousness with which he took his politics." Frank H. Jonas, "Western Politics and the 1956 Elections," *Western Political Quarterly*, X (March, 1957), p. 90.

Even if New Mexicans are not much concerned with policy issues at state and local levels, can this same disinterest apply to national issues? Most certainly the federal government is fundamentally important to New Mexico, since federal expenditures account for so large a share of the state's gross product. A description of the voting behavior[29] of the United States senators and representatives, elected at large[30] since the 1940 census when the state first gained two representatives, may be of significance.

Bronson Cutting,[31] Republican, was appointed to the United States Senate for 1927–28, was elected in 1929, and served until his death in 1935. He has been perhaps the only radical elected to important public office by New Mexico since it achieved statehood. Dennis Chavez, Democrat, was appointed to take Cutting's place and has been elected to the Senate ever since; his current term will expire in 1964. Chavez has an outstanding liberal record. His career, prior to entering the Senate, showed a decided sympathy with the underdog and with the working man,[32] and this sympathy has continued unabated.

Carl A. Hatch, Democrat, was appointed to the Senate in 1933. He was elected and re-elected until he did not choose to run in 1948. He was an outstanding reformer, in the best sense of the term, and sponsor of the Hatch Acts. His successor, Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat, has had an outstanding liberal record, and has been consistently recognized as one of the most important policy-makers in the United States.[33]

Antonio M. Fernandez, Democrat, was first elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1942, where he remained until his death in 1956. He was very conservative. He was replaced by Joseph M. Montoya, Democrat, elected in 1957 and re-elected in 1958 and 1960. Montoya's record is liberal.

Mrs. Georgia Lusk, Democrat, served in the House in 1947–48. Her record was liberal-conservative. John E. Miles, Democrat, who served in 1949–50, was very conservative, as was John J. Dempsey, Democrat, who took his seat in the House in 1951, where he remained until his death in 1958. Thomas G. Morris, Democrat, followed in 1959; his record has been that of a liberal-conservative.

New Mexicans certainly do not express a consistent attitude toward the federal government through their choice of congressmen. Apparently they saw nothing inconsistent during 1947–56 in having two outstanding liberals as senators and two conservatives as representatives. During the period 1951–56, the contrast could not have been more marked, for Senators Anderson and Chavez, Democrats, usually followed New Deal-Fair Deal policies while Representatives

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[29] The following analysis is based on the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*'s party unity rating system, on the *New Republic*'s liberal-conservative rankings, on voting records, and similar data.

[30] A 1959 legislative enactment provided that U.S. Representatives shall be elected by position. When he files, each shall designate the position number for which he is candidate.

[31] Patricia Cadigan Armstrong, *A Portrait of Bronson Cutting Through His Papers, 1910–1927* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1959).

[32] Edward Lahart, "The Early Career of Dennis Chavez" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1959).

[33] See "These 14 Men Will Shape Your Future," *Nation's Business*, XLIII (March 1955), 85. Senator Anderson was chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Dempsey and Fernandez, also Democrats, usually followed conservative Republican policies.

As long as officials pay quick and personal attention to each individual matter, however small, brought to their attention, they are considered favorably. When they are looking after national and international affairs in Washington, the voter tends to regard them as statesmen. And who would tell a statesman what do do about "Big Issues"? Are not statesmen paid to look after "Big Issues"? And so the voter, in good conscience and without the remotest thought that he is being inconsistent, can send ultra-conservatives and liberals, all of them Democrats, to Washington at the same elections.

Indeed, the words "liberal" and "conservative," which are used here in the national sense of these terms, have little meaning in New Mexico. Here a "conservative" is a person with "sound" judgment; a "liberal" is a person with unusual ideas. Because he introduced international and national issues into his campaigns, which was considered unusual in New Mexico elections, Patrick J. Hurley, Hoover's former Secretary of War, was designated as "liberal" by many New Mexicans.

Pressure Groups

Since policy issues are largely taboo and since there are few distinctions made between liberals and conservatives (as defined in a national sense), pressure groups have assumed whatever leadership there may be in economic and social matters. Few New Mexico politicians have any ethical or philosophical concept of a general public interest or of a general public welfare. The politicians would say, perhaps, that life is composed of competing interests which owe little or nothing to each other, and that survival is the private affair of each individual and of each group. For the stereotype politician, no question arises concerning the right of each group to public aid. The function of politics and government, in his view, is to determine whether the aid sought is reasonable and to fix the amount granted in accordance with the power of the group seeking the aid.

There is little or no conflict between the New Mexico tradition of individualism and lobbying. Lobbying is looked upon merely as a way to aid the tradition of individualism, for individualism does not imply that there should be a hands-off policy toward government. Rather, it means that a person should attempt to exploit all available resources, including government, in specific relation to his own needs. As government gets bigger, it becomes increasingly difficult for the individual to reach and handle the bureaucracy for his own benefit. Therefore, he uses a lobby to force government to grant the ends he desires. And politicians are more apt to respond to lobbies than to reason.

Now if all of this sounds grim, it must be remembered that pressure groups are not always invincible. Indeed, they can be ineffective on occasion or they can exaggerate a bit. For example, one may read in the presidential address to the New Mexico Wool Growers Association in 1953:

The nation's sheep industry has come through twenty years of uncertainty due to the policies of the national administration. . . . By their votes last November fourth, our people made it clear that they want a new approach to all the na-

tion's problems. . . . The Republican Party was but the vehicle through which the American people wrote, with their votes, a new Declaration of Independence. . . .[34]

Also, things that are accomplished may be less than world-shaking. For instance, the *New Mexico Stockman* reported that a bill providing for the cooking of garbage by hog feeders was approved by the livestock industry and then (apparently somewhat as an afterthought) by the New Mexico legislature in 1955.[35] And when the stockmen want to talk solemnly on other matters, a legislator is apt to remind them that they were successful in securing the adoption of their "hot lunch for hogs" program.

One must remember that agriculture produces less than 6 per cent of the personal income in New Mexico and then consider the following report in the *New Mexico Stockman* in 1957:

Your association [New Mexico Cattle Growers Association] and agriculture in general had better representation in the recent State Legislature than in any time in recent years. Of the 32 members of the State Senate, 14 were members of the association, and of the 66 members of the House of Representatives, 23 were members of the association.[36]

This is in sharp contrast to the representation accorded the public schools. The *New Mexico School Review* stated in 1957 that "three members who consistently championed the cause of education, two in the House and one in the Senate, who deserve the undying gratitude of all educators, are currently engaged in the teaching profession." [37]

It is the New Mexico Education Association, however, not the Cattle Growers Association, which is referred to as the most powerful lobby in Santa Fe. It is both forthright and vocal. In 1959, the NMEA stated:

It is evident at this time that additional sources of revenue are going to have to be found to support governmental services in New Mexico. . . . The Interim Finance Committee of the Legislature must face the issue squarely and come up with a recommendation in 1961 to increase revenue for state services.[38]

However, the Legislative Finance Committee failed to give adequate consideration to school finances; and, at least partially as a consequence, the 1961 legislature left the schools in a condition of serious financial crisis. It may be that the lobbies referred to in the next two paragraphs are actually the strongest in New Mexico at present.

The railroad lobby, in cooperation with certain others, formerly dominated New Mexico politics. Although this lobby is still important, it has taken a back seat in recent years. Today the big-spending lobbies are those representing the

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[34] "President's Annual Message," *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the New Mexico Wool Growers Association* (1953), p. 2.

[35] "Livestock Industry Recommendations Are Generaly Approved by State Legislature," *New Mexico Stockman*, XX (March 1955), 2.

[36] "President's Annual Report," *New Mexico Stockman*, XXII (April 1957), 20.

[37] "Legislative Windup," *New Mexico School Review*, XXXVI (April 1957), 11.

[38] Charles H. Wood (executive secretary of the New Mexico Education Association), "An Appraisal of the 1959 Legislative Session," *New Mexico School Review* XXXVIII (April 1959), 3.

alcoholic beverage industries and the trucking industry. It is notable that the alcoholic beverage industries have a New Mexico liquor fair trade law that they point to as a model for other states. The trucking industry has what is popularly known as the "big truck law," a favorable arrangement for truck weights in its view, and what the industry considers to be a desirable tax structure.

Two other strong lobbies are the highly respected New Mexico Taxpayers' Association and the New Mexico Oil and Gas Association. About the only complaint of the former is that it wishes that there could be some efficiency introduced into state government. The Oil and Gas Association thinks the industry's taxation and regulation is excellent, although a few grumbles are heard every now and then to avoid the appearance of smug satisfaction.

The labor unions have perhaps the weakest lobbies in the state. The Catholic church in New Mexico follows the 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and will enter the political arena in behalf of labor when it is felt necessary. For example, a proposed constitutional amendment in 1948 would have banned the closed shop. Edwin V. Byrne, Archbishop of Santa Fe, strongly urged its rejection.[39] The amendment was defeated. In 1959, right-to-work legislation, with powerful financial backing, failed to get through the legislature either in the form of law or as a proposed constitutional amendment. Except in certain specific labor matters, the Catholic church in New Mexico almost always keeps out of politics.[40] Certain Protestant denominations, especially in "Little Texas" (the New Mexico East Side counties), have become quite aggressive politically.

Although the Penitentes have been declining in influence recently, they are still a factor in politics. Politicians have estimated that the Penitentes, at one time, controlled perhaps 3,000 or more votes in San Miguel County alone; and where the margin in the governor's race may be less than this (as it was in 1959), the influence of any group with a bloc vote is significant. It is interesting to note that "in the village of Abiquiu, New Mexico, one chapter house is now known as the 'Morada Republicana,' and the other as the 'Morada Democrata.' We see that the Penitentes have taken on the color of American political parties." [41]

Many lobbies are intimately related to government, perhaps to the extent that they can be considered ex-officio parts of the governmental machinery. For example, in 1949 the representatives of the New Mexico Bankers Association reported:

We were instrumental in the defeat of House Bill No. 246, which was a bill to define and regulate the business of industrial finance companies, and which was

[39] "As one desirous of industrial peace and desirous to aid in the prosperity of my State and of my Country, as a friend of the workingman, I cannot approve this proposed amendment, which, if it does not outlaw unionism, deals it a death blow. Rather it seems to me that it should be opposed by men of good will and peace, who reverence the individual dignity of man and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States." Albuquerque *Leader*, June 2, 1948, p. 1.

[40] A possible exception was a 1955 enactment (Ch. 51; HB 167), later nullified in the courts, providing that the board of county commissioners could contract with busline operators for the transportation of pupils attending schools other than state public schools.

[41] From a manuscript in the library of New Mexico Highlands University. Scholars seriously interested in the Penitentes may obtain access to this material by application to the librarian.

a vicious one from the standpoint of banking. Our attorney . . . and the State Bank Examiner worked in cooperation with the member banks to defeat this bill, and were successful in so doing.[42]

Lobbies meet some opposition. That government should not be turned over to the lobbies is a favorite theme of the Albuquerque *Journal*, the Albuquerque *Tribune* and the Santa Fe *New Mexican*. It is doubtful if these voices in the wilderness of an increasingly collective society can have much influence in such matters.

The New Mexico Legislature

The struggle of the legislature in New Mexico has been to secure freedom from the governor's control. Because of his power to appoint legislators to jobs, the legislature was more or less subservient to the executive until a law became effective January 1, 1945, which forbade such practices. Since then, the legislature has become increasingly independent: but almost to the degree that it has become free, it has sought to escape freedom by delegating powers to the governor and by refusing to assume duties which it alone should perform. An analysis of the various factors influencing legislative conduct will bear out the fact that the legislature refuses to use its powers on a broad scale for constructive purposes.

The first five legislatures, 1913 through 1921, were Republican. In 1923 and 1925, the Senate was Republican and the House, Democratic. From 1927 through 1931, both houses were again Republican. From the Democratic landslide in the election of 1932 to the present, the legislature has been solidly Democratic, except in 1953 when the Republicans had a one-seat majority in the House.

The New Mexico legislature meets for 60 consecutive calendar days, from early January into March, in odd-numbered years. Perhaps its salient characteristic is its ability to attract outstanding persons. The honor of being a legislator in New Mexico appears to be greater than that in many other states. Their age distribution varies considerably from session to session. They come from a wide range of occupations, those from agricultural backgrounds usually constituting the largest group. Each session usually has quite a few lawyers, but, in marked contrast with Congress and the legislatures of many other states, the legal profession is far from dominant.

The New Mexico constitution, which became effective in 1912, provided for twenty-four senatorial and thirty representative districts and included a rigid system of apportionment. The 1941 legislature proposed a revision, but this was rejected. Another proposal by the 1949 legislature was adopted by the voters, apparently on a "better-than-nothing" basis.[43] Through this constitutional amendment, each county except Los Alamos was assigned one state senator. By a complicated law revising county classification, Los Alamos was granted a

[42] New Mexico Bankers Association, *Proceedings*, 38th Annual Convention, April 7–9, 1949, p. 50.

[43] Inez Bushner Gill, *Legislative Apportionment and Congressional Districting in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1953).

senator in 1955.[44] The same year a reapportionment amendment, still in effect, was adopted by a vote of 18,475 to 12,881. Each county retained one senator. The House was increased from fifty-five to sixty-six, and the multi-county election districts were abolished. Each county was given at least one representative, Bernalillo (containing Albuquerque) receiving nine.[45] The legislature may reapportion the House after each census, but each county shall receive at least one representative.

The rural overrepresentation in the legislature is obvious. In the Senate, approximately two-thirds of the counties have a total population less than that of Bernalillo; these essentially rural counties have twenty-one of the Senate's thirty-two votes, while Bernalillo has but one. In the House, the urban-rural disproportion is less blatant but still substantial. Bernalillo County had one representative for about 27,700 people in 1959; Chaves County had one for about 16,000; and the range was downward, nine counties having one representative each where the population varied from 2,200 to 6,500.

Under these circumstances, the right of the people to initiate legislation directly might be of some advantage. Unfortunately, the citizens of New Mexico cannot initiate or propose any law except through the legislature. Nor can they recall public officials. There is, however, a provision for a popular referendum on laws enacted by the legislature. But this provision is rendered almost meaningless by removing from its scope, by the constitution and by judicial interpretation, laws providing for public health, peace, or safety, and related matters. The only recent use of the referendum came in 1948 when a measure failed to prevent a law providing for a pre-primary nominating system from going into effect.

New Mexico finances its public services (including roads, health, education, and welfare services) from state revenues[46] to a greater extent than does any other state.[47] The New Mexico legislature traditionally has solved its appropriation problems through the device of earmarking funds, which by 1950 accounted for an estimated 85 to 90 per cent of all expenditures. The general appropriations act (traditionally designated as House Bill 300) comprising 10 to 15 per cent of the funds, was unearmarked, and therefore gave the legislature a little leeway in financial matters.

In 1951 a Legislative Council composed of state senators and representatives was created. This Council made the basic decision not to consider major policy questions but to direct the Council Service, its research agency. The Council Service prepared many reports of a minor nature and a few on larger issues; but

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[44] Ch. 4, *Laws of 1955*, SB 1; 15-43-3.1.

[45] An analysis of the changes created by the 1955 reapportionment is to be found in Fredrick C. Irion, *Regular Session of the 1955 New Mexico Legislature* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1955), pp. 37-40.

[46] In 1957, $194,368,000. With local government revenue added, the total was $258,937,000. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *State and Local Government Finances in 1957*, 1957 Census of Governments Advance Releases No. 8 (February 1959), p. 57.

[47] Inez B. Gill (legislative fiscal analyst, State of New Mexico), "The Natural Resource Industries as Producers and Users of State and Local Revenue," in *New Mexico and Its Natural Resources — 1900-2000* (Albuquerque: Division of Government Research of the University of New Mexico, 1959), pp. 36-37.

neither the Council nor the Council Service ever came to grips with major problems.

It had been obvious to all, at least since World War II, that financial matters in New Mexico could bear some attention. Shortly before the general election of 1954, Will Harrison, the leading political columnist in the state, called attention to the fact that tax returns were falsified, and tax collections very low, probably 35 per cent under what should be collected.[48]

In 1955, an interim Legislative Public Finance Study Committee was created. As a result of its work, the 1957 legislature passed laws de-earmarking a number of revenue sources, straightened out the auditing function, and created the Department of Finance and Administration (which gave the executive an adequate centralized over-all administrative agency). The legislature also established its interim finance committee on a permanent basis as the Legislative Finance Committee, composed of four representatives and three senators. The Committee got into a prolonged investigation of the adjutant general and its report to the 1959 legislature,[49] while not without merit, failed to get at critical matters: its report to the 1961 legislature was likewise very weak.

In January 1959, a Democratic governor took over from his Republican predecessor. At the same time the Department of Finance and Administration, charged with preparing the executive budget document, changed almost its entire personnel, as did the Bureau of Revenue, the principal tax collecting agency of the state. The executive department, then, was not able to provide much help in budgetary matters to the legislature, which began its session that same month. This 1959 legislature saw a thoroughgoing shake-up in the House Appropriations and Finance Committee and some other changes in related House and Senate committees. Extensive hearings were held on appropriations and financial matters. But testimony and evidence presented at these hearings had almost nothing to do with the way in which the general appropriations act was prepared. It has been argued that the manner of handling financial matters by the legislature penalizes efficient agencies. Whether or not this be true is an open question, for such concepts as the performance budget (which is a part of law) have never been put effectively into practice. There is scarcely any way to judge administrative effectiveness from financial data under the procedures followed by the legislature session after session.

The general appropriations act was produced in chaos in 1959. After the legislature adjourned in March, certain problems became apparent: (1) The public schools and other state agencies probably would need new revenue sources

[48] Albuquerque *Tribune*, November 1, 1954, p. 2. He reported sarcastically: "New Mexico business is in an awful shape! Nearly half of all the establishments in the State are suffering along on a gross income of less than $500 a month. Assuming that all these places don't hire anybody, don't pay rent, or have any other large operating items, it means that almost half of the business firms in the State are going along on less than $100 a month profit for the operators. The plight of the poor businessmen is shown in the report of the Bureau of Revenue. . . . If that's true, they could do better by setting up shop shining shoes on busy corners. . . . [A] veteran finance officer of the Bureau of Revenue said the study indicated that the State is missing about 35 per cent of the sales tax that should be collected."

[49] *Report and Recommendations of the Legislative Finance Committee to the Twenty-Fourth Legislature, State of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: January 1959).

in the near future. (2) Some formalized system, probably based on a written procedures manual prepared by the staff of the Legislative Finance Committee, would have to be adopted as a guide to the 1961 legislature as to how to go about writing a general appropriations act. (3) The condition of tax collections was far from desirable. For example, probably more than 100,000 persons failed to file the required state income tax forms; of these, a good many probably did not owe any income tax, but the smallest estimate of outright violators was 10,000. There was serious violation of the sales tax law. The producers of uranium were, with some exceptions, openly ignoring the one-half of one per cent severance tax. (4) The Bureau of Revenue, the principal tax collecting agency of the state, was the largest area of spoils appointments; and, according to the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, the Bureau was guilty of "utter mismanagement and inefficiency." [50]

Members of the Legislative Finance Committee, divided along party and factional lines, got along well together early in 1959 by the expedient of declining to consider most important financial matters. Indeed, in the summer, the proposition was discussed as to whether committee hearings on financial matters should be abolished in the 1961 legislature! The arguments for this proposition were that committee hearings failed to develop useful information on financial matters, that administrative agencies lied to the legislators, and that nothing ever came out of such hearings anyway. By the autumn of 1959, important financial matters could no longer be set aside and the Legislative Finance Committee was torn apart by internal strife. Any hope of constructive accomplishment was all but abandoned. Yet in the long haul, despite all problems (including both legislative and administrative chaos at times), New Mexico was in excellent financial condition. A balanced budget, often with a small surplus, has been the rule for many years. Legislative complacency has been based on success.

But what of the 1960's? Barring outright luck, governments in New Mexico were in for serious financial troubles. But let the future take care of itself was the attitude of many politicos.

Trends

New Mexico's politicians have lived in a mild euphoria since the end of World War II. Success, in terms of a balanced budget, came with ease. The price of success may have been excessively high, for the solution of large issues seldom has been sought. New Mexico's balanced budget has been credited to the political acumen of her politicians. But, under existing conditions, how could anything less than a balanced budget have been accomplished? With federal expenditures of billions of dollars; with about two-thirds of the known uranium resources of the nation within New Mexico's boundaries; with the expansion of the oil and gas industry, what would be expected except prosperity?

[50] Editorial, August 16, 1959, p. 8. In addition, the *New Mexico School Review*, XXXIX (September 1959), 3, reports: "A large part of our population feels that if one can get by without paying a full share of taxes, then do it. Even high state officials and legislators admit they pay only what they have to pay in taxes, and that if they can get by with less than their share, they do so. The same attitude often is displayed by lessees of state trust lands, who battle vigorously to avoid paying a fair rental."

In addition, there is a great potential for the development of tourist trade in New Mexico, because of geographic location and latent recreational opportunities.

But consideration must be given to how New Mexico handles situations in which good fortune does not automatically favor the state. Highway building provides a good example. New Mexico has tried only to meet the minimum federal specifications to receive federal matching funds; and minimum federal specifications are minimums. Controversy in and around the Highway Commission has been recognized as a regular condition. The citizen in 1946 could read in his newspaper about two commissioners quitting in a dispute with the governor.[51] In August 1959, he could read how the lieutenant governor wanted a special session of the legislature to investigate highway matters.[52] Hearings of June 12–23, 1961, before the Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program of the United States House of Representatives revealed incompetence and payola in the New Mexico highway program which gave New Mexico the dubious honor of having perhaps the worst highway program of any of the fifty states. It is all there to read in the House document called *Highway Construction Practices in the State of New Mexico* (known as the Blatnik report to all New Mexicans).

Another problem exists in the area of public welfare. Certain counties, especially in the northern part of the state, have come to constitute a "perpetual" depression area — one of the few in the United States. This fact was recognized in 1955 when a Legislative Welfare Investigating Committee was established. This Committee made a number of recommendations, some quite technical and some almost grandiose; and these recommendations were rejected, almost in their entirety, by the 1957 legislature. Possibly the public investment of $15 to $25 million a year for a decade in these areas, especially to improve the excellent but undeveloped recreational facilities, might be what is needed.[53] Unless private investment becomes quite active in these depressed areas, it may be that public expenditure to attract the tourist trade would be an excellent investment.[54]

In any rating system, the state government is far from a failure. Yet, in regard to most important matters which require creative solutions, New Mexico is not a leader. The legislature has usually proved diligent in small matters and has evolved competent, often excellent, solutions. For instance, 1959 amendments to the New Mexico pure food and drug act made that law perhaps the best of any state.

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[51] Albuquerque *Journal*, October 30, 1946, p. 1.

[52] Albuquerque *Tribune*, August 10, 1959, p. 1.

[53] Economic development in New Mexico has been a "political football." Jack Wentworth, a former director of the New Mexico Economic Development Commission, has reported: "In the 10 years since its creation in 1949, the New Mexico Economic Development Commission has been plagued by lack of continuity, a legislative stepchild exposed to inclement political weathers." "A Businessman Looks at the Economic Development and the State Government," *New Mexico Business* (December 1958), p. 4.

[54] A constitutional amendment, adopted in 1958, permits the investment of a certain portion of the state permanent funds in corporate stocks and bonds. The voters apparently are willing to use public funds in fairly unorthodox ways in order to improve the financial situation of the state.

New Mexico's politicians, representing the political consensus of patience, individual initiative, and civil rights, act effectively on those matters which come within areas of their personal competence. But in matters of state administration, especially concerning an urbanized society, both the legislative and executive departments can be characterized as being confused, and as lacking insight and direction. In the early 1940's, New Mexico experimented with a partial merit system,[55] which it quickly abandoned. Since then, spoils appointments have prevailed, although there always have been some well managed departments.[56] Yet there are hopeful signs. For instance, the Department of Finance and Administration sponsored a small intern program for especially gifted university students during the summer of 1958. The 1959 legislature enacted this program into law.

International issues and problems have exerted almost no influence on New Mexico's voters. Even exceedingly dramatic international events seem to be ignored.[57] The impact of national politics has been felt only when tidal waves have swept the American political scene. Traditionally, political interest has centered on local matters. Yet, future political trends will be established in New Mexico by the urban masses.

And what, today, is the interest of Albuquerque in state politics? In a poll on the 1959 New Mexico legislature taken in Albuquerque in the summer of that year, 436 persons were interviewed in their homes. Of these, only 19 named issues presented to the legislature; and of the 19, only 9 named specific measures which were enacted into law to support their attitudes as to whether the legislature had done a good or bad job. If this shows indifference and public apathy, the explanation is simple. The Albuquerque metropolitan area (Bernalillo County) had one state senator; certain rural areas, with a combined population of less than that of the Albuquerque metropolitan area, held 21 of the Senate's 32 seats.

New Mexico's political tradition of patience, individual initiative, and civil rights was developed in an essentially rural population which felt a direct personal relation to its legislators and other government officials. This tradition is a good one, for it smothered the Ku Klux Klan after World War I and "racism" and McCarthyism after World War II. Indeed, "racism" and latent McCarthyism — the two great divisive forces on the national scene today — are not able to put up enough forces to fight a battle, let alone wage a war, in New Mexico. But while the rural population benefits from heavy political representation, the urban population is grossly underrepresented and without an effective voice in political

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[55] Ralph Trigg, "The Program of the State Merit System Commission," *New Mexico Quarterly*, XI (May 1941), 183–91.

[56] Republican Governor Mechem has been elected four times (with party registration 7 to 3 in favor of the Democrats) largely on the basis of pledges of administrative reform. The Democratic legislature in 1961 eventually saw something of the issues involved and enacted what it called a "merit system" — which was the weakest measure that would satisfy the public demand for a termination of payola in public employment.

[57] For example, the affairs in Suez and the Russian attack on Hungary had no influence on the November 1956 presidential vote in New Mexico. See Frederick C. Irion, "The 1956 Election in New Mexico," *Western Political Quarterly*, X (March 1957), 140.

institutions. The urban population is expanding swiftly, and, sooner or later, will make itself felt.

Thomas C. Donnelly, writing on New Mexico twenty years ago, concluded:

As one considers the various forces at work in New Mexico politics today [1940], they add up to the conclusion that the state is a political democracy on the march, that it is interested in progressive governmental policies, and that it is unafraid of the future, for it expects much from it. Consequently, leaders and parties must promise to go ahead rather than call a halt or beat a retreat.[58]

In the two decades since Donnelly summed up his opinions there has been a drastic change in the utilization of the state's resources and in the lifeways of its citizens. New Mexico is "a political democracy on the march" today, as it was two decades ago. Yet, it faces today a problem without parallel — the need to absorb a swiftly growing urban population as responsible citizens. Administrative efficiency must be added quickly to New Mexico's traditional political virtues of patience, individual initiative, and civil rights.

Matters will not be fought out precisely along the lines of rural patience, individual initiative, and civil rights *versus* urban administrative efficiency. They may be much more complicated and subtle than that. Political change probably will not come overnight, even though, in terms of New Mexico's long history, urbanization actually has come that rapidly. Change may come imperceptibly. The legislature, for instance, could abandon one of democracy's oldest traditions — the right to appropriate money and control its expenditure — with neither the legislative members nor the public realizing, at least for a time, what had happened. The political problem in New Mexico is to integrate the rapidly expanding urban population with the state's political tradition, or to face a disintegration of democratic practices.

[58] *Rocky Mountain Politics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 251.

Oregon: Political Experiment Station

JOHN M. SWARTHOUT

FOR ONE of the smaller states, carrying no great weight in the nation's electoral and congressional scales, Oregon has found itself the focus of national political attention surprisingly often throughout its century of statehood. Admitted to the Union on the eve of the Civil War, as a pawn in the explosive political struggle of that time of animosity; its few electoral or congressional votes a frequent key factor in the harrowing post-Civil War political balance; its driving reform movement at and after the turn of the century such as to bring it recognition as the "political experiment station of the nation"; its contested internal innovations during the first three decades of the 1900's the source of such signal and basic constitutional law cases as *Pacific States Telephone & Telegraph Co.* v. *Oregon* and *Pierce* v. *The Society of Sisters* — Oregon in the election years since World War II has continued its upstage ways.

Virtually every postwar election has seen Oregon, if not in the sun, at least in the national spotlight. It was the Oregon primary of May, 1948, that destroyed Harold Stassen and made Thomas Dewey a third-time Republican presidential candidate; and four years later, it was Eisenhower's resounding Oregon primary victory over Taft that gave the impetus necessary to Ike's success in the Republican convention of 1952. In 1954, Dick Neuberger's 2,500-vote defeat of incumbent Guy Cordon, undecided and unpredictable until twenty-four hours after the polls closed, enabled the Democrats to organize the United States Senate; and in 1956, the Wayne Morse–Douglas McKay senatorial race was generally accepted by both national parties as that year's vital test between them. The selection in 1958 of young Republican Mark Hatfield as Oregon's governor in the face of a general Democratic sweep both in Oregon and elsewhere raised eyebrows country-wide and influenced markedly the "new look" national Republicans assumed in 1960. Indeed, as if in recognition of its birth in the midst of the nation's most violent political controversy, Oregon seems to have been assigned by that part of Providence that watches over American government to a continuing dramatic role as a much fought-over battleground of American politics, a sort of political Harpers Ferry or Manassas of the mid-twentieth century.

Yet it can be ventured that most Oregonians have generally been, and to a degree still are, primarily inward-looking, more than usually concerned with state and local than with national affairs and more interested in the effects of their votes on state and local than on national government and politics. Indeed, this parochialism (or sturdy local independence, as you wish to view the matter) is one of the distinctive traditional features of Oregon politics, a fact responsible in part for Oregonians' willingness to experiment (in some seasons, at least) with their own governmental arrangements, as in the "Oregon system," without regard to national opinion. This internal concentration has contributed as well to those characteristics of Oregon elections most puzzling to outsiders: the wanton disregard Oregonians have often shown for national party trends in the selection of their state and local leaders, the frequent willingness of Oregon voters to split their tickets in terms of national party labels, and their occasional paradoxical tendency to favor in the same election "liberal" national senators and congressmen and "conservative" state governors and legislators, or vice versa.

The Historical Background

In considerable contrast to its West Coast neighbors, California and Washington, Oregon has a record of abnormal historical continuity in its social and economic structure,[1] a continuity interrupted only infrequently by upheavals of any measurable consequence. Waves of immigration have come to the state ever since "The Great Reinforcement" of 1840, but at least until the one during and just after World War II, these massive intrusions have commonly merged into and bolstered the existing hierarchy of interests. This fact of social continuity forms even now a further important element in the state's political atmosphere and makes a consideration of Oregon political and social history more than usually important to an understanding of the state's current politics.

Oregon's social pattern was early established. The pioneers who settled the Willamette Valley in the 1840's and 1850's were homogeneous in their occupations and economic status, very largely tillers of the earth or small suppliers of farm needs, not seekers after gold or other sudden fortune. But they were heterogeneous in their origins, coming from both northern and southern states. Once they had surmounted the disruptive effects of the Civil War and the overriding issue of Negro status, the Oregon citizenry crystalized into a socially stable community, at once economically conservative and politically liberal, almost after the Jeffersonian ideal, firmly based on the small home-owned farm and the small home-owned business. The governmental structure set by the 1859 constitution and the standard two-party system that accompanied it, both borrowed from older sister states,[2] seemed as suited to this society as to any. Republicans took over the state's politics with the Civil War and early won for themselves that "monopoly on respectability" that seemed a built-in characteristic of Oregon party politics until very recent years.

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[1] See Pollard Lancaster, in *Regionalism in America*, ed. M. Jensen (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), pp. 196 ff.

[2] Almost every provision of the Oregon constitution was taken, often verbatim, from existing state constitutions, especially those of Missouri and Kentucky.

But as the last decades of the nineteenth century wore on, Oregon's borrowed political system seemed to fail its solid citizens, as they found themselves faced to an increasing degree by the corruption that marked the "Gilded Age" throughout the country. The Oregon legislature in the 1880's and 1890's established for itself a reputation surely exceptional if not unique. The state's more powerful moneyed interests, controlling the nominating caucuses and conventions and thus the parties, dominated the legislative halls and filled them with "briefless lawyers, farmless farmers, business failures, barroom loafers, Fourth-of-July orators, and political thugs." [3] Drunkenness and debauchery commonly surrounded the legislative sessions in Salem, and reform measures backed by overwhelming popular support — like the Australian ballot and the voter registration law — were sidetracked for years, while attention was given to matters of political control, like the election of United States senators,[4] or to bills supported by the powerful lobbies.

Into this unhealthy atmosphere, the reform doctrines of the Populist movement came like a cool and cleansing breeze. Oregon's political consciousness had already been pricked into irritated awareness by the needle of economic misfortune, for the state's farmers and farm-suppliers, like those of the Midwest where the Populist movement was born, suffered from the industrial domination of the economy that came in the wake of the corporate revolution. Oregon early produced a strong Grange movement, and within its organization anti-monopoly, anti-railway, anti-privilege, and progressive taxation sentiment swept the farms and villages of the state. Since economic reform seemed impossible of achievement within the existing political structure, sentiment for political reform, "returning the power to govern to the people," grew rapidly. The Australian ballot, voter registration, the direct primary, corrupt practices legislation, the initiative and referendum, the recall, all became part of the complex of the reform movement, the long-range goals of which were in large part economic. Sudden successes of the Populists at the polls in 1894 served as a sobering threat to Republican and Democratic leadership, and accordingly the major party leaders, chastened and reoriented, themselves reluctantly succumbed to the reform program. With the initiative and the referendum adopted in 1902, they opened the door to all the great features of the "Oregon system." [5] In so doing

[3] Burton J. Hendrick, "The Initiative and Referendum and How Oregon Got Them," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVII (July 1911), 240. Testimony on this score by men then engaged in Oregon politics is legion. See, e.g., G. A. Thatcher, "The Initiative and Referendum in Oregon," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, IV (1907), 201; Joseph Gaston, *Centennial History of Oregon, 1811–1912* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 654–55; T. T. Geer, *Fifty Years in Oregon* (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 476–78.

[4] Geer reports that "out of seven elections for United States Senators, five of them required the entire time of the session — two of these resulting in no election at all, and one of them in no organization of the House, with no legislation on any subject whatever." *Op. cit.*, pp. 476–77.

[5] The Australian ballot was adopted by the Oregon legislature in 1891, and the state's first registration law in 1899. The initiative and referendum provision (on state measures) was initiated by the legislature by heavy majorities in the session of 1899 and reapproved, as then required, in the session of 1901, unanimously in the House and with but one dissenting vote in the Senate. It carried at the polls by 62,024 to 5,668, almost eleven to one! Direct legislation permission was extended to local governments by a constitutional amendment proposed by the initiative in 1906. The direct primary was brought in by popular vote on initiative petition in 1904, and a corrupt practices act adopted by the same device in 1908.

they virtually revolutionized Oregon government and politics, destroying almost at a stroke the "strong-party system," reducing immensely both their own power and that of the moneyed interests allied with them, raising new interest groups (like the Grange) to positions of great strength, and opening up a new nonparty political arena that became for a while virtually the center ring in the Oregon political circus and that remains to this day a matter of much consequence insofar as internal state politics are concerned.

Indeed, for the first two decades after the adoption of the Direct Legislation amendment, the decisive battles of Oregon politics were fought out almost entirely apart from party labels and without the intervention of party machinery at all. Throughout this heyday of the initiative and referendum,[6] the major issues of political reform (e.g., the direct primary, the presidential primary, the corrupt practices law, municipal home rule, legislative and judicial reorganization) and of economic regulation (e.g., taxation and regulation of railroads and other utilities) were contested principally as direct legislation measures and settled by the people (as nonpartisans) at the polls rather than by their partisan representatives in the legislature. The "platforms" adopted by organizations like the Grange and the Farmers Alliance, with wide but close-knit membership, were likely to be of much more importance to the state's political course than were positions taken by the parties; and a unique body called the "People's Power League" (led by the redoubtable William S. U'Ren, who had earlier "fathered" the initiative and referendum through a variety of devices[7]) provided for over a decade a leadership in the "popular branch of the legislature" more influential than that of either party.[8]

After 1920, with most major reforms won, dependence on direct legislation declined, and the Oregon legislature accordingly regained a measure of its earlier importance. Partisan politics did too. This renaissance of party has continued to this day, with minor ups and downs, bolstered by the increasing integration of Oregon into the national economy and the resulting enlarged effect of national politics on the welfare of the state's residents.

But Oregon's party history, even since 1920, is not an entirely straight-line affair. Republicans generally dominated Democrats until after World War II, but the appellation "The Vermont of the West" was never fully justified, even

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[6] The general elections of 1910, 1912, and 1914 formed the high mark of direct legislation in Oregon, 32, 27, and 29 state measures appearing on the ballots of those years. During the first two decades after 1903, the people were faced with an average of 20.1 measures per biennium; in the last thirty-six years the average has been only 12.1.

[7] U'Ren's methods in the fight for direct legislation deserve study by any serious and ambitious political manipulator. Until his death in 1927, he insisted that the political reforms he espoused were "tools of the mechanic" for the accomplishment of economic and social legislation; the single-tax, most beloved of all reforms to him, he never was able to bring about.

[8] The People's Power League developed from a circular letter sent out on September 6, 1906, to some 1,000 representative citizens of Oregon to "get their opinion of the wisdom of submitting certain amendments to popular vote." In the election of 1906, the PPL offered five measures, all of which passed comfortably. Four more, including proportional representation authorization and a long corrupt practices act, passed in 1908. After 1910, the PPL offerings began to include proposals for increasingly "radical" reforms; its 1912 program included the "U'Ren Constitution," completely reorganizing the whole state government, abolishing the Senate, etc., which was roundly defeated. After 1916 the PPL's influence and activities declined.

when Republican registration was highest in the 1920's. The early and middle Oregon record is full of militant third-party movements — Populist, Progressive, and "independent" — all of which drew membership predominantly from the Republicans. Democrats more than occasionally benefited. They elected two governors and two U.S. senators during the period of Populist Progressive-Republican upheaval in the 1900's and 1910's, and two more governors when Populist-minded Republicans broke ranks in 1922 and 1934.[9] Republicans generally enjoyed overwhelming control of the state legislature until the 1950's, but even within legislative ranks Republican factions often bolted to join the Democratic minority.

In more recent years, Republican control has slipped altogether. Republican registration fell dramatically during depression years (from almost three-fourths of the total in 1930 to only a few percentage points over one-half in 1940), climbed part way back during World War II, and then began a gradual decline that has made the GOP the state's minority party since 1954.[10] Furthermore, Oregon citizens, who regularly used to vote more Republican than they registered (whenever the party held together), no longer seem to do so to the same degree; and Democrats have won their share of offices lately, even winning both houses of the legislature in 1958 for the first time since 1878. Oregon accordingly now fully deserves to be classed as a two-party state in good standing. It seems very likely that the third-party proclivity that marked the Republican years has waned to the point of no return, with resulting increased orthodoxy in Oregon's political behavior.

Nevertheless, despite the two-party renaissance, the legacies of the "Oregon system" remain, and it would be a serious error to ignore the fact that unalloyed party politics form even today a lesser segment of Oregon politics in general than is true in most states. Except for appropriations, usually left untouched, it is a rare major measure that is settled in the state legislature alone, escaping the referendum, and important policy bills appear by initiative petition every biennium, to be settled by the largely nonpartisan politics of direct legislation. Further, the direct primary, jealously protected and zealously used by common Oregonians, has made personality a matter of unusual moment in Oregon's partisan elections, and a party label on a candidate is no guarantee of faithful adherence to either party leadership or party doctrine.

Geography and Resources

It takes no economic determinist to recognize the important degree to which Oregon politics has been shaped by economic factors. The peculiar characteristics

[9] Governors George Chamberlain (1902 and 1906), Oswald West (1911), Walter Pierce (1922), and Charles Martin (1934); and senators Chamberlain (1908), and Harry Lane (1913).

[10] Democratic gains have been statewide, appearing in almost every county. Recent registration figures follow:

Year	*Republican*	*Democratic*	*Year*	*Republican*	*Democratic*
1948	347,175	334,784	1954	402,283	404,694
1950	361,158	378,357	1956	413,220	450,122
1952	421,681	416,589	1958	413,659	451,579

of the society, from which the political pattern emerged, were almost predetermined by the state's geography, and the state's location and resource base have always had much to do with the nature of its predominant political issues and the attitudes of its voters about them.

Throughout its early years, Oregon was nearly the most isolated of the states. Off the beaten track to California — and to almost anywhere else for that matter — and virtually without gold, Oregon attracted immigrants who came only to settle and to work, with resulting unusual singleness of purpose and outlook. Since outside aid was far away in terms of distance or of time, local self-sufficiency was imperative and an inward focus of attention almost inevitable. Recent developments have swept Oregon increasingly into the national economic complex and enlarged drastically the local impact of national economic regulation, but the psychological effects of relative isolation remain. Distance from primary markets and production centers makes transportation policy a vital issue to today's Oregon citizens, as it was to their Populist forebears.

Internally, Oregon is divided roughly into a series of north-south belts by the effects of two mountain ranges: the Coast Range separates a narrow coastal plain from the valley of the Willamette River, which rises in the mountains to the south and flows due north into the Columbia at Portland; the higher Cascades in turn divide the Willamette Valley from the wide-reaching plateau country of eastern Oregon. The Cascades catch most of the ocean moisture that the Coast Range misses, and accordingly Oregon west of the Cascades enjoys a Mediterranean-type climate, moist and green in the winter, though comparatively rainless in the summer months, with very moderate temperatures. Eastern Oregon, by contrast, is largely dry country, with somewhat greater temperature extremes; some degree of precipitation plus good streams for irrigation in the plateau and mountain areas of northeastern Oregon make for some fine cattle, wheat, and other large-scale farming, but toward the southeast corner the land turns increasingly dry and barren, suitable throughout much of its large reach for sheep — or nothing. The state's heart lies in the relatively narrow, immensely fertile Willamette Valley, in which two-thirds of all Oregonians live and in which the principal urban centers lie.

Despite its size,[11] Oregon is not blessed with an abundant variety of resources. Its mineral wealth is almost negligible, and the state has depended in the past principally on three gifts that it has in abundance: agricultural land, timber, and its rivers. Farm produce topped the Oregon economy until World War II, but since 1946 timber and lumber-based industries have been increasingly dominant. Its timber production has led the nation since the late 1930's; half the nation's plywood and one-fourth of its softwood lumber come from Oregon. Almost half of the state's area is forested, and today the exploitation of this resource employs more people than does any other industry, occupying 63 per cent of Oregon's industrial workers and providing two-thirds of its manufacturing payroll.

[11] Oregon is the tenth largest of the states, its 96,981 square miles almost equaling Illinois and Iowa together.

Since early settlement, the rivers have represented both a great resource and a problem. Once vital for transportation (and still important, especially the down-stream Columbia, which makes Portland the West's only inland and largest dry-cargo port serving a huge hinterland) they now act as the state's only local source of power,[12] provide the irrigation necessary to much of its farming (especially east of the Cascades), make possible timber and food processing industries, and furnish a tourist attraction and recreational resource. But they are seasonally irregular by nature, having heavy winter and spring runoffs and a greatly reduced summer flow. Without artificial control by dams, floods have created havoc in the one season,[13] and drouth has done so in the other.

Still heavily dependent on the products of its farms and forests, Oregon recently has begun to diversify its production somewhat. Manufacturing output tripled between 1939 and 1954, and the rate of growth continues. Though much new industry is in food processing, lumber products, and woolen goods, a significant portion is in other fields, especially aluminum (which takes quantities of cheap power) and electronics (which depends on literate, trainable labor rather than on heavy raw materials and which turns out products of high value relative to weight and corresponding shipping costs). Most manufacturing is centered in and around Portland and in the middle and lower Willamette Valley.

Population

Like all of the western states, Oregon has a history of population explosion; but unlike most of its neighbors, its growth has slowed considerably during the last decade.[14] The general mobility encouraged by World War II and comparative prosperity in Oregon brought the state's people from a million to a million and a half between 1940 and 1950, but immigration began to slow markedly in 1952, and Oregon finished the ten years ending in 1960 with an absolute gain half that of the decade before.[15] The slowdown has resulted primarily from a creeping decline in a farm- and lumber-based economy: the average income, well above the comparable national figure in 1950, rose between 1952 and 1957 only 5.9 per cent, against a national rate of 17.6 per cent, and by 1959 had dropped below the national average.

This population has historically been concentrated in the middle and lower Willamette Valley, increasing in density closer to Portland, at the Willamette's mouth. Multnomah County (in which the city of Portland lies) contains over 30 per cent of all Oregonians, and the suburban counties of the metropolitan area, Washington and Yamhill, another 12 per cent. Most of the state's other principal cities, including second-place Eugene and third-place Salem, lie farther

[12] Oregon's per capita consumption of residential electric power is two-and-a-half times the national average; 98 per cent of this power is hydroelectric.

[13] The Columbia flood of 1948 caused damage estimated above $100 million.

[14] Oregon had just over 50,000 people when it became a state in 1859, and over 400,000 by 1900. Its subsequent growth by decades follows: 1900, 413,536; 1910, 672,765; 1920, 783,389; 1930, 953,786; 1940, 1,089,684; 1950, 1,521,341; and 1960, 1,757,691 (est.).

[15] Before 1950, immigration consistently accounted for well over half the population increase, and in 1951, 57 per cent. Between 1952 and 1959, it was responsible for only 24 per cent, the remainder being the excess of births over deaths.

up the Willamette, though clusters of people live along the sea coast, up the Columbia, just east of the Cascades, and here and there in the more sparsely settled northeast. The distribution pattern has been undergoing some radical changes lately. Especially heavy movements are noticeable out of the wheat and cattle country east of the Cascades and the mixed fishing, farming, and timber counties (pretty well logged-out) on the lower Columbia; and into (1) the southeast, where unlogged timber stands; (2) the upper Columbia and other river areas where new dams have gone or are going in; and (3) the Portland suburbs and other urban centers of the Willamette Valley. Within counties of all kinds the trend toward urbanization is apparent, as the rural population, over half the whole in 1930, has dropped to near 40 per cent in 1960.[16]

Sociologically speaking, despite recent immigration and urbanization, the population remains unusually homogeneous. Income extremes, though spreading, are still comparatively narrow. Racially the state is nearly all white—97 per cent — with what amounts to handfuls of persons of Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Middle Eastern, and Indian ancestry, largely clustered in Portland. Oregon directories indicate Caucasians from all parts of Europe, but except for a notable Finnish community — the largest in the United States — in the "salmon city" of Astoria, there are no real European "colonies" of consequence. In religion, the state is overwhelmingly Protestant, with a Catholic population only around 10 per cent and a negligible Jewish community;[17] "fundamentalist" faiths are especially strong, with unquestionable political consequence. The literacy and educational levels are very high, and the climate of opinion in the state has been traditionally favorable to academic freedom and encouraging to education generally.[18]

Two other factors in the composition of the population, age and sex, have political consequences in some degree. As are most other states, Oregon is short in people in the productive middle age brackets, made up of persons born in the small-family days of the depressed 1930's, and long in people at both ends of the age scale. By 1958 figures, less than half of all Oregonians were between fifteen and fifty-four, with roughly 29 per cent — almost a third! — under fifteen, and 22 per cent fifty-five or over. In sex distribution, the Oregon population since 1950 has been passing rapidly from the masculine domination common to a "pioneer" state, with heavy (and predominantly male) immigration, until today the state's women almost equal its men in numbers.[19]

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[16] Oregon, which had only two cities over 10,000 in 1910, now has thirteen.

[17] Catholics constitute 23.7 per cent of Oregon's listed church members, against a national average of 40 per cent; Jews but 2.2 against 6 per cent nationally. Conservative and moral Oregon ranks last among the states in church membership as a percentage of total population!

[18] The median Oregonian has completed 10.9 years of school — the eighth highest figure in the United States. Oregon ranks second in per cent of population with at least five years of education and seventh with four years of high school. It never has had a purgative oath for teachers. It has its anti-intellectual fringe, but its public is generally respectful of education at all levels; Oregon voters, notably conservative about government spending, are usually more generous to school-support measures than to others requiring tax money. The state ranks fourth in per capita expenditures for education.

[19] In several recent years, Oregon has had almost 150 male deaths for every 100 female deaths.

All these factors have produced a pattern of economic conservatism and political individualism. But the state is changing, as its shift from a Republican to a Democratic registration majority indicates. The social composition of the population was more heavily affected, probably, by the flow of immigration that almost submerged Oregon during and just after World War II than by any of the previous waves that have hit the state since the time of the pioneer migrations.[20] Continuing modifications in the structure of the Oregon economy, acting to reduce steadily the proportion of the farm and village population and to increase the numbers of landless blue- and white-shirt industrial employees, have tended to multiply the effect so begun, and they bid fair to do so even more in the future. Further social restructuring seems inevitable as the age pattern shifts — today's large group of senior citizens passing from the scene, the small class of middle-aged replacing them, and the huge mass of youngsters growing into youthful voters.

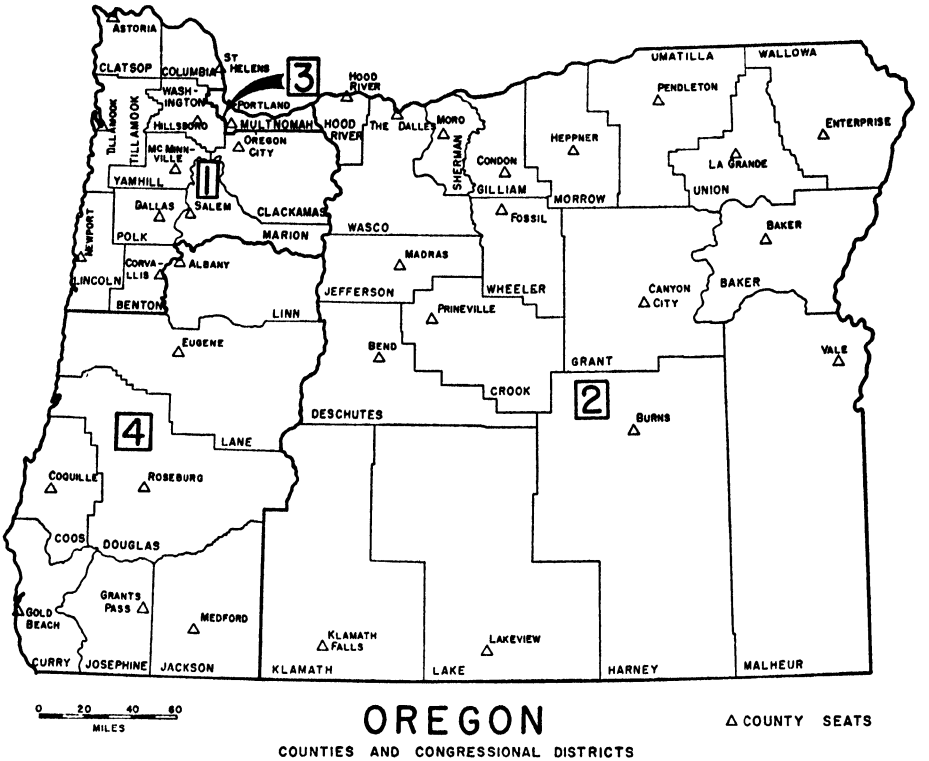
One further important fact must be noted. The recent and continuing changes in social structure are not being felt equally in all parts of the state, and the resulting differential has consequences for the state's political behavior. A rapid survey of Oregon's four congressional districts — about as suitable units as any for the purpose — is in order:

Oregon's First District covers the northwest corner of the state, excluding Multnomah County. It is dominated by the lower Willamette Valley, the area in which the bulk of the pioneering farmers settled, still mostly diversified small-farm and small-city territory. Long the heart of Oregon's black Republicanism,[21] it is still considered "safe," but much less so now than it used to be; its Republican registration, steadily declining throughout the 1950's, in 1958 was only 52.2 per cent. Industry and commerce are beginning to replace the district's long-dominant farm interests and, together with residential growth in the Portland suburbs, account for the bulk of its rapid population increase.

The Second District covers the huge and partly barren area east of the Cascades. Its northern half is principally large-farm wheat and cattle country; potatoes and grains grow along the California border near the Cascades; and scattered timber is found here and there. It reacts nationally to farm (especially grain and cattle) and water-use policy, and on the state level to all urban-rural issues. During the Eisenhower years it has turned Democratic (53.9 per cent by registration in 1958) from a once-close party balance. Always sparsely populated, it is growing less rapidly than any other part of the state; only along the Columbia, near new dams, is it keeping up. Its social composition has accordingly been more static, and unless new hydro-power sources bring industry to it, probably Portland and the West will grow steadily apart from it in outlook.

[20] Large numbers of workers moved in to man the booming Portland shipyards during World War II; many stayed to work in urban industry, or for the timber firms which have been bringing in woodsmen, chiefly from the Democratic South. Other postwar immigration has been very largely industrial, commercial, or professional, unlike the earlier agricultural settlers.

[21] It includes four counties: Benton, unique west of the Mississippi in having never gone for Franklin Roosevelt; Marion, the site of the state capital, Salem; and Washington and Yamhill, the only two of Oregon's thirty-six to increase Republican registration steadily during the late years.



Multnomah County, which includes Portland, comprises the Third District. With almost a third of the population (though the percentage is declining), Multnomah is entirely metropolitan, a fitting victim of the state's principal gerrymander. Increasingly commercial and cosmopolitan, Portland is no longer an overgrown town. It is beginning to share with eastern cities the sociological results of the "flight of leadership to the suburbs" and other problems, and to take on a comparable social and political complexion. By 1958 it was 55.3 per cent Democratic.

The Fourth District, southwest Oregon including the upper Willamette, the southern mountains, and the seacoast, is percentage-wise the most rapidly growing section. Though farms and orchards dot its countryside, it lives predominantly on its forests, with which it is almost covered.[22] Traditionally Republican — except in the timber and shipping center of Coos County, in its southwest corner — it has shifted rapidly as lumbering people have moved heavily into it during the 1950's; and in 1958 it registered 52.8 per cent Democratic. Any development that touches building construction or transportation costs is likely to have repercussions throughout this district.

[22] Its chief city is Eugene, which, with contiguous Springfield, ranks as one of the largest lumber and plywood centers in the United States.

Press and Public Opinion

As in most one-metropolis states, journalism in Oregon is largely dominated by the urban press. Historically, the Portland *Oregonian* has been by all odds the most important journalistic factor, and though the *Oregon Journal* (Portland's evening paper) seems to have been gaining in influence and a new labor-sponsored Portland paper, the *Reporter*,[23] has recently started publication, the *Oregonian* retains its top position by a comfortable margin.[24] Of the down-state papers, the Salem *Statesman* and the Eugene *Register-Guard* are the most influential, the *Statesman* in particular being accorded respect.[25]

All told, the Oregon press is hardly a nonpartisan force. The *Oregonian* admits to being "an independent Republican newspaper," with a consequent usual partisan position, and the *Journal*, though it emphasizes its party independence more, normally finds Republican candidates most appealing. Indeed throughout the state only three newspapers (excluding the new *Reporter*) are consistently on the Democratic side — the Medford *Mail Tribune*, the *Coos Bay World*, and the Pendleton *East Oregonian*. Not surprisingly, the state's press as a whole leans toward the conservative in editorial policy, and both "liberal" measures and "liberal" candidates commonly find themselves fighting without much newspaper support.[26]

But the influence of the press in Oregon, though conceded to be considerable, is far from overwhelming, and both candidates and measures may win against it. Wayne Morse, journalistically treated throughout the state with a roughness amounting to rudeness, still won his way to the Senate in 1956 by almost as large a margin as that Oregonians gave to Eisenhower, and Dick Neuberger won a Senate seat in 1954 and Bob Holmes the governorship in 1956 with only a very few papers, all downstate, behind them. Sales and cigarette tax and legislative pay increase bills have lost regularly whatever the attitude of the press, and on questions of direct popular effect, like daylight time, liquor control, or local bond issues, the voters seem often to ignore the newspapers entirely.

Nominations and Elections

Oregon's election system, by the standards of the western states, is pretty orthodox. Each biennium the state nominates by party primary the normal complement of state and some local officials, and by nonpartisan primary its judges, the state superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents of schools, and a scattering of city officials as determined by home rule. A voter who par-

[23] The semi-weekly *Reporter* was started by union members following an unsuccessful (but continuing) strike in 1959 against the *Oregonian* and *Journal*.

[24] The *Oregonian* was founded in 1861, and by 1902, when the *Journal* began publishing, it was already accepted throughout almost the entire state as "the family paper."

[25] The *Statesman* is owned, published, and edited by former governor Charles Sprague, whose editorial expressions are highly regarded and widely republished. Sprague, a Republican, has an independent and moderate point of view and does not hesitate to praise and support Democrats he believes to be deserving.

[26] Edith Green, the Third District's Democratic congresswoman, has won both *Oregonian* and *Journal* endorsement against weak opposition in the last several elections, and a few other Democrats have sometimes gotten scattered press support.

ticipates in the electoral act, if he is new, has moved, or failed to vote two years before, must register at least thirty days before the election; to register, a person must be twenty-one, a U.S. citizen resident in Oregon for at least six months, literate, and not mentally diseased, an idiot, or a convicted felon.

Oregon uses a typically closed primary, held the third Friday in May each even year. Any registered party member may file for nomination by his party for any partisan office for which he is otherwise eligible, either by simple personal declaration or by a petition signed by a specified number of registered members of his party.[27] Filing must take place at least seventy days before the primary, and "filing day" — the last possible day — is often an exciting time in Salem, as hopeful candidates wait each other out or jockey for position.[28] Minor parties[29] not eligible for primary participation may nominate by petition or by convention.

The Oregon presidential primary has its own twists that make it about as thoroughgoing as any in the country. Delegates to national conventions are chosen in the primary, two from each congressional district and the remainder at large. Party voters likewise express in the primary preference among the party's national presidential candidates, and delegates are pledged to support the voters' choice through at least two convention ballots unless the candidate releases them or fails to muster 35 per cent of the convention votes on the first ballot. But the principal twist appears in a law adopted in 1959, under which the secretary of state, at his sole discretion, places on the preferential ballot the name of each willing or unwilling person whose "candidacy is generally advocated or recognized in national news media throughout the United States" unless that person files an affidavit stating that he is not and does not intend to become a candidate at all. The effects of this law on primary campaign costs were it to be widely copied elsewhere seem almost incalculable.

Other election procedures are less unusual. Oregon issues a sizable, state-printed *Voters' Pamphlet,* in which candidates and proponents and opponents of measures are allotted space — one of the earliest and most complete such publications in the country. Direct legislation makes the ballots relatively long, but not abnormally so except in a rare year when an unusual number of state and local issues appear. The state permits local use of voting machines, but few are in use, and a close race may not be decided for twenty-four hours or so after the polls close. The state's Corrupt Practices Law, early adopted, is strict, but as in most states, it is not easy to police.[30]

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[27] Generally 2 per cent of the party's vote for President in the district involved in the last general election, but not over 1,000 for statewide office or congressman and not over 500 for other office. Signatures must be geographically distributed according to formula depending on the office.

[28] In 1960, for instance, several top Democrats reputedly waited to see if Mrs. Neuberger intended to file for the Senate seat recently vacated by the death of her husband; when she did so, late on the last day, they filed for other offices, starting a chain reaction that affected lesser fry down the line. This sort of development is fairly common.

[29] A "major political party" is defined by law as one receiving at least 20 per cent of the vote in the last presidential election.

[30] It limits personal expenditures by a candidate to 10 per cent of the annual salary of the office for which he runs, with a minimum allowance of $250; and requires that he and every other person or political committee spending campaign money file a detailed statement showing contributions and expenditures. It forbids such practices as promising appointment, making payment, or using "undue influence" to gather support.

Party Organization and Leadership

Oregon's major parties in the 1950's were in a state of flux that — hopefully — is a mark of transition. Weakened almost to the point of no return by the developments of the Reform Era, their power made suspect and controls within them decentralized by the long period of one-party dominance, their internal cohesiveness repeatedly shattered by the persistent independence of the Oregon voter — they faced the recent dramatic appearance of two-partyism unsuitably organized to play much of an active role. Somewhat reformed and strengthened by 1959, each remains in large part today a loose and uncertain structure, providing principally a basis for grouping primary voters and a shadowy symbol to bind together diverse (and sometimes antagonistic) candidates who choose to run under it.

The coming of the 1950's two-partyism, for which changes in the social and economic structure had ploughed the ground, was certainly encouraged, if not made inevitable, by shifts in the orientation of state party leadership during the late forties. Republicans throughout the state's early and middle years were always strongly tinged with the liberal colors of the Populist-Progressive movement. Through the 1930's this tinge persisted, as party leaders like Charles McNary led the fight for Columbia River development and comparable programs. But in the late forties, as Oregon's society was beginning its own remodeling, Republican leadership slipped into the hands of men like Douglas McKay and Guy Cordon, archetypes of the classical conservative. The new party leadership essayed some partly successful housecleaning of liberal members shortly thereafter, virtually forcing Wayne Morse from the ranks after the Eisenhower nomination in 1952 and disposing of such men as Homer Angell, long-time labor-backed congressman from the Third District defeated in the primary in 1954.

Oregon's Democrats, meanwhile, had a very spotty record until the 1950's. Offering small chance of victory to party aspirants, the state's opposition for years found only an occasional respectable candidate willing to run, and the party's leadership in the 1940's had a reputation for incompetence, corruption, and even debauchery; many of its candidates were far more conservative than their Republican opponents. Not until the postwar Republican reorientation did a group of determined young men, spawned by the New Deal, arise to remake the party's image: Monroe Sweetland, who won as national committeeman, Howard Morgan, who became state chairman, Multnomah County's Alfred Corbett, and others took over internal Democratic control shortly after 1950; and by 1954 the transition began to pay off in respected new candidates as Dick Neuberger became Oregon's first elected Democratic senator since 1914 and Edith Green its first Democrat sent to the national Congress in over a decade. In 1956, newly Democratic Wayne Morse disposed of Douglas McKay as Neuberger had of Cordon; Democrat Bob Holmes won the governorship; two of the remaining three congressional districts went Democratic; and despite the loss of the state's electoral vote to Eisenhower by 55.3 per cent, the party generally had a field day.[31]

[31] The only statewide offices the Republicans salvaged were those of secretary of state and state treasurer, won by Mark Hatfield and Sig Unander respectively. Though both were relatively young, Unander was by all odds the more conservative.

This debacle made a shambles of the Republican organization. Criticisms by younger Republicans, barred from the party's policy councils, often even at county level, were rife, and reorganization to match the Democrats was obviously in order. It came after 1958, under the soaring banner of thirty-five-year-old Mark Hatfield, who took the gubernatorial nomination from the conservative wing's Sig Unander and went on, with a highly personal campaign,[32] to win the election from Holmes by a percentage equal to Eisenhower's two years before. Hatfield now is the party's recognized public figure, surrounded by young men of his own making personally loyal to him, and he has brought the rest of the party willy-nilly behind him. There is still some restiveness among old conservatives, however, despite Governor Hatfield's turn to the right in emphasizing governmental economy as the guiding star for his tour in office, and a mean conflict is inevitable should he falter and his largely personal organization disintegrate. Democratic leadership, which itself nearly broke apart in personal controversy under the pressure of victory, seems again in need of remaking. Since the death of Dick Neuberger, Wayne Morse and Edith Green are by all odds the strongest Democrats, but neither has widespread control of party machinery as such; some old-line conservative Democrats are back in the limelight, and not all the young leaders are satisfied with the party's position.

Oregon's formal party organization, largely specified by law, makes the unified use of party difficult in any event. The national committeeman and committeewoman are chosen in the statewide primary, but the rest of the structure is hierarchical, rising from an unrepresentative geographic base. Precinct committeemen and committeewomen, locally elected, form the county committee in each of Oregon's thirty-six counties and choose the county chairman and vice-chairman. County chairmen and vice-chairmen form the state central committee, insuring its control by the party's rural elements.[33] Among both Democrats and Republicans, conflicts between the state central committee and county committees, especially in populous Multnomah, have been traditional,[34] and the state organization has enjoyed only such powers as prestige might bring and county committees choose individually to recognize.[35] Further conflicts have developed regularly between national committeemen and state chairmen, chosen by very different constituencies.

In any event, the great bulk of candidates for high and middle posts in Oregon form their own campaign organizations for primary battles and continue

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[32] Hatfield virtually ignored the party organization. His campaign deliberately emphasized the nonpartisan needs of the governorship. His advertisements contained no mention of the Republican party, and he did not encourage the entry of supporting national party figures into the state, at least after an early speaking appearance by Vice President Nixon that led to adequate campaign contributions.

[33] For example, eastern Oregon's eighteen counties hold half the state Central Committee's voting strength; little Sherman County, with a static population of 2,300, is represented equally with huge Multnomah.

[34] Under County Chairman Robert Jordan in 1958 and 1959, for instance, Multnomah's Democrats nearly parted from the state organization entirely over such issues as the division of funds raised by high-priced dinners held in Portland with speakers like Harry Truman.

[35] Monroe Sweetland as Democratic national committeeman in 1950 used great power gained from control of national patronage from a Democratic president to force state party reorientation; but in some other times no such power has been available to the office.

them through the general election. Party funds, especially with the Democrats, are limited and used mostly to support the state organization and to campaign in a limited way for the party's whole slate. Only occasionally does a candidate depend heavily on party workers as such, and receive significant support from party coffers. The most significant party functions are those of insuring that all proper voters register and turn out to vote.[36]

Pressure Groups

Oregon's interest groups, like those of other states, vary considerably in size, strength, and methods, but as everywhere they are constantly active and the number of the well-organized ones has steadily grown. Among economic groups, agriculture (speaking particularly though not exclusively through the Grange), and lumber are especially strong. Labor's power (organized in such unities as the AFL–CIO and the Central Labor Council of Portland) has grown considerably since World War II, especially in the Portland area; and the general voice of industrial and commerical ownership and management has increased in volume too. Railroads and truckers exert the considerable pressure to be expected in a geographically large state that imports and exports a great deal. Commerical fishing interests are strong, but much less so than they used to be, and sportsmen, tightly knit in the Izaak Walton League and the Oregon Wildlife Federation, often overpower them now. Liquor, horse and dog-racing, theater, and similar interests are present and ever-watchful. Professional associations like the AMA, Bar Association, and the organizations of accountants, social workers, and so on have increased their organized pressure markedly in recent years, sometimes reaching a high pitch; the Oregon Education Association (representing the public school teachers) is sometimes called the most powerful lobbying group in Salem. Veterans are organized, as everywhere, but seem less active than in most other states. "Idea" groups, like the Oregon Council of Churches, the WCTU, and the Federation of Women's Clubs, consistently take positions on measures and occasionally on candidates.

Because of the importance of direct legislation in the state, Oregon's pressure groups are faced with a double task: not only must they keep a careful eye on the legislature and a hand in its operations; frequently they must gird their loins for a battle at the polls. The more powerful of them are well set up, on a standing basis, for the former of these functions, working (though sometimes surreptitiously) for the election of "right candidates" and maintaining active, party-throwing lobbyists during legislative sessions;[37] the less powerful appear on call, so to speak, when their welfare is at stake. For the second func-

[36] The Democrats lately have been trying to expand the party's role, making fairly extensive use of a state executive committee. They plan in future election years a state "program convention," to develop a platform on state issues designed to "guide" and support party candidates. Republicans use an executive committee and anticipate that "statements of principle" will come from the central committee. The degree to which Oregon's highly independent candidates will be influenced by either party's stated position is problematical.

[37] Some of Oregon's underpaid legislators amplify their income by serving as "representatives" for professional and other interest groups, being permanently retained as legal counsel or in other association office.

tion, influencing the public when a "final decision" at the ballot box is at issue, they are likely to operate with all stops out either directly or, more commonly, behind the scenes; popular legislation, after all, represents a direct battle among interests, without the intervening influence of party or legislative structure. Interest groups often are the driving force behind an initiative or referendum petition at the outset.

Among economic groups, the Grange has been in the past especially active and influential. Since well before its performance of a central role in the establishment of the "Oregon System," the Grange has taken a dynamic part in Oregon politics. Far from limiting itself to matters directly affecting farm interests, the Grange has involved itself in a wide variety of issues, both in the legislature and out, sponsoring bills for such diverse purposes as business and income taxes, suffrage reform, highway development, statewide standard time, public power, and public banking; and actively opposing proposals to raise university fees, limit property taxes, lay sales and cigarette taxes, ease regulations on private power, weaken the presidential primary, promote school district consolidation, and so on. Not always has the Grange been successful, but its past record is one of marked success. When its support has been combined with that of the State Federation of Labor and its cohorts, it has in past years been almost irresistible.[38] Today the Grange influence seems on the downward path, as Oregon's farm population gives way to a preponderance of urban residents, and lumbering, other industrial, commercial, and professional interests grow in size and authority. Grange voters alone can now be overwhelmed on issues settled by direct legislation; they carry somewhat less weight in elections for statewide office and thus command less influence in dealings with elected state executives; and to cap the climax, Oregon's new reapportionment system (adopted over Grange opposition), though it continues the overrepresentation of rural counties somewhat, has reduced drastically the power of rural constituencies in the legislature. A new alignment of dominant interests is in the making.

Legislative Politics

Since the adoption of the initiative and referendum movement, the "legislative department" of Oregon's state government is something more than bicameral; it consists, says the Oregon Supreme Court, of "two separate and distinct law-making bodies." The department operates, says the Court, in ways "different from before — one method by the enactment of laws directly, through that source of all legislative power, the people; and the other, as formerly, by their representatives." [39] Legislature and people are thus co-equal legislative organs, each able to make, repeal, or modify law on its own. Legislative politics in Oregon applies to both, and interest groups must gear their machinery of influence accordingly.

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[38] For a careful study of the Grange influence, see Marshall E. Woodell, "Grange Influence on Direct Legislation in Oregon, 1902–1934" (Master's thesis: University of Oregon, 1936). For Grange action and position on specific issues, see *Oregon Grange Bulletin*, published in Roseburg, Oregon, 1914 to date.

[39] *Straw* v. *Harris*, 54 Or. 424, 430 (1910). See also *Kalich* v. *Kapp*, 73 Or. 558 (1914).

Oregon's Legislative Assembly consists of a sixty-member House of Representatives, with a two-year term, and a thirty-member Senate, with a four-year term. It meets biennially, in January of odd years for four months or so; its members draw salary of $600 a year.

As in all states, legislative apportionment in Oregon is a knotty problem of political power, frequently fought over. The Oregon legislature is not perfectly representative of people in numbers, but it is more so than most. The state constitution provides for decennial apportionment of each house by counties according to population, adding that a county with over half the necessary ratio for the appropriate house shall have a seat therein; one that fails to muster this number shall be joined to others to form a district.

Some small degree of rural overrepresentation is thus assured, but with the rapid proportional growth of urban areas, it is insufficient to guarantee a farm veto. The rural counties, especially in eastern Oregon, were able to mitigate this "flaw" for some years by a notable "silent gerrymander," preventing legislative reapportionment action of any consequence from 1910 until after 1950. In 1952, however, the preponderant urban vote, in the one-to-one balloting of direct legislation, pushed through an amendment for "automatic reapportionment," [40] specifying meanwhile (until after the 1960 census) a legislative composition that remedied in part the accumulated errors, increasing representation from Multnomah and other urban counties and reducing that from the rural back country.[41] Fearful and frustrated farm folk tried in 1952 for drastic revision, offering by initiative an unsuccessful amendment for a "federal" system representing counties equally in an enlarged thirty-six-member Senate; and there is little question that another effort will be made after the 1961 reapportionment, which must reduce their representation further, is prepared.

The party organization of the legislature still carries over the effects of the many years of one-party dominance. Until the 1950's (except in rare sessions

[40] The amendment requires that in the absence of legislative action by July of the session year following a census, the secretary of state shall by August 1 file a plan with the governor. The state Supreme Court is given original jurisdiction to compel the mandatory action or to review the plan presented by the legislature or by the secretary of state, ordering a redraft if necessary. This system seems as "automatic" as any and calls for the largest judicial participation found in any state except, perhaps, Arkansas.

[41] The 1951 reapportionment made some large changes, but not large enough to carry out the constitution's mandate fully. Comparative figures by Oregon's relatively homogeneous congressional districts, based on the 1950 census, follow:

Congressional District	% of state's population	House seats entitled by population	House seats 1951	House seats 1953	Senate seats entitled by population	Senate seats 1951	Senate seats 1953
No. 1 (NW Ore.: small city)	28.6	17.1	18.2	17	8.6	8.2	10
No. 2 (East Ore.: rural)	16.2	9.8	16	13	4.85	8	6
No. 3 (Mult. County: metrop.)	31.0	18.6	13.8	16	9.3	6.8	7
No. 4 (SW Ore.: lumber)	24.2	14.5	12	14	7.25	7	7

More serious than these general area figures indicate, perhaps, were the specific injustices done before 1952 to certain counties that had grown rapidly after 1910 (e.g., Klamath, entitled to a whole senator but sharing one with four others) by some that hadn't (e.g., Baker, with one senator for a population deserving one-third of one). Census estimates in 1958 indicate further losses in eastern Oregon and gains by the urban counties in the west.

in the 1930's) both houses were so overwhelmingly Republican[42] that partisan considerations were virtually ridiculous; and even now, when the Democratic renaissance has brought about a nearly balanced body (with a Democratic majority since 1956) its procedures take little account of party. Formal caucuses play no role, even for organizational decisions, and the presiding officer (though by mutual understanding a member of the majority) is elected by a personal vote that does not follow party lines. Committees are appointed and their chairmen chosen by the presiding officer, who may or may not consult party leaders on the matter. Each party has its conservative and liberal legislators; members on both sides normally behave, debate, and vote as individuals, irrespective of partisan considerations, and are treated as such. Democrats — what there were of them — were frequently assigned committee chairmanships during the era of Republican dominance, and a Republican may be accorded the same recognition even now.[43] "Party responsibility," legislatively speaking, is strictly a euphemism in Oregon.

The popular half of Oregon's "legislative department," of course, is nonpartisan altogether. As vital a force in the state's law-making as the legislature, its one-person-one-ballot voting formed a counterweight to the state's gerrymandered apportionment during the years before 1952,[44] and it still serves this function, with less need, now.

Oregon's direct legislation program is extensive. It permits the initiative, the referendum by the legislature, and the referendum by petition. An initiative petition requires the signatures of 8 per cent of the legal voters for a measure or 10 per cent for an amendment; a referendum petition takes 5 per cent only.[45] Excepted from the referendum are bills tagged by the legislature as "emergency measures"; the legislature's discretion[46] in this regard is limited only in that it may not so treat "any act regulating taxation or exemption." To permit time for referral, non-emergency measures of the legislature do not become effective for ninety days after the end of the legislative session; those passed at the polls become law as of election day.

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[42] As recently as the 47th session in 1953, the House was controlled 49–11 by the Republicans and the Senate, 26–4.

[43] For many years the thirty-member Senate used thirty committees. Each member, Republican or Democrat, got one chairmanship, with the accompanying prerequisites in secretarial aid, and so on. Walter Pearson, president of the 1959 Senate, appointed Republican Tony Yturri chairman of the important Interim Committee on Highways, with resulting outcries from some Democrats.

[44] The reapportionment amendment was achieved by intitiative petition and popular vote, after decades of legislative inaction, as was the case in Washington (1956), Colorado (1932), Arkansas (1936), etc.

[45] "Legal voters" are those who voted for justice of the state Supreme Court in the last election. These usually total less than 75 per cent of the ballots cast. No one may be paid for signing or for collecting signatures. Signatures must be those of qualified voters, but they do not have to be legible, says the state Supreme Court; *State ex rel. Hill* v. *Olcutt*, 62 Or. 217, 219 (1912).

[46] The constitution (Article IV, section 1) defines an emergency measure as a law "necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety." The state Supreme Court will examine a bill to see if it involves taxation, but otherwise it regards the decision involved as purely legislative, adding that "the courts have no more right to distrust the legislature than it has to distrust the courts." *Kadderly* v. *Portland*, 44 Or. 118, 150 (1903). The legislature has often been charged with declaring emergencies in law where none existed in fact.

Oregonians have used their direct legislative power pretty freely. In the fifty-six years from 1903 through 1958, they had dealt with 419 statewide bills (including 217 constitutional amendments). Of this total, though, 201 came during the first two decades — an average of 20 per biennium — and more recently the number at each election has been held to more manageable proportions, usually 10 to 14. Almost half the fifty-six-year total have been submitted by initiative petition, though the proportion of initiatives has fallen dramatically since the experimental days of the great Reform Era, and today legislative submissions are more common.[47] Not surprisingly, perhaps, adoption records, especially lately, are a good deal better for bills referred by the legislature itself than for those initiated or referred by petition.[48]

The measures that have adorned the Oregon ballot have dealt with almost every sort of issue, from the banning of cigarette sales to the prevention of picketing, from Sunday closing to the direct primary and cabinet government. Some areas of controversy have become old and familiar battlefields to the voters; legislative compensation, income, sales, and cigarette taxes, the regulation of liquor and fishing, and (lately) daylight time have had an almost constant ballot spot.[49] Some issues have opened up for a while and then died down (as with veterans' legislation after the two world wars); others have but shifted their focus (as with taxation, from the single tax to the income tax to sales and cigarette taxes). But always there is variety.

The politics of direct legislation in Oregon are as intense as their counterpart in the legislature. However law is made, the same interest groups are affected by it; and they involve themselves equally, if in different ways.

Organization is a first imperative, particularly in a state in which payment for petition-hawking is forbidden. If an existing organization can be interested and used, it is: the Grange, the Council of Churches, the Oregon Wildlife Federation, the State Federation of Labor, University (and other) alumni associations, and countless standing business and professional organizations have actively sponsored or opposed proposals affecting or of interest to their members. If no such potent organization is handy, or if it is better left undercover, a special organization may be created; the Oregon record is full of an astonishing assortment of associations, leagues, and committees bearing such exalted titles as the "Oregon Tax Reform Association" (for exemption on personal property, 1908),

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[47] Initiatives, 190; legislative referrals, 181; and referrals by petition, 48. The over-all decline since 1932 has been almost entirely in initiatives, from an average of 11.7 per biennium to 4.1. Legislative submissions have remained fairly steady at something over 6, and referrals by petition at less than 2.

[48] Only 34.2 per cent of all initiative bills have passed, and only 39.6 of those referred by petition, against 54.7 of those the legislature has submitted. In the period after 1923, adoption percentages are 30.1 per cent for the initiative, 32.3 for referrals by petition, and a spectacular 57.5 for legislative submissions. Proportionately more amendments have passed (47.5 per cent) than statutory measures (39.1) — not surprising since *all* amendments must be submitted to popular vote and only more controversial statutes are likely to be. Between 1944 and 1958, 60 per cent of all measures passed, in marked contrast to earlier years.

[49] The sales tax has been on the ballot five times since 1933 and has been defeated by votes between 63 and 83 per cent. The cigarette tax in its six tries in thirty-six years has also lost each time, but by lesser margins. Amendments to raise legislative pay failed ten times before passing in 1946; after another success in 1950, legislators were disappointed three more times by 1958.

the "Association to Preserve Oregon's Credit" (against public power, 1932), the "Oregon Merchants Legislative League" (for the "punchboard bill," 1940), or the "Affiliated Milk Campaign Committee" (for milk control repeal, 1952). Most hotly contested issues have found special organizations of this sort springing up on both sides: the "Eight-Hour League" sponsored the eight-hour day in 1914 and the "Non-Partisan League" fought it; the "Taxpayers Equalization League" proposed the school moving bill of 1932 and the "School Tax Saving Association" opposed; and the "Public Welfare Education Committee" supported the pension bill of 1950 against the "Needy Aged Persons Referendum Committee."

Very often interest groups directly concerned have buried themselves in a special organization of this sort. Liquor, ice, and soda water interests have hidden — with others doubtless more disinterested — in such societies as the "Equal Right to Home Industry Committee" (1916), "Common Sense, Incorporated" (1940), the "Citizens 317 NO Committee" and "Let's Tell Them the Truth Committee" (1950), and the "Buy Less than the Bottle Committee" (1952). Commercial fishermen have worked through such groups as the "League in Opposition to Water and Fish Bills" (1928) and the euphemistically named "Oregon Fish Protection Association" (1942). "Big business" masked itself behind the protective façade of the "Associated Farmers of Oregon, Incorporated," to sponsor and campaign for the strong anti-picketing bill of 1938.[50]

Groups involved in fights over issues employ all the campaign tactics of politicians running for office. Not a medium of mass communications goes unused. Before election time, Oregon billboards blossom, newspapers burst with ads and inspired stories, speakers address audiences wherever found, radio and TV are alive with paid commercials. The organization with money hires a professional campaign manager. The poorer group does without, and limits its activities to those possible with volunteer workers.

Some sponsors of proposals on the ballot have borrowed techniques from successful legislative manipulators in their attempts to secure support in the popular half of the Oregon legislative department. The ancient and honorable legislative tactic of logrolling, for instance, has on more than one occasion found its way into Oregon's elections, sometimes successfully and sometimes not. Generally direct legislation logrolling has taken the form of tying none-too-popular programs onto others that have solid support among certain segments of the population. Income, sales, and cigarette tax measures have thus been coupled to old age welfare or educational support,[51] both by the legislature and by private sponsors of initiative bills. Pro-gambling forces have sought "outside

[50] This group was supported by business interests. Richard Neuberger charged (and apparently no one bothered to deny) that of over $40,000 spent in support of the anti-picketing bill, $4.65 was contributed by farmers. "Liberalism Backfires in Oregon," *Current History*, L (March 1939). See also Neuberger, "Who Are the Associated Farmers?" *Survey Graphic*, XXVIII (September 1939), 517–21.

[51] The sales tax, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1935 and referred, was made the sole support of the old-age pension program; pension funds were transferred to "relief." The cigarette tax in 1945 was tied to educational support, and the sales tax in 1947 to school, welfare, and "governmental" purposes.

support" by tying proposed gambling revenues to pensions. By way of turnabout, perhaps, anti-gambling elements used a sort of reversed form of this same tactic in 1952 in running a bill "Prohibiting Lotteries, Book-making, [and] Pari-Mutuel Betting"; lotteries and bookmaking have been prohibited in Oregon for years!

Another not uncommon tactic in Oregon's direct legislation politics has been the use or threat of the "backfire bill," employed by a group endangered by petition to obscure the issue or to threaten its opponents in turn. Thus fish-netters and fish-wheelers petitioned each other nearly out of existence in 1908. The income tax was repeatedly (and successfully) met in the 1920's by the use of competing bills designed to divide the affirmative vote.[52] Trucking interests faced with statutory bills increasing truck taxes came up with their own bills in 1926 and 1952; and both pro- and anti-liquor forces have several times brought backfire bills to the ballot.

Voting Habits

As repeatedly indicated earlier, Oregon voters are an independent lot, likely to follow their own course against a national trend or, indeed, to seem to go on diverse routes at a single balloting — galloping off, like Stephen Leacock's notorious knight, in all directions at once. Though they have not lived in a one-party state for almost ten years, they still tend to act as if they did in the attention they give to personality and to issues over party.

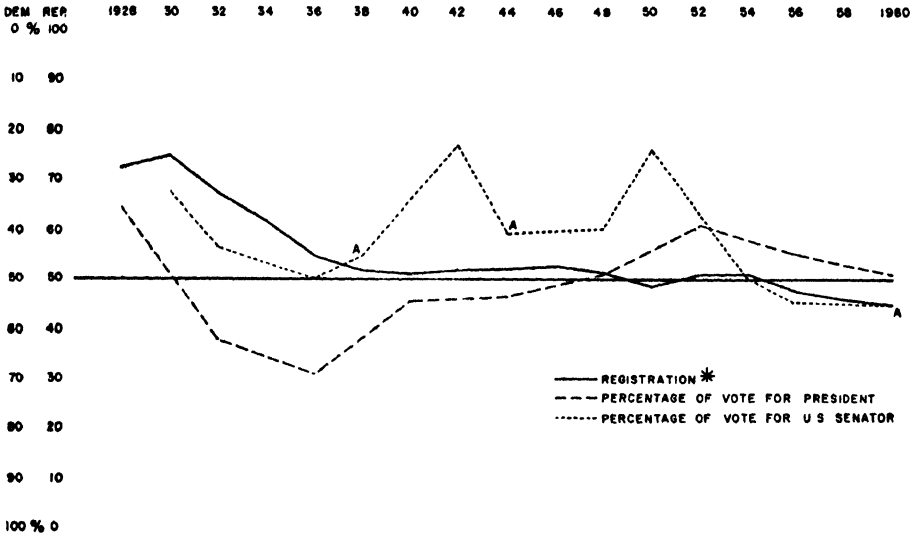
Whatever the influences that activate them most, they *do* register and vote in fairly large numbers, and Oregon regularly has ranked respectably near the top among the states in voter participation. As everywhere, participation falls off down the ballot: almost everyone who goes to the polls votes for the presidency, and nearly the same number ballot for the governorship or the national Senate; lesser state offices attract 85 to 95 per cent, and judges often as few as 65 per cent. Participation on measures varies within similar extremes depending on the subject: the average bill over fifty-six years has received attention from just under 80 per cent of those appearing at the polls; but one on a matter close to the popular heart — the sales tax, liquor control, or daylight time — will be marked by 90 per cent or over (more than the vote for attorney general), and one on a dull question of governmental procedure may draw even fewer votes than a judgeship.

It is in dealing with candidates carrying party labels that Oregonians get perverse. They long voted more Republican than they registered, as the charts indicate (note especially 1950: Democratic registration increased, as did the Republican vote), and even now they do so more often than not; yet they gave the state's electoral vote four times to Franklin Roosevelt by sizable majorities, and a Democrat who appeals to them may sweep the state. In the Populist-Progressive tradition, they are more affected by personality and by issues than by party — yet what two men seemed more apart in personality and point of view than Dwight D. Eisenhower and Wayne Morse? Oregonians on the same

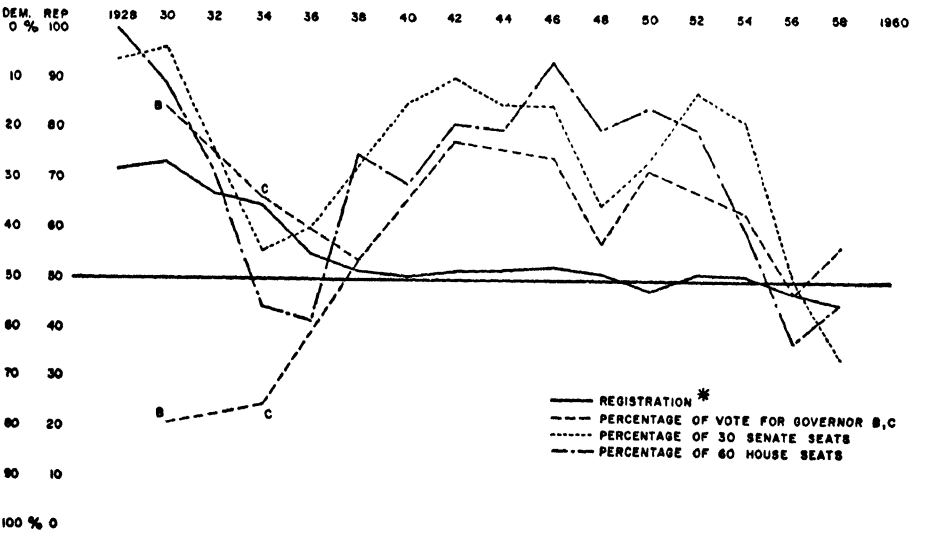
[52] The Grange graduated income tax bill of 1922 was met by one calling for a flat rate, and that of 1926 by one with a property tax offset.

PARTY REGISTRATION COMPARED WITH ACTUAL VOTE

FOR PRESIDENT AND U S. SENATOR



FOR GOVERNOR, STATE SENATE AND HOUSE SEATS



SOURCE: OREGON BLUE BOOK AND OFFICIAL ABSTRACT OF VOTES

* DEMOCRATIC & REPUBLICAN ONLY, EXCLUDING 1 TO 3 % MISC

A. TWO SENATORS ELECTED. % = AVERAGE OF 2 TERMS ON 2 SEATS

B. INDEPENDENT WON WITH 55.2 %

C. INDEPENDENT GOT 31.9 % : DEMOCRAT WON

day in 1956 gave 55.3 per cent of their vote to Eisenhower for the presidency, and 54.3 per cent of it to Morse for the U.S. Senate![53]

What, then, guides them as they place their X's on election day? Looming large for major offices, certainly, is the candidate's public image, created through the press, the platform, and TV, compounded of his apparent character and wisdom and the plausibility of the positions he expounds. It is not coincidental, surely, that the farther analysis goes down the ballot, into the lesser local posts where candidates are faceless and unknown, the more the pure effect of party appears; a Republican coroner sweeps Republican precincts, whatever his personality or point of view, and his Democratic opponent wins wherever his party has the registration edge.[54] Offices not worth the large expense and heavy effort the creation of an image demands *do* go by party ballot. The split tickets that characterize the ballot's top stand out the more sharply for the contrast.

But whatever his behavior in treating candidates, in dealing with measures the Oregon voter comes into his own. To be sure, he has taken some admittedly unfortunate actions during his half-century of experience,[55] but in all honesty it is difficult for anyone but the most violent partisan to hold, after full review, that he has done so often. And his obvious mistakes have been soon rectified, by himself or (with his tacit approval) by the legislature.

If there is any characteristic that marks the whole Oregon direct legislation record, it is moderation, carried sometimes to the point of caution. With very few exceptions, it is impossible to find any extreme departures achieved by the people's rule, unless the features of the Oregon system are themselves regarded as extreme. Independent-minded conservatives the folk of Oregon were when they approved the initiative and referendum so overwhelmingly in 1902; independent-minded conservatives they have remained in their use of the instruments of the people's power. The U'Ren constitution, cabinet government, the abolition of the Senate, the Board of People's Inspectors, the single tax, proportional representation, University moving, the discontinuation of military training, relaxation of medical standards — even the sales tax, the establishment of a lieutenant governor, and school consolidation: all these have gone down before the cautious Oregon electorate.

Moderation in almost everything. If the Anti-Picketing Law placed restrictions on labor, other successful measures have given workers increased freedom. If punchboards have been abolished, pari-mutuel betting has not. If the state-store liquor system has been retained, prohibition has been rejected. If appropriations for public power development have been sometimes refused, so was the private power bill of 1948. If People's Utility Districts (for power sales) have been accepted, public railroads and banking have been turned down. Neither

[53] Eisenhower lost in only four of Oregon's thirty-six counties, and Morse in but seven. Wallowa County, one of the thirteen left with a Republican majority that year, was the *only* county in which the Democrats carried their entire slate.

[54] In populous Multnomah County, party slates regularly win. Frequently fellow-party members of nearly opposite images and points of view receive vote totals that are almost identical.

[55] As in the "hold-up" of University appropriations in 1912, the passage of an outlandish pension bill in 1948, and the rejection (twice in the last fifteen years) of routine transfers of surplus funds.

radical nor reactionary can point with much pride to the Oregon record in proof of effective operation. And only radical or reactionary can find in that record much to view with alarm.

The National Scene

Oregon's coincidental impact on national politics has been greater than the size of the state's population would justify. It has also, sometimes, been different from what Oregon voters themselves have intended. The Oregon habit of voting "the man" rather than "the party" into office has made a kind of sense in state politics not so easily transferred to Washington, D.C. Accordingly, what has appeared locally as sturdy independence, with the emphasis on moderation and the imposition of purely personal responsibility on office-holders in Salem, has contributed on the national scene to political confusion compounded. To be sure, Oregonians themselves have had reason for some confusion when confronted with national elections, for in terms of national party politics, their decisions have not been easy, and a shifting environment has caught them up in emerging demands different from those of their forefathers.

Traditionally, as earlier indicated, Oregonians have directed their principal interest toward their own domestic political affairs. The original settlers came to Oregon territory in order, or at least not unwilling, to live alone and in self-sufficiency; their continued isolation, coupled with their life in an agricultural economy and rural society, confirmed their original bent and inclined their children after them. But progress (still regarded by some old-timers as the root of most, if not all, evil) brought them willy-nilly out of themselves. Increasingly the nationally integrated, industrial, corporate-type economy of the twentieth century has forced their concern to national policy in a number of areas, e.g.: (1) transportation development and regulation, a vital matter to an isolated state; (2) the control of monopoly pricing of industrial goods, for long almost entirely foreign to Oregon; (3) agricultural marketing, especially in wheat and cattle; (4) hydroelectric power development, Oregon's principal hope to escape the "economic colonialism" of the raw-material producer and to participate in the full benefits of an industrial economy; (5) the encouragement of housing, upon which the health of the lumber industry largely depends; and (6) the promotion of foreign trade, to the benefit of Portland's fine and active port and producers shipping through it.

The appearance of these new demands helps to explain the apparent communal schizophrenia of the Oregon electorate in national politics. In almost exclusive part, Oregon interests, as state interests, call for action, not forbearance, by the national government: in railroad regulation, road building, and the improvement of navigation; in trust busting; in farm price support; in public power construction; in housing aid; in trade promotion. Yet on principle, federal action goes against the Jeffersonian grain of the old settler and frets the *id* if not the *ego* of his descendant. Most Oregon voters feel pulled two ways, and enough of them try to vote in both. The results are to be seen in the succession of Oregonians in Congress — the stream of populist and progressive Republicans; conservative McNary, leading the fight for public power; maverick Morse (impeccable in his

attention to local needs) and independent-minded, middle-of-the-road liberal Neuberger; the Democrats voted to the House in the 1950's while Dewey and then Eisenhower swept the state and Republicans dominated state executive offices. They appear in Oregonians' eager if skeptical search for some "partnership power plan," to let them eat their cake and have it too; in their ambivalent reaction to housing bills, reciprocal tariffs, and federal road programs.

It is hard to see Oregon turning back from its awakened or awakening concern with national affairs. Surely the state will become increasingly a cohesive part of the nation, economically and otherwise, and as it does so its citizenry will be more American, less Oregonian. Already there are compelling indications that the introversion of the past is gone from large citizen groups; Portland is less parochial by far than most eastern cities, and purely national questions of foreign policy, segregation, and so on incite interest and action in Oregon urban centers everywhere. The interest is generally sober and the action deliberate, it should be added, and though Oregon fringe groups on both sides are sometimes loudly vocal on national as on local questions, they seem to produce no great effect, politically or otherwise. The state's elected leaders do not give way before them, the conservative Oregon press ponderously condemns them, after due time, and the great body of people view them with a cold eye. To this point in time, the broad Oregon view on national matters, however compounded, has been that of moderation.

So we return full circle to the starting point. As a stable folk, the Oregon citizenry was born; a stable folk, independent in its conservatism, conservative in its independence, it remains. Under the pressure of its shifting present, its future may belie the record of its past. But most Oregonians will greet the change, however golden be its hue, with an acceptance not unmarred by regret.

Utah: Crossroads of the West

FRANK H. JONAS

IN MOST RESPECTS the history of Utah is the history of the early western frontier, with its succession of trapper, explorer, and home-seeker. Unique, however, was a new religion, commonly called Mormonism, in the founding of a commonwealth.

Soon after the Mormon pioneers entered the Great Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, in Mexican territory, they established a government which was a pure theocracy, a complete fusion of church and state, the utilization of one set of institutions for both ecclesiastical and civic affairs. The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill on January 24, 1848, and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ten days later, necessitated the establishment of a responsible civil government, since the territory was now American and thousands of gold seekers traversed it. The Mormons therefore created the State of Deseret in March, 1849.[1]

The peace and prosperity evident under this government ended on September 9, 1850, when President Millard Fillmore signed the bill which created the Territory of Utah. Brigham Young, the Mormon colonizer, was made governor; he left office in 1857.[2] The conflict between the Mormons and the Gentiles, already having reached a breaking point, became "so bitter and prolonged that the Mormon-Gentile complex on occasion still divides the state." [3] Five attempts were made to enter the Union, success finally being achieved in January, 1896.

The Position of the Mormon Church in Utah Politics

Undoubtedly the most significant factor of Utah politics is the Mormon church.[4] This statement, made twenty years ago, would seem to be valid today,

[1] See Dale Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (monograph), *Utah Historical Quarterly*, VIII (April, July, October 1940), 65–239. "Deseret" is a typical Mormon word.

[2] Former United States Senator Elbert D. Thomas (Utah, 1933–51) used to relate that Brigham Young, with the traditional American concept of separation of church and state strongly in mind, sat on one side of his desk in the morning, when he did state business, and then moved his chair to the other side, when he did church work in the afternoon.

[3] William Mulder, *The Mormons in American History* (Bulletin of the University of Utah, Vol. 48, January 4, 1959). "Gentile" is the Mormon term for a non-Mormon.

[4] The official title is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Formerly disapproved, the nickname, "Mormon" church, now seems to have become "official."

although the conclusions might bear some revision. In 1940, after reviewing in some detail the bitter struggle between the Mormons and Gentiles for political and economic supremacy, the writer observed that "after 1896, the year of statehood, politics in Utah melted into the national scene, and in this process it lost the greater part of its distinctiveness." [5] Actually, the transition from the turbulence of the territorial period to the relative quiet of later years was not easy. Party struggle continued almost unabated from 1900 and 1902, when Utah slid into the Republican column by narrow margins, until 1912 and 1916, when finally United States Senator Reed Smoot's "Federal Bunch" was routed, mainly by defeats at the polls. The principal struggle in these years was between U.S. Senator Thomas Kearns and Smoot, who was to serve for thirty years in the Senate (1903–33), for control of the Republican party.[6] Smoot was also an apostle in the Mormon church from 1900 until his death in 1941, and enjoyed the close friendship of two politically minded church presidents, Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant.

During territorial days the Mormons almost to a man had been Democratic. Their party, the People's party, always elected the territorial delegates, who, with one exception, declared themselves Democrats. The lone exception, George Q. Cannon, however, sat on the Democratic side of the aisle.

When the People's party dissolved in 1891 and the Gentiles' Liberal party disbanded in 1893, Mormon Republicans were hard to find. Church leaders, in order to enhance the chances for statehood, deliberately undertook to strike a balance, which meant that half the church members were asked authoritatively to become Republicans. At the same time, the dominant church leaders, who were Republican, heartily welcomed the gold standard, fully embraced the money economy of the nation, and joined voluntarily the national expansionist movement. By 1900, Utah abandoned the Bryan heresies and gave its electoral vote to William McKinley.[7]

Thomas Kearns, Catholic and wealthy mine owner, had become United States senator in 1901 with the help of President Lorenzo Snow of the Mormon church. When he could not obtain the same cooperation from Snow's successor, Joseph F. Smith, who favored Reed Smoot, he faced defeat for re-election in 1904. Angry, he bolted the Republican party, formed the American party, bought the daily *Salt Lake Tribune*, hired an apostate Mormon, former U.S. Senator Frank J. Cannon, as editor, and conducted an unprecedented campaign of vilification and vituperation against Smoot, Smith, and the Mormon church.

At the same time, Smoot's Senate seat which he won in 1902, and assumed in 1903, was challenged; the proceedings in the effort to unseat him became very bitter. The reason for this challenge was the allegation, subsequently dis-

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[5] Frank H. Jonas, "Utah: Sagebrush Democracy," *Rocky Mountain Politics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 14.

[6] Milton Merrill, "Reed Smoot, Apostle in Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1950). See Frank H. Jonas (ed.), *Bibliography on Western Politics* (Salt Lake City: Institute of Government, University of Utah, December 1950), for published titles on Reed Smoot.

[7] Though nearly all state offices in 1895 and national offices in 1896 were held by Republicans, Utah gave William Jennings Bryan the highest percentage of votes it has ever given a presidential candidate, 82.7.

proved, that Smoot was a polygamist.[8] After he was finally allowed, in 1907, to retain his seat, Smoot became the Senate's great front fighter for a high tariff policy. In the meantime, the Mormon church had developed the sugar beet industry, and abandoned the policy of discouraging its members from engaging in mining, an industry which had become since 1867 almost the exclusive province of the Gentiles. The tariff became practically the sole issue in Utah politics from statehood until the advent of the New Deal in 1933.

At home, Smoot fought Kearns with political tactics. He gathered close to him a group of federal office-holders which became known as the "Federal Bunch." This group operated with skill and finesse from 1903 to 1912, winning at least three-fourths of the American party members back to the Republican fold. Smoot was an astute politician. He used both his party and his church as vehicles to "deliver" his state to the GOP. In this process, Mormonism and Republicanism became indistinguishable; "God, the Church, the Republican Party, and Reed Smoot were all on the same side." [9]

In 1904, the national Democratic party drove thousands of Mormon Democrats into the Republican camp when it placed in its platform the following plank: "We demand the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the complete separation of Church and State in political affairs." The Republican platform for the same year was completely silent on this question and, after claiming credit for establishing the gold standard and placing the Quigley tariff on the statute books, it recorded that "protection, which guards and develops our industries, is the cardinal policy of the Republican Party." [10]

From 1920 to 1932, the political scene was relatively quiet, due principally perhaps to a tacit gentlemen's agreement between influential Mormons and non-Mormons to share the available major public offices.

Without his political machine, which had disintegrated in 1912, Smoot barely survived his campaign for re-election in 1914, when he faced the electorate for the first time under the new constitutional provision for the direct election of senators. Smoot did not have an attractive political personality, but fortunately for him, neither did his Democratic opponent, James H. Moyle, a distinguished lawyer, devout Mormon, and a founder of the Democratic party in Utah. Moyle remained aloof from the voters, creating the impression that he was arrogant.[11]

Smoot no longer needed a machine to win in 1920 and 1926 from rather inept Democratic candidates. He had built his reputation into a legend by cul-

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[8] Although Smoot had never "taken a second wife," the charge remained that he was a high official in an organization which still condoned plural marriage. Although the church had disavowed the practice in 1890, an action which helped to pave the way for statehood in 1896, it prevailed privately until 1904. See Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes on Mormon Polygamy," *Western Humanities Review*, X (Summer 1956), 229–39.

[9] Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[10] Keith H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson (compilers), *National Party Platforms, 1840–1956* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), pp. 133, 138.

[11] Moyle became assistant secretary of the United States Department of the Treasury under President Woodrow Wilson and United States customs collector under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Just prior to the advent of the New Deal he served his church as president of its Eastern States Mission, indicative of his high standing in its councils.

tivating the image of an indispensable expert in Congress on the tariff, a wizard of finance, and a hard-worker who devoted himself to detail, kept his nose to the grindstone, and labored continuously for his constituents. Indeed, in Utah he was considered unbeatable.

In this period, the personality of Reed Smoot had more influence on Utah politics than did the Mormon church. The key to his political personality was business, as it was to the personality of Heber J. Grant, who in 1918 succeeded Joseph F. Smith as church president. Grant sought and enjoyed the company of bankers, financiers, and industrialists. The Church leadership in general held conservative, capitalistic views. An analysis made in 1922 indicated that "the most influential men of Mormon priesthood are businessmen and thus place a high value on pecuniary ideals and methods," and "there is a growing tendency to take sides with the capitalistic class and with large corporations against the laboring classes.[12]

Toward the end of his career Smoot could count more definitely on many Gentile businessmen than he could on some members of the Council of Twelve.[13] Smoot's political career and his relationship with the Mormon church has been summarized succinctly:

> Reed Smoot received some support from the Mormon Church in the furtherance of his political career. The mere fact that Smoot, the Apostle, was permitted to engage in politics on the scale he did constituted an approval which may have had some political value. . . . Throughout his senatorial years Smoot received the unqualified and usually enthusiastic aid of the two Mormon Presidents who served during that time. He never received equal loyalty from other members of the hierarchy, and he frequently met determined opposition from certain of them. . . . Except for the election of 1926 he never received on his own account a substantial majority of Mormon votes, and in all probability he received a minority of such votes in 1902, 1914, and 1932. It could not be said at any time that Smoot was the senator of the Mormon Church, in the sense that he got the Church vote.[14]

Actually, independence characterized the Mormon and the Utah vote during the Smoot era, a fact all the more remarkable because Smith, then the Mormon church president, not only let his Republican views be known publicly in print but personally considered Smoot's remaining in office as "the will of the Lord." This independence was demonstrated in 1932 when Smoot, supremely confident and considered unbeatable, lost decisively to a newcomer in politics, Democrat Elbert D. Thomas. In this campaign year the church president, Grant, made his position clear to the L.D.S. membership; he was supporting Reed Smoot personally and unequivocally.

Smoot's crushing defeat marked the end of an era of Mormon church influence in politics, though its leaders were apparently not to realize this fact until the 1936 election, when their president publicly endorsed a candidate for the

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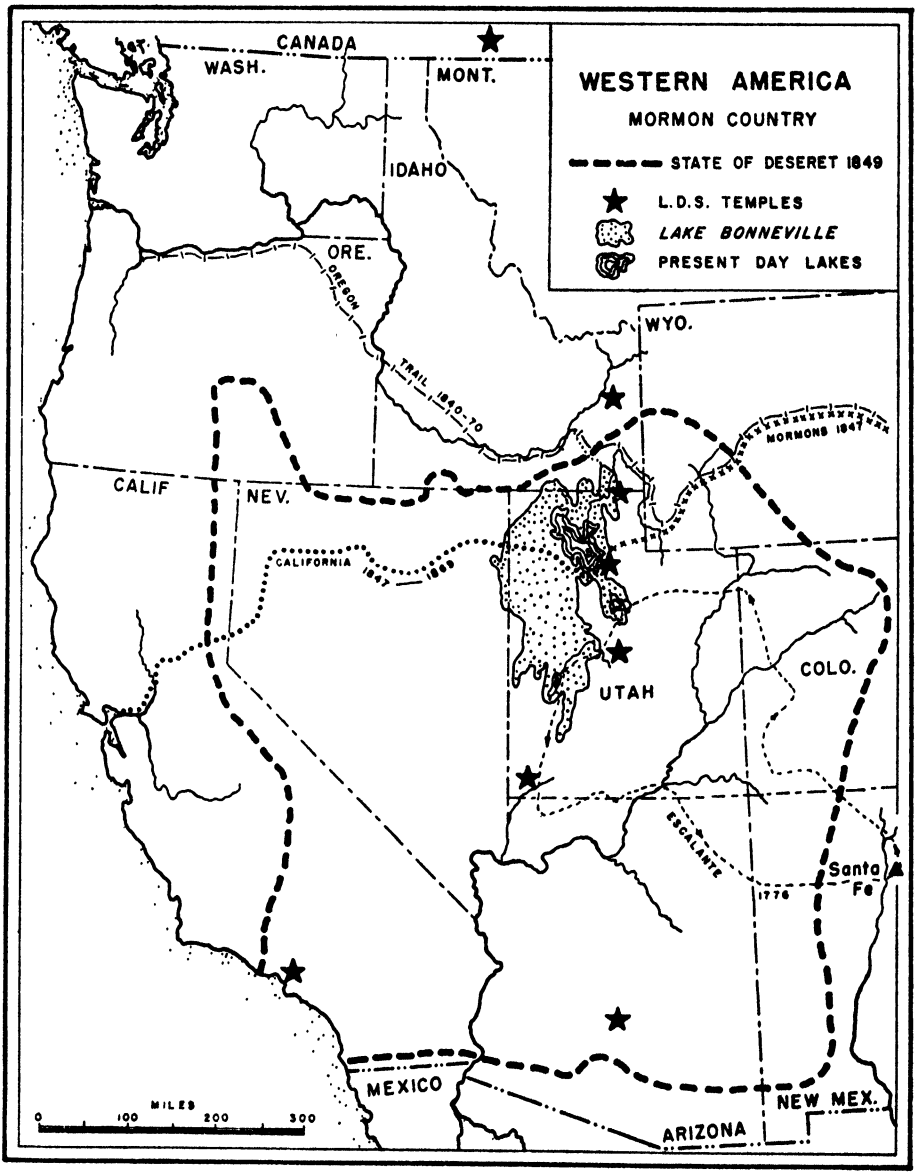
[12] Ephraim Edward Erickson, *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922), pp. 70–79.

[13] The ruling council next in authority under the First Presidency of the Mormon church: "a group of twelve Apostles."

[14] Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–17.

last time. In the elections from 1932 to 1938 the church did appear to support certain Republican candidates for high public office. All lost at the polls. After their defeats they returned to their church offices or were subsequently called to important church positions, evidence of their high standing in the organization and basis for the assumption that they had had at least its tacit and unofficial support during the election.

In 1934, Don B. Colton, who had served as Republican congressman (First District) from 1921 to 1933, was given a leave of absence from his post in New



York as president of the church's Eastern States Mission to come to Utah to make the race for William H. King's senate seat. On the Democratic side, Hugh B. Brown, who also held a high church position, aspired to become the Democratic nominee. The incumbent, William H. King, Democrat, won the nomination and defeated Colton, who returned to his church post.

In 1936, the church thought it could influence the voters by a public announcement of its position. Angered and alarmed by Smoot's defeat, the repeal of prohibition, its loss of tithing revenue, and the flocking of its members to federal relief and public works payrolls, it issued an open announcement on the front page of the *Deseret News* endorsing the presidential candidacy of Republican Alf Landon. This endorsement was to brush off on all Republican candidates in Utah. J. Reuben Clark, first counselor to the president of the Mormon church, was accused of having written the endorsement.[15] Prominent life-long Democratic Mormons remonstrated with President Heber J. Grant, who took full credit for the statement. The *Deseret News* lost thousands of subscribers.

Governor Henry H. Blood, who had served his church well, felt deeply hurt. He was faced in the election with Republican Ray Dillman, who, although he obviously had church support, was defeated. Dillman was then sent to the Western States Mission as its president.

In 1938, the General Authorities[16] granted Franklin S. Harris, president of the wholly church-related Brigham Young University, a leave of absence to run as the Republican nominee against incumbent United States Senator Elbert D. Thomas. The campaign tactic in this year which either indicated Mormon church interest or involved this organization in the campaign became known as the "letter to the Mormon bishops." Dr. Harris was charged with sending this letter, which stated what was clearly the church's interpretation of and opposition to the New Deal. Its plain purpose was to create the impression that the church wanted Harris and did not want Thomas. In any event, Harris lost to Thomas at the polls.

By 1940, in each election since 1932, the candidates who presumably had tacit and unofficial Mormon hierarchal support had been defeated. Certainly, on the basis of this evidence, the church did not control in Utah politics.

Even in the area of relations with the state legislature the influence of the church had waned. "Dominated" by Herbert B. Maw, a state senator for ten

[15] After a distinguished State Department career, Clark was appointed by President Herbert Hoover as ambassador to Mexico. His *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine*. issued in March 1930, anticipated by several years President Roosevelt's more publicized "Good Neighbor Policy."

[16] The highest council in the church is the First Presidency, consisting of the president and two counselors. All three carry the title of "president." Although only the president can speak publicly for the whole church, statements of doctrine and policy are official only when issued in writing over the three signatures of the First Presidency. These three men, the Council of Twelve (apostles), and the patriarch to the church, meet regularly weekly, or on call, in the Mormon Temple in Salt Lake City to formulate policy. Other administrative councils are the First Council of Seventy (seven men) and the Presiding Bishopric (three men), which meet separately. These councils, with eleven assistants to the Twelve, who do not meet as a council, constitute the thirty-seven members of the "General Authorities" of the church.

In 1961, J. Reuben Clark, in his 90th year, requested that a fourth person be added to the First Presidency. As a result of this request, Apostle Hugh B. Brown was called to this position by President David O. McKay. Apparently there had been some precedent in the early history of the Church for a four-member First Presidency.

years, the 1937 legislature was the most liberal in the state's history. However, he was elected governor in 1940 over a church full-time employee, Don B. Colton. Previously, Maw had won the Democratic nomination over Henry D. Moyle, presumably a church-favored candidate. Moyle later was elevated to an apostleship, an action which indicated his favorable standing with the General Authorities.

This position of the Mormon church was not to change in the 1942 and the 1944 elections. The Democrats won all major offices in 1942 almost by default, the single exception being the close victory of Congressman Walter K. Granger in the First District over J. Bracken Lee. Two years later incumbent Senator Elbert D. Thomas defeated Dr. Adam S. Bennion, who had held prominent church positions, and who, after the election, was elevated to an apostleship.

Apparently the church remained comparatively indifferent to all candidates in the 1946 elections, although a former bishop, William A. Dawson, and a former stake president,[17] Arthur V. Watkins, won unexpected victories over the Democratic incumbents in the national House and Senate, J. Will Robinson and Abe Murdock, respectively, who were also Mormons but had not been active in the church. In this year, conditions and not personalities prevailed. People were weary of wartime rationing controls. The complacent Democrats were swept out of office with the slogan "Had Enough," hardly knowing what had hit them during the final two weeks of the campaign.

In 1948, the Mormon church appeared to reactivate its interest in political candidacies. With state Republican leaders, influential Mormon Republicans settled on the single objective to unseat Democrat Governor Herbert B. Maw. The *Deseret News* had carried on an incessant editorial campaign against him. Many top Mormon leaders gave J. Bracken Lee, a non-Mormon, their support.[18]

Two years later the General Authorities took an active part in defeating incumbent Senator Elbert D. Thomas. Visiting authorities to the stake quarterly conferences let it be known orally that Thomas was not in "harmony with the Brethren."[19] The *Deseret News* gave Thomas some shabby news treatment, an action for which he never forgave the church which he had served faithfully all his life.

In 1952, the Republicans unseated Representatives Walter Granger (a former Mormon bishop) and Reva Beck Bosone (a non-Mormon), both Democrats, with Douglas Stringfellow (a devout Latter-day Saint) in the First District, and William A. Dawson (also a former Mormon bishop) in the Second; Dawson won back the seat after an absence of four years. Governor J. Bracken Lee, a 32nd degree Mason, won re-election by defeating a devout Mormon, Earl J. Glade, who had been Salt Lake City's mayor for nine years.

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[17] A "stake" is a geographical and administrative unit, analogous to a Catholic diocese; it comprises several operating units, called "wards." The stake is presided over by a president and two counselors, assisted by a high council of twelve men. Analogous to a Catholic parish or a Protestant congregation, the ward is presided over by a bishop and two counselors.

[18] For Lee's and Maw's relations with the Mormon church, see Frank H. Jonas, "J. Bracken Lee and the Mormon Church," *Proceedings*, Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XXXV (1956–57), 109–25.

[19] The word "brethren" is a synonym for the General Authorities in this context.

This same year the Mormon church "officially," as an organization, made a significant change in its political tactics. Instead of simply advising its members from the pulpit to vote for "good" candidates, it activated a "wake-up-the-voters campaign" and instructed them to attend the district mass meetings, where the delegates to the nominating conventions are chosen by secret ballot. In 1954, 95 per cent of all elected public office-holders, including the eighty-three-member legislature, were Mormons. In 1956, 95 per cent of all the persons on the ballot were Mormons. These figures appeared disproportionately high even to the almost 70 per cent Mormon population in the state.

Although the Mormon church seemed indifferent to the candidates in 1954, it appeared to have suffered some political reverses at the polls as a result of the open and vigorous support several General Authorities gave two propositions on the ballot. One would have restored the state's three junior colleges, given to the state in 1931, to the church. The other would have reapportioned representation in the legislature for the first time since 1931. Both lost by two to one, clear evidence that many Mormons had not followed the advice of their religious leaders. These losses were construed quite correctly as setbacks in politics for the church.

In 1956, the General Authorities appeared to be divided on Lee's third-term candidacy. One apostle, LeGrand Richards, publicly endorsed the Governor, an action which reportedly was frowned upon by his colleagues. At the same time, Apostle Ezra Taft Benson hit the national political trail with one hundred and twenty-three speeches for the Republicans. In Utah, Benson let it be known publicly that he preferred George Dewey Clyde, the Republican nominee, for governor.

By 1958, the Democrats had elected party officials and presented candidates for major office who were acceptable to President David O. McKay. He granted their request for the services of Apostle Hugh B. Brown, to offset those of Apostle Benson, who was again barnstorming for the Republicans. Apostle Brown, an excellent speaker, took his Democratic audiences by storm and generally upset the Republicans. He most effectively endorsed David S. King, who defeated the incumbent in the Second Congressional District, Representative William A. Dawson, who was not supposed to lose. On the other hand, Senator Watkins did not receive too much help from church leaders. Indeed, Apostle Benson's several appearances in the state seemed to do him more harm than good.

In the period from 1948 to 1960, the General Authorities witnessed as many legislative measures, in which it may be assumed they had an interest, defeated in the legislature or vetoed by the governor as were passed either with their tacit or expressed approval. For example, the Sunday-closing enactment, which also had support from labor and business interests, and from the Protestants, was vetoed by Governor Clyde, a Mormon. His action has been interpreted generally as placing him in disfavor with the Mormon church in his 1960 bid for re-election. In no sense has Clyde been the minion of his church.

What, then, may one conclude about the position of the Mormon church in Utah politics? After reviewing the election results from 1932 to 1938, the writer stated in 1940 that "although much in spirit from the period 1847 to 1896 has survived in political forms and practices, one fact is clear to the more than casual observer; the influence of the Mormon Church in the politics of Utah, from the standpoint of effective pressure, is at the moment mostly a myth." [20] If the assumption is correct that the Mormon church did support certain favored candidates, statistics should be incontrovertible evidence that the church did not control politics in Utah in that period. After World War II it stepped up its interest in politics, with some successes and several setbacks. Because of the reverses, in this period one may conclude that the alleged control by the Mormon church was still a myth, if by control is meant that, in order to gain its ends, all its leaders have to do is snap their fingers and pass the word along. Persons critical of the church's position would say categorically that the church controls politics in Utah. Devout Mormons would say unequivocally that it is not in politics in any way. Both extreme positions would seem to be in error.

In politics, however, one may distinguish between control and influence. The Mormon church does have both potential and real influence in politics, but for success either at the polls or in the legislature much depends on the circumstances in a particular situation and on its own choice of tactics. The situation at all times is dynamic; the position of the Mormon church in Utah politics at any one time can be ascertained only with reference to the fate of a particular legislative measure in which it seems to be interested and the election results for a certain candidate whom it apparently wants to favor.

Geography and Resources

Utah was carved out of the provisional State of Deseret which included all of the present states of Utah and Nevada, and most of Arizona and parts of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, and California, an area of 230,610 square miles. By 1861 this was reduced to 122,887 square miles, and by 1870 it approximated the present area of 84,990 square miles.

Utah offers the student of geography and geology probably the greatest possible variety of physical features for observation of any state in the Union. Continuous ranges of mountains cut the state in the middle from north to south. These begin in southern Idaho and veer to the west as they approach but do not touch the Arizona boundary line. The high Uinta mountain range runs east and west in the northeastern part of the state. In the northwest is located the Great Salt Lake desert; in the west central, the Great Basin; in the southeast, the Great Central plateau; and in the northeast, the Uintah Basin. Long stretches of dry desert lands lie between the Utah mountain ranges and the Colorado Rockies on the east and the Sierra Nevadas on the west.[21]

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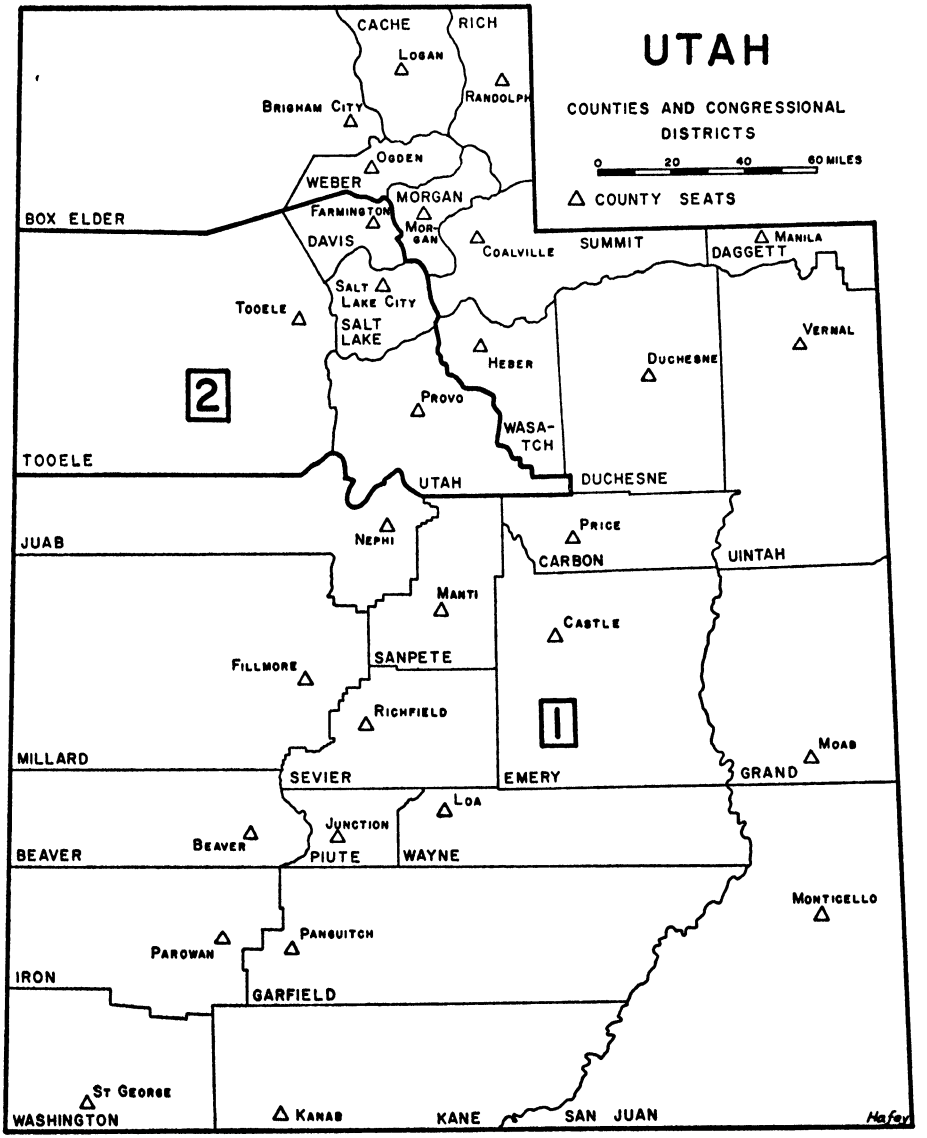
[20] Jonas, "Utah: Sagebrush Democracy," *loc. cit.*

[21] For more details, see Bowman Hawkes, *Directed Studies in Geography of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Extension Division, University of Utah, 1960). See also the excellent pamphlet by Hawkes and Osmond L. Harline, *The Salt Lake Area: Land of Contrasts* (Salt Lake City: Department of Geography, University of Utah, July 1960), which contains a physiographic map of Utah, p. 3.

What is most important to Utah's economy, however, are the water resources which originate in the Wasatch range and the high Uintas. The average rainfall in Utah varies from fifty to sixty inches along the Wasatch front to four inches in the western desert area. Water is the economic lifeblood of the state, and there is consensus that the state's future lies entirely in an accessible and adequate supply.

Economic Elements

The "Mormon village," with its population living in towns and with its cultivated areas and pasture lands lying on the outskirts, became the charac-



teristic social structure.[22] The initial agriculture and grazing activities were soon supplemented and then surpassed by mining in terms of productive wealth. Mining became not only the principal activity but almost the exclusive province of the Gentiles, since Brigham Young had cautioned the Saints about engaging in mining. The Gentiles brought in outside capital to exploit metal and coal re sources. Though politically Utah became known as a "silver state," the gold anc silver were extracted from lead, zinc, and copper ores, which could be brought out profitably only after the railroads were built. Long distances and rugged terrain have made transportation Utah's greatest economic problem.

Lead and zinc mining have been in serious difficulty. The extraction of these ores has become increasingly more expensive, and they can be purchased much more cheaply in foreign markets. Utah politicians in Congress face an almost hopeless task in trying to keep this part of the mining industry alive by public policy.

The mining industry generally in Utah is not dead and is still growing. It pays the largest monthly wage of any industry in the state. It matches this payment dollar-for-dollar in the purchase of supplies and services. Second only to California in originating freight tonnage produced by mining, Utah is also second only to Arizona in total tonnage and value of non-ferrous metal ores produced in the nation. This glowing picture, however, has been made possible by the introduction of other types of mining, mainly uranium, natural gas, oil, and recently, potash.

With the largest open pit non-ferrous metal mine in the nation, the Kennecott Copper Corporation for many years has been probably the largest single taxpayer in the state. One of the largest concentrations of milling and smelting in the world developed in the Salt Lake and Tooele county areas. However, the backbone—and the symbol—of Utah's new industrial development is the big Geneva Steel Works of United States Steel Corporation's Columbia-Geneva Steel Division. Located in Utah county approximately 35 miles south of Salt Lake City, Geneva—one of the West's largest completely integrated steel complexes—was built during World War II to serve the needs of western defense fabricators.

With coal resources in Carbon County, 120 miles south and east of the plant, and iron ore in Iron County, 240 miles to the south, and limestone and dolomite close at hand, Geneva's steelmaking furnaces have a rated capacity of more than two million ingot tons of steel a year. New facilities have been added through the years, and now, in its Utah operations, which include a facility for manufacturing large diameter gas transmission line pipe and small diameter water line pipe, U.S. Steel employs more than 7,000 people, and is probably the second largest taxpayer in the state.

Utah county was declared a metropolitan area after the 1960 census. This is also the area, one of private enterprise, where in the 1958 and 1960 elections

[22] See Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1951). See also Wallace Stegner, *Mormon Country* ("American Folkways Series" [New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942]), and Nels Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

organized labor achieved its best results at the polls for its endorsed Democratic candidates.

Although agriculture has been since 1847 a major foundation of Utah's economy, in terms of total value of income it is only 6 per cent of California's or Iowa's and ranks forty-first in the nation. In the West, only Nevada and Wyoming are agriculturally smaller than Utah. The state grows few grains, a small portion being wheat. The other grains are fed to livestock, although much of the wheat is processed into flour. Large quantities of wheat are shipped in for processing and the product is exported. Not more than 7 per cent of the state's total income is derived from price-controlled basic crops. For this reason Utah's Ezra Taft Benson, former secretary of agriculture, has not been a controversial figure in the state because of the Administration's agricultural policies.[23]

Beginning to grow in 1940, manufacturing, the third basic industry in Utah, soon after 1950 had surpassed agriculture in employment. In December 1959, government was the largest employer with 63,700 employees, followed closely by wholesale and retail trade with 60,700, manufacturing with 46,300, agriculture with only 32,500, and mining with 9,800, a sharp drop from the previous year.

Federal aid now accounts for 31.0 per cent of all Utah state revenue.[24] Even more significant for Utah's dependence on the federal government is the development of the missile industry and the expenditures for military installations. Defense spending in the state during 1959 amounted to approximately $242,690,628.[25] At the end of 1959 almost 31,000 persons, about 27,500 of whom were civilian, were engaged in defense or military effort. (Hill Air Force Base alone employs over 13,500 persons.) Income payments to these individuals totaled $167.6 million. This represented about 10 per cent of the state's 260,000 non-agricultural workers and over 10 per cent of the state's personal income payments of $1.6 billion. Approximately 29 per cent of the total military employment was workers in private industries producing missiles. Of the nineteen Utah employers of 500 or more persons, nine were defense installations or plants. Ten per cent of the total construction was for defense related construction. Indeed, the area including Salt Lake and Weber counties has been called "Missile Center, U.S.A."

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[23] "My stand in behalf of flexible farm supports was, I am sure, favored by a good-sized majority of Utah farmers. For example, in 1958, 79 per cent of Utah's agricultural income came from some form of livestock. With the exception of the dairy farmers, the livestock industry stands to lose from high price supports as a result of increased feed grain costs and higher taxes. In the last year for which figures were calculated, Utah lost $16 million in taxes for $4 million received in price support." Hon. Henry Aldous Dixon, U.S. Representative from the First District (Utah), letter to the writer, dated May 17, 1960.

[24] "Conditions of Utah State Finances — 1960," *Research Report*, No. 178 (Salt Lake City: Utah Foundation, October 1960), p. 232.

[25] William A. Tillerman, "Federal Defense Spending in Utah," *Utah Economic and Business Review* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business, University of Utah), XX, No. 4 (April 1960), 3–5. See also *Proceedings*, Eleventh Annual State Economic Development Conference, Utah Committee on Industrial and Employment Planning, Salt Lake City, August 24, 1960, for data on and evaluations of Utah's defense industry and changes in economic patterns.

Population Factors

Of Utah's twenty-nine counties, twenty-five comprise the First Congressional District and four the Second. Although these four (Davis, Salt Lake, Utah, and Tooele) cover only 10.8 per cent of the total land area, they contain 63.3 per cent of the population, and 60.8 per cent of the state's assessed valuation. Beginning in 1942 and 1943, due principally to the impetus of war, the state showed a tremendous population increase, most of it in the Second Congressional District. By 1960, this district totaled 571,310, a gain of 40 per cent over the 1950 census figure of 402,310. The twenty-five counties in the First District totaled 315,616, a gain of 10.2 per cent over 1950. The total state figure of 886,926 represented a gain of 28.2 per cent over 1950.[26] This figure of less than one million rendered it very unlikely that Utah would acquire another seat in the national House of Representatives.

Actually, the four most heavily populated counties, Weber, Davis, Salt Lake, and Utah, which string along the west front of the Wasatch mountains, now form one continuous metropolitan area. Its heart is Salt Lake City, which is a trade center for the entire state, southern Idaho, eastern Nevada, and southwestern Wyoming, with business interests in southwestern Colorado. With the development of north and south transportation, this area, culturally, economically, and politically, is indeed the Crossroads of the West.

The population increase has been due to the favorable balance in birth over death rates, the strong ties of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which have helped to keep people in the state and to bring many natives back from other states, a net in-migration of 13,000, and the economic changes, which have industrialized the Second District. Economic opportunities in this section have also attracted residents from the First District, where seventeen of the twenty-five counties decreased measurably in population from 1940 to 1950 as did thirteen of them from 1950 to 1960.

Population patterns in Utah differ from surrounding states and the entire nation, due mainly to religious influences. Utah has been less on the move than the nation and, in every case, by 20 per cent or more, than all other western states; therefore, mobility has had less effect on voting behavior.

In spite of the disparity of density, 8.4 compared to the national average of 54.7, the percentages of urban and rural population in Utah and in the nation are approximately the same. The state is 65.4 per cent urban, 23 per cent rural non-farm, and 11.6 per cent rural farm. In Utah, compared to the nation, the people are younger, males outnumber females, families are larger, and the educational levels are higher.

Ethnic and minority groups have played only a small role in Utah politics. In 1950, the percentages of non-white and foreign-born white persons in the state were 1.7 and 4.3, respectively, with most of the latter in the Second Dis-

[26] *Preliminary Reports, 1960 Census of Population* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, July 1960). The final official figure for Utah was 890,627, a gain over 1950 of 28.3 per cent. *New York Times*, November 16, 1960. Other data, especially on population characteristics, were taken principally from El Roy Nelson, *Utah's Economic Patterns* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1956).

trict. There are not enough "colored" or "foreign born" persons in Utah to constitute a "problem" for the vote-seeking politician.[27]

For voting behavior, the chief significance of population shifts and increases would be found in the labor force, especially in Utah where labor union organization has not been too effective until very recently. Three small and three large counties have had high percentage increases. Daggett County, the site of the Flaming Gorge Dam, has increased its labor force in the last decade 71.4 per cent; San Juan, due to oil-well development and the Glen Canyon Dam, 139 per cent; and Grand, because of uranium mining and processing, 180.9 per cent. Of greater political significance are the percentage increases in the labor force in the larger counties in the Second Congressional District; Davis County, 71.4 per cent; Utah, 26.5; and Salt Lake, 23.2.[28] This increased labor force has been reflected in increased union organization and more effective labor union activity in elections. The voting potential in labor is becoming highly organized.

In 1955, the percentage of Mormons in Utah's population was 69.3. Five years later it had risen to 70.2 per cent, or 639,420 of a total 886,926. In 1960 the Catholic population reached 40,541, an increase of 43.2 per cent over 1950. Utah has fewer Roman Catholics than any state except Alaska and South Carolina. The Protestant population has been estimated as low as 21,000 and as high as 41,000.

Educational Conditions

In Utah, a higher percentage of children go to school than in other states, and the state leads all others in the level of grades completed, in the percentage of school attendance of each age group, and in the percentage of its population between the ages of five and twenty-five enrolled in schools and colleges. Almost 49 per cent of the adult population has completed four years of high school, and 8.1 per cent, four years of college.[29] "The homogeneous nature of the Utah area, education, and in part the influence of the Mormon Church, which encourages rotation in the lower offices of its many organizations and promotes wide participation in such responsible positions," have had a favorable effect on public administration in the sense that it has not suffered greatly from the "spoils system.[30] However, these statistically fav-

[27] Since the total vote from minority groups is not large, candidates do not take them very seriously, but are careful not to antagonize them. Campaign managers will get membership lists from the Negro, Greek, Japanese, Italian, Chinese, Spanish and other similar organizations and send out propaganda, signed usually by a responsible person in each group. These groups are quite easily aroused, and if they work for a candidate, they will usually vote as a bloc. Moreover, they do not generally regard politics as a "dirty" business, and once "sold" on a candidate, they will do hours of work for him without pay.

[28] These figures for the period 1950 to 1958 were taken from the *Proceedings*, Tenth Annual State Economic Development Conference, Utah Committee on Industrial and Employment Planning, Salt Lake City, August 19, 1959.

[29] Salt Lake *Tribune*, May 30, 1960. See *Ranking of the States*, Research Report, 1959–R4 (Washington, D.C.: Research Division, National Education Association, April 1959). See also *Where Do We Stand?* (Salt Lake City: Utah Education Association, 1959).

[30] G. Homer Durham, "Public Service in Utah," *Utah Educational Review*, December 1940, pp. 126–27.

orable educational conditions have not been reflected in less unfair campaign practices, nor in the rejection of demogogues at the polls. Utah has had her share of both.

Other controversial political events and actions in education during the past two decades included changing the state superintendent of public instruction from an elective to an appointive office (1951), the creating of the Utah Board of Higher Education (1957), the changing of Weber College in Ogden from a two- to a four-year college, the discrediting of the teaching profession by former governor J. Bracken Lee, and his ultimately unsuccessful attempt to intervene during his regime, by means of appointments to administrative boards and personal investigators on the campuses, in the administrations of the only two large state-supported universities, the University of Utah and Utah State University.

Still other practices and problems included the usual manipulating by incumbent governors and state administrations of the state property tax during non-election years so that in election years there would be a low property tax or none at all, the failure of local school districts to meet their own educational obligations to their maximum capacity because of the state limit on property taxes, and the "bedroom" problem in Granite School District. This District lies between the wealthy Jordan School District (Kennecott Copper Corporation) and the well-heeled Salt Lake City School District. Only half of the educational financial burden can be met by residential property taxes. Industrial and commercial properties must supply the other half. However, as a suburban area, Granite School District has the children but not the industry and commerce. In spite of these facts, some politicians still insist for political purposes that this and other similiar financial problems should be dealt with entirely locally. School financing has been a perennial problem reflected in sharp sectional and pressure group differences.

Press and Public Opinion

Utah is served by five daily newspapers. In Salt Lake City, the morning *Salt Lake Tribune,* Catholic-owned and operated, and the evening *Deseret News and Salt Lake Telegram,* published by the Mormon church, are statewide with substantial circulations in Idaho, southwestern Wyoming, and eastern Nevada. Conservative in policy, these two papers, though opposed previously to so-called New Dealers, in the past decade have given the candidates of both parties very fair treatment. Earlier they had cultivated an adverse attitude toward Governor Herbert B. Maw (1941–49) and Senator Elbert D. Thomas (1933–51), both Democrats and New Dealers. Both papers are business and family-oriented; they cooperate generally on community projects. The business end is owned and administered jointly by the Newspaper Agency Corporation. The five incorporators, John F. Fitzpatrick (deceased, September 11, 1960), *Tribune* publisher, John W. Gallivan, his deputy (Gallivan was replaced by Arthur Deck when the former succeeded Fitzpatrick as publisher), Elder Mark Peterson, apostle of the Mormon church, Dr. O. Preston Robinson, general manager of the *Deseret News,* and Gus

P. Backman, executive secretary of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, although operating individually or separately, represent probably the most influential groups in Utah politics.

Democratic Weber county is served out of Ogden, Utah's second largest city, by the traditionally Republican *Standard-Examiner*. Other dailies are the Provo *Herald* in Utah county and the Logan *Herald-Journal* in Cache county, both owned and operated by the out-of-state Scripps interests.

The state elsewhere is served by about fifty weekly papers, all conservative, business-oriented, and almost exclusively Republican. The few nominally Democratic publishers are conservative; their papers appear to be Republican-inclined. The sole exception is the weekly Salt Lake *Times*. Certainly no liberal press could survive anywhere in Utah.[31]

Television in Utah, as elsewhere in the nation, has played an increasingly important communications role in political campaigns, but it has not eclipsed the printed page and the personal touch for effective campaigning.[32] Twenty-eight radio stations thoroughly cover the state. Salt Lake City radio and television stations cover the same territory but not uniformly. Idaho's Senator Frank Church and Wyoming's Senator Gale McGee have used KSL-TV, a 50,000 watt station in Salt Lake City, to reach voters by live telecasts in southern Idaho and southwestern Wyoming. Sometimes due to the lack of "color" in candidates and at all times due to the high cost, this medium has been used more cautiously and sparingly in recent campaigns.[33]

Nominations, Elections, and Corrupt Practices

Utah's election laws follow the traditional American political pattern for the qualifications for voting and the privileges of voters. From the first elections in 1895 for state offices until May 10, 1937, Utah operated strictly with the convention system for the naming of nominees. The state turned in 1938 to the direct primary, with a runoff for the two highest candidates. In 1947, the present mixed convention-primary system was adopted. In this system, delegates to nominating conventions are elected by secret ballot in party mass meetings held in voting districts.[34] Each district is entitled to one delegate. The

[31] Shortly before our entry into World War II, the New Deal Democratically inclined publishers of two weeklies, the Box Elder *Journal* in Brigham City and the *Pyramid* in Mount Pleasant, were forced to sell because of pressure from the advertisers and opinion leaders in their communities.

[32] In 1958, Congressman William A. Dawson attributed his defeat in part to the last-minute television programming of his rival, Democrat David S. King. However, handsome, articulate Mormon Apostle Hugh B. Brown was the television star, which possibly made the medium effective. But King estimated he shook at least 25,000 hands and made many more personal appearances than his opponent. No other form of communication could have been more effective than the four-page newspaper and other leaflets which "destroyed" Elbert D. Thomas in 1950 and drove him from public life. See Frank H. Jonas, "Political Dynamiting," *Proceedings*, Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XXXIII (1955–56), 135–47.

[33] In 1956, J. Bracken Lee's television appearances seemed to boomerang. Though persuasive, his tirades and bad temper were disliked by the viewers.

[34] These positions generally are eagerly sought. Probably 25,000 citizens attend the mass meetings, now held by both parties on the same night to avoid "raiding." Over 2,000 delegates, who become "important people," are elected. Frequently interest groups and party workers will "stack" the meetings or employ other devices in an attempt to control them.

state central committees determine the number of additional delegates to be chosen in each district, based on the party's voting strength in the previous congressional election. The district also elects four officers and a committee of three persons. The chairmen and vice-chairmen, one of whom must be a woman, become members of the county central committees. The secretary and treasurer should be two separate persons, although this provision is sometimes ignored in practice.

Technically, according to law, the delegates are elected to the county organizing and nominating conventions. Generally, however, the same persons attend the corresponding state conventions. On a motion from the floor the delegates to the county conventions are blanketed in as delegates to the state conventions. Sometimes the mass meetings will elect two separate sets of delegates for the county and state conventions, legally a questionable procedure. Primary candidates for state elective offices and for the United States Senate are nominated at the state conventions. On the same day of these conventions, the appropriate delegates meet separately in two congressional conventions for the nomination of representatives to Congress and in several conventions to nominate candidates for the state senate when the senatorial district combines two or more counties (Utah has 29 counties and 25 state senators; when the present election law was passed in 1947, the state had only 23 senators). Judges of the Supreme Court and district court are no longer nominated at the pre-primary convention. In 1951, the legislature provided for a nonpartisan method of selecting them. A candidate must take the initiative by filing with the secretary of state. If successful at the primary, his name is placed on a separate ballot at the general election. No judicial candidate may use any party designation or engage in political activity of any kind.

At the nominating conventions, the delegates nominate candidates for the primary. The two highest for each office then enter what in reality is a "runoff" primary.[35] One becomes the party nominee by a majority vote. A candidate may have no opposition in the convention and need not enter the primary, though only incumbents usually enjoy this position.

Independent candidates may get on the ballot by petition. The number of signatures begins with 300 for national offices and scales down for lesser ranked positions. As a result of J. Bracken Lee's re-entry in the governor's race in 1956 as an independent after his defeat in the primary, the law was amended to make it impossible for a person to become an independent candidate after he had "previously filed in the same year a declaration of candidacy with any political party." [36]

Only 300 signatures are required on a petition to place a third party ticket on the ballot, but to remain there for the next succeeding election it must gain at least 2 per cent of the vote in the congressional election or repeat the petition

[35] Utah uses the open primary; no declaration of party is necessary. The 1959 legislature was unsuccessful in its attempt to introduce partisan (closed) primaries and separate ballots. Existing law provides for a single perforated ballot with separate party listings. 20–3–19 *Utah Code Annotated*, 1953.

[36] *General Election Laws*, 20–3–38, p. 24.

procedure.[37] Presidential electors cannot qualify for the ballot; they are not considered candidates for public office.

All convention voting is by secret balloting, probably the unique feature in this particular pre-primary nominating system. This system has not produced some intended results. First, it has hardly increased party responsibility.[38] Party organizations cannot choose a candidate without causing conflicts within the party, nor can they back a single nominee with all their resources until after the primary, except in the case of no contest. Secondly, it is not less expensive than the direct primary, with its run-off. That it would be so was the overt reason for making the change in 1947. Third, it has made "liars" out of many delegates, Flattered by a personal visit from a candidate, they promise convention support, only to change their minds before balloting. In 1956, a Republican gubernatorial candidate thought he had 200 convention votes "sewed up" only to learn at the voting that he had only 75.

What the system has done is to lessen the advantages of an incumbent or the front runner in the convention. On two occasions, the second-place convention winner for the gubernatorial nomination has defeated the first-place winner in the primary. In 1948, J. Bracken Lee defeated state representative Rendell N. Mabey, and, in 1956, George Dewey Clyde edged J. Bracken Lee, then the incumbent governor. A bone of contention has been that no delegate proxies are allowed. If a delegate is ill or unavoidably absent on the weekend of the convention, the district remains unrepresented. Though criticized on several grounds, the system seems to be accepted generally; not many persons can suggest ways to improve it.

Undoubtedly a legitimate criticism can be made of the long active campaign period in Utah. However, former Congresswoman Reva Beck Bosone discounted this particular criticism on the ground that a prospective candidate is campaigning continuously in any event. No serious primary fight in either party, which could have resulted in the winning nominee's draining his financial resources and in the embittered losers' dragging their feet in the elections, has taken place under this pre-primary convention system. Actually, it is the professional politician who objects to Utah's present law. When his reasons are sifted, one finds usually that all he has to suggest is the elimination of the primary and the reintroduction of the traditional convention system.[39]

Utah's Corrupt Practices Act is still "dead timber," although it may continue to have some value as a "silent policeman." No detailed examination and

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[37] See Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones, "Utah Presidential Elections, 1896–1952," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (October 1956), 289–307.

[38] In 1959, the legislature tried unsuccessfully to change the party organizing convention to the odd numbered or nonelection years. Existing law requires mass meetings and organizing and nominating conventions to be held in the general election year. 20–4–1, *Utah Code Annotated*, 1953.

[39] In 1960, the two GOP and Democratic party representatives of an Election Law Study Committee, appointed by Secretary of State Lamont Toronto, gave the following reasons for eliminating the primary: unreasonable costs to public and candidates, destruction of party responsibility in local and state governments, and alienation of voter interest. The third committee member, from the attorney general's office, recommended that the primary be retained, but advocated party registration.

follow-up, if any at all, is made by the Secretary of State's office of the accounts filed by candidates; the law simply is not enforced. Rue Clegg, former state senator, observed that the law makes "liars" out of all politicians, chiefly because of the unrealistic limits it set upon campaign expenditures.[40]

Collections from public employees to help finance campaigns hae been common in city, county, and state elections. Indeed, all three governors since 1940, Maw, Lee, and Clyde, have made such collections in the capitol. This practice has become a target for attack in political campaigns but only once did it come in conflict with law, and then this was federal and not state law.[41]

Utah politicians generally have not encouraged the introduction of a state merit system, nor have there been any strong attempts by reformers or legislators to push it. Four departments, Health, Public Welfare, Employment Security and Civil Defense, have merit systems as a requirement to receive federal funds. In 1959, the legislature provided that the Fish and Game and the Park and Recreation departments would come under civil service. Previously, since 1947, the Highway Patrol was the only state agency not dispensing Federal money which had merit employment. In recent years, the Utah State Public Employees' Association has carried on a limited campaign for a merit system for all state employees. However, statistical data support the thesis that a merit system has not been missed too much during the last two decades. Employment turnover in non-merit system departments and agencies has not been greater—indeed, in some cases it has been less—than in the merit system agencies, particularly in the Public Welfare and Health departments.[42]

Party Organization and Party Leaders

In Utah there is no public identification of party affiliation. Citizens periodically shift loyalties, obscure previous party activities to gain office on an opposite ticket, or re-enter the regular organization after they have all but wrecked it by their words and deeds.

State party organizations find it difficult even to win the cooperation of the county organizations in an election campaign. Because of Salt Lake County's large size (over 40 per cent of the state vote in either party), its party officials exercise as much or more influence in party councils as state

[40] The amounts a candidate in Utah can legally spend in an election are wholly unrealistic. See the editorial, "Horse and Buggy Election Finance Law," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 15, 1960. In 1959, the legislature tried but failed to raise the maximum limits for U.S. senator from $4,000 to $25,000; for U.S. congressman from $2,000 to $20,000; and for all other offices by comparable ratios. In 1961, the legislature repealed the law which dealt with campaign expenses, contributions, and filing, removing all limits on disbursements by candidates for state office.

[41] After the 1958 elections, three Republican officials in the Utah State Road Commission were found guilty by the United States Attorney General's office of violating the provision in the Hatch Act which prohibits an agency receiving federal funds from soliciting money for political purposes from its employees. When the Commissioners and the Governor refused to pay a $42,000 penalty, the amount was withdrawn as a forfeiture; this action was sustained by the federal District and Appeals courts. See *Brief of Appellants*, Walter L. Budge, Attorney General, in the United States Court of Appeals, Tenth Circuit, 1960. In January 1961, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals decided against the appellants. *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 4, 1961.

[42] Garth N. Jones and Frank H. Jonas, "Some Employment Practices in Utah State Government," *Proceedings*, Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, XXXIII (1955–56), 149–60.

officials with whom they have often been at odds in the past decade. The main complaint of the party officials in the thinly populated and outlying counties is that they are ignored by party councils in Salt Lake City, and sometimes by nominees.

Probably the most interesting party frictions during the past two decades have been the Lee-Watkins feud in the Republican party and the Maw-Moyle split in the Democratic party. Herbert B. Maw, state senator and leader of the liberals (1929–39), defeated Henry D. Moyle, who represented a considerable group of conservative Democrats, for the 1940 gubernatorial nomination. These conservatives returned to the fold in the 1956 and 1958 elections when former governor Maw had lost practically all his support and influence, and when the party elected officials and chose candidates more favorable to the conservatives in business and in the Mormon church.

Apparently the differences between Watkins and Lee began in 1946 when Lee failed to give Watkins any help in his first senatorial race. When Lee barely lost in two previous elections Watkins had aided him, especially in Utah county. After 1952 Lee began a personal attack on President Eisenhower's administration which brought him into open conflict with Watkins and led to his bolting the party in 1956. The GOP weathered this action; George Dewey Clyde won the governorship and the members of the Utah delegation in Washington retained their seats. In 1958, however, Watkins suffered defeat, with the GOP "renegade" Lee as a third man in the senatorial race.

Over the past two decades the state GOP has been served in order by David Wilson, Vernon Romney, Pratt Kesler, O. J. Wilkinson, Donald Wiscomb, Tom Judd, and again by Vernon Romney, as chairmen. Kesler, now federal district attorney, and Judd, who managed the 1960 national Republican convention preparations in Chicago, were hard-hitting politicians. Romney, a conciliator, has held the door open for Lee or for anyone else to return or to come into the Republican ranks. For years, George Hanson, a Mason, wealthy oil man, and Lee supporter, was GOP national committeeman. He became known as Utah's "Mr. Republican." He was succeeded by businessman-lawyer Jerry Jones, who became vice-chairman of the National Republican Committee in 1959, with the preparations for the national convention as his assignment.

Probably the most influential Republican "behind-the-scenes" political leader since 1920 was George Wilson, who never held an elective office, but was a "power behind the throne." He probably came as close to playing the role of a "political boss" with a "political machine" as any man in the state's history, with the possible exception of former Senator Reed Smoot. Smoot remains perhaps the only member of Congress from Utah who dominated the state's politics for any length of time. Former Senator Arthur E. Watkins, who had become nationally known and respected for the courageous role he played in the Senate's censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy, almost achieved this position with the election of Governor George D. Clyde in 1956 and several appointments to federal office; but he failed to deal conclusively with his avowed enemy J. Bracken Lee

and to keep his previous Republican support intact, so was defeated in 1958. Former Congressman William E. Dawson (1947–49, 1953–59) never seemed to rise to the challenge of leadership within the party. Congressman Henry Aldous Dixon (1955–61) in the First District has been quietly forceful. He served his party well in a time and under a circumstance which could have wrecked it — the moral aberration of his predecessor, Douglas Stringfellow, whose two-year appearance on Utah's political stage (1952–54) was at first scintillating and then very sad.[43] Released in 1958 from Watkins' efforts to dominate the Utah Republican delegation in Congress, Senator Wallace F. Bennett became more active and influential in both national and state party circles and campaigns.

Democratic national committeeman since 1948, Calvin Rawlings has been since 1952 the chairman of the Credentials Committe at Democratic national conventions. Indeed, as chairman of the Western States Conference, he has been one of very few Democratic delegates from the West who has been somewhat influential in national conventions.

Before his death in 1953, Parnell Black, an able organizer and hard-hitting politician, had served the Democratic party as state and Salt Lake county chairman. During the Republican years from 1953 to 1957, Milton Weilenmann, state chairman, and A. Wally Sandak, Salt Lake county chairman, although sometimes personally and politically at loggerheads, kept their organizations intact and the Democratic workers in an optimistic mood waiting for the worm to turn, which it did in 1958.

From 1933 to 1951, the dominant Democratic political personality was soft-spoken United States Senator Elbert D. Thomas, formerly professor of political science at the University of Utah. His strength lay in his intelligent demeanor in Congress and in his unswerving loyalty to his political credo.

On the other hand, another Democrat, Abe Murdock, congressman from the First District (1933–41) and United States senator (1941–47), was a typical crowd-pleaser. He won almost completely the following of organized labor, a factor, however, which contributed to his unexpected defeat in 1946; because of this support he became confident and then ignored and even antagonized other groups unnecessarily.

Walter K. Granger, Democratic congressman from the First District from 1941 to 1953, distinguished himself in 1950 when by his strong, decisive voice in the nominating convention he gave the Democrats some needed leadership. A party work horse, he ran unsuccessfully against Watkins for the senatorship in 1952 and against Aldous Dixon for congressman two years later. Two Democratic incumbents, elected in 1958, United States Senator Frank E. Moss and Representative David S. King (Second District), give promise of becoming party leaders. Both are lawyers; and both are young, dynamic, articulate, and hard campaigners.

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[43] Probably the most dramatic event in Utah's political history occurred when Stringfellow confessed, in an unexpected television appearance, that his story of personal war heroism, which had landed him in Congress, was a hoax. Dixon, who replaced him just two weeks before election day, won a resounding victory. See Jonas, "The 1954 Elections in Utah," *Proceedings*, Utah Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, XXXII (1954–55), 159–63.

Two women played leading roles in Utah politics during this period, Democratic Congresswoman Reva Beck Bosone, 1949–53, and her Republican opponent in 1950, Ivy Baker Priest, who, although she did not win an elective office, wound up a distinguished Republican party career in both state (national committeewoman) and national office (in charge of women's activities on the National Republican Committee) as treasurer of the United States (1953–61).

Third parties have never fared well in Utah. Their best year, with the exception of the vote for Robert La Follette in 1924, was in 1932. For governor, the socialist candidate, A. C. Porter, received 2.5 per cent of the vote, and the Communist, M. P. Bales, only .5 per cent. Exactly the same results were obtained for the senatorial candidates, respectively. The Progressive party in 1948, with Henry A. Wallace and U.S. Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho as candidates in the presidential election, attempted to place nominees in local elections. In 1950, a group which called itself the National Economy party, and in 1952, two groups, the Christian Nationalist party, and the Socialist Labor party, tried but failed to qualify for the ballot.

Pressure Groups

Perhaps the statement made by the writer twenty years ago in *Rocky Mountain Politics* that "the Mormon Church may be disposed of in this brief consideration of the problem, for it is not, primarily, a pressure group," can be revised somewhat, especially if the impression was left at that time that it was not a pressure group in any sense at all. In truth, Mormons are a Christian sect and the Mormon church is primarily a religious institution, but in all candor one must say that it is also a pressure group, even when it acts on moral grounds to influence legislation. On the other hand, all sects, denominations, and churches are interest groups, and at times they are pressure groups on the same moral and sometimes temporal grounds.

The Mormon church has substantial property holdings and operates several commercial enterprises. Consequently, it is a member, directly or indirectly, of the usual array of pressure groups representing economic interests. Also, because of its high taxpaying position, it is willy-nilly catapulted into politics, and as a result it is vitally interested in public policy. Politics is the making of public policy. With equal candor, however, one may assert that the Mormon church does not have the preponderant or dominant economic influence in the state. This kind of influence is exercised principally by non-Mormons and by out-of-state economic groups.

Political parties in Utah, as elsewhere, are made up mainly of pressure groups whose interests are economic. The most influential groups which apply "pressures" in Congress are those which represent the state's dominant industries and business enterprises. Though not listed precisely in their order of influence, these are the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, the Utah Manufacturers Association, the Utah Mining Association, the Utah Industrial Council, the Utah Farm Bureau Federation, and the Utah Taxpayers Association.

Other groups representing banking, finance, insurance, real estate, and construction interests are influential, as are those who represent fuels (oil, gas, and

coal), utilities, the usual assortment of small business enterprises, and professional and allied groups. For the most part all of these groups have associated themselves with the Republican party, which has become known in Utah, as elsewhere, as the party of big business. United States Senator Arthur V. Watkins reportedly admitted his reliance on big business for financial support when he refused to hear out the plea of the Utah Petroleum Dealers for an amendment to the Robinson-Patman Act.[44] Consequently, the only published endorsement in the 1958 election made by the largely Republican petroleum dealers in their house organ was for Watkins' Democratic rival, Frank E. Moss.

On the other hand, the Democratic party has become identified with labor unions. Labor has endorsed almost exclusively Democratic candidates, but it has not always been successful in electing them, and on occasion, segments of labor have supported a Republican. Traditionally, Utah has not been a "labor state," and Salt Lake City has not been a "labor town."

Local labor leaders recognize the rugged individualism of Utah citizens and quarrel often with national officials over the use of specific tactics. The Utah citizen wears neither a party nor a labor union yoke. Organized labor in Utah has found it difficult to hold its members in a bloc for voting purposes. Labor registered its best record in the state's history in getting its members to the polls for its endorsed candidates in the 1958 elections.[45]

In agriculture, the Republican farmers generally tend to join the Farm Bureau Federation; the Democrats, the Farmers Union. The Grange is not organized in Utah. Though not large in membership, the Farmers Union has appeared to espouse the cause of the small farmer. This impression was reinforced recently when it opposed raising assessments of farm lands in metropolitan areas like Utah and Salt Lake counties. Should they be assessed at the price for which they could be sold, the owners could no longer afford to farm them. The small typical 20 to 80 acre farmer in Utah, in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, has difficulty making a living on this or even a substantially larger unit farm. The Farm Bureau takes this position realistically; the Farmers Union exploits it politically. Other agricultural pressure groups represent the livestock (principally cattle and sheep) people, the dairymen, and the poultry raisers.

Only in recent years have teachers acted politically in their own interests. The Utah Education Association is considered by many pressure groups representing industry and finance, mainly the Utah Taxpayers and the Utah Mining Associations, as the strongest — and at times perhaps the most obnoxious — pressure group in the state. Parent-Teachers Associations have tended to support school administrations.

Women's groups in Utah politics are the Utah Federation of Women, the League of Women Voters, the Women's Legislative Council, the League of Business and Professional Women, and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Almost

[44] A brief summary of this little-known issue may be found in Jonas, "The 1958 Election in Utah," *Western Political Quarterly*, XII, Part II (March 1959), 347.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

universally these would assert that they were not pressure groups, although their actions frequently comport with the textbook descriptions of such groups and their methods.

Lobbyists in Utah would prefer to be called "legislative counselors." Although the usual "pressure" methods are employed, there has been no public scandal and consequently no great effort to move for any action to register lobbyists or otherwise control lobbying. On occasion, the legislators have taken time out to fete or to eulogize a lobbyist from the floor of the chamber.[46]

Legislative Politics

Legislatures in Utah generally have been conservative, except during the New Deal period. This statement is true in spite of the statistical fact that from 1929 to 1959, the Democrats had 200 members in the state Senate and 582 in the House of Representatives; Republicans had 156 and 375, respectively. Nine of sixteen Senate and six of the House sessions were Republican.[47] The Democrats were overwhelmingly in control from 1937 to 1943. In 1945, they retained the House overwhelmingly but the GOP took the Senate, 18 to 5. With such ratios as 22:1 and 21:2 in 1937 and in 1939 in the Senate, for example, and 56:4 for the same years in the House, and with all state and national offices filled with party members, the Democrats were in the saddle. The Republicans have never matched these membership figures when the tide has gone their way. But to expect so-called liberal social legislation or political reform on the basis of party labels would be erroneous. Many Democrats are conservative in their views and voting, and when the party's margin has not been overwhelming, the results have been decisively conservative and Republican.

The Legislative Council, created in 1947, has had only one director during its life to date. Both he and the Council have compiled good records of service and achievement. Council memberships have reflected very closely the dominant economic forces. In some instances the members have used their Council positions as springboards for public office. In 1948, at least five of the thirteen members filed for elective office. Ten years later this condition had not changed. Whether this situation has hampered the effectiveness of the Council for creative work might be debatable. Indeed, in 1960, Sherman Lloyd, Senate president and chairman of the Council, won the Republican Second Congressional District nomination. But Sheldon Brewster, Speaker of the House and vice-chairman, tried unsuccessfully for the Democratic gubernatorial convention nomination.

Since the Council was established, it has been made up of the following personnel, according to occupation: one labor business agent, one Navy reserve officer, twenty-four attorneys, thirty-two businessmen, two farmers, six educators,

[46] "Members of the Utah Senate, who sometimes become visibly irritated with lobbyists, Tuesday took time out to pay a tribute and present a gift to one whom they described as a 'low-pressure, lobbyist-adviser who has contributed a fine service.'" The recipient of a radio-clock was Weston E. Hamilton, assistant secretary of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce. Previously the Senate had paid a similar tribute to William Allison, who for many years had represented the mining industry. *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 21, 1957.

[47] In 1951, the House was tied 30 to 30.

three ranchers, two former railroad workers, and one newspaper editor. The business group has included bankers, insurance men, and contractors, in addition to retailers. At least four of the attorneys were more businessmen than practicing lawyers. The economic character of this interim Council has reflected quite closely that of the legislature generally for the same period, when voting control has been exercised by attorneys and businessmen regardless of party label.

In the 1959 Legislature, business men made up the largest contingent and attorneys the second largest in the state Senate. Three senators were engaged primarily in agriculture, one was an educator, and another a retired Boy Scout executive. The individual experience of this group ranged from two to twenty-four years.[48] However, in this year the sixty-four-member House was characterized by the greatest number of representatives with no previous legislative experience — thirty novices. Businessmen also made up the largest single segment. Although seventeen members classified themselves as farmers, most of them had other interests.[49] Actually, very few "typical" farmers — those who make their living exclusively from the soil and its products — have sat in Utah legislatures.

From 1941 to 1959 both houses of the legislature have been predominantly Mormon. In this period the religious composition has been as follows: Mormon, 729;[50] Catholic, 12; Presbyterian, 9; Episcopal, 8; Christian, 5; Unitarian, 4; Methodist, 3; Greek Orthodox, 3; Baptist, 2; Congregationalist, 1; non-sectarian, 41; unknown, 2.

Utah's constitution provides for legislative reapportionment following each federal decennial census and for an enumeration by the state taken every ten years beginning in 1905. The state has never taken an enumeration and only twice has the legislature reapportioned its seats at "the session next following" the federal census.[51] For this reason, the charge has been made that Utah lawmakers have "violated the Utah constitution regularly since 1905." [52]

Reapportionment has taken place three times in Utah history — 1921, 1931, and 1955. A proposed constitutional change was placed on the ballot in 1954 in the form of a referendum, which would have reduced urban representation by giving one senator to each of the 29 counties and increased this representation by raising the number of representatives from 60 to 75. The campaign for the amendment, waged principally by Mormon church officials, the Farm Bureau Federation, and rural civic leaders, once again revealed the political, religious, economic, and social forces in state politics and brought about temporarily a

[48] *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 28, 1958.

[49] *Ibid.,* December 21, 1958.

[50] These 729 represent about 95 per cent of the total seats in both houses during this period. These figures can be somewhat misleading, for they do not reflect the shades of personal faith or loyalty to a religious organization. Many Mormons are lukewarm or are not active in the church.

[51] "The Struggle for Reapportionment in Utah," has been told recently in detail by Kenneth H. Mitchell in a Master's thesis by that title (University of Utah, 1960).

[52] See Jerome K. Full, "Rural vs. Urban Vote: Ratio Stays at Illegal 1 to 45," *Salt Lake Tribune,* December 13, 1959. State Senator Orval Hafen ("Dixie Solon Defends Apportionment of Legislature," *ibid.,* December 20, 1959) denied that the constitution had been violated, except that the Legislature had "not acted as often as provided in the Constitution." He defended the 1955 reapportionment act, upheld by the state's Supreme Court (*Parkinson* vs. *Watson,* 4 Utah 2nd 191, 241 D. 400, 1955), on pragmatic grounds.

complete realignment of them.[53] Big business, the Catholic church, the Masons, and the labor unions, strange bed-fellows indeed, stood together in opposition. The *Tribune* publisher, John F. Fitzpatrick, devout Catholic layman, did not say precisely that the Catholic church opposed the proposition; he said that if the referendum had succeeded it would have given *one* group too much power. The compromise arrangement passed by the 1955 legislature and subsequently upheld by the Utah Supreme Court increased the Senate membership from 23 to 25 and the House membership from 60 to 64.

The Utah constitution does not provide for the recall of public officials. Legal voters may by petition initiate legislation which appears on the ballot in the form of a referendum or the legislature can place a measure on the ballot. Any legislative enactment, except when it is passed by a two-thirds vote in each house, may be referred to the voters before it takes effect. The mandatory requirement that "a majority of all counties of the state must each furnish signatures of legal voters not less in number than the required percentages" discourages use of the initiative procedure. The usual percentage is five, but to secure it in 15 of the 29 counties requires considerable organization and is especially difficult when a measure applies principally to a limited area. If a petitioned measure is not enacted by the legislature it shall be submitted to the people for vote at the next election, but in this case, the number of signatures required is raised to 10 per cent of all votes cast for all candidates for governor at the preceding election. Only the most controversial measures have made the ballot and only those with strong organizational or popular support have succeeded.

As a result of these limitations, or perhaps in spite of them, a total of 31 propositions, 20 against and 11 for a legislative action, have appeared on the ballot from 1930 to 1958. During the last two decades the most controversial have been the tax on chain stores, defeated in 1942, the repeal of lien provisions of the Public Assistance Act of 1942, defeated in 1952, and the defeat of reapportionment in 1954. In 1942 and 1954 the referenda provided the main issues in the elections. The chain store tax was watched closely throughout the nation as a test case for this kind of legislation. The defeat of the Utah measure, brought about by a huge public relations campaign engineered by Braun and Company of Los Angeles, California, principally for the Safeway Stores, apparently put the brake on prospective similar movements elsewhere.

The lien law referendum contained a gimmick in wording. One had to vote "no" in order to favor the existing statute. The Mormon church "officially" favored the lien law and opposed the referendum, but the action to defeat the measure to maintain this position was undertaken and financed principally by non-Mormon property and banking interests.

Referenda have appeared on the ballot in only eight of the last fourteen biennial elections. The largest number in any election was eight in 1946. Five of the eight elections had three or less on the ballot in any one year. The device of direct democracy has been used twenty-five times in an attempt to amend the constitution. Eighteen have been successful, seven unsuccessful.

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[53] See Jonas, "The 1954 Elections in Utah," *op. cit.*, p. 165.

If politics is the making of public policy, then its center or hub in Utah is the Joint Appropriations Committee which meets biennially late in each legislative session. To this place, at this time, come the representatives of all interest and pressure groups who want something from the "public till" and all those who want to keep them from getting it.

The most recent budget political problem has been present since the state government was reorganized in 1941 under Governor Herbert B. Maw. In that year a bipartisan three-man Finance Commission was established for the purpose of bringing "state expenditures under executive control in terms of broad spending policy, after legislative appropriation, and to facilitate and expedite procurement of material, supplies, and also to a degree, personnel." [54]

This department includes the comptroller, the budget director, the purchasing agent, and the personnel manager. These functions have brought the department into conflict with the elected state auditor, the governor, and the powerful board of examiners, constituted of the governor, the secretary of state, and the attorney general. During the past two decades the governor has found himself either handicapped or hamstrung in his relations with the Commission. Under Governor Maw, the Commission, instead of being an auxiliary or staff agency, gained a position in state government far stronger than intended.

Former Governor J. Bracken Lee probably managed the situation better than his predecessor. Some citizens objected to Lee's placing his "cronies" or "lodge brothers" in so many high offices, but when he said he must have persons in these offices he could trust, in the absence of a state merit system, he was substantially on solid ground. Lee, by this tactic, and by keeping the lid on tight in every department, minimized his difficulties or kept them from breaking out into the open.

The governor's office is of the weak executive type. Governor George Dewey Clyde has had his difficulties with budget-making. He has recommended that the budget director be transferred to the governor's staff.

Voting Habits and Party Affiliations

Utah from statehood to the present has been a two-party state. Usually the results at the polls show narrow margins of victory between the two major parties, which have widened only when a party has been at its height nationally. For example, Utah gave Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956 comparably large majorities. Any theory as to the influence of the Mormon church would reveal that the results of these two years would cancel each other: in 1936, the church had little or no influence; in 1956 it seemed to have a great deal. Politics, not religion, has determined election results in Utah.

Probably in no other state did the two major parties start out at statehood so equally divided and matched as in Utah. Democratic party blunders and Republican economic policies were influential in tipping the scales for the GOP from 1900 to 1916. Three times the state went against the national trend in

[54] G. Homer Durham, "The Department of Finance in Utah," *Utah Educational Review*, November 1942, pp. 92–96.

presidential elections: in 1896, when Bryan received over 80 per cent of the vote; in 1912, when Taft received a plurality; and in 1960, when Nixon won over Kennedy. National political and economic trends seem to reach and enter Utah later than in other states. As recently as 1956, the Democratic trend which had begun shortly after 1952, stopped dead at the state's borders; it did not become a factor until the Democratic success in 1958.

United States Senator Reed Smoot, Republican, survived the Democratic years from 1912 to 1920, as his junior in the Senate, William H. King, Democrat, survived the Republican era from 1920 to 1932. In 1924, Democratic Governor George H. Dern, a non-Mormon, was elected over an active Mormon Republican, Charles R. Mabey. On three occasions, twice for governor (1948, 1952) and once for mayor of Salt Lake City (1959), Utah citizens have voted for a maverick in politics, J. Bracken Lee.

Since statehood, seven Republicans and five Democrats have been elected to the United States Senate. Including the year 1960, Republicans have served 74 years, the Democrats 56. Democrats have been elected eight times to the national House of Representatives, serving 54 years, while ten Republicans have served 59 years.

However, since 1932 the picture for the Democrats is a little brighter. The Democrats have elected three senators who served a total of 32 years; the Republicans, two who served 20. For the House of Representatives, the Democrats have elected four for 36 years service, the Republicans, three for 16 years. The number of Republican majorities for governor in this period was three of seven; the mean Republican percentage of the vote came to 49.4.

No studies were available to indicate how Mormons or the members of any other religious group — or of any other group for that matter — have voted in Utah elections. However, a study made in 1957 by J. Kenneth Davies[55] of Mormon political characteristics revealed that in Utah, 89 per cent of the stake presidents acknowledged Republican party affiliation or sympathy.

In this study the samples were divided into rural, small town and urban, industrial groups.[56] Five possible political positions were available to the interviewees — Republican, Democrat, independent, none, other. Only Republican and Democratic sentiments were reported by the stake presidents, but the bishops reported 55 per cent Republican, 22.2 Democrat, 13.9 independent, and 8.3 none. No Mormon official acknowledged any "other" position.

Mormon party affiliation is divided almost equally, with the Republicans having a slight edge. Davies found that the percentages for the rural areas were 43.3 per cent Republican, 37 Democratic, 8.6 independent, 10.2 none, and .08 other, and for the urban-industrial areas, 36.2, 34, 15, 6.3, and 6.6, respectively.

Davies also classified the political characteristics of the entire membership according to seven degrees of church activity. He found that more Mormons

[55] "A Study of the Development of a Labor Philosophy Developed Within the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1960), p. 296.

[56] Rural samples were Centerfield, Fillmore, Paragona, Ivins, Deweyville, Greenriver, Hooper, Syracuse, and Mona. Urban, industrial samples were Provo, Salt Lake City, Clearfield, St. George, Logan, Tooele, and Wellington.

who were in each of the three highest degrees of activity were Republican and that more of those in each of the four lowest degrees were Democrats.

Activity in the Mormon church, with its lay priesthood organization, means generally holding some responsible administrative, supervisory, or teaching position. This result might have been obtained, as some Democrats have suggested, by the screening of all replacements — the turnover in these positions is quite rapid — not only for their loyalty and piety but also for their views on social questions, especially in the higher echelons. However, a more plausible reason for the Republicanism of the local leadership of the church, bishops and stake presidents, would be its occupational characteristics. Local Mormon leaders tend to be "owners" or hold supervisory positions in business. Members tend to be skilled and unskilled workers; and farmers, teachers, and salesmen tend to be divided equally between leaders and members. In other words, Mormons in certain occupations tend to be Republican for the same reasons that other classes of persons are Republican. The personal views and private business interests of the General Authorities, who have been approximately 90 per cent Republican and 100 per cent conservative during the last three decades,[57] would more nearly approach the conservativism of the Republican party generally regardless of any and all religious considerations.

Catholics seem to be divided between both parties; some have supported consistently the maverick Republican, J. Bracken Lee, including some members of the hierarchy. In the 1959 municipal election, the Democrats admitted that the Negroes voted generally for Lee. German immigrants who 50 or 60 years ago would have voted Republican now are either politically indifferent or vote Democratic in at least equal numbers. The Greek ethnic group has consistently supported J. Bracken Lee in fair weather and foul. Masons, especially those in the railroad brotherhoods, have voted for Lee, not only because of their Masonic ties, but because of Lee's conservatism, and this is also the reason a strong core of influential and well-to-do Mormons have voted consistently for Lee.

National Politics, Impact and Trends

Utah elections, since the eclipse of the tariff issue, have been practically issueless. Occasionally, a referendum has divided the state, but never strictly along party lines. Foreign policy has been discussed, but hardly debated as a controversial issue. Conditioners of the mind, peace and prosperity, communism and corruption, have been used successfully either to lull the voters or to scare them. Political propaganda has been characterized by campaign managers and public relations counsels setting up a straw man with a bad character, attributing it to their candidate's or client's opponent, and then devising tactics to knock it down. Smears have been prevalent, motivated largely perhaps by desperate attempts to win office after a long starvation period or to retain office against a strong challenger.

About 72 per cent of Utah's land belongs to the federal government. These areas are covered largely by national forests and parks. Only 3 per cent of all

[57] This figure is the writer's, not Dr. Davies.'

the land in the state is arable. Federal subsidies and payments would be welcome in lieu of taxes or to compensate for the high net percentage of returns from industry which leaves the state.

Utah receives back more money from Washington than it sends there in taxes. Although this fact has been given only perfunctory news play, it must rest in the subconsciousness of articulate citizens; it would seem to them simply to be good business to accept federal aid. Perhaps the chief opposition to federal aid has been in education, but this has been slowly dissipating in the face of realities, although Utah's delegation in Washington may pay lip service to the opposition by encouraging verbally only certain kinds of aid or a particular aid under certain conditions to allow the opposition to save face.

Any development or change in Utah's substantially large defense industry would affect population trends, but it may be doubted if any trends one way or the other would affect appreciably the voting patterns and political behavior in the state. They do not seem to have done so during the past two decades. At least one point seems clear; if any real issue exists in Utah, it is, as elsewhere in the West and in the nation, the degree of emphasis to be placed on the role of the federal government in the life of the community.

Washington State: Free Style Politics

HUGH A. BONE

WASHINGTON, the forty-second state, was admitted to the Union in 1889. Its politics have been fresh and breezy. The young English newspaperman, Rudyard Kipling, after a visit to Tacoma was moved to write, "They are all mad here, all mad." Another writer called it "a region producing eccentric politics." Seattleites witnessed a mayoralty campaign with one candidate strolling down the street clad as Mahatma Gandhi, while another staged a diaper-changing derby with prominent businessmen as entrants and added for good measure "an iceman's-dash-for-a-housewife's-kiss" race.

The state's history has been punctuated by a general strike in Seattle in 1919 and a vigorous Townsend and pensioners' movement. In the depression of the thirties the jobless organized the Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle, which, under the guidance of erratic, left-wing leadership, played a powerful role in politics, almost winning control of the Democratic party and greatly frightening businessmen and property owners. Communist influences were undoubtedly felt in many organizations. Labor, with Harry Bridges and Dave Beck as principals, dominated politics for a rather long period. The Mayor of Seattle in 1936 gave free beer to the sailors when the fleet came into port, called Dave Beck "our public citizen No. 1" and said "Dave Beck runs this town, and I tell you it's a good thing he does."

These incidents are characteristic of the so-called wide-open hilarity and lusty-gusty flavor of Washington politics. Yet the state's past political life has differed only in detail from the bread and circuses so often staged by political bosses in the East, demagogues in the South, and frontier politicians in many other western areas. Today Washington is far more staid, mature, and serious, for politicians are faced with finding vast new sums for schools, welfare, institutions; attracting new business; solving traffic congestion; and a host of other problems. Dave Beck has been retired in ignominy and Harry Bridges is no longer an important power in the state.

But there remains a heritage of the older ebullience and freshness of politics. From early days to the present "progressivism" has been a major current. The

state rather quickly adopted several of the major policies of the Progressive movement such as direct legislation, recall, direct primary, woman suffrage, and economic reform. Several candidates running under the Progressive label were elected to Congress and to the state legislature. Some of the larger cities went over to the commission form and were slowly replaced by city managers and strong mayors. The state elected a Populist governor in 1896 and voted for William Jennings Bryan. It dropped Bryan in 1900 but followed Theodore Roosevelt and was the only state in the West to support him and the Bull Moose movement in 1912.

Although the state has supported Republican presidents and members of Congress, it has wanted the latter to be progressive. Republican Senator Miles Poindexter (1910–22) was a leading progressive insurgent much in the tradition of Hiram Johnson and William E. Borah.[1] When he suddenly swung to the right and joined the red-baiters in the early twenties he lost his bid for re-election. Wesley Jones, his Republican colleague, was less well known nationally, but nonetheless voted with Poindexter on most progressive issues. Democratic senators C. C. Dill, Homer T. Bone, Warren G. Magnuson, and Henry M. Jackson, who followed, all built reputations as "liberal-progressive" lawmakers. The state's Republican congressmen have been in the liberal wing of their party. Arthur B. Langlie, elected in 1940, 1948, and 1952 as governor, resembled Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren in the popular mind. He had been elected as a reform mayor of Seattle, and during his long career appealed to independents and many Democrats and was often an anathema to the right-wing Republicans.

Although the state has given generous support to its schools and welfare programs, and has been most friendly to labor unions, its progressivism is not without some paradox. Its tax structure is regressive. The investigations of a vigorous state legislative un-American activities committee (Canwell Committee) led to numerous resignations in the field of education. In both 1956 and 1958 many employers put large amounts of money and effort into an unsuccessful effort to adopt a "right to work" initiative. Conservatives are articulate but middle-of-the-road to left-of-center attitudes and programs have prevailed. There are few radicals left and the mood of the people is much more conservative than in the 1940's. The majority still believe in governmental programs but, as elsewhere, the voters and public officials are carefully scrutinizing the cost.

Economic Factors

The state is richly endowed with resources. The Columbia River and its tributaries provide about one-third of the nation's physical water-power potential and Washington shares generously in this resource. Historically, the economy was essentially an agricultural and extractive one resting primarily on land, timber, mineral resources, and fishing. Mining has become less important over the years.

Fishing, with a capital investment of about $75 million, makes Washington rank fourth as a producer of canned fish and by-products. Commercial and

[1] A revealing portrait has been prepared by Howard Allen, "Miles Poindexter: A Political Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1959).

sport fishermen have their quarrels, and the fishing industry has found itself at loggerheads with hydroelectric power interests. Balancing these interests has been an important job for the state's politicians.

Washington's economy depends to a considerable degree upon agriculture; its output was $644 million in 1959. There are four distinct farm areas. Wheat, the leading crop, is centered in the southeast. The rich, irrigated areas of central Washington are noted for fruit. The state leads the nation in the production of apples. A third area is the irrigated Columbia Basin which grows diversified crops. Finally, the logged off areas and valleys of the Cascades provide prosperous dairy farming and berry crops. Livestock production and numerous other crops, notably hops and dry field peas, are important to the economy. Apple growing and wheat farming are especially profitable in central and eastern Washington. Much farming has been made possible by irrigation, so law-makers, Republican and Democratic, have supported public funds for reclamation, building of dams, and various federal projects. The abundance of cheap hydroelectric power is providing an inducement to some new industries in this section. Approximately 80,000 out of a total labor force of 1,000,000 are employed in agriculture — about the same number as in the defense industries. Unlike the latter, however, farm employment has not fluctuated violently during the past two decades.

Forests constitute one of the most valuable resources and about 65,000 persons are employed directly in forest industries. Together with forest products, the payroll represents about one-third of the state's total manufacturing.[2]

In very few states is the economy more tied to the federal government than in Washington — a fact of considerable concern to business leaders who fear the effect of government "cut-backs." For example, in 1943 about 113,000 persons were employed in shipbuilding. This fell off to 4,800 in 1958. The state has seen the giant that is California recently become the beneficiary of certain military installations and payrolls formerly important to Washington. Even with certain losses to other states, Washington ranked seventh in dollar totals of arms contracts for the fiscal year ending June 1960.[3] It still has twenty-six military installations, about twice the number of the average state.

A basic industry is the manufacture of airplanes, both commercial and military. Boeing Airplane Company is the top employer in the state with an annual payroll for its 66,000 workers of a third of a billion dollars. Puget Sound Naval Shipyard at Bremerton and atomic energy at the Hanford Works at Richland accounted for an additional 20,000 employees in 1958. All three of these industries are basically dependent upon federal contracts. There are large federal investments in six huge multi-purpose dams on the Columbia River, and four

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[2] One of the best statistical analyses of commerce and industry in Washington is the *Summary of Pacific Northwest Industries Annual Review* (Seattle First National Bank, May 1961). There is a wealth of information in a special section of the Sunday *New York Times*, September 27, 1959, entitled "Presenting Washington State."

[3] See "Where 40 Billions for Arms Will Go," *U.S. News and World Report*, August 17, 1959, pp. 42–45.

additional ones are underway on the Snake River.[4] These facts, together with the land holdings in national forests and parks, the military installations, the reclamation projects and other enterprises, place much of the state's prosperity — or lack of it — in the hands of the national government, so keeping the flow of federal contracts coming in is a major preoccupation of Washington's congressional delegation.

Geography and Population

In comparison with other western states, Washington is both populous and affluent. Next to Hawaii it is the smallest in area (67,000 square miles) but is exceeded in population only by California. It entered the Union in 1889 with a population of 240,000 and had grown to 2,853,214 by 1960. The Washington State Census Board estimates a population of 3,235,000 in 1965, and projects a total of four million by 1975.[5] Per capita income in 1960 was $2,317 compared to the national average of $2,223.

The population of the state is very unevenly divided with vast areas virtually uninhabited, while in others there are densities of many thousands of people per square mile. Natural environment such as topography, climate, natural resources, rainfall, rivers and ocean have had much influence on population distribution. Cultural factors such as irrigation, transportation, location of dams, educational institutions, and military installations have also profoundly affected increases and decreases in population. This has resulted in considerable flux and movement within the state.

The basic pattern of population distribution was well established by the time the territory became a state. Natural topography undoubtedly was the primary reason and remains so today. The most significant feature is the Cascade mountain range which runs north-south, leaving two-thirds of the state's land area to the east. Eastern Washington has slightly less than one-third of the population and is characterized by plateaus, deserts and coulees, little rainfall, and extreme temperatures. The western side has many contours, mild temperatures, and abundant rainfall. Irrigation, reclamation projects, hydroelectric power, good highways, and rail service, however, have enabled eastern Washington to maintain about the same ratio of population increase as the western side since 1900.

The heaviest concentration — more than half the population — is in the Puget Sound trough, from Everett on the north to Olympia on the south, including Seattle and Tacoma.[6] Eastern Washington, however, has three important centers of population — Spokane, the state's second largest city; Yakima; and the Tri-City area (Kennewick, Pasco, and Richland) on the Columbia River.

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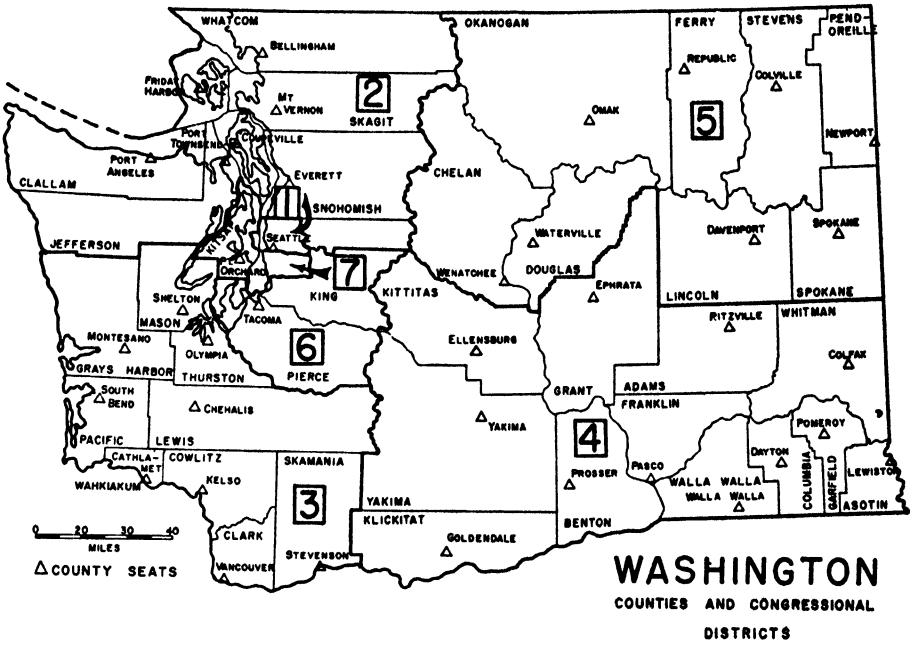
[4] The federal dams and the many publicly and privately owned hydroelectric power facilities give the state the cheapest electric power in the nation.

[5] For an excellent summary of population, see C. F. Schmid and V. A. Miller, *Population Trends and Educational Change in the State of Washington* (Seattle: Washington State Census Board, 1960).

[6] This includes the counties of Snohomish, King, Kitsap, Pierce and Thurston. The U.S. Census classed Washington as 68.1 per cent urban in 1960. This compares with 62.2 in Oregon and 86.4 in California.



One other metropolitan center, Vancouver, is located west of the Cascades on the Columbia River across from Portland, Oregon.

During the decade from 1940 to 1950 the state saw its most rapid population increase — three times as great as the national rate. An outstanding feature of this increase was the gain from migration. The decennial growth consisted of a natural increase (excess of births over deaths) of about 240,000 persons and a net gain of 400,000 migrants. From 1950 to 1960 the rate of increase became more moderate (19 per cent compared to 37 per cent the previous decade), but the state's population is nonetheless growing rapidly.

Over half the native-born immigrants have come from the North Central states. Thirty-six per cent come from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska. New England and the South have contributed relatively few migrants to the state.

In 1910 about 22 per cent of the population was foreign born; by 1950, this had shrunk to 8.3. Immigrants from Canada rank first in numerical importance followed in order by those from Norway, Sweden, England, Germany, and Finland. A little over 1 per cent came from Asia.[7] In 1960 there were about 48,700 Negro inhabitants of whom 28,000 lived in the Seattle-Puget Sound area. These figures suggest that the nationalistic politics characteristic of many other states are of little importance in Washington. Politicians find it unnecessary to make strong appeals for the vote of ethnic blocs. Canadians assimilate rapidly and are dispersed so there is no political mileage to be gained in directing special attention to them.

[7] Detailed data relating to country of birth are available only for white population.

Reliable statistics on religious affiliation are rarely available, but several private surveys help to provide a general picture. One of the more complete convasses was made by the National Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in 1956.[8] It reported a church membership of less than half of the state's population, this segment being about 61.6 per cent Protestant, 37 per cent Roman Catholic and 1.4 per cent Jewish. The four largest Protestant denominations in order of size are Methodist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, and Evangelical Lutherans. The Mormons, who have a significant membership in Utah and to a lesser extent in Idaho and Oregon, have less than 3 per cent in Washington. The Christian Science church is not permitted to make public the number of its members. It is a fair statement, however, that it has a considerable number of adherents in the state; there are 96 churches and societies, 16 of which are located in Seattle. This number equals that of the Episcopal church and the Christian Scientists have more than half as many churches as either the Catholics or Presbyterians. Observers reported the Scientists to be highly influential in the defeat of a fluoridation referendum in Seattle a few years ago. Although there is a considerably larger percentage of Catholics in Washington than in Oregon, it is below the national average of 40 per cent.[9]

As a result, there is little emphasis upon religious representation or what is often called the "balanced ticket" in the East. The Jewish vote, moreover, is insignificant. The blanket primary would make it difficult for party leaders to prepare a balanced slate even if they were wont to do so. Publicly no appeals are made to the Catholic vote and such appeals would be resented. Privately, however, an undertone of religion has entered into campaigns and into discussions of party organizational matters. The reason is that in recent years a large number of Catholics have successfully sought public office, generally on the Democratic ticket.

Geographic and population factors have made an important imprint on the state's politics. The difference between eastern and western Washington is marked and the Cascades serve as political boundary line. Two congressional districts have been accorded to the eastern side as well as twenty of the state's thirty-nine counties. In the legislature political cleavages run more to an east-west than to a "big city"-"outstate" as in Illinois and New York. Unlike Chicago and New York, Seattle contains only about one-fourth of the state's population. Spokane, Yakima, and Tacoma, moreover, have their own interests and cannot be depended upon to line up with Seattle in the legislature.

Educational Conditions

There are twenty-seven institutions of higher education in the state, eleven of which are supported primarily by denominations. Seattle University and Gonzaga University (Spokane) are Roman Catholic institutions and rate as the

[8] Washington's statistics are covered in "Churches and Church Membership in the United States," Series B, No. 8.

[9] Catholics are concentrated more largely in the larger cities. Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma contained about 31 per cent of the state's population, but over half of the Catholics, in 1955. The 1960 Catholic Directory listed Washington's Catholic population as 345,331.

third and ninth largest schools respectively. The Catholics support other colleges and seminaries. Pacific Lutheran College and Walla Walla College (Seventh Day Adventist) attract about three thousand students. Two Methodist institutions, the College of Puget Sound and Seattle Pacific (Free Methodist) have close to four thousand and Whitworth College, Presbyterian, has nearly a thousand enrolled. Altogether close to one-fourth of the college students in the state are attending church-supported institutions.

Washington stands high in terms of educational conditions. College students increased from 46,959 in 1946 to 60,950 in 1959; of the latter 42,833 were full-time students.[10] About 47 per cent attend the two state universities, located in opposite ends of the state, and these institutions provide a large share of th many college graduates who hold positions in the government. The state also supports three colleges of education and ten junior colleges so that the Washington resident has excellent access to regular, extension, or part-time higher education at a reasonable cost. Higher education remains the third largest item in the state's general fund budget.

According to the 1950 U.S. Census 7.2 per cent of those persons over twenty-five years of age in Washington had attended college four years or more compared to a national average of 6 per cent. High school attendance averages for four years were respectively 25.4 and 20 per cent. Only three states had a higher percentage of high school graduates than Washington and only three had higher median levels of education, according to the National Education Association.

Granted it is difficult to establish criteria of educational influences in politics one may observe where education may be of some importance. In voting behavior, the electorate has shown considerable discrimination. The press has often complimented the voters on their verdicts on initiatives and referendums. This does not mean that the voter has been infallible or that he has made no mistakes, but a review over the years of propositions accepted and rejected indicates that large numbers have shown careful discernment of many of the issues involved. A large number of the state's elected public officeholders and party officials are products of higher education.

Communications Media

The larger cities of the state are reasonably well covered by radio and television stations. Because of the mountainous terrain and deeply cut river valleys, a number of small cities and communities have good reception on only one or two radio stations during the daytime hours. These stations, moreover, are usually unaffiliated local ones and listeners have no opportunity to hear national commentators. The Seattle area is served by six television channels, one of which is an educational station bringing many programs of cultural and civic interest. In many other parts of the state the viewer seldom can get more than two channels. Competition is keen among sponsors for these limited facilities and public affairs programs usually come off second-best.

[10] Calvin F. Schmid, *Enrollment Statistics Colleges and Universities State of Washington Fall Term: 1959* (Seattle: Washington State Census Board, 1959).

As is generally the case throughout the United States, the number of newspapers in Washington is declining but circulation continues to gain. There are only 24 daily papers in the state and only four cities, Pasco, Seattle, Spokane, and Yakima have two dailies. There are 165 weekly papers which carry almost exclusively local news, and patrons must rely on the importation of one of the dailies for wider coverage. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* a Hearst publication, and Spokane's *Spokesman-Review,* both morning papers, receive rather wide distribution in the smaller communities and provide about the only source of information on state and national affairs. National and world news is inadequately covered for thousands of readers.

A generally bright spot in the reporting of state government occurs during the legislative sessions, when an army of reporters from papers all over the state converges on Olympia and readers are given a reasonably good picture of the problems facing the legislature. Between sessions state government problems do not receive very consistent attention and stories are likely to be limited to the unusual or spectacular. There are probably no more than a half-dozen political columnists in the state and most of these are with the *Seattle Times* and the *Post-Intelligencer.*

Newspaper owners and writers appear to have more influence on legislators through "personal contacts" than through editorial pages. Newspapermen who have observed the state's press are of the opinion that less than half the papers consistently endorse candidates and that a majority are publicly nonpartisan. Most are probably Republican in sympathy, yet the news editors try to treat the opposition fairly. The large independent vote has led the press to play down partisanship and to refrain from alienating independents and Democrats.

Nominations

A unique part of Washington's political life is the so-called "blanket" primary method of nomination, a system found in no other state and one which profoundly affects the state's politics. The blanket primary incorporates the features of the open primary which permits every voter to participate without disclosing his party identity and adds a further provision to permit free choice to vote for any candidate seeking nomination, regardless of party. The ballot resembles an office-block general election one and the voter, if he wishes, can support a Republican for governor and a Democrat for senator.

In 1907 Washington adopted a closed primary law. Before long sentiment developed to give voters the same degree of independence in the primaries as they appeared to exercise in the general elections. Senator Homer T. Bone was one of the more influential advocates of these views and helped proponents with legal problems in the blanket primary measure. However, to the Washington State Grange goes major credit for getting the proposal through the legislature.[11]

The Grange began its educational work in 1931 and by 1934 made an effort to initiate a statute. Although it failed to obtain the requisite signatures to place

[11] See Claudius Johnson, "The Washington Blanket Primary," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* XXXIII (January 1942), 27–29, "Washington's Blanket Primary Reviewed," *ibid.,* XLVIII (October 1957), 113–19.

the proposition on the ballot, it secured enough signers in time to present it to the legislature in 1935. The constitution provides that an initiative submitted to the legislature must be voted upon by that body without amendment and that an adverse vote refers the measure to the people at the next election. The Grange rolled up its heavy lobbying guns and the initiative passed the House with an overwhelming majority; the Senate margin was much closer. Grange officials had offended some senators by their tactics, particularly by the suggestion of one of their writers that a public man unfavorable to the blanket primary was a "political buzzard."

The initiative had attracted widespread attention before it was submitted to the legislature. A number of newspapers supported it, although the strongly partisan ones opposed it. Labor unions were generally favorable as were certain important community groups. Rumors that the state closed primary law might be repealed and the old convention system restored gave some help to the blanket primary idea.

Party leaders were generally opposed and the Democratic chairman of King County filed a referendum petition that failed to receive the necessary signers. The new law's constitutionality was challenged on almost every conceivable ground — that it contained more than one subject, abridged the right of assembly, interfered with freedom of elections, destroyed party integrity, permitted double voting, and so on. Nevertheless the state Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality on every point.[12]

The reasons for the Grange's energetic campaign for the wide-open primary have never been publicly recorded. Former officials recall that depression times hit most of the farmers. They wanted better roads, cheaper power, and other programs which would help them. Many of them realized that their party identification under the closed primary could easily be discovered and that if they were known to support one party and the opposite party won the public offices, it might hamper their success. More and more letters to the Grange newspapers appeared in favor of a system where they could "vote for the man," and the blanket primary would permit them to support the "best man" for each office irrespective of party.

Throughout its history the blanket primary has continued to have the support of the Grange and those favoring repeal are confident that the organization would finance a referendum should the legislature modify the law. Labor leaders likewise have generally supported it as have many civic groups and the influential *Seattle Times*. But as might be expected, it has received some criticism during the quarter-century of its existence. Some political scientists and most party officials have objected to it on the grounds that it makes a farce of party affiliation, blurs party distinction, subverts and weakens party loyalty, and sharply diminishes party control over nominations.[13]

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[12] *Anderson* v. *Millikin*, 186 Wash. 602 (2d sec.) 295 (1936). The court has also indicated that political parties are not protected by the constitution.

[13] See Daniel M. Ogden, Jr., "Washington's Popular Primary," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XIX (September 1951), 139–61.

A persistent allegation against the direct primary is that it potentially invites "raiding" and, indeed, that raiding has occurred in a number of instances. In a few cases there has been some indication of cross-voting but even opponents of the blanket primary have admitted that no substantial evidence of raiding could be found in the hundreds of primary contests which have taken place since 1935.[14]

Two major factors have helped to keep raiding to a minimum. First, the party organizations are essentially weak. Precinct committeemen, in view of the large independent vote, cannot deliver any large bloc of votes. The party organizations are not in the position to mobilize an effective vote in the opposition's primary. Secondly, because the primary in some respects resembles a general election, it has become an important popularity contest. Each party, instead of suggesting to its adherents that they vote for a weak opposition candidate, usually urges a large support for its own nominees, particularly unopposed incumbents. To make a weak showing in a primary is to lose prestige. Party leaders, therefore, must ponder the effect of giving their vote to the rival party. The primary vote has often been an index to the outcome of the general election. The blanket primary encourages candidates to seek support from all groups and to avoid strongly partisan appeals.

A 1950 primary illustrates what generally has happened. Democratic Senator Warren G. Magnuson was unopposed, while the Republicans had five candidates. Two of the five could be considered weak and three strong. Sharp political tactics would dictate that Democrats should infiltrate the Republican primary to nominate one of the weak candidates thereby assuring Magnuson's re-election. Yet voters responded by selecting perhaps the strongest Republican candidate. Moreover, Magnuson polled only 33,000 votes less than the combined vote of all five Republicans.

The blanket primary has been very popular with the voters and the prospects of a return to a closed primary seem remote. A 1950 poll showed overwhelming support (85 per cent) for the blanket primary, with the open primary second and the closed primary last in preference. The blanket primary even received a plurality among public officials and editors though they were far less enthusiastic about it than the general public.[15]

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[14] In his analysis of primary races Professor Ogden found that the so-called raiding effects have been exaggerated and he believes that there is probably no more raiding nor weakening of the party organization than under the open primary system. "The Blanket Primary and Party Regularity in Washington," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXIX (January 1948), 33–38. This writer's observations on raiding agree with those of Ogden and former Attorney General Smith Troy who says: "Cross-voting in the primary election is something that people talk about upon which there is practically no sound information. Occasionally we hear talk during campaign times about how wise it is to cross-vote in favor of a certain candidate in order that we might nominate the weakest member of the opposition. I doubt seriously if a significant number of voters follow this practice." *Ibid.*, p. 157. In a letter to the writer September 21, 1959, Professor Ogden states: "There have been 12 instances in the 12 primary elections held in which the combined vote for all candidates for any party for any state-wide office exceeded the mean party vote by more than 5 per cent. In only one of the these . . . is there clear evidence that enough voters crossed over to alter the outcome of the primary. In this case, there is no doubt that persons voting Republican for all other offices nominated incumbent Governor Clarence D. Martin for a second term on the Democratic ticket. But this hardly meant nominating a weak candidate. Martin was the strongest possible Democratic candidate in the November election and led the ticket. . . ."

[15] See Ogden, *Washington's Popular Primary*, *loc. cit.*

Measures are introduced in every session of the legislature to modify the system. The two which appear to have considerable support (though not yet a majority) are for an open primary and a pre-primary convention for purposes of giving or withholding endorsement. A large number of legislators and party leaders are favorable to one or both of these changes but fear the wrath of the Grange, labor, and the independent voter if such measures were passed.[16]

Neutrality on the part of party officials in the primaries is a rather deeply encrusted practice. This, plus the absence of pre-primary designating conventions, has made "slate-making" difficult. Some positions appear to go begging and in these cases local party chairmen have been known to try to find a person to file for office, usually with the promise that he can have the nomination "without a contest." Where there are contests the chairmen sometimes will pass the word that they favor a certain person but this is done privately. This practice of neutrality does not necessarily extend to the lower echelons.

The hypothesis might be advanced that a blanket primary fosters a large electoral participation because it is open alike to the partisan and nonpartisan. Figure 1 shows the comparative participation in the Washington blanket primary

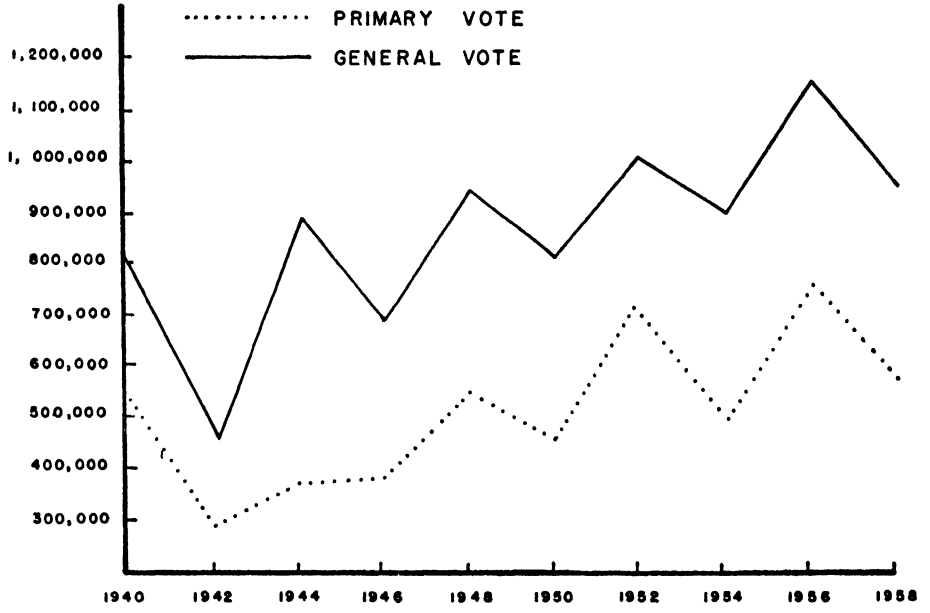

FIGURE 1

PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

1940 – 1958

[16] Johnson makes the case for the pre-primary party designating convention in "Washington's Blanket Primary Reviewed," *loc. cit.* Two other western states, Colorado and Utah, have this system. New Mexico adopted then abolished the practice. The Washington law specifically prohibits the nomination by convention "of any candidate to be voted for at any primary election."

and in the general elections. It is obvious that with only one or two exceptions, at least 200,000 fewer voters went to the primaries and in some the difference reached about 400,000. There was also much less participation, with the exception of 1946, in "off" years when the state partisan offices are not on the ballot.

Participation in the Washington primary, while low, compares favorably with a great many other non-southern states.[17] In the 1956 primary 55.94 per cent of the registered voters participated in contrast to 80.17 per cent in the general election. This means that about 70 per cent of those who voted in the general election voted in the primary.[18] Nonetheless, it must be concluded that it is rare for over 50 per cent of registered voters to participate in the primaries even though they can vote without party declaration. Electoral participation in presidential elections, however, is high, with the state usually in the top fifteen in the nation.

The state has retained the convention system for choosing delegates to the national conventions. An initiative to adopt a presidential primary failed when sponsors were unable to obtain enough signatures to place the proposition on the ballot. Washingtonians and their party leaders appear content with this convention system even though the state parties have undergone bitter battles such as the Taft-Eisenhower fight in 1952.

National convention delegations are selected both on the basis of tradition and party rules. Unhappily no record has been kept over the years except for the 1952 convention study. Many long-time observers, however, regard the 1952 story as fairly characteristic of the process and as providing a general insight on how the system operates.[19]

There is a strong tradition that the delegations shall go uninstructed. On the Republican side, at least, this goes back to 1920 when the delegation, instructed for Senator Miles Poindexter, virtually became the laughing-stock of the convention because of its tenacity. Thereafter there was violent reaction to instruction and little effort has been made to pledge the group to a specific aspirant. When Kefauver supporters at the Democratic state convention moved to instruct the delegation to vote for him in 1952 a roll call resulted in an overwhelming defeat; the vote was 544 to 286 for an uninstructed delegation. In 1960, however, the pro-Nixon people, when they were certain the Vice President would receive the nomination, decided to strengthen his hand and their own position, and got the Republican state convention to instruct the delegates to vote for him. Whether this will break the tradition permanently remains to be seen. Delegates themselves usually make known their choices and have been inclined to give the promised support on the first ballot.

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[17] Although the figures are not fully comparable, V. O. Key, Jr., found in three out of four primaries in nonsouthern states (including both open and closed types) not more than 35 per cent of the potential electorate voted in the gubernatorial primaries. In contrast, well over half voted in general elections from 1926 to 1952. *American State Politics: An Introduction* (New York: Knopf, 1956) p. 134–35.

[18] Key found the figure to be fewer than 60 per cent. See *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (New York: Crowell, 1958), p. 415.

[19] See Paul T. David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph M. Goldman (eds.), *Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952: The West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1954), pp. 160–84.

Both parties use the same system of having two delegates selected by each of the congressional district conventions or caucuses. Several at-large delegates are chosen by the convention and the convention must approve additional delegates which may be chosen by the district caucuses. There have been several significant differences between the two parties. In 1952 on the Democratic side more authority was decentralized in practice to the district caucuses while th Republican state convention kept tight control over all at-large delegates. As a general rule the chairman and vice-chairman and the national committeeman and committeewoman in the Democratic party go as delegates; this practice is not followed by the Republicans. Republicans have also felt that the more permanent officeholders should not be delegates since they are usually able to attend the convention on their own and may prefer to remain neutral on presidential candidates. This remains somewhat less true for the Democrats. The latter have also usually assigned two half-votes to the Young Democrats. There is a tradition that the position should be "passed around" and that no persons should go to consecutive conventions except for most unusual reasons. In 1952 over three-fourths of the delegates of both parties were attending their first national convention. Many were quite young and inexperienced. There are comparatively good opportunities to become a delegate if one is willing to work for it.

Washington has not been an important state in national conventions. Its voting strength is not large, twenty-four in the Republican and twenty-seven in the 1960 Democratic conventions. Alphabetically it is near the end of roll calls and seldom has the opportunity for a dramatic "yield" or "switch" which might put over a candidate. It is not a large pivotal state which could put forth a serious contender for the presidential or even vice presidential nomination. On only a few occasions has either party's delegation placed a favorite son in nomination. At the same time the state's role in conventions has probably been no less important than that of states of comparable size.

Elections

The state's electoral practices are not strikingly different from those of other western states where vast spaces must be conquered to reach the voters.[20] Covering the state becomes a formidable task for campaigners. In many outlying areas radio reception is not good and television has been slow to reach these homes. Statewide candidates, therefore, travel by motor cars and use billboards to call attention to their cause. County chairmen are given the job of reaching the voters, a job often inadequately performed by reason of no headquarters staff and few precinct committeemen.

Decentralization and lack of integration characterize campaigning. With eight statewide partisan offices and one nonpartisan position to be filled in addition to the federal positions, it becomes difficult to find the manpower necessary to conduct an effective campaign. Many candidates build their own organization and raise the major portion of their own funds. Republicans in recent years seem

[20] It is about 400 miles from Bellingham, near the Canadian border, to Walla Walla in the southeast; and 440 miles from Hoquiam on the coast to Colville in the northeast.

to have done better with centralized finance than the Democrats, but candidates of both parties find that they cannot rely on the party organizations to supply them with any substantial amounts of money.

The more active members of the various political clubs or sometimes the club itself, are of great help to candidates. The Citizens for Kennedy and Volunteers for Nixon were especially welcomed as they freed manpower in the regular organization to work on behalf of the many other state and local races.

Public relations and advertising men are playing an increasing role in statewide campaigns but their role and influence seems not to be as great as in California. For state legislative races they are seldom used. Much emphasis is placed upon "voting for the man" and it is not unusual for the candidates' party affiliation to be played down in the campaign. Incumbents especially dwell on what they have done for their district. Campaigning is highly individualistic and personal, and political advertising, whether prepared by a public relations firm or the candidate, reflects this fact.

There are probably no techniques or methods unique to campaigning in Washington.[21] In the heavily populated Puget Sound area television is widely employed by candidates for statewide office and for Congress. Candidates with a Seattle constituency have bought sign space on the outside of the city's regular buses. Doorbell-ringing is rather widely used in this area as are mailings, handing out literature at bus stops, and riding the circuit of district party clubs. In the intensive 1954 Pelly-Mitchell contest in the First Congressional District (part of Seattle and Bremerton), the former's organization visited 40,000 homes with literature and a potholder reading "get hot with Pelly." Mitchell supporters put out 200,000 facsimiles of a tabloid presenting "the case for Mitchell." Both sides resorted to another commonly used technique in the Seattle area, the making of thousands of telephone calls.[22]

As with the rest of the state's politics, campaigns are generally wide open and free-wheeling with abundant opportunities for those experienced and otherwise to participate.[23] A few campaigns have seen the use of scare or smear tactics, but extremely scurrilous charges are quite exceptional.

It is widely admitted that campaigns are becoming increasingly costly and that financing them is a serious problem. The state has no law requiring the filing of contributions and expenditures in general elections, but does require an accounting for the primary; but many ignore this provision with impunity, since there is no enforcing agency. Consequently, there is almost no published information on the cost of campaigns. Ross Cunningham, one of the state's best

[21] See the state-by-state biennial elections sections of the *Western Political Quarterly* for techniques used in specific campaigns. These appear in the March issues 1949, 1951, 1953, 1957, 1959 and 1961; and in December 1954.

[22] William J. Gore and Robert L. Peabody, "The Functions of the Political Campaign," *Western Political Quarterly*, XI (March 1958), 55–70.

[23] This is well illustrated by a case study of a successful campaign for the state legislature by a twenty-one-year old University of Washington student. See Willard H. Leavel, *Campaign: An Old Play with a New Cast* (Seattle: Washington State–Northern Idaho Citizenship Clearing House, University of Washington, 1959).

known political columnists, estimated in 1955 that a statewide campaign for governor cost not less than $150,000 to $200,000 and for mayor of Seattle, at least $75,000.[24]

Many other public leaders believe that now these figures are well below the average spent. A dinner given in 1959 to raise money for Governor Rosellini's re-election raised about $150,000 and several Democrats said that as much again would be needed. There is little doubt that many persons are "priced out of the market" of running for public office by lack of funds. Several of the county organizations give a very small amount to their candidates for the state legislature but the nominees must still look elsewhere for most of their funds and their coffers are likely to be depleted as a result of an all-too-frequent contest in the primaries.

Three recently passed laws may have some slight influence on campaigns. A 1955 statute requires political advertising to bear the name and address of its sponsor if other than the candidate. Corporations sponsoring advertising must cite the name and address of the corporation's president. In 1959 the legislature provided for a general election voters' pamphlet to contain information on candidates as well as issues. Perhaps most important in terms of bringing party into the campaign is the law, also passed in 1959, requiring candidates clearly to designate their party on their political advertising.

Party Organizations

Washington provides a rich example of the frequently made point that party organization in the United States is decentralized and diffused. In addition to the informal leadership which is found almost everywhere, there are three more-or-less formal types of party organization. First is the hierarchy of committees provided for by law; second is the convention hierarchy; and third are the numberless clubs and auxiliary groups constituted on various bases such as political geography, sex, and age.[25]

The legislature has enacted a comprehensive set of laws on primaries and elections and has provided, in considerable detail, for the framework of the political parties.[26] A political party is defined as a party which gained more than 10 per cent of the votes for one of its candidates in the election. This percentage obliges a party to nominate its candidates at the primary. Any political organization not entitled to participate in a primary may nominate by convention. A "convention" for this purpose is defined as an organized assemblage of at least twenty-five registered voters representing a political party, organization, or principle. Those participating in a minor-party nominating convention may not vote in the primaries.

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[24] *Seattle Times*, November 7, 1955.

[25] These clubs present a picture of proliferation unbounded and vary from highly casual to well-organized associations and from nondescript titles such as the Keechelus Club to the descriptive Chelan County Republican Women's Club. Most are formed outside the party hierarchy, their purposes being social, educational, to aid the politically ambitious, to endorse candidates in primaries, to recruit party members and, in general, to provide an opportunity for fulfilling the democratic ethic of "participation by all."

[26] Revised Code of Washington, Title 29, Chapters 29:18, 29:21, 29:24, and 29:42.

All precinct committeemen of the county form its central committee. At its organization meeting (required by law after each general election), the committee is required to elect a chairman and vice-chairman "who must be of opposite sexes" and a state committeeman and committeewoman.

By requiring the election of one man and one woman from each county, the law in one sense imposes the rotten borough system of representation on the state committee. King County (metropolitan Seattle) with over three-quarters of a million inhabitants receives two committeemen as does Columbia County with a population of less than 5,000. Eastern Washington with half the counties has 40 out of 78 committeemen, or a constitutional majority. A balancing factor, however, is the selection of the executive committee or board on the basis of two from each congressional district. This gives western Washington about two-thirds of the positions on the executive body. The state headquarters moreover are located in Seattle.[27]

At the same time, the system of two committeemen from each county assures local autonomy and independence which are so highly prized by county party officials. The party committee hierarchy is marked by legal *equality* of representation for component units. The state central committee is not supposed to be a proportionate body. The state convention has that purpose and is marked by *proportional* representation of component units. Both the state central committees have adopted similar and fairly detailed regulations. These committees have no coercive powers and make no enforceable decisions, their principal concerns, like those of the county committees, being fund raising, organization and conduct of campaigns, press relations, winning new members, patronage, and publicity for the party's goals and objectives. The state chairman and vice-chairman need not be members of the committee and recent chairmen have come from outside the membership. Customarily they come from opposite sides of the mountains, presumably to give balance to the two sections. State chairmen are of no particular type or occupation. Recent chairmen in each party include three attorneys, two businessmen, a one-time school teacher, a public official and a farmer and leader in the Grange. In recent years the Democratic chairman has been compensated and the executive secretary of the Republican state committee has received a salary.

The state executive committee members are selected by the members of the state central committee from each congressional district. The Democratic bylaws require the executive committee to meet four times a year to carry on the state central committee's work and to fill any vacancies on a partisan ballot in the state after the time for filing a declaration of candidacy is closed. Republican rules simply authorize the executive board to perform the interim duties of the state committee. At present the executive committees are highly useful party institutions, and have been known to endorse and approve certain programs for the full committee.

[27] Interestingly, headquarters of both parties are in the same building, as are the King County Central Committees of both, facilitating liaison.

Most counties have no intermediate positions between the chairman and the precinct committeeman. A few of the more populous, however, have a legislative district organization. In King, Spokane, and Pierce the Republican county chairman appoints the state legislative district leaders; Democratic practice tends toward their election. Many counties contain no more than one legislative district so this type of organization is not feasible. In some of the larger urban counties the county commissioner districts are used as subdivisions for party organization. County commissioners are elected on a partisan ballot and have some patronage; this affords, therefore, a logical unit for organization where legislative districts are too big but where a party needs some sub-county organization.

Local organizations vary widely. There are counties where only a tiny fraction of the precinct positions are filled and where the county chairmen are phlegmatic and essentially inactive. The reverse is also true, where the county chairman is an important figure, gives time to the organization and wields real influence. County leaders guard their domain jealously and the state and national officials must be careful to honor this and refrain from giving the impression that they are circumventing the local authorities. One former state official told the writer that where several counties were concerned he could not get anything by writing to them but had "to phone or make a special trip to get anything done." The county chairmen are "decent people," he said, "but they often feel no urgency for their job for it is such a nebulous thing. They don't cause any trouble, they just don't do anything." Often there is no serious competition for the county chairmanships. Many persons who have not been especially active in party affairs have, nonetheless, aspired to become delegates to a national convention and have realized their aspirations. Party matters are rather generally in the hands of college-trained persons.

Two additional factors influence party organization and leadership — neutrality and nonpartisanship. Tradition is strong that county and state chairmen if not district leaders remain neutral in primary contests. When the Republican state chairman early in 1952 declared that he was assuming a position in the Citizens for Eisenhower, his resignation from the state office was demanded and he complied. A county chairman who backed one candidate in a gubernatorial primary was sharply denounced and, although he did not back down, lost considerable prestige even though his choice won. However, the Republican state committee expended effort in 1958 to find someone who would be willing to run against Senator Jackson and invited gubernatorial aspirants to speak to it in 1959. While party leaders are expected to stay out of the primaries they are nonetheless expected to look for "talent" and "prospects."

By law all municipal positions, judgeships, and the state school superintendent are filled on a nonpartisan ballot even though county positions are partisan. It is often said that nonpartisan mayoralty and councilmanic elections are an illusion because the party organizations in reality are backing and running the candidates. These claims can be documented in some instances but it is not the entire picture. In many communities open activity by a party for a candidate would be resented, if not harmful, and the parties must be very circumspect about

providing financial or electoral assistance. Seldom does a party leader publicly endorse a candidate for a nonpartisan office. There are a few conspicuous instances where a success in municipal politics led to seeking public office on a partisan ticket. But many such attempts have failed and numerous ambitious municipal officials have learned that apprenticeship in city politics was not a dependable stepping-stone to Congress or to a state position. In many cities there is a true nonpartisan type of elected official who is content with his lot, eschews all party connections and affairs, and is elected and re-elected by both Republicans and Democrats who in many instances remain unaware of his party faith. Municipal elections are separated from partisan elections by being held in the spring and partisans are not enthusiastic about the diversion of time and effort by county chairmen and other officials on behalf of candidates in nonpartisan elections.

Nonpartisan elections coupled with a broad civil service system in cities such as Seattle have virtually eliminated party patronage in municipal government. Civil service, however, has not been extended much in the counties and to only a relatively few agencies in the state government. At the state level there are a great many boards and commissions offering opportunities for nonpaying "prestige" jobs, positions of small compensation, and some full-time appointments. The state operates the retail liquor stores. All of these make a considerable amount of patronage available.

The biennial state convention is the sovereign policy-making body and in presidential years selects the delegates to the national convention and chooses the national committeeman and committeewoman. A county receives delegates in proportion to the vote which it cast for governor in the preceding election. Most state conventions have had about 800 delegates in recent years, of whom one-third in both parties are usually contributed by King County.

An important function, performed by the county and state conventions, is the solution of ideological differences and the drafting of the party's platform. Here factionalism often manifests itself — liberals *vs.* conservatives, youths *vs.* senior leaders, east *vs.* west, or labor *vs.* capital. In 1956 and 1958 Republicans were sorely split over whether to take a position on "voluntary unionism" or "right-to-work" legislation. The convention finally chose to remain silent on the issue. In contrast the Democrats took a position against any right-to-work measure.

Pressure Groups

It is popularly said in Washington that pressure groups are more important than political parties. This affords an example of the hypothesis often advanced that where parties are weak, pressure groups are strong. There is no lobby registration law as such, but a lobbyist, in order to have access to the floor of the House, must present a card issued only when he registers his organizational connection. The geography and resources of the state tend to invite "functional" politics on the part of the recreationists as well as the usual groups representing business, labor, and agriculture.

The Washington State Sportsmen's Council looks out for the interests of fishermen and hunters of game. Small but energetic "wilderness" and "mountaineers" societies attempt to protect primitive hiking areas from the onslaught of motorists, civilization, and loggers. Conflicts between the recreational groups are not unusual, while commercial fishers have often found themselves opposed to the strongly organized sportsmen.

Washington has a larger percent of its non-agricultural workers unionized than any other state. In 1955, 53.3 per cent belonged to labor unions in contrast to the 32.6 national average. Labor unions are powerful in the state's politics and have succeeded in obtaining favorable welfare, social security, and workmen's compensation legislation. Labor has generally been friendly to the Democratic party, has endorsed a large number of its candidates and assisted them with campaign finance; but it has not infiltrated the party. Nor are the unions unanimously Democratic. In the 1958 election, for example, the Joint Council of Teamsters representing forty-seven unions recommended 22 Republicans and 107 Democrats for the state legislature.[28]

At one time the Washington Pension Union was very strong. By getting a sizable labor vote it put over a very costly initiative in 1948, which paved the way for tighter initiative requirements a few years later. Although the union is now defunct, "pension" politics continue to be important. The percentage of persons past sixty-five is 9.4 compared to 8.8 in the nation.

Over the years the Washington State Grange has earned the reputation of being highly influential. It is credited with the retention of standard time and the blanket primary. In contrast to the National Grange, it is generally "liberal" and a staunch advocate of public power and government work projects. Its leaders have been generally critical of Secretary Ezra Benson's farm program.

The public power movement has been one of the state's most contentious issues for nearly seventy years. Municipal ownership began in 1893 in Tacoma and spread rapidly. In the 1920's the Grange sponsored the creation of county-wide municipal corporations called public utility districts (P.U.D.'s) to serve rural dwellers through an initiative to the 1929 legislature. The present twenty-nine P.U.D.'s speak through the Washington Public Utility Districts Association in Seattle and the Northwest Public Power Association, and draw support from the National Hell's Canyon Association in Portland and the Columbia River Development League of Wenatchee. Opposition to public power is led by the state's two Electric Bond and Share subsidiaries, the Washington Water Power Company of Spokane and the Pacific Power and Light Company of Portland. The independent Puget Sound Power and Light Company, which serves rural areas near the big municipalities, has made an uneasy peace with its surrounding public neighbors. Private power also has numerous allied and front "development" groups. Neutrality is maintained officially by the navigation lobby, the Inland Empire Waterways Association of Walla Walla, which nevertheless often has backed public power goals because of its desire for comprehensive development of the Columbia River.

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[28] See *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 14, 1958.

Timber, aircraft, trades, transportation, banking, and other business associations often send their own representatives to the legislature although there is a general spokesman for the business community in the Association of Washington Industries. Business and aircraft in particular have much latent power. They are more a negative than positive force, better able to defeat proposals detrimental to them than to obtain law. The same can be said for the liquor forces, which have not been notably successful in easing the fairly strict closing laws.

The largest item of expenditure in the general fund is for the public schools, a total of $352 out of $826 million for 1959–61. When the $84 million for higher education is added, the total is more than half of the entire appropriation of the general fund, so that the "politics of education" is of top importance. However, no one lobby is the main source of power. Each has enough strength to defeat or stop measures of another which seem to go too far.

The tactics of interest groups vary little from those in other states. Washington legislators are quick to defend the lobbyist as a necessary adjunct of the legislative process. The legislature is ill-equipped with professional staff and few legislators have an assistant. They have come to rely very heavily on "legislative agents" for information.

Legislative Politics

Lawmaking in Washington has expanded beyond the sixty-day biennial legislative session. Although every regular session since 1945 has been closely followed by an extra one, which usually confines itself to completing work on the tax and appropriation bills, no action has been taken to amend the constitution to provide for an annual session. A twenty-one member Legislative Council and some interim committees conduct research and investigations which have been of help to the legislature. Excessive personnel turnover has hampered legislative effectiveness to some extent.[29] Over half of the House and one-fifth of the Senate members are currently serving their first term. Experienced representatives frequently seek election to the Senate: from a third to a half of its members are generally graduates from the lower house.

Members of the legislature report their ages and occupations in the *Legislative Manual*. Several designate more than one occupation making it difficult to analyze vocational backgrounds. Although the largest occupational group comes from the various fields of the business community, farmers are more numerous in the House than any one business group.[30] More lawyers, however, than farmers have served in the Senate. Labor has sent far fewer than agriculture and business. It appears difficult for educators, local government employees, loggers and housewives[31] to get in the Senate. Young people usually start in the House.

[29] For a detailed account see Paul Beckett and Celeste Sunderland, "Washington State's Lawmakers: Some Personnel Factors in the Washington Legislature," *Western Political Quarterly*, X (March 1957), 180–202.

[30] Charles Hyneman found that Washigton was one of two states in which farmers constituted the most numerous single occupation from 1925 to 1935. "Who Makes Our Laws?" *Political Science Quarterly*, LV (1940), 556–82. This pattern of representation appears to be continuing.

[31] There has not been a woman in the Senate since the 1945 session. In the last twenty years the largest number serving in the House was twelve in 1957. There were nine in the 1961 session.

Although legislative rules authorize the speaker and the president of the Senate (lieutenant governor) to appoint all standing and special committees, in the Senate they are chosen by a Committee on Committees. If the lieutenant governor is of the majority he is likely to participate in the selection. The speaker of the House has much more influence in selection than his Senate counterpart. Seniority is but one, and not the most important factor, determining appointment, geography, occupation, and ability being considered as well. A surprising number of persons have become chairmen in their first or second terms. The turnover in chairmanships has been spectacular. Six of the twelve most important committees had five different chairmen within a period of ten years.[32] Washington follows the almost unheard of practice of permitting the minority party to hold a few unimportant committee chairmanships.

The hypothesis has been advanced that legislative representation of the minority party lags behind the growth of its share of the gubernatorial vote.[33] A look at party strength in the legislature since 1940 suggests that this proposition is not invariably true in Washington (see Table I and Figure 2). The fact that only half of the Senate is chosen at each gubernatorial election tends to distort the picture. In four elections during gubernatorial years since 1940 the percentage of Republican seats in the House lagged behind the percentage of votes for governor, once it was greater, and once both were about even. What is perhaps most apparent in the graph is the very sharp swing in the percentage of seats in the legislature compared with the percentage of votes cast for governor. Psychologically there is often an "east-west" conflict, the Cascades being a political boundary line, but it is not consistently evident in voting. Effort is made to

TABLE I

Party Composition of State Legislature 1939–1961

	Senate		House of Representatives	
	Democrats	*Republicans*	*Democrats*	*Republicans*
1941	37	9	68	31
1943	27	19	57	42
1939	40	6	73	26
1945	32	14	63	36
1947	23	23	28	71
1949	19	27	67	32
1951	25	21	54	45
1953	21	25	41	58
1955	22	24	50	49
1957	31	15	56	43
1959	35	14	66	33
1961	36	13	59	40

[32] Beckett and Sunderland, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–92.

[33] See Leon Epstein, *Politics in Wisconsin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), 122 ff.

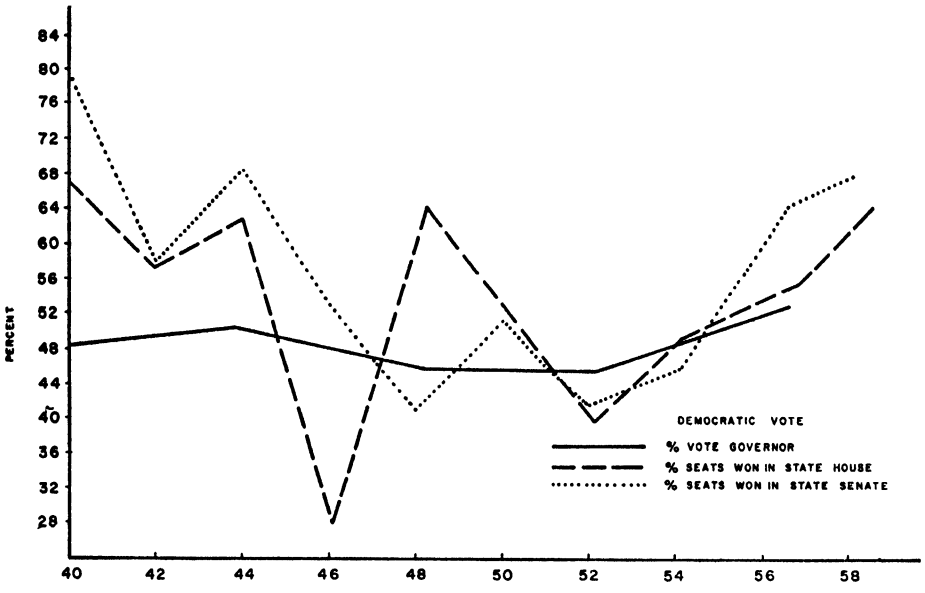

FIGURE 2

PERCENT OF DEMOCRATIC SEATS IN LEGISLATURE
AND DEMOCRATIC VOTE FOR GOVERNOR 1940–1958

get sponsorship or support of bills from "both sides" of the Cascades. The section east of the Cascades has slightly less than one-third of the chairmanships in the present legislature.

On other occasions the usual urban-rural alignment is in evidence: daylight saving time affords such an example. At times King County finds it has nearly all the other counties opposed to it. The big cities are to some extent in competition with each other so they cannot always be depended upon to act in concert against the "cow" counties.

Although the party system is weak in organization, in recent years there have been rather sharp party divisions over forms of taxation, appropriations, and welfare. Republicans oppose increased taxes but, facing the prospects of necessary revenues, they have supported raising the sales tax. Democrats call for the repeal of constitutional prohibition on the graduated income tax but have not felt they have the strength to propose an amendment. They have a few conservatives who can be depended upon to vote against them. They have called for more spending than their Republican colleagues and the latter have shown more interest in tightening up the welfare program.

When these matters are before the chambers for action, it is common for the parties to hold daily caucuses. Although members are not formally bound by caucus decisions, there is pressure to go along with them. Veteran legislators assert that the caucus has influence on lawmakers where there is no special commitment to their constituencies. Party chairmen spend much time in Olympia in conference with legislative leaders over the "party program."

The Washington constitution calls for legislative reapportionment every five years — a provision which the legislature complied with only twice this century in 1901 and 1957. A reapportionment initiative in 1930 forced the only change during a half-century of sharp growth in both economic development and population. By 1956 Washington had one of the most unrepresentative lower houses in the West. In that year Initiative 199 was drafted and sponsored by the League of Women Voters, providing an outstandingly equitable redistricting with all but two of the forty-nine districts falling within a 20 per cent deviation from a population average.[34] The smallest district had 30,089 and the largest, 62,129. Underrepresentation of the latter was improved by the allotment of a third representative, all other districts receiving two each. In a tumultuous bargaining session the 1957 legislature "amended" the initiative so that one rural district, the Tenth, has a population of 18,942 while several other districts are over 75,000. Certain districts in King County and in the cities of Everett, Yakima, and Bremerton are underrepresented. The legislature partially equalized the disparities in the lower house by giving one representative to each small district and three (as in the initiative) to some of the more populous — though there are exceptions. The Senate still has one member from each district. While the contrast between the legislature's work and that of the initiative is unfavorable, the apportionment nonetheless is a vast improvement. In comparison with most other states, Washington has good over-all urban representation even though some of the districts within a city show marked contrasts.

Direct Legislation

The initiative process was made available in 1914 and has become an important part of the state's political life. About 200 initiatives had been filed through the 1960 election but only 55 met the requirements necessary to be placed on the ballot. Of these, 28 were voted into law. Many important issues, however, were included such as the World War II veterans' bonus, liquor by the drink, sale of colored oleomargarine, legislative reapportionment, standard time, some extension of the civil service, and public power legislation. In 1935 the present blanket primary was put into effect by indirect initiative, and between 1948 and 1952 a sizable portion of the state's welfare program was directly initiated. Washington and California are the only states providing for both direct and indirect initiative procedures but the latter procedure is seldom used. Only two initiatives have been presented to the Washington legislature in over a decade.

While it is true that most initiatives get on the ballot through the financial and other efforts of large private interest groups, there have been a few cases where huge sums of money were not needed to win a campaign. The notable victory at the polls in 1956 for legislative reapportionment is a case in point. Without large resources the League of Women Voters was able to claim credit for putting the proposition on the ballot and relying on the good judgment of the voters thereafter.

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[34] The writer acknowledges his debt to Professor Gordon E. Baker of the University of California, Santa Barbara, for the figures on Washington reapportionment.

Two changes were made in recent years designed to tighten up the use of the initiative. One raised the requisite number of signatures from 50,000 to 8 per cent of those voting for governor at the preceding election. The other permitted the legislature to "amend" an initiative within two years by a two-thirds majority and provided that such amended law was not subject to referendum. This innocent-looking constitutional amendment was presented to the voters as a check on an initiative which might bankrupt the state. But in 1957 the legislature overrode the legislative reapportionment initiative adopted by the people and the Supreme Court by a 5–4 decision sustained the legislature. Seldom has a legislative move been so bitterly denounced by much of the press and citizenry, but self-preservation politics led the legislature to brave the wrath of the voters.

Referendum may be at the behest of either the electorate or the legislature. In the former case, 4 per cent of the voters in the preceding gubernatorial election must sign a petition to have a law passed by the legislature placed on the ballot. Referendums are considerably fewer than initiatives. During the elections from 1948 through 1960 there were only six proposals referred, four by the legislature seeking ratification for its actions appropriating over $100,000,000 in bonds for schools and state institutions. Three of these were approved involving $85 million. The voters turned down an inheritance tax on life insurance proceeds, and disability compensation for certain employees.

A review of the popular lawmaking devices in Washington reveals that the people have been generally selective in what they have approved and that a proposition has about a 50–50 chance of acceptance. In 1956 and 1958 a "right-to-work" initiative was placed on the ballot by conservative business interests with the biggest names in commerce, industry, and labor locked in sharp combat. Democrats were united against the "voluntary unionism" proposal while Republicans were badly split over it.[35] The contests in both elections were notable for fantastically large amounts of campaign literature and space purchased in the press by both sides, and costly, lengthy television and radio time. Since expenditures for ballot propositions go unreported there is no way of knowing how much was spent but obviously both sides expended huge sums. The United Labor Advisory Committee Against Initiative 202 reported that it spent about $450,000 to defeat the measure. In 1958 the right-to-work proposition overshadowed all candidate races with a total of 936,000 persons voting on the issue, compared to 886,000 for United States senator. For the first time in history more votes were cast for a measure than for an office leading the ticket.

The initiative and referendum are freely used tools in local affairs. The school forces have been particularly active on behalf of propositions on kindergartens, expenditures, and levies. Seattle has witnessed exciting election battles over dog leash and fluoridation proposals. Direct legislation is a vital part of the legislative process in Washington. The tightening up of signature requirements is unlikely to deter private groups from resort to this device when they see an opportunity to further or protect some interest of vital important to them.

[35] See the writer's "The 1958 Election in Washington," *Western Political Quarterly*, XII (March 1959), 358–61.

Finally the heart of legislative politics is the budget. The great tax and appropriation battles are at the state level. Three factors stand out. First, the state generously shares with local government the taxes it collects. It ranks almost at the top in terms of per capita state taxation with a concomitantly low rate of local taxation compared with other states. Its general fund during the current biennium runs $835 million, the four largest items in order being schools, public assistance, higher education, and state institutions.

A second factor is the restriction on taxing powers. A graduated income tax has been ruled unconstitutional and the people have voted down constitutional authority for this form of taxation. A further complicating factor is the restriction on property taxation to forty mills on half of the assessed valuation. Property taxes may be raised beyond this point by a three-fifths majority based on 40 per cent of the total number of votes at the last election. This has made for numerous special local elections and apathy has often defeated such proposals. The 4 per cent sales tax is the basic source of state revenue. It is widely denounced as "regressive" but so long as there are limitations on revenue from income and property the legislature must continue its increase of sales tax rates and find additional items on which to levy "nuisance" taxes. The state has seen several years of deficits and its tax structure needs overhauling.

A third characteristic of fiscal politics is the large number of special, self-sustaining funds of hundreds of millions of dollars over which the governor has no significant control. The fact that the offices of attorney general, secretary of state, auditor, insurance and lands commissioner, treasurer, and state superintendent of public instruction are popularly elected likewise removes some gubernatorial control. While their budgets go through the governor's office, the state officials and their friends can and often do try to get support beyond the governor's recommendation.

The budget is handled in each house by the Ways and Means Committee which usually has presented it as a package with the warning that it should not be "opened up." The budget group is powerful and has had great influence even though its recommendations are overridden from time to time.

Voting Behavior

Washington voters make no declaration of party choice when registering and few estimates of party membership have been made. The state is popularly believed to be Democratic and a Washington Public Opinion Laboratory sample poll in 1950 found 45 per cent favoring the Democrats while 24 per cent recorded themselves Republicans, with the remaining 31 per cent largely independent or favoring a minor party. Party polls have likewise found more Democratic than Republican partisans although specific figures have been kept confidential. One party poll in 1956, however, recorded 40 per cent as independents and no polls have found even half of the respondents identifying themselves as Democratic. A rather widely held impression is that eastern Washington is Republican. Both congressional districts in that area have been represented by Republicans since 1942. Yet there are a number of normally Democratic state legislative districts

in eastern Washington and the legislative delegation is often rather closely divided. Of fourteen Senate and thirty-three House seats held by Republicans in the 1959 legislature six and sixteen respectively were held by the sixteen eastern districts. (There are thirty-three districts west of the Cascades.) In terms of population a slightly higher proportion of Republican representation has come from the eastern and central sections of the state. At the state level, a striking characteristic of Washington party politics is the even balance beween the two major parties. In the sixteen gubernatorial contests during this century each party has won eight times. In about half of the elections the winner has received less than 55 per cent of the two-party vote, and with only one exception no party has held the governorship more than two consecutive terms. There has been lively competition between the two parties since 1940 and each has won a considerable number of the federal and important state and county offices.[36]

A definitive study of voting behavior in Washington is wanting but a cursory analysis of election results points to several generalizations. The voter often separates his state and national politics, tends to favor incumbents, and votes name familiarity and personality. Split-ticket voting is widespread and not limited to a few parts of the state. Evidence of these voting characteristics may be briefly related.

The gubernatorial and presidential elections are held the same years but candidates for state offices cannot depend upon "presidential coattails." While Eisenhower carried the state in 1956 by 97,000 votes, the Democratic candidate, Albert D. Rosellini, won the governorship by a comfortable margin of 109,000. Presidents and governors of rival parties were also elected in 1900, 1940, 1948 and 1960. In the 1956 contest incumbent Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D.) defeated his challenger, Republican Governor Arthur B. Langlie, by a huge 250,000 majority.[37] Magnuson carried every county in the state while Eisenhower failed to carry fourteen and Governor Rosellini carried twenty-nine of the thirty-nine. The cross-voting was shown again in 1958 when Senator Henry M. Jackson (D.) carried every county while Republican candidates for Congress carried thirty-four. Rosellini was re-elected in 1960, while the state's electoral votes went to Nixon; and the Congressional delegation was split, five Republicans to two Democrats.

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[36] Washington State affords an example of the lack of agreement among political scientists on bases for classifying party systems. Joseph A. Schlesinger, "A Two-Dimensional Scheme for Classifying States According to Degree of Inter-Party Competition," *American Political Science Review*, XLIX (December 1955), 1120–28, using the office of governor, finds Washington one of the seven most competitive states in terms of two-party alternation. Robert T. Golembiewski, "A Taxonomic Approach to State Political Party Strength," *Western Political Quarterly*, XI (September 1958), 494–513, considering the per cent of party seats in both houses of the state legislature, whether the minority is of the same party in both houses, and whether the governor is of the same party which controls both, classified Washington as a "weak minority-party state." The Committee on American Legislatures of the American Political Science Association placed Washington among the nineteen two-party states but did comment that "party cohesion is less marked" and that "pressure and local politics seem to overshadow party politics only in Washington, where party ties are weak and sectional antagonisms are strong." Belle Zeller (ed.), *American State Legislatures* (New York: Crowell, 1954), p. 205.

[37] For fuller details on cross-voting and the anomalous results of this election see the writer's article in the monograph *Western Politics and the 1956 Elections* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Institute of Government, 1957), pp. 88–92.

Cross-voting also appears in state legislative politics, to a lesser extent than for statewide offices. Of the eleven legislatures since 1940 only five have seen control of both houses by the party of the governor. In 1949 and 1955, there was divided control.

The remarkable deviation from straight party voting suggests a closely related pattern of voting behavior — the importance of name familiarity and personality. Washingtonians pride themselves on crossing party lines to vote for the so-called "best man." To illustrate, one need but look at the relative popularity of Democratic candidates for statewide offices in 1956. Out of over a million votes cast for each office the popular majority varied from 23,000 for secretary of state to 276,000 for state auditor. In presidential years the voter selects not only federal officials but nine statewide officials, two county commissioners, at least one judge, and is confronted with many propositions as well. Name familiarity in this "jungle-ballot" situation is helpful to incumbents in lesser offices and to challengers whose names have been connected with prominent families or civic affairs. Two ex-football coaches from the University of Washington without previous experience in politics were elected, on first try, to important offices. The former national amateur golf champion, Jack Westland, was elected to Congress as a Republican from what had previously been a staunchly Democratic district. Meaningful correlations are difficult to establish.[38]

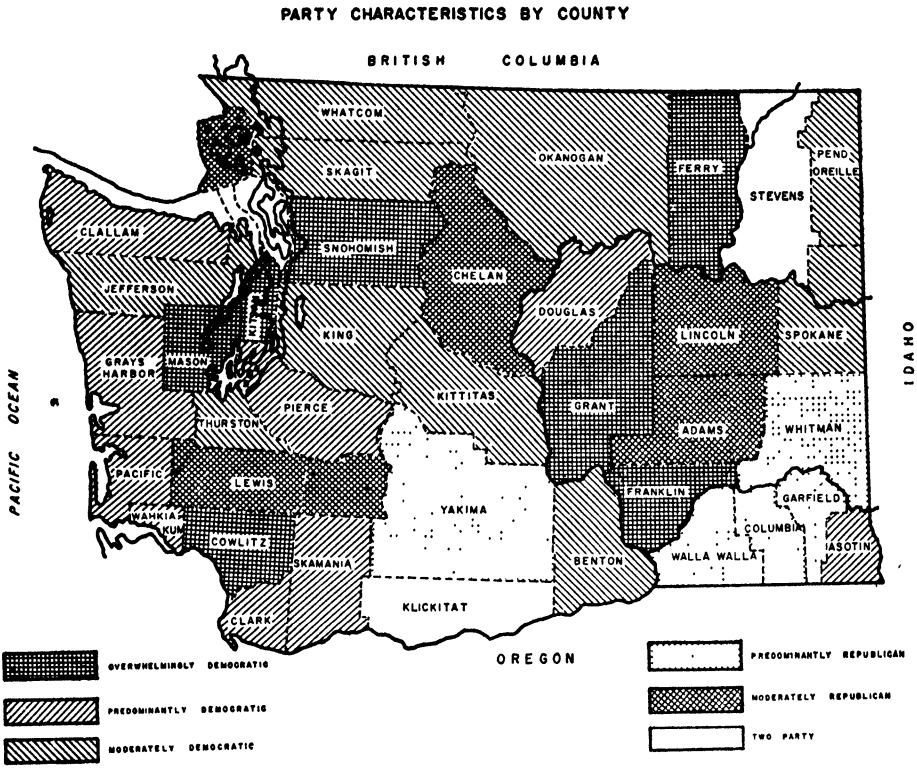
One useful study has provided some insight on the voting habits of each county.[39] Four offices were selected and studied over the years 1936 through 1956, or twenty-four elections. Offices chosen were president, governor, secretary of state, and U.S. representatives during presidential elections. The profiles by county are shown on the map.

Politicians generally subscribe to the adage that in a statewide election, as King County goes so goes the state. As of mid-1960 the county, which includes Seattle, had a population of 935,000 or about 33 per cent of the state's inhabitants. Both parties boast a reasonably effective county organization and both headquarters have a permanent staff. There is lively competition between the parties and many candidates for state positions reside in the area. From 1936 through 1956 in the eighteen elections for president, governor, and secretary of state, only two of the elected candidates have failed to carry King County. In nonpartisan elections for superintendent of public instruction and judges of the Supreme Court, winning in King County has usually meant victory in the state.

A large number of candidates have been highly successful with a brand of personal politics which draws strength from independent voters and those

[38] The state uses the office block ballot in the primary but a party column ballot in the general election. Though state law makes it impossible for one to pull a lever or make an X for a straight ticket, all of a party's candidates are on the same line so that a voter can easily support every candidate of a party by pulling all levers straight across the machine.

[39] Prepared by Wallace F. Caldwell, graduate fellow, University of Washington, 1958, under title "Voting Trends of the Counties of the State of Washington, 1936–1956." Although there are gaps in this study it provides a useful general indication of past voting behavior in the counties. The county was regarded as "overwhelmingly" Republican or Democratic when a party carried 22 out of 24 elections; 18 to 21 elections, the term "predominantly" was applied; and "moderately" was used to designate wining 14 to 17 contests. Where the candidates split evenly or enjoyed the advantage of only one election, the county was classed as two-party.



of the opposition party. It is easy to find workers in both parties who criticize some of their popular officeholders as being too "independent" of the organization. The latter receive votes and often financial support from outside the party's faithful if not from the opposition. Their campaign speeches are lacking in strong partisanship. Personal politics is undoubtedly important elsewhere but more careers are probably based on it in Washington than in any other state.

No analysis has been made of the partisan voting habits of the ethnic or religious groups. Party leaders and candidates have found the large Scandinavian vote highly independent but a Scandinavian name appears to be a real asset to a candidate. The Catholic vote appears to be generally Democratic and many Catholics are active in the party. However, Catholics also are inclined to be fairly independent in their vote and Democratic politicians would be reluctant to claim a "reliable" number there.

In 1960 there were about 16,600 Japanese, 7,100 Filipinos, and 5,500 Chinese, living mostly in the cities. In terms of voting the Japanese-Americans have been independent and in 1956 voted for Eisenhower in about the same proportion as the rest of the state.[40] By contrast the Filipinos have been overwhelmingly Demo-

[40] This summary taken from an unpublished Graduate Seminar paper at the University of Washington by Ernest Garrido, "The Political Behavior of Asiatic Minorities in the State of Washington." No study has been made of the state's 21,000 Indians, but they have been of little voting importance to date.

cratic for many years. In 1956 the Filipino-American Civic League endorsed the whole Democratic ticket and Filipinos, based upon a public opinion sample, gave a huge majority to Stevenson. The Chinese vote was divided between the two parties.

The number of Negroes in Washington is comparatively small and except in very close state elections could not influence the outcome. The largest concentration of colored is to be found in the Thirty-seventh District in Seattle. For several years the district has elected one Negro member to the state House of Representatives. The district is strongly Democratic and politicians are convinced that the majority of Negroes rather consistently vote Democratic.

Relation to National Trends

Depending upon what are cited as criteria, a case might be made to show that Washington does or does not follow national trends. In recent years, for example, it has failed to follow national patterns of voting behavior in selecting its members of the U.S. House of Representatives; yet in 1946 it followed the Republican trend by electing a Republican senator and five out of six representatives. In general voting has fluctuated cyclically and followed the national trend. From 1900 to 1932 the state legislature and congressional delegations were rather overwhelmingly Republican, with Progressive and Farmer Labor candidates winning a few seats. The depression sharply reversed this trend and the Democrats dominated the legislative areas. The state has followed presidential trends extraordinarily well. Since 1900 it failed only twice (1912 and 1960) to give its electoral vote to the winning side. It is of interest also that since 1932 the Democratic candidate's percentage of the two-party vote in Washington has been very close to his national average outside of the South.

The theory has been advanced that where a party is traditionally weak on the congressional level, the president will run ahead and where the party is entrenched on the congressional level, congressional candidates will lead the president.[41] Recent evidence neither completely disproves nor sustains the hypothesis. In 1952 Eisenhower led only two of the six successful Republican incumbents and in 1956 his vote percentage exceeded three. The Democratic congressman at large won both times and ran well ahead of the President in 1956. There is really no such thing as a party being "entrenched" at the congressional level. It is the candidate rather than the party who is entrenched. Washington has followed the preponderant opinion where the president is concerned but his coattails cannot be depended on to sweep in his party's candidates for Congress.

Some of the great national issues appear in Washington elections. Among the more important have been the farm program, expenditures for civil and military projects, the tariff, public power, and social security. Although civil rights legislation is generally approved it has not had the interest among the mass of voters as in many other states. The state is a long way from the nation's capital and from Europe, but it serves as a gateway to the Orient and its politicians give

[41] Charles Press, "Voting Statistics and Presidential Coattails," *American Political Science Review*, LII (December 1958), 1041–50.

much attention to far eastern politics and foreign policy. In general, however, national issues play no great part in city, county or state elections. Since the state's economy is strongly dependent upon federal appropriations a major preoccupation of the congressional delegation, irrespective of party, is to keep a generous flow of federal contracts and money to the state. War cries of "socialism" have not carried much weight and Republicans are likely to give as much support to federal spending programs for the military and for "internal improvements" as the Democrats. A case in point is the voting record of Congressman Walt Horan, Republican from Wenatchee. He has consistently supported public power projects, many of which were anathema to conservative Republicans. In 1959 he was one of the Republicans in Congress who worked to override President Eisenhower's veto of the public works appropriation ("pork barrel") bill. He was joined in the vote to override it by the other eastern Washington representative, Mrs. Catherine May, a Republican from Yakima.

Conclusion

Washington is a political paradox, in which many of the hypotheses tested by students of comparative state politics elsewhere appear, on the surface at least, to lack validity or to contain less truth. The state's pattern of politics is a lack of pattern. Much, if not most, of its politics is played outside the framework of a responsible two-party model. Machine politics in the conventional sense of the word has never flourished in its larger cities, yet two-party competition in elections exists at the state, congressional district, and county levels.

The undercurrent of ethnic and religious influences so conspicuous in numerous states is at present of little importance in the far corner of the Northwest, nor is there any consistently significant "Seattle versus the State" theme. There is thorough acceptance if not pride in the blanket primary system but little sentiment for a presidential primary. Party organizations are forbidden by law from endorsing candidates in the primary and its leaders wear the hat of neutrality. Yet the Republican state committee actively sought a candidate for the Senate in 1958.

Despite all of these apparent incongruities and inconsistencies, there are discernible characteristics and configurations of the state's political behavior which help to make some sense in piecing the puzzle together. Washingtonians are independent in their voting and the wide-open primary is therefore a logical procedure to achieve "good" nominations irrespective of party. Voters look beyond the party label to examine the program a candidate espouses and to evaluate his competence, both in the primaries and in the general elections.

Decentralization is a basic fact of party behavior. Campaigning is close to atomistic with each person pretty generally "running his own show." He may use his party's platform as a base or build his own. He makes his alliances with interest groups, for parties are heterogeneously composed. Campaign finance is likewise decentralized with each candidate struggling to find his own pecuniary wherewithal and organizational help. Party structure is fixed by law but organizational proliferation has taken place through the creation of hosts of auxiliaries.

This has given an important advantage to incumbents.[42] They receive greater help financially and otherwise than is open to most of the challengers. The long ballot and lack of strong partisan attachment also aid incumbency because so many voters look for familiar names.

Other political characteristics of the state are a wide-open party primary and a generally weak and decentralized organization where interest group or functional politics often overshadow party politics. Yet the state's political culture and environment invite citizen participation on either a partisan or nonpartisan basis. The local party organizations are manned essentially by volunteer, amateur, and nonprofessional workers. Newcomers and insurgents have fair prospects for party offices and, if well known, for nomination to public office. The voter's freedom is enhanced by frequent use of the initiative and sparing use of the referendum. Recall is available but rarely used.

The enduring state issues have been labor unionism, public power, social welfare, especially for the aged, the tax structure, and support for public education. In Washington it is literally true that virtually all have an opportunity to influence the course of these and other public policies.

[42] In the 16 contests for the U.S. Senate since the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment, incumbents went down to defeat only 4 times; in 88 House contests since 1932, only 7 incumbents were defeated.

In the next decade the cattle industry began to develop and powerful cattle barons dominated law and politics, reaching perhaps their zenith of power in the 1880's. Thereafter, the power of the big cattlemen somewhat declined, due to the relatively large influx of permanent settlers and the growing diversity of agriculture and industry. These same factors created an increasing interest in statehood. Wyoming became the forty-fourth state on July 10, 1890.

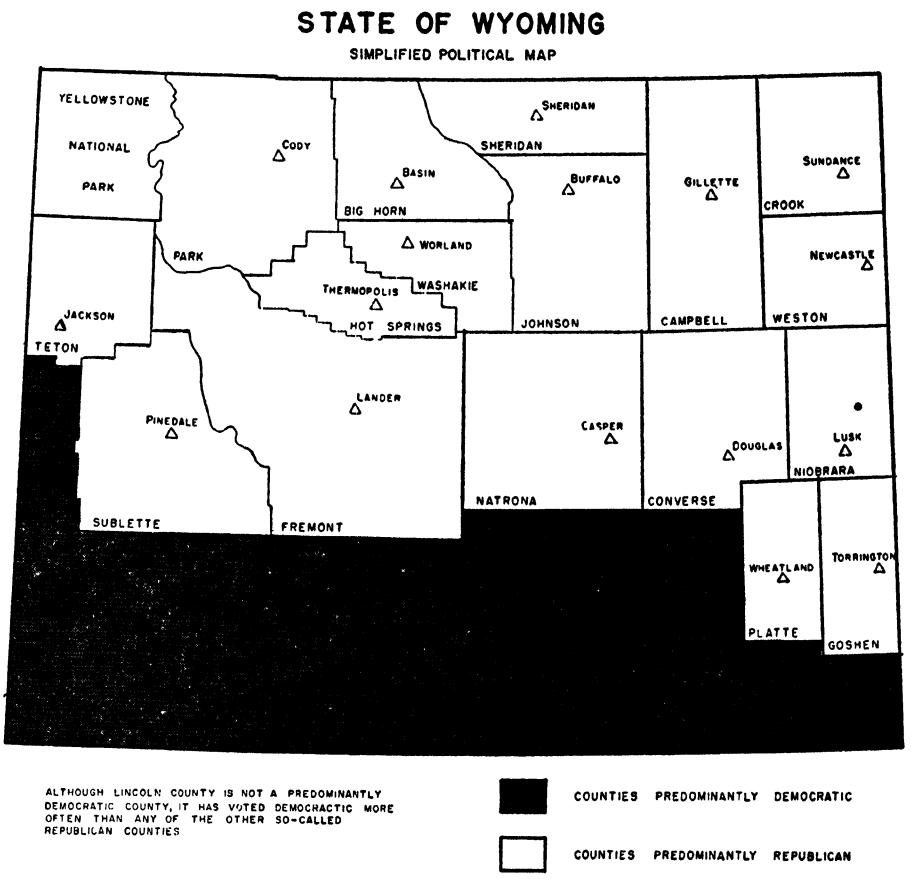
By this time the basis of much of the state's present economy was already well laid out. The livestock business was nearing the end of its hectic adolescence, and irrigated and dry farming were developed in the eastern part of the area. Mining, which had an early history of discovery and exploration, was yet to emerge as a major industry. Although oil in large quantities had been discovered as early as 1888 in the Salt Creek area, it was not until a 1912 gusher ushered in a boom that oil became a dominant factor in the Wyoming economy. By 1918 the state's annual crude oil production reached 12,500,000 barrels.

Transportation had become a major business with the construction of the Union Pacific, which in turn stimulated the mining of coal to be used as a readily available cheap source of fuel. But the transportation industry was to feel a later surge of development in the creation of a state highway system after 1917 and in the enormous growth of the trucking business. Recreation, now considered one of the three largest sources of revenue in the state, had been given a royal birth with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872. Military posts that had been strung across the territory contributed substantially to the economy in the early days, not only in providing peaceful conditions upon which trade and commerce depend but also in the direct expenditure of funds and employment of people. Although these are no longer a major factor in the economy, the establishment of one of the nation's first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile bases at Cheyenne may presage a new role for the military in the state.

Wyoming today shows continual though often uneven development of economic enterprises already well started before statehood. And the politics is to a great extent determined by the interest groups affected by these economic enterprises. Many of the late nineteenth-century attitudes that characterized the people of a new raw frontier still remain. Politics is very personal. People tend to vote neither for party principles nor basic issues but for the man, and for rather narrow and immediate self-interests. Voters feel they have the right to meet and talk personally with candidates — especially gubernatorial and congressional ones — before election, and expect door-to-door campaigning.

This personal emphasis tends to keep political party organization relatively weak and plays up the importance of candidates developing their own personal organizations in a campaign. Large formal political rallies by party organizations tend to be the exception.

Another characteristic is the political "Mason-Dixon" line. The counties in the most southern tier tend to be dominantly Democratic while the rest are Republican. To a great extent this is due to the fact that the Union Pacific Railroad, the coal mines, and much of the industry are located in the south while agricultural interests predominate in the northern half of the state. There is



also a rural-urban factor. In most of the southern counties the population is centered in somewhat isolated urban communities while in the north the urban centers tend to act as markets for rather populous rural agricultural areas.

Most of the issues coming before both the state legislature and local units do not involve party politics. This might in some respects be due to another factor — the absence of strong liberal-conservative factions within the two major parties. Both of them tend to be dominantly center to right-of-center on major political issues. Since the days of the Populist movement in the 1890's and the Progressive party in the decade from 1914 to 1924, no third party has played a major role. There is basic unity of political philosophy in the state although this is not to gloss over many variations in the political ideas of candidates in both parties.

Geography, Resources, and Economy[2]

With over 97,914 square miles, Wyoming ranks ninth among the fifty states in area. It is a land of physical diversification, riding the crest of the Rocky

[2] Source material is based primarily on unpublished data from the Division of Business and Economic Research of the College of Commerce, University of Wyoming.

Mountains yet spreading over a fringe of the "Great American Desert" with its rough, broken "badlands." Although about one-fourth of the state is mountainous, its greater portion consists of stretches of flat and gently rolling high plains. The altitude ranges from a low of 3,125 to 13,785 feet in the Wind River Mountains, and averages 6,700 feet.

The precipitation varies markedly throughout the state, but over half of the area, primarily in the central and eastern parts, has an annual rainfall of 10 to 15 inches. The average is 14.21 inches, although in a portion of Yellowstone Park it is slightly over 38 inches. The growing season varies considerably, averaging 79 days west of the Continental Divide, but 123 days in the extreme eastern part.

Wyoming has more large rivers and streams than any other state in the arid or semi-arid western region, with the headwaters of four major drainage basins in the United States. Although the streams produce an annual runoff of almost fifteen million acre feet, the state is currently using only 17 per cent of it. It is estimated that about four million acre feet are available for expansion of irrigation and industry, potential support for many times the present individual and municipal demands. The development of water resources has been primarily for agricultural purposes: some 2,750,000 acres are now irrigated and an additional 1,000,000 acres can be furnished sufficient water.

Nearly half the land in Wyoming is owned by the federal government.[3] Most of this is confined to mountainous and wooded areas, which are set aside as national forests and parks with outdoor recreational features that contribute substantially to making the tourist industry one of the state's major assets. One-seventh of the total land area is in national forests. Since commercial development is limited, yields from these as well as from private forest land do not equal the annual timber growth, and the forests are actually increasing in size and value.

Of the 56 per cent of the land in agricultural use, less than 4 per cent is devoted to cropland, the rest being used for grazing. Between 70 and 80 per cent of agricultural income is derived from livestock or livestock products. The state ranks second in the nation both in sheep-raising and in wool production, while in number of beef cattle it ranks fourteenth. Extensive irrigation developments and modern dry farming techniques have placed Wyoming among the top ten states in the production of spring wheat, sugar beets, and dry edible beans.

Fuel resources such as coal, oil, and uranium contribute substantially to the state's economy. The petroleum industry is the largest employer, with over 6,000 people on its payroll. Crude petroleum also accounts for over 80 per cent of the total value of minerals produced in Wyoming. The state ranks first in the nation in coal reserves, estimated to be in excess of 600 billion tons, while in uranium reserves, it holds third place. Large deposits of iron ore,[4] trona, bentonite, oil shale, and other secondary minerals promise expansion and development.

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[3] Federal, 47.1 per cent; state and local, 7.1; Indian Tribes, 3.3; and private, 42.5.

[4] Reserves, already estimated to be the largest in the Rocky Mountains, may be of even greater importance as a result of testing an iron vein near Riverton which some geologists estimate to be the largest find since the Mesabi discovery in Minnesota.

Manufacturing is limited to the processing of raw materials. There are no large-scale factories operating in the state. Food canning, lumber and wood products, petroleum, coal products, and stone are Wyoming's major manufacturing enterprises.

Population Factors

Wyoming's population, according to the 1960 census, was approximately 327,000, with a density of less than four persons per square mile. As estimated by the federal Bureau of the Census, the increase from 1950 to the middle of 1955 was the smallest of all of the western states, 10.1 per cent. The national increase for the same period was estimated to be 15 per cent.

With the exception of some rather densely populated rural agricultural areas, Wyoming's people are concentrated in small relatively isolated urban centers. Approximately 52 per cent live in communities of 2,500 or more. In 1960 the two largest cities, Casper and Cheyenne, numbered 43,403 and 38,711, respectively, while Laramie, with 17,435, ranked third. Over 93 per cent of the people are native-born whites, with very small percentages of Indians, Orientals, Negroes, and foreign-born whites.

These factors indicate a great deal of homogeneity both as to the racial composition and the socio-economic conditions of a small-town environment which contribute to the relative political stability and conservatism in the state as a whole. However, there are a few "pockets" of first- and second-generation Americans that act as important voting blocs during elections in some communities. This is particularly true of the Spanish-Americans in Cheyenne, Laramie, and Rock Springs, who have been developing a political consciousness only in the last decade. The Rock Springs area is perhaps the most heterogeneous, with many first- and second-generation Americans of European descent as well as a sizable community of Mexican extraction. Shoshone and Arapahoe Indians on the Wind River reservation have affected the local politics of Riverton and Lander but their statewide impact is negligible.

Religion does not seem to be an important factor in Wyoming politics. Both Catholics and Protestants have been elected to high political office, their religious affiliation being neither played up nor attacked in political campaigns. There is a sizable minority of Mormons in the western part of the state and it is doubtful if a Mormon could be elected to national or state office in Wyoming without the religious angle being brought out in the campaign. The Jewish community is small and limited to the major urban centers, and does not play an important political role, reacting politically according to local conditions, issues, and candidates.

Education

The level of formal educational training received by residents of Wyoming is high. The median attained in 1950 was 11.1 years of formal schooling compared with 10.7 years in the Rocky Mountain region and 9.3 years in the United States as a whole.

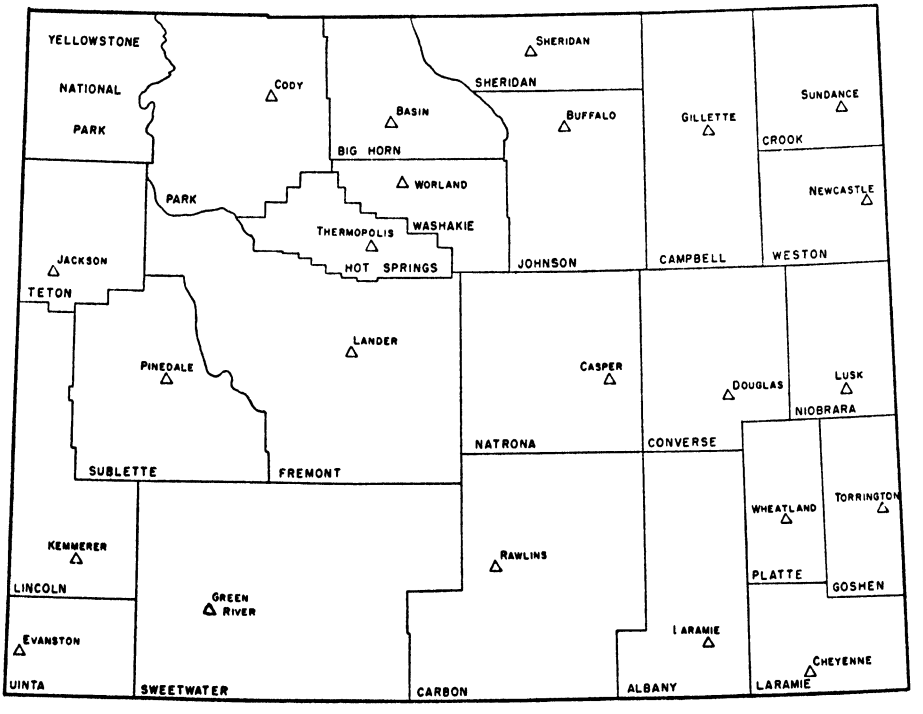
There is only one four-year institution of higher learning in the state, the University of Wyoming, and it plays a major role in state finances. It accounted

for 26.5 per cent of the state's General Fund expenditures in the 1955–56 biennium budget, or 9.6 per cent of total state expenditures. Although the University is free from a partisan political role, it is a significant factor in legislative matters and it acts as a strong pressure group in gaining support for its policies in both political parties. Junior colleges have been established in five major communities. Their development and expansion is effected by local "pork-barreling," since they receive some state as well as local school district support.

Higher education is respected and eagerly sought after by Wyoming residents. Candidates tend to stress their educational attainments and do not feel that mention of higher educational degrees casts a political stigma. There is no serious anti-intellectualism in the state as a political factor. On the contrary, there is a high level of interest in literature, public affairs, and the creative arts in the relatively small urban communities of Wyoming.

Press and Public Opinion

The Wyoming press is indeed an interesting factor in politics. Six of the nine daily papers published in the state were controlled by one man who had long played an important role in the state Democratic party. He served as Democratic national committeeman until his death in 1960. Yet the Wyoming press is not in opposition to the national press trend, for these dailies do not act as ef-



fective organs for the Democratic party. Some are nominally Democratic in editorial policy and some are Republican, while others straddle the political fence, favoring neither party and having no editorial page. The most widely read out-of-state papers are the two Denver dailies, the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post.* In the west the *Salt Lake Tribune* (Utah) and in the north the *Billings Gazette* (Montana) have a fairly wide circulation. The thirty-five weeklies are overwhelmingly Republican, only five or six being classed as Democratic. Printed in the smaller urban communities, they carry local news primarily of interest to rural market communities.

The total average circulation of the nine state daily papers is 69,749, the largest being 14,353 for the *Casper Tribune Herald.* The weeklies total 62,994, the Rock Springs *Miner* with a circulation of 6,045 being the largest.[5] Although the state's weekly newspapers have almost as large circulation as the dailies, it is impossible to determine their relative political significance, since many families subscribe to both types.

Rather than shaping political opinion, the state's newspapers tend to support the already existing political climate of their communities. For example, the daily Rock Springs *Rocket* is a dominantly Democratic paper in predominately Democratic Sweetwater County. This is also true of the Rawlins *Times* in Carbon County, while in Republican Sheridan County, the *Sheridan Press* is primarily Republican in its views.

There are two rather important monthly publications in the state, the *Wyoming Stockman Farmer* with a circulation of 14,000 and *Wyoming Agriculture,* the Farm Bureau publication, which reaches 9,000. These two papers do play a rather important role in shaping the attitudes of the agricultural population on political issues dealing with farm problems.

The state has only three television and twenty-two radio stations. Although widely used by both parties as campaign media during elections, these stations do not hold to any political party affiliation directly or indirectly in their policies or news reporting.

Nominations, Elections and Corrupt Practices

Wyoming has long been known as the "Equality State" because it was the first to provide women equal suffrage with men. It has also been relatively free of discriminatory practices toward special minority groups during elections. However, the provision that "no person shall have the right to vote who shall not be able to read the constitution of the state" [6] has been used at intervals in an attempt to deny the suffrage to certain minority groups such as the Indians and the Spanish-Americans. Such incidents are not common and in recent years there have been no instances of "challenging" electors at the polls to prove their ability to read the constitution.

Wyoming has no unusual age or residence requirements, and although there is a poll tax, state law specifically stipulates that no one shall be required to pay

[5] Wyoming Press Association pamphlet, *For Results Use Wyoming Newspapers* (Laramie, 1959).

[6] *Constitution of the State of Wyoming,* Article VI, Section 9.

a tax as a qualification for voting.[7] Permanent registration exists only for the active regular voter residing in the same precinct. Those who fail to vote in a general election must register again prior to the next one in order to vote. But if a person lives outside incorporated areas or voting districts where less than 350 votes were cast in the last election, he may register at the polls on election day.

There is very high participation in general elections: over 70 per cent of the registered voters vote and over 70 per cent of those eligible register. Participation in the primary election is substantially lower, in recent years being between 50 and 68 per cent of the total vote in the general election.[8]

Wyoming uses the direct closed primary. However, a voter who wishes to be registered as nonpartisan may vote for candidates for nonpartisan offices such as mayor, city councilman, district and supreme court judge, and county superintendent of public instruction.

Forty days or more before a primary election, a candidate must file a certificate of nomination with the secretary of state and pay a filing fee of $20. State law also permits nomination by petition or "write-in." It is frequently necessary for county political party organizations to petition for nomination of candidates in order to "fill the ticket." This is particularly true when the county is basically "one party." Even in a bi-party county certain local offices become entrenched domains of an individual and this discourages prospective candidates from filing. Some county offices are so unattractive politically and remuneratively that no one in either party can be encouraged to file. In the past two elections of state and county officials, both Republicans and Democrats in Albany County have been unable to get candidates to file for county coroner. As the deadline for filing neared in the 1954 campaign, there were no Democratic candidates in Albany County for two county commissioner positions, two state legislative positions, county clerk, clerk of the court, or coroner. In long arduous sessions the county central committee of the party obtained candidates for the county commission, the legislature, and the coroner. Failure to file was not due to the hopelessness of the Democratic position, for all Democratic candidates won in contested elections. Only the unopposed Republican clerk and clerk of the court were re-elected.

All of the state and county officers are chosen during the "off-year" election for four years, except district court justices and state senators and representatives, who may also be elected in presidential years.[9] Actual popular vote during off-year elections is about 10 per cent less than during presidential campaign years.

Each Board of County Commissioners is authorized to set up election districts and voting precincts, periodically to create new ones, and also "vacate, change, or consolidate" existing precincts up to ten days preceding any election in the state.[10] Although this provision could permit local "gerrymandering," there

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[7] *Session Laws of the State of Wyoming 1951*, Chapter 127, Section 4.

[8] In 1954 over 112,000 votes were cast in the general election, while only a little over 76,000 were cast in the primary. In the 1956 election the figures were 124,000 and 62,700, respectively.

[9] City councilmen elected on a nonpartisan ballot for four-year terms may come up for election on either an "off-year" or a presidential year as they serve staggered terms.

[10] *Session Laws of the State of Wyoming 1951*, Chapter 127, p. 11.

seems to be little evidence of this abuse. The commissioners are further authorized to appoint election judges and clerks in each precinct.

In practice the commissioners consult the county central committees of the two political parties and accept their recommendations. The political party that dominates the County Commission has the established right to recommend two of the three election judges appointed in each precinct. It is often difficult to find people who will serve in these capacities, since they are paid on the basis of the total votes cast and frequently find that twenty hours of public service on election day results in less than $20 compensation.

With regard to campaign expenditures of political candidates, the laws of the state are quite specific but have little relationship to actual practice. No candidate for public office may spend nor have spent on his behalf more than 40 per cent of one year's salary of the office to which he seeks election, half on seeking the nomination and half on the election. In no case, however, shall a candidate be restricted to less than $400 in each primary and general election campaign.[11] Although campaign expenditures of candidates are much less than in most other states, it is doubtful if any United States senatorial candidate in recent years has spent less than 90 per cent of his anticipated salary: expenditures up to $60,000 are perhaps more realistic and expenditures of over $100,000 are rumored. This applies also to candidates seeking state elective positions, the realistic cost of campaigns being far in excess of state legal limitations.

Each candidate for elective office must file within twenty days after any primary or general election a sworn statement of his campaign expenses.[12] County and state chairmen of each party must file a statement of receipts and expenditures of the party organization within twenty days after the general election with the county clerk and the secretary of state, respectively. According to all indications, accurate representations have been made of the local and state parties' expenditures. This is probably because there are no statutory limitations on the amount of money a party organization can raise and spend and because the various state and local party groups actually raise very modest sums. The county organizations seldom collect more than $2,000 to $5,000. In the 1958 campaign the Republican state central committee received $105,708.04 while its Democratic counterpart received $47,504.86 in campaign funds.[13]

A rather substantial amount of each party's campaign money comes from outside the state. For example, in the 1958 campaign fourteen out-of-state individuals contributed $12,200 to the Republican state central committee. This amounted to 11 per cent of its total receipts and indicated only a fraction of the out-of-state monies received. The candidates for congressional positions from both major parties probably received a much higher percentage of funds from out-of-state sources: labor organizations contributed heavily to Democratic candidates, while oil interests substantially financed the Republicans.

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[11] *Wyoming Compiled Statutes*, Article 24, Section 31–2401.

[12] *Ibid.*, Section 31–2402.

[13] Official statements of the Democratic and Republican State Central Committee's reports on file in the office of Secretary of State.

The state corrupt practices law prohibits financial contributions by corporations towards political campaigns or in support of political candidates. No salaries may be paid to any officers of the political parties or committees. Clerical assistance may be hired and payments made for necessary political expenses. Neither party has employed more than one year-round clerical staff member. The general practice even here is to employ a secretary for only part-time work. Any convicted violator of the corrupt practices law shall be deemed to have committed a misdemeanor with maximum penalties of $1,000 fine or one year in jail, or both. The statutes also make the normal provisions for the prevention of election offenses. Although provision is made against abusive use of intoxicating beverages on or near the polls, Wyoming does not have any law that prevents the sale of intoxicants on election day — perhaps in keeping with the remnants of the frontier spirit. With nothing more than rumored minor infractions[14] and the disregard of the legal limit on candidates' campaign expenditures, the elections and corrupt practices laws of the state are well adhered to; elections are orderly; and charges of one party against another for violations are quite the exception.

Although campaigns frequently become quite heated they are surprisingly free from odious campaign tactics. There has never been a real political scandal in the state's entire history. The most objectionable tactic employed in the past two decades was the Republican charge during the 1954 campaign that Senator O'Mahoney, seeking election, was a "foreign agent." This was a misrepresentation of the fact that O'Mahoney, as a legal representative for certain American sugar interests in Cuba, was required to register as a representative of a foreign corporation doing business in the United States. Many Republican leaders, as well as Democrats, deplored this tactic and O'Mahoney's victory may be in some part due to the public reaction against this "unsportsmanlike" attack.

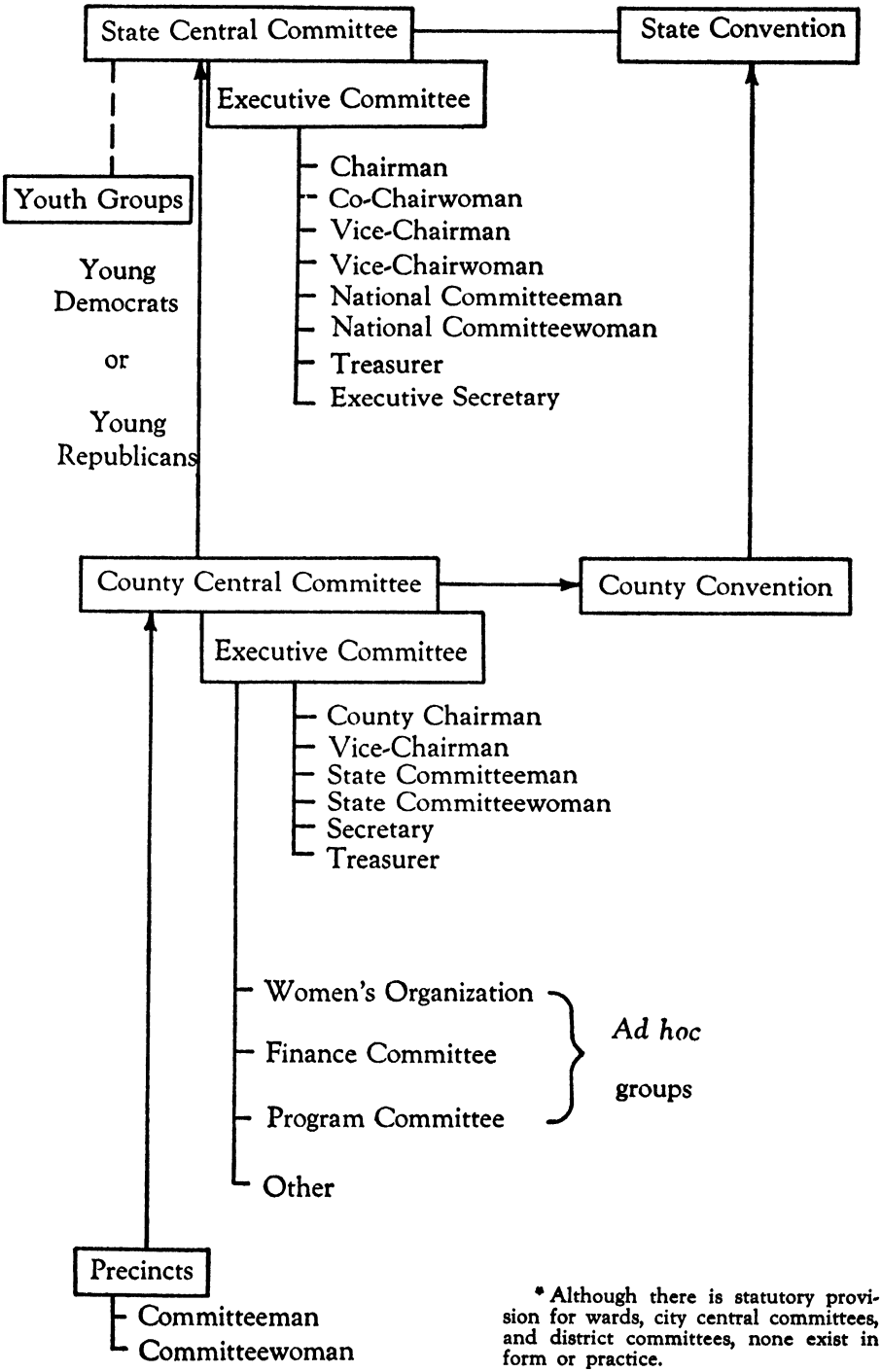
Since the population is so small, almost every political figure knows not only who every other politician is but often knows much about his family history and career. There are often not only close personal friendships between opposing candidates, but histories of family friendships going back two or three generations. The sparse population perhaps contributes also to an ease and warmth in meeting people and making acquaintances, and generally creating a climate that is not conducive to bitter and hateful campaign tactics involving attempts at character assassination.

Party Organization and Party Leaders

Political party organizations in Wyoming are weak. It is difficult to get people to run and to serve as precinct men and women. It is difficult to get precinct men and women, once elected, to turn out at political party gatherings, and it is unrealistic to expect them to encourage the rank-and-file to attend. Even the county chairmanships often eagerly sought after in other states, go to the persons willing to assume the responsibilities. Quips have often been made in informal political

[14] A rumor in the 1954 campaign was that one party in a rather important county was voting the names of recently deceased, whose names had not yet been removed from the local election registry.

Political Party Structure In Wyoming*



* Although there is statutory provision for wards, city central committees, and district committees, none exist in form or practice.

gatherings that if as an active party worker you don't show up at the party's county organization meeting to beg off, you might be elected county chairman!

During the primary, one man and woman are elected from each precinct, the lowest unit of party organization, to serve for two years. All of these within the county make up the county central committee which convenes within ten days following the primary election to select an executive committee.[15] In actual practice, there is usually no contest for precinct men and women. It is not unusual for the executive committee to co-opt itself by choosing the candidates for precinct men and women, who, when elected, sit as the county central committee and elect the new executive committee members nominated by the outgoing party leaders. This situation exists because the rank and file refuse to take an active role in party organization rather than because of conspiratorial design of the executive committee members.

Even after the election of precinct men and women, it is difficult to get them to the organization meeting. For example, in Albany County, a rather typical biparty county, neither party has had 50 per cent of the elected delegates attend the organizational meeting of the county central committee in the past three campaigns. So the job of organizing a campaign falls upon a very limited number of hard-core party workers.

Although wards and city central committees are provided for by state statute, they are in practice nonexistent. Nor is there any political organization between the county and state party levels. The county organization is indeed skeletal except during the months of a political campaign and in fulfilling patronage obligations after it is over. Women's groups meeting for social purposes or to hear a talk by some prominent elected official of the party seem to be the main tie during the campaign intervals.

However, once the campaign starts the small core of the county organization begins to function, recommending election judges and clerks to the county commissioners, picking candidates for precinct positions, encouraging people to run for the less popular public offices, setting up *ad hoc* committees, and in general planning organizational and campaign activities. County party organizations usually obtain their limited finances by soliciting individual contributions, by fund-raising events, and by assessing candidates. The usual assessment is $25, unless an incumbent is seeking re-election, in which case he is expected to contribute more — but seldom more than $50. Since women's organizations are usually quite effective in carrying out many of the tedious mechanics of campaign activities, it is common practice for the parties to select a woman as vice-chairman of the county central committee.

The state central committee of each party consists of a state committeeman and committeewoman from each county, who are usually members of the county executive committee. County chairmen frequently attend the annual meetings of

[15] In 1959 the Wyoming Legislature ammended the election laws to authorize each county central committee to pick a chairman, a state committeeman and a state committeewoman during the last fifteen days of March in an election year, further specifying that these officers do not have to be precinct men and women. The effect of this law is merely to formalize already existing practices.

the state central committee. Every two or four years this body selects its executive committee, whose functions are primarily to stimulate the activities of the county organization during the campaign, to raise funds for candidates and to coordinate their campaign activities, and to arrange for the state convention.

The very important and year-round "housekeeping" function of keeping party records up to date necessitates hiring a full-time or half-time secretary, the only paid party position that can be considered at all permanent. The state chairmen are continually called upon to speak before local party groups throughout the state. Their expenses are usually paid from party funds, as are the expenses of the state central committee: no other remuneration is received by party officers.

On the first Tuesday in May of each year in which a presidential election occurs each party holds its county convention. It is unusual for it to draw up a platform or to perform any other function than selecting state convention delegates. The state conventions, which closely follow, draw up a platform, and choose delegates to the national convention. These delegations are frequently split as to supporting one or another of the presidential aspirants.

The fortunes of political parties in Wyoming rests to a much greater extent on the personalities of individual party leaders and candidates than on party organization. A large segment of the electorate may adhere generally to a party preference, but the character, personality, and campaign effectiveness of individual candidates is the decisive factor and causes many people to cross party lines. This is perhaps most clearly indicated in congressional elections when Wyoming's single representative has the same statewide campaigning problems as the two senators.

Frequently the congressional representative is of a different political affiliation than the senator elected during the same campaign. In 1948 Democrat Lester Hunt, a former governor, was elected to the Senate with a much greater plurality than Harry Truman received in the state, while Republican Frank Barrett won the single seat in the House. Barrett was elected governor in 1950, and two years later unseated Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney. With the exception of Barrett (1952–58) Wyoming's senators in the last ten years have been Democrats: Hunt, O'Mahoney, and (elected in 1958) Gale W. McGee. Yet in the same decade Wyoming sent only Republicans to the House. William Henry Harrison, utilizing the familiarity of the name, was successful in his bid for Congress in 1950 and 1952: his successor, Keith Thomson, won in 1954, 1956, and 1958, to a great extent because of the lack of "personality" opposition. Harrison was again successful in 1960.

In a sense the state political party organizations are but loose confederations of the individual campaign organizations that each candidate must develop if he hopes to win. Although national trends very definitely affect voting behavior and party preference, a strong candidate can successfully buck the prevailing political trends against a weaker opponent.

Leadership is constantly changing and strong "personalities" one day may be out of favor the next. A brief description of the men who now dominate each party or who have played dominant roles during the past decade is given below. No attempt is made here to evaluate past performance or to give calculated guesses

of their future political successes, although some remarks are directed at their political ambitions.

In the Democratic party, leadership rested with former Senator O'Mahoney, who, with the exception of a two-year break in tenure from 1952 to 1954, served Wyoming in the Senate from 1934 until 1961. O'Mahoney was an eloquent spokesman for the New Deal in the 1930's and gained a national reputation for his stand on anti-trust legislation. Now in his late seventies, and recently in ill health, it is questionable whether he will be able to continue to exert party influence. Sharing this leadership from 1940 until his death in 1954 was Lester C. Hunt, former governor and United States senator.

William "Scotty" Jack has also been a prominent Democrat since the mid-thirties. Serving for twelve years as state auditor, "Scotty" Jack was known as one of the best vote-getters in the party. His last attempt to seek public elective office in 1954 resulted in his being narrowly defeated for the governorship by Republican Milward L. Simpson. Since that time he has held state appointive positions.

Senator Gale W. McGee, a newcomer to politics in 1958, never held previous political office, but gained statewide respect and popularity as a provocative "knife and fork" public speaker on international affairs. A former history professor at the University of Wyoming, McGee is young, colorful, and has a natural political charm. Frequently thought by many as "too" liberal, he is by his own definition a "moderate," standing somewhat to the right of O'Mahoney.

In sharp contrast is McGee's rival for party leadership, J. J. "Joe" Hickey, who has served long in party politics. Before being elected governor in 1958 he was the Democratic state chairman. Well known in party circles and by precinct people, he is a deliberate and methodical worker, but does not possess the personal charm of McGee. He is a conservative and a strong supporter of state's rights. Governor Hickey held office until December of 1960, when he resigned so that the Secretary of State of Wyoming might appoint him to the U.S. Senate seat vacated by the death of Republican Senator-elect Keith Thomson a month after the November balloting. The state is thus again represented by two Democrats in the Senate, despite the expressed will of the voters that one be Republican.

It is rather difficult to assess the relative strength of other personalities in the Democratic party. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Velma Linford has long been a controversial figure in both educational and party circles. Teno Roncalio, former state chairman; Rudy Anselmi, minority leader of the state Senate; and Tracy Mc Craken, the publisher who controlled six of the Wyoming daily papers until his death in 1961, have also been dominant figures for a long time in Democratic politics.

The most outstanding personality in the Republican party from the early 1940's until his defeat by McGee in 1958 has been Frank A. Barrett, who served four terms in the United States House of Representatives from 1943 to 1951, one term as governor, and one term in the U.S. Senate.[16] Considered one of the best "vote getters" in the state, Barrett, again a senatorial candidate in 1960, was

[16] Barrett's four-year term as governor was interrupted when he successfully won the Senate seat in 1952.

defeated in the primary by Keith Thomson, who went on to win the Senate seat just before his untimely death.

Edward V. Robertson, Welch immigrant to the United States, was for over fifteen years a leading Republican figure. He served as state vice-chairman and national committeeman in the 1930's, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1943. Defeated when he ran for re-election, he retired from politics in 1949.

C. J. "Doc" Rogers and Everett Copenhaver have been active leading figures in the party since 1947. Rogers served as state treasurer, secretary of state, and acting governor while Copenhaver has held the offices of state auditor and secretary of state. Frank C. Mockler and Norman Barlow have served long years in the state Senate. The former was its vice-president and the latter its president in the 1959 session. Both are active in Wyoming's powerful pressure group, the Stockgrowers Association. Two other long-term legislators and past presidents of the Senate who have served their party well are Earl T. Bower and R. L. Green.

Several new names have appeared in Republican politics in the last decade and it is difficult to assess their future in the party. William Henry Harrison, who had been defeated by Keith Thomson in 1954 as Wyoming's sole congressional representative, was out of politics for six years. He ran again in 1960 to capture the seat when Thomson was elected to the Senate. Milward L. Simpson, governor from 1955 to 1959, was defeated in his bid for re-election by Joe Hickey. Simpson is a genial and able campaigner, and is likely to return to active leadership in 1962. However, it is not easy to evaluate Republican leadership as factionalism within the party and defeats of major personalities in the 1958 election have obscured the relative importance of party leaders.

The political philosophy of the leaders in both parties, with the exception of O'Mahoney, can be generally classified as "conservative." Many may not prefer the label and would classify themselves as "moderates"; yet it would indeed be difficult to place any of them left of center in their approach to basic political issues.

In the 1960 campaign and in 1961 several new personalities have appeared on the political scene, with additional names on the political horizon for 1962. Each party is constantly seeking new faces, no predominate leadership being exerted by existing personalities in either party, with perhaps the exception of Gale McGee who appears to be a dominant Democratic figure at present. All of the new personalities now on the scene and those talked about for the immediate future fit in with the traditional conservatism of party politics in the state.

Pressure Groups

Due to the homogeneity of the population and the limited number of powerful economic and social organizations, pressure groups are few. This, however, does not imply that there is an absence of effective pressure-group politics by the very important groups that do exist. Among the dominant economic and social groups exerting effective political influence are the following: for agriculture, the Wyoming Stockgrowers Association and the Farm Bureau Federation; for oil,

the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association; transportation, the Union Pacific Railroad and the Truckers Association; education, the Wyoming Educational Association and the University of Wyoming; labor, the various unions such as the oil workers, building and trades, and railroad unions; and the V.F.W. and American Legion representing the veterans. This list omits organizations such as the Wyoming Taxpayers' Association, the Wyoming Liquor Dealers Association, the Wyoming Municipalities Association, and many others that in any one session of the legislature may produce enormous influence. Agencies of state government, such as the State Department of Education, make elaborate preparations to push through their appropriation requests not only in getting their figures accepted by the governor's budget, but also in lobbying to get the budget approved by the legislature.

Although their relative influence has substantially diminished since the early days of statehood, ranchers and cattlemen are still a very powerful force in pressure-group politics. A recent meeting of the Stockgrowers Association in the state could easily have been mistaken for a Republican convention, the top positions of the association being held or contested by outstanding figures in the Republican party. Ranching is still the dominant occupation of legislators, the vast majority of whom are members of the Stockgrowers Association. For example, sixteen of the twenty-seven members of the Wyoming Senate in 1959 were Stockgrowers, thus giving legislative veto control to that organization.

The Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association has successfully combatted continual attempts over the years to pass a state severance tax on mineral exploitation. In 1954 both the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial candidates were associated with the oil industry and indicated in their campaigns opposition to a severance tax. The fact that the state has not passed any effective legislation to control and regulate mineral resources depletion can partially be attributed to the work of the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association.

Since the University of Wyoming's biennial appropriation constitutes over 20 per cent of the monies in the General Fund, extensive lobbying activities must be undertaken before each legislative session in order to gain support for its financial requests. The University does not have to worry about "fighting" similar institutions for a share of the academic dollar, inasmuch as it is the only state-supported four-year institution of higher learning in Wyoming.[17]

Several people affiliated with the University have played important political roles in the state. In 1949 its former president, A. G. Crane, became acting governor; Frank Barrett was a member of the University Board of Trustees before his election to Congress; and Milward Simpson, a former president of the Board, became governor. None of these developments brought politics onto the campus, but they did enhance the prestige of the University for political support in legislative requests.

It is indeed a vexing problem to determine the direct relationship of lobbying and pressure groups to legislation that is passed or defeated. Frequently

[17] However, five public junior colleges have developed which are beginning to seek and obtain direct financial assistance from the state. Vying for the academic dollar may very well be a future problem.

support or opposition by a pressure group is not formalized as an organization policy, but is informally understood and pushed by informal personal relationships that are quite effective in Wyoming due to the small population and the very limited size of the legislative chambers.

The state has no legislation that requires the registration of lobbying groups or lobbyists. At one time the state "attempted to bring lobbying under control" by requiring any association actively engaged in sponsoring, formulating, or opposing legislation to file in the office of the bank examiner a budget covering the organization's expenditures, the salary paid employees, a list of membership, the contributions or membership fees paid by each member, and a complete, itemized list of all the association's expenditures." [18] However, in 1947, the legislature repealed this regulatory law.

Despite rather overt lobbying practices by the Truckers Association before the 1957 legislature which necessitated tightening the rules of both houses, the legislature has as yet not passed effective lobbying control legislation. Indeed, at the Wyoming Assembly on State Government, a three-day public forum held at the University of Wyoming in 1957, the participants, primarily state legislators, administrators, and representatives of state organizations, came to the conclusion that "lobbying activities do not present problems that need additional control." [19]

Legislative Politics

The history of the Wyoming state legislature has been a history of Republican domination since statehood with a few brief Democratic challenges. Only three times have the Democrats gained control. In 1958 they elected thirty members of the lower house to twenty-six for the Republicans. This was by far the best Democratic showing for over two decades, although in 1948 they constituted exactly half of the membership of the House.

In the Senate, Republican domination has continued unchallenged for over two decades. Democratic fortunes reached a low ebb in 1953 with the election of only six of the state's twenty-seven senators. By 1957 the Democrats had increased to eleven, enough to evoke a quip from the Democratic minority leader that he was "happy to see so many Democratic faces for a change, now we won't have to caucus in a telephone booth."

Republican domination of the state legislature is partly due to lack of legislative reapportionment since 1930, despite the fact that the state constitution makes it mandatory for the legislature to adjust the apportionment for senators and representatives among the several counties at its first session following a federal census. Many rural counties that have lost population or have not kept pace with urban growth in the last thirty years continue to maintain their legislative representation. In this period some counties have doubled while two have lost as much as 28 per cent. Weston and Washakie counties now have larger populations than Campbell or Converse, yet the former two have only one representative apiece while each of the latter have two.

[18] Ralph M. Wade, "The Wyoming Legislature," *The Wyoming Assembly on State Government* (New York: American Assembly Columbia University, 1958), p. 42.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

The Republican party, always stronger in the rural areas, gains most from the failure to reapportion. The political party composition of the two chambers of the Wyoming legislature for the past decade is indicated in Table I.

TABLE I

Party Composition of the Wyoming State Legislature 1949–1959

	Senate (27 members)		*House (56 members)*	
Date	*Republicans*	*Democrats*	*Republicans*	*Democrats*
1949	18	9	28	28
1951	17	10	39	17
1953	21	6	45	11
1955	19	8	32	24
1957	16	11	30	26
1959	16	11	26	30

The only dominant occupation among the members of either house is agriculture. Since 1949, and even before for that matter, not less than one-third of the members of the Senate have been farmers and ranchers, while in the House at no time were there less than nineteen in agricultural occupations out of a total membership of fifty-six. The overwhelming majority of legislators who claim an agricultural occupation are Republican.

In many states attorneys constitute one of the largest occupational groups in the legislature: in Wyoming there have never been more than four in the Senate nor more than ten in the House during any session since 1949. The 1959 legislature had but two attorneys in the Senate and seven in the House. Other professional people, small independent businessmen, representatives of the major industries in the state, and some representatives of labor are usually found in both houses.

Partisan political issues are not a dominant factor in legislation, but strong pressure-group activities are directed towards the legislators regardless of political affiliation. Pronounced urban-rural factors play major roles in taxation and appropriation measures. Repeated attempts to increase the independence of municipalities and to improve their financial position have been thwarted by the rural representation in the legislature. There is particular fear that any attempt to give the city authority in "fringe" developments outside its limits, or joint city-county jurisdiction in such areas would be detrimental to agricultural interests.

It is not always possible to differentiate between "rural" and "urban" legislators, for although occupations might be indicative, many ranchers reside within urban limits and frequently possess an urban outlook, while many others living in very small urban areas still possess, regardless of their occupations, a rural orientation and fear that increasing municipal authority means increasing taxes.

The legislature, irrespective of party domination, continues to be overwhelmingly conservative in outlook. Despite the need for increasing revenue no severance tax or state income tax bill would have a chance of passing. In the

1959 session, the legislature went so far as to pass a resolution submitted to Congress recommending the abolition of the federal income tax. Another indication of this conservatism is reflected in the failure of the periodic attempts to pass reapportionment bills.

On the other hand, the 1957 legislature did unanimously pass a resolution supporting the governor's proposal to have the state purchase the concessions of the Yellowstone Park Company and operate them as a source of revenue. Despite the "socialistic" nature of this scheme the legislators seemed to be guided by the pragmatic value of it, and perhaps by the thought that this would thwart further tax schemes.[20]

The initiative and referendum does not exist for any governmental units in Wyoming except Cheyenne, the one city which has the commission form of municipal government. Direct legislative action by Wyoming voters is restricted to that of ratifying constitutional amendments and voting on certain types of local questions such as municipal bond issues.[21]

Prior to 1919 the state possessed no budget system of any kind. The various governmental agencies went directly to the legislature and competitively sought appropriations. The governor had no control over the amounts requested or granted except through his veto. The rather crude form of competitive lobbying by governmental bodies can well be imagined. An executive budget system was adopted in 1919, making the governor the budget officer. Until 1957 he depended solely on his executive secretary for assistance, but since then a full-time assistant budget officer has been provided.

With four elective state administrative officers besides the governor, it is quite possible and frequently happens that one or more of these people will not be of the same political party as the governor. If the elective secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, or superintendent of public instruction are of a different political affiliation, is it likely that the governor will reduce their budget requests to the advantage of other departments headed by elective officials of the same party affiliation? In the last real tests in 1955 and 1957 the one elected Democratic state official (superintendent of public instruction) received favorable budget consideration by the Republican governor and the Republican-dominated legislature.

Although the legislature does have a joint budget committee, it functions only during the biennial forty-day legislative sessions and not during the interim.[22] There is neither a legislative research council nor a bureau from which legislators might gain some indication of budgetary requests and needs. A joint legislative interim committee supposedly investigates legislative needs, but between the 1957–59 sessions it did not operate due to lack of adequate appropriations.

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[20] Due to the initial expense involved in purchasing the concessions, and the need to expand and rehabilitate existing facilities, the plan was eventually dropped.

[21] There is the possibility of direct initiative for members of soil conservation districts to create conservation district rules which, if ratified, have many of the characteristics of local ordinances.

[22] The fiscal year is from July 1 to June 30. Budgetary needs for almost a 2½ year span must be considered, since the legislature meets in January and adjourns in February.

The budget considers only the General Fund which frequently accounts for no more than 25 per cent of total revenues. Earmarked funds such as those received by the Fish and Game Commission, from the sale of licenses, and federal grants-in-aid to various state agencies make up the greater proportion of revenues received. The earmarking of state-collected funds further indicates the effective lobbying of certain pressure groups, including state governmental agencies, in gaining and retaining financial independence from the legislature.

Wyoming receives a greater percentage of revenues from federal grants-in-aid than any other state. In the current biennium it is figured that 45 per cent of all estimated revenues will come from federal funds. The dependence upon federal monies might seem unusual in the light of a strong states-rights attitude within Wyoming; but the legislature has been unwilling to provide for new tax forms. Since Wyoming has neither income nor severance tax, the basic revenue sources are the general sales tax yielding two cents on the dollar of all commodity purchases, and taxes on property, gasoline, alcoholic beverages, and other special items. There seems little likelihood of any serious tax reorganization schemes being proposed or adopted as a result of any initiative on the part of the legislators irrespective of party affiliation.

Voting Habits

The Wyoming voter is perhaps more independent than the average American voter and more interested in the personality of the candidate than the party label; yet most voting habits parallel those found elsewhere. Labor, particularly organized labor, tends to vote Democratic although in the various building trades there seems to be strong Republican support. Business executives and managers of large corporations as well as ranchers and farmers are predominantly Republi-

TABLE II

Party Affiliation of Successful Candidates for the Three National and Five State Elective Offices 1942–1960

	President	*U.S. Senator*	*U.S. Representative*	*Governor*	*Secretary of State*	*State Auditor*	*State Treasurer*	*Superintendent of Public Instruction*
1942	—	R	R	D	R	D	R	R
1944	R	—	R	—	—	—	—	—
1946	—	D	R	D	R	R	R	R
1948	D	D	R	—	—	—	—	—
1950	—	—	R	R	R	R	R	R
1952	R	R	R	—	—	—	R	—
1954	—	D	R	R	R	R	R	D
1956	R	—	R	—	—	—	—	—
1958	—	D	R	D	D	R	R	D
1960	R	R*	R	—	—	—	—	—

* Deceased December 9, 1960: vacancy filled by a Democrat, appointed December 22.

can, although the Democrats gain important support from the smaller rancher and the more marginal farmer. First- and second-generation Americans tend to favor the Democrats, but they constitute only a small fraction of the electorate.

The religion of candidates, be it Catholic or Protestant, does not seem to affect the voting attitude of the electorate, although other religious affiliations might do so. A Mormon candidate for statewide elective office would find his religion no handicap, yet in many communities in the western part of the state his religious affiliation would be of real political advantage, since Mormons tend to vote for Mormons.

Wyoming-born candidates emphasize their native-son origins in the campaigns, but this does not seem materially to affect the voters' choice. Former United States Senator O'Mahoney and Senator McGee, as well as Congressman William Henry Harrison, were born and reared outside of the state. Wyoming voters are more concerned with "what you are" than "where you're from." The voter, regardless of political affiliation or party preference, is basically conservative and prefers candidates with traditionally accepted views and personal traits.

Impact of National Politics and Trends

Wyoming's Albany County until the 1960 campaign was one of the nation's handful of "bellwether" counties that had never voted wrong in a presidential election. Although it can not be classified as a "typical" county, it does indicate the impact of national trends on local voting behavior.

The state has never been as Democratic as the nation, and since 1940 has only once case a majority vote for a Democratic presidential nominee, which was during the 1948 campaign. Table II, indicating the voters' choice in Wyoming for the five state elective officers as well as for President, U.S. senators, and U.S. representatives since 1942, shows the predominate preference for Republican candidates. The 1958 election gave the Democrats their strongest representation in these major elective offices in twenty years and was a reflection of the national trend towards the Democratic party.

Although national issues such as public *versus* private power development, conservation, rural electrification, purchasing power parity, and foreign policy do affect voting behavior in Wyoming, it is more likely that the strengths or weaknesses in the personality of the national candidates affect state voting attitudes more than do the political issues in a campaign. For despite all other aspects of issues and national trends in a political campaign, a forceful and dynamic personality that fits the acceptable behavioral pattern of the electorate can win a state election, even with a relatively weak personal organization.

The West on Capitol Hill

NEAL A. MAXWELL

ONE HUNDRED years hence an historian of the future may well treat the surging power of the West in national politics as one of the most significant trends in mid-twentieth century America." So predicts Senator Richard B. Russell (D-Georgia), the spokesman for the South in the Senate and one of the most senior and respected legislators in Congress.

The power of the West on Capitol Hill has undergone some striking changes since 1940.[1] Quantitatively the power of the West has grown. Its twenty-two Senate seats have expanded to twenty-six with the addition of Hawaii and Alaska. Its House seats, forty-three as of 1940, are now fifty-nine and in 1961 will increase to sixty-nine, including two seats for Hawaii and one for Alaska, as a result of the 1960 census, in which the West will probably be the only region to increase its strength. The West still has a unifying stability amid political contrasts, but there is also a new mood of assertiveness as it redefines itself and its goals. Indeed, "magnolias are losing out to sagebrush" in terms of regional political power.

The personalities that make up the West's face in Washington have also changed. Senators Hiram Johnson, William Borah, Key Pittman, Burton K. Wheeler, Elbert D. Thomas, Eugene Millikin, and Pat McCarran are gone. Only Senators Carl Hayden (D-Arizona), and Dennis Chavez (D-New Mexico), now survive as a powerful link with the past.[2] There is flamboyance and diverse political color in Wayne Morse (D-Oregon), and Barry Goldwater (R-Arizona), just as there was with Borah and Wheeler. There are also silent but effective solons such as Senator Alan Bible (D-Nevada) and Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) who mirror the quietude of earlier "workhorses" like Colorado's Eugene Millikin.

What follows is an attempt to put into fresh perspective the West's role in Washington, especially on Capitol Hill. The voting pattern of westerners on "The

[1] Of course, the impact of California and Vice President Richard M. Nixon on national policies would be a study in itself.

[2] Murray and O'Mahoney retired in 1960, leaving only Hayden and Chavez in the role of western political patriarchs.

Hill," their strength and influence, and their lineup by political party are, of course, manifestations of underlying regional factors, a few of which follow.

Typical Regional Factors

The West, through its legislators, expresses a certain ambivalence toward itself as a region. Regional pride has been rallied several times in the form of indignant floor speeches to defend the West against charges that it is an arid and desert land and to counterassert that the West is a growing, prospering place — a land of promise. Yet those same solons plead the case for more appropriations and programs for the West as a mistreated colony. As with "underdeveloped areas" generally, the West will take all it can get and yet feel it deserves even more as partial payment for past neglect and exploitation.

Federal ownership of land in western states ranges from 87.1 per cent of the total in Nevada to 29.9 per cent in Washington, the latter being identical with the federal ownership of real estate in the District of Columbia. Most states contain only 3 or 4 per cent federal land. Many benefits flow to western states because of this situation, but it is little wonder that western states often resent efforts by legislators from other regions to tell them how to use these vast tracts of public lands.[3] Hard-pressed livestock men, for instance, look upon "wilderness" legislation as an attempt by emancipated Brooklynites to make a tourist playground out of lands they have relied upon for decades for a livelihood.

The demand for development of natural resources is keen. One western governor candidly said that in order to be favored in the West, a Democratic presidential aspirant for 1960 "must sign in blood that he is for the two things that interest us most, reclamation and development of natural resources."[4]

An indication of this general concern may be seen in the fact that the Senate Select Committee on Water Resources — established through the urgings of western Democrats — held extensive hearings in the West during late 1959. The study had the support of Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Texas), who, incidentally, noted at a meeting[5] of western Democratic senators, how impressed he was, during his 1958 tour of certain western states, with states like Wyoming, which has a population of 300,000 and yet has resources to care for 20,000,000. The hearings provided western legislators with enough ammunition on possible specific reclamation projects to last for the next decade.

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[3] For instance, Oregon's timber supply is one-half of the entire national supply, but half of Oregon's supply is on federally owned lands, hence the keen local interest in the use to which public lands are put. The payroll in Oregon's lumber business is twice that of Pennsylvania coal and twice that of the corn crop in Iowa or Illinois.

[4] An administration dealing with western legislators cannot rely on the latter's being awed when the Bureau of the Budget interposes itself between westerners and their reclamation projects. Senator Chavez said with respect to the Bureau's judgment in such matters that he "did not intend to sneeze every time the Bureau of the Budget takes the snuff bag in its hands"! In 1959, for instance, there was talk of a GOP policy of "no new starts" in reclamation projects, but this was "quietly" abandoned in the Eisenhower Budget for 1961.

[5] Members of the group also discussed at this same meeting, the problem of booster television, again a reflection of the West's need to compensate for the disadvantages of its wide open spaces as it does in pushing airport construction and in searching for new industries. Western solons also often fight over whose state will be favored as the location for new defense-connected industries.

In urging the formation of the Select Committee, Senator Mike Mansfield (D-Montana) noted that by 1975 Americans would need 350 billion gallons of water a day and "there is not now under construction or planned for construction, by public and private agencies combined, water resource projects that will provide 350 billion gallons per day of water of acceptable quality."

The water problem was underlined further by Senator Robert Kerr (D-Oklahoma), who predicted that in Oklahoma in the next fifty years "our water resources will be worth much more to the state than our oil and gas resources have been in the last fifty years, or will be in the next one hundred."

In view of the mounting need for water, the prospect of low-cost desalinization offers the arid and semi-arid West "the greatest chance for peace" in recurring disputes over dwindling water supplies. Should California be able to use sea water, Arizona and Nevada could draw more freely upon the Colorado River, and then, according to Senator Clinton Anderson (D-New Mexico), the lower basin states could say, "With Los Angeles out of it, we can let Colorado and Wyoming and New Mexico and Utah use an awful lot of this water, and it won't bother us a bit." Anderson also saw in successful desalinization the future industrialization of Nevada and "all sorts of new projects in Arizona."

Without any question, water is the omnipresent limiting factor in the growth of western states and hence is the *leitmotiv* of much of western political activity on Capitol Hill.

An interrogation by this author of several senior western legislators as to which legislation since World War II had the most significance for the West brought a uniform response. Their answer: resource development. The same respondents, when asked about the important issues of the future, again listed resource development first (with more emphasis on petroleum shale and securing a water supply, whether through rainmaking or desalinization), freight rates, and agriculture.[6]

Thus resource development and reclamation, as do race issues in the South, provide a unifying political cement for the region and constitute a political imperative growing out of the economy of western America.[7]

The plight of many western mines is another such general factor. Typical are the lead and zinc industries, which, in 1956, were producing only 81 and 79 per cent, respectively, of their 1950–51 production, despite the fact that during the same period domestic consumption of slab zinc and new lead had increased sharply, and world-wide production of lead increased 111 per cent and of zinc, 50 per cent. In 1948 in Utah, 3,000 men had jobs in lead-zinc mines; by 1959 there were only 958 so employed. Successive findings by the Tariff Commission of "damage" to the domestic industry have done little to change Administration policies. Quotas on imports have failed to relieve domestic producers, and

[6] Alaska and Hawaii are naturally tied to the West in terms of their keen interest in freight rates, fishing, mining, highways, oil, gas, and coal in the case of the former; sugar and fruits in the latter; and airport and reclamation construction in both cases.

[7] A slow start on a reclamation project or the location of a new federal highway are the kind of dynamic local issues, especially in the less populous western states, that often make and break candidates without reference to their actual responsibility for things as the voter finds them.

foreign producers have complained about quotas. In 1960 westerners called on the Tariff Commission to make a "Solomon's decision as to what the remedy should be." In fact, a Senate resolution required the Tariff Commission to submit by March 31, 1960, not only its findings, but recommendations for a policy that would put domestic production on a "sound and stable" basis. Congressmen in both parties have been compromised at times by their desire to support their Administration's foreign policy, which often runs counter to the needs of the western domestic mining industry.

The changing economy of the West, which finds mining on the decline in many states, may permit western legislators this political latitude, but there is always the possibility that this issue will display its whiplash potential at the polls. Miners feel they have "paid taxes to put themselves out of business through government subsidies and purchase programs for metals produced in foreign lands."

All western states produce sugar beets or are among the twenty-five states comprising the normal beet sugar marketing territory. For several states sugar is a significant factor in their economy, and in the case of Hawaii it is a primary factor.

Extension of the Sugar Act, water rights legislation aimed at encroaching federal powers, wilderness legislation, and mining aid are problems which constitute, in addition to resource development, the measures in which the West has a particular interest as the new decade begins. Sugar policy, like minerals and mining policy, will probably become hopelessly embroiled in foreign policy considerations and westerners will find themselves in the same sort of dilemma. The same is also true of imports of mutton and lamb, which have increased about ten times in the last three years. Westerners will probably seek relief through a tariff or quota system.

Western legislators actually have been reasonably good supporters of foreign aid programs over the years, but there is a growing attitude, reflected in the overriding of Eisenhower's 1959 vetoes of the Public Works bills, that "if we can spend $800 million on public works abroad" we should spend an equal amount "at home." Statistical attempts to show the number of American jobs that result from our foreign aid programs are not persuasive to western lawmakers. Of the one-third million Americans whose jobs are allegedly linked to the foreign aid programs, only 41,622 are in the West, and most of these are in California and Washington. Thus, when westerners support foreign aid, it is not as a matter of direct economic interest, and in some states where mining is important, it often is an act of some political courage.

Northwestern Democrats in Congress, who see low-cost power as the key to new payrolls, quarreled with Eisenhower's power development policies. The same solons from timber country also saw the Administration's housing programs as too modest and view high freight rates as "throttling" their area's ability to sell goods to eastern markets.[8]

[8] Oregon has established sixty-one new plywood plants in the last ten years, an indication of the direct impact of housing programs on that state's economy.

The presence (or absence) of Negro voters in the West undoubtedly contributes to the attitudes and voting patterns of western legislators. California, for instance, has more Negroes than do Arkansas and Michigan. Washington and Arizona have more than 25,000 Negroes: thereafter the numbers range down through Colorado, Oregon, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Montana to Idaho, which has only about a thousand and stands forty-fourth in national rank order. In such a context, it is politically easy for most western legislators to vote "moderately" on civil rights measures and proposals to limit debate in the Senate. Thus, most westerners support civil rights legislation, but not as a "must" because of their constituents, except perhaps in the case of California and Washington.

With regard to education, western parents have higher expectations that their children will go on to college than parents in any other region. The percentage of the children expected by their parents to go to college is 80 per cent in the Mountain states and 78 per cent in the three Pacific states, while the national average is 69 per cent. This has portent for federal aid to education proposals with which Congress wrestles. Westerners may not want federal aid for teachers' salaries, but in the 1960's they may urge their legislators to support federal aid for constructing facilities in which to educate their burgeoning crop of young.[9]

Perhaps the most significant regional factor, which sharpens all the others, is the explosive population growth of western states. Projections by the Bureau of the Census show, for instance, that from 1955 to 1970 the population over eighteen years of age will increase 41.2 per cent in the Mountain states and 45.5 per cent in the Pacific states, the first and second fastest rates of growth of any region in the nation. Thus the West's share of House seats after the 1970 census may be nearly double the number it held in 1940.

According to one Bureau of Census projection on net migration, the Mountain states will have a net in-migration of 572,000 by 1970 and the Pacific Coast states, 4,254,000. Significantly, those areas which will have a net loss through migration are, in descending order, East South Central (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Texas), West North Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Mississippi, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas), and New England. While some of the migrants will not follow Greeley's counsel, many obviously will, and most of these will come from traditionally Democratic areas — which should further reinforce that party's strength in the West.

This population growth will have its impact, not only in school ages, but in the age groups over sixty-five. In the last two decades the percentage of persons over sixty-five has increased more rapidly than the population growth generally in six of the eleven traditional western states (Arizona, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Oregon, and Wyoming). In Arizona, while the general population increased 42 per cent between 1950 and 1957, the group over the age of

[9] In the Senate vote in February, 1960, which passed a two-year program of federal assistance to states to aid in elementary and secondary construction, only three westerners (Bennett, Dworshak, and Goldwater) voted in the negative. Two other GOP senators joined western Democrats in supporting the measure.

sixty-five increased 63.3 per cent. This trend has political portent for legislation involving social benefits for the aged and annuitants on the one hand and for anti-inflation, sound-dollar measures on the other; pensions and geriatrics may produce an informal regional gerrymandering in several western states.

Some observers see a "growing xenophobia" in the West, an attitude which may bode ill for "outside" organizations like COPE. This assertion seems to have support in the relative failure of both political parties to employ effectively the device of a visiting V.I.P. to boost the political stock of local candidates. Some observers gave Senator Lyndon Johnson credit for "electing" several western senators in 1958, but even if this were true, it represents the exception and not the rule.[10] Besides, Johnson talked to westerners about the things they wanted to hear — such as reclamation. Appeals to national party platforms fall short of evoking enthusiasm among voters in the West, and in several cases "visiting firemen" have actually provided the opposition with potent political ammunition.

Moreover, western incumbents cannot rely on an appeal to their seniority to impress western voters; members of both parties have tried the technique and failed. The marginal nature of many areas in the West, coupled with an apparent primary concern by the voters over the job an incumbent is doing, leave little room for seniority as a major factor in voter attitudes. The state of Washington is a good example; voters regularly send back a liberal Democratic team to the Senate and a nearly solid GOP group to the House.

Western legislators, once they arrive on Capitol Hill, do not let party labels get in the way of the work to be done. Thus veteran Republican Congressman Walter Horan of Washington will cite both Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D-Washington) and former Senator Arthur Watkins (R-Utah) for their affirmative influence in behalf of the West. Western legislators also looked to men like Millikin, as they now do to Hayden, as elder brothers, not as partisans.

No clear pattern is apparent in the matter of how involved western lawmakers in Washington may safely become in political wars and in-fighting in their own states. While they obviously cannot be disinterested observers, in some states they are at least comfortably in the background. A Chavez can "bluntly" advise a governor and get away with it, yet when Arthur Watkins injected himself in a party primary fight over the Utah governorship in 1956 he paid the price in his own Senate race in 1958, for his defeat must in considerable measure be attributed to spite votes.

The Party Picture

In 1939, in the House of Representatives, the party division of westerners was thirteen Republicans and thirty Democrats, while in 1949 it was thirty-eight and nineteen, respectively. In 1961 there were twenty-six Republicans and thirty-one Democrats. The Democratic high point for those twenty years was in 1939. The GOP highs occurred in 1949 and 1953 when it held thirty-eight seats and the Democrats held nineteen.

[10] In the January, 1960, challenge by liberal Democrats to Johnson's structuring of and relationship to the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, which failed fifty-one to twelve, only two western Democrats, Morse and John A. Carroll (D-Colorado), opposed Johnson.

In four of the delegations in the western states, the party ratio in the House has remained unchanged since 1953 or earlier. (Arizona 1–1, New Mexico, 0–2, Washington, 6–1, and Wyoming, 1–0, Republicans and Democrats, respectively.) Indeed, much of the shifting in the West's total ratio in the House is attributable to California's large delegation, which favored the GOP nineteen to eleven in 1953, yet in 1959 was composed of fourteen Republicans and sixteen Democratic congressmen. California's delegation has been mostly Democratic five times and predominantly GOP six times in the last eleven Congresses.

In Colorado, only twice in eleven Congresses (twenty-two years) has either party controlled the entire four-man delegation: in 1939 the Democrats and in 1945 the Republicans. In Montana, only three times in the same period have both representatives been of the same party: 1943, 1957, and 1959, when the Democrats held the two seats.

Nevada's lone House seat has been held in eight out of eleven Congresses by a Democrat, while Democrats have held Wyoming's seat only once, 1941–43, in twenty years. Oregon was allocated four seats in 1943, and for a decade those seats were filled by the GOP. In 1955 the GOP lost one of those seats, and by 1959 it held only one. In 1961 it held two. Oregon has shown the most dramatic and persistent shift of any western state in the party makeup of its House delegation.

Democrats have held both of Utah's seats in six Congresses out of the last eleven, Republicans three times, and in two Congresses the delegation has been split. Only in the Congresses commencing in 1939 and 1941 did the Democrats hold the majority of Washington's six seats; however, in those years they held them all.

Thus, while some see a long-term Democratic trend in the making, the pattern of western representation in the House over the past two decades indicates that neither party can safely assume that time automatically is on its side. If one takes only the last six years, however, striking data emerge. Among the twenty-six western House seats held in 1960 by the GOP are six which in the last three elections become less safe as the Democrats scored regular and significant gains. Four of these faltering Republican seats are in California. In the same frame of reference, none of the thirty-one seats held by Democrats had been "gained on" by the GOP during these six years. In only three districts in the 1954, 1956, and 1958 elections did the GOP strengthen its hold. However, during the same period in nineteen districts (ten of these in California) the Democrats increased their margin regularly. Seats won in 1958 by a margin of 55 per cent or more of the total vote numbered thirty-seven; of these twenty-five were Democratic. There was less than a 2 per cent spread in the 1958 elections in five western House seats. The narrow margin favored the Republicans in two districts and the Democrats in three. A shift of 3,505 votes would have given three more seats to the GOP and a shift of only 2,011 votes would have given the Democrats two additional seats.

In the United States Senate, the West held twenty-two seats in 1939 and now with the addition of Hawaii and Alaska it holds twenty-six. In 1939 the Democrats held eighteen of the twenty-two seats, and in 1961 they held twenty

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Republicans and Democrats in the Western States
House of Representatives

State*	1939 R.	1939 D.	1941 R.	1941 D.	1943 R.	1943 D.	1945 R.	1945 D.	1947 R.	1947 D.	1949 R.	1949 D.	1951 R.	1951 D.	1953 R.	1953 D.	1955 R.	1955 D.	1957 R.	1957 D.	1959 R.	1959 D.	1961 R.	1961 D.
Arizona		1		1		2		2		2		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
California	8	12	9	11	11	12	7	16	14	9	13	10	13	10	19	11	19	11	17	13	14	16	14	16
Colorado		4	2	2	3	1	4		3	1	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	2
Idaho	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2		1	1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2
Montana	1	1	1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		2	1	1
Nevada		1		1		1		1	1			1		1	1		1			1		1		1
New Mexico		1		1		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2
Oregon	2	1	2	1	4		4		4		4		4		4		3	1	1	3	1	3	2	2
Utah		2		2		2		2	1	1		2	2		2		2		2		1	1		2
Washington		6		6	3	3	2	4	5	1	4	2	4	2	6	1	6	1	6	1	6	1	5	2
Wyoming	1			1	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Total	13	30	15	28	23	26	20	29	32	17	25	24	27	22	38	19	37	20	31	26	26	31*	26	31*

* Alaska and Hawaii were each represented by one Democrat in 1959 and in 1961.

Note: Figures are based on information in the Congressional Directory and World Almanac. When vacancies occurred during the year, figures reflect the status before the vacancy occurred. If there was a vacancy at the beginning of the year, figures reflect status after it was filled.

Senate

State*	1939 R.	1939 D.	1941 R.	1941 D.	1943 R.	1943 D.	1945 R.	1945 D.	1947 R.	1947 D.	1949 R.	1949 D.	1951 R.	1951 D.	1953 R.	1953 D.	1955 R.	1955 D.	1957 R.	1957 D.	1959 R.	1959 D.	1961 R.	1961 D.
Arizona		2		2		2		2		2		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
California	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2		2		2		2		1	1	1	1
Colorado		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1
Idaho	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	2		2		2		1	1	1	1	1	1
Montana		2		2		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		2		2		2		2
Nevada		2		2		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		2
New Mexico		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2		2
Oregon	2		2		2		2		2		2		2		1	1†		2		2		2		2
Utah		2		2		2		2	1	1	1	1	2		2		2		2		1	1	1	1
Washington		2		2		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		2		2		2		2
Wyoming		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		2	1	1	1	1	1	1		2		2
Total	4	18	4	18	6	16	5	17	10	12	8	14	12	10	11	11	11	11	9	13	5	17*	5	17*

* The two new senators from Alaska in 1959 were both Democrats. Hawaii elected one from each party. In 1961 the score remained the same.

† Independent, Wayne Morse.

Note: Figures are based on information in the Congressional Directory and World Almanac. When vacanies occurred during the year, figures reflect the status before the vacany occurred. If there was a vacancy at the beginning of the year, figures reflect status after it was filled.

out of twenty-six, a striking contrast to the shifting but more evenly balanced party pattern in the House.

In only four Congresses in twenty years has the GOP ever held ten or more of the West's twenty-two Senate seats (1947, 1951, 1953, and 1955), and only once in eleven Congresses (1951, when the GOP ratio was twelve to ten) has it actually had a majority of the West's representation in the upper chamber.

In Arizona (1–1), Montana (0–2), New Mexico (0–2), and Washington (0–2), Republicans and Democrats, respectively, the party ratio has not changed since 1953. Since cracking the Democratic control of Arizona's Senate seats in 1953, the GOP appears to be comfortably "here-to-stay" in a changing Arizona. Republican and Democratic percentages of the senatorial vote in that state over the past twenty years indicate that the Democrats pulled their highest percentage in 1940 with 71.6 per cent of the vote for senator. Since that time their share of the vote has declined steadily — except in 1956 when the invincible Hayden was re-elected — until 1958, when they polled only 43.9 per cent of the total vote for senator. This also shows, of course, that a strong candidate like Hayden can survive even an adverse trend, just as do Washington's Republican congressmen.

In Oregon the reverse is true. A once solid GOP Senate delegation has changed to a Democratic delegation after being split in only one Congress, which indicates that Wayne Morse in changing parties anticipated or followed rather than led a trend. The Democratic share of the vote for senator in Oregon was only 23 per cent in 1942 and rose to a respectable 54 per cent in 1958.

In the past eleven Congresses, California's Senate delegation has been split seven times, Colorado's eight times, and Idaho's seven times. Nevada's and Wyoming's Senate seats have been controlled by the Democrats about half the time and split the other half in the last twenty years. In Utah, each party has controlled completely in four Congresses and they have split the remaining three.

Of the eight western states that in 1939 gave both Senate seats to the Democrats, five (Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Washington, and Wyoming) were similarly situated in 1959. Arizona, Colorado, and Utah — solid for the Democrats in 1939 — are now split, while Oregon, completely Republican twenty years ago, is now solidly Democratic. California and Idaho were split in 1939 and in 1959. Arizona and Oregon, in a sense, have traded places in party ratios.

The GOP cannot dismiss lightly its recurring challenge to get and keep western Senate seats. In the Congresses commencing in 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, and 1959, six or fewer western seats have been held by Republican senators. Their brief moment of dominance in the Congress convening in 1951 melted quickly away when the elections of 1952 and 1954 split the West's twenty-two seats eleven to eleven. In the elections of 1956 and 1958 the GOP lost two and four Senate seats, respectively.

In this context, Republicans cannot overestimate the importance of the personalities they present to western voters in Senate races. In the Alaskan races for the Senate in 1958, one GOP candidate drew 47.4 per cent of the total vote while the other received only 14.9 per cent, an indication of the importance of the political faces presented to the voters.

Republican senators themselves probably underestimate the explosive character of certain regional issues on the unpopular side of which their national party often places them. The regional issues may best be seen in Oregon, where the GOP attitude has often been one of "hara-kiri" on matters dealing with public power and the development of natural resources. For instance, GOP candidates in the Northwest may sincerely believe in private power. However, if these same men are being placed by their own party in a posture they would not naturally assume, then they are unnecessarily running counter to strong and powerful regional attitudes. In the absence, therefore, of dramatic national slogans like 1952's "Communism, Corrupation, and Korea," it appears unlikely that GOP candidates from such western states will often help fill the seats on the Republican side of the Senate aisle.

The countervailing political issue that may be effective for the Republicans, if they can adopt it without being absorbed and obsessed by it, is the matter of fiscal responsibility. Some western states could have financial crises like that of Michigan.

However, political trends in the West have not been easy to call. In 1950 the "experts" were wrong in more than half of their predictions for Senate races in the West.

The Conference of Western Senators formed as a bipartisan group by McCarran in 1947 was aimed at bringing western power on "The Hill" to bear on the problems peculiar to the West because "there exists in the hearts and minds of Western Senators a kindred spirit which at times transcends in importance our obligations to our respective parties." This Conference — never a strong force — is no longer active, and there is no one who appears anxious to breathe the breath of life back into it. The western Democrats in the Senate formed their own Conference in January, 1959. The new Conference is composed of the traditional eleven western states, plus Alaska, Texas, and Oklahoma.[11] Senator Murray heads the group and Senator Bible is vice-chairman. Oklahoma and Texas were included, according to Senator Mansfield, because of a "similarity of problems and geographic ties," such as "mining, Indian affairs, power, reclamation, agriculture and cattle." The group met about four times during 1959 and discussed "mounting water problems" ranging from flood control to salt water conversion and spearheaded the formation of the new western-dominated Senate Select Committee on Water Resources.

Obviously, the new Conference has done more than to move into the vacuum of the Conference of Western Senators. The handful of Republican western senators would naturally vote with the Democrats on many regional matters anyway, and the new Conference will not be fettered by bipartisan considerations in its deliberations and political maneuvering. The new arrangement gave the Democrats elbowroom to attack Administration programs where, in their opinion, they appear to be unsympathetic to the interests of the West.

[11] Hawaii may be asked to join. There is no secretary to the Conference, although a member of the Interior Committee's staff periodically sends to members résumés of bills "of particular interest to westerners."

Many of the new western Democrats in the Senate are more liberal and militant in their philosophy than were Democrats McCarran and Colorado's Ed Johnson. The latter at one time even shared staff with Republican Millikin, a fellow Coloradoan. The dying, bipartisan Conference of Western Senators — with this new assertive Democratic element — could not have long maintained the McCarran *entente cordiale* anyway.

The new Conference delivered twenty-one votes against the confirmation of Admiral Lewis L. Strauss for Secretary of Commerce — by far the largest regional bloc — in a vote that turned down a prospective cabinet member for the first time since 1926. Of the twenty-three Democratic members of the new Conference, only two, Chavez and Kerr, failed to support their colleagues in a concerted drive led by Clinton Anderson. Of course, not the least of the considerations involved in opposing Strauss was the feeling by many Democrats that he was hostile to public power programs.

Strength and Seniority

The strength of the West on Capitol Hill lies not only in its numbers but in its seniority committee assignments and political accommodations with other regions. In the House of Representatives, the West has never had a speaker, while in the Senate it has had Key Pittman, William H. King, and currently Carl Hayden as presidents *pro tempore*.[12]

In 1940, of the forty-seven standing House committees westerners chaired five, including Appropriations and Irrigation and Reclamation. In 1950 it held no House chairmanships, and in 1959 it had only Wayne Aspinall of Colorado as chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Only one westerner still in the House, Democrat Harry L. Shepherd of California, also played a role in that body in the thirties; he is now the third-ranking member on the Democratic side of the House Appropriations Committee. Yet the South has fourteen and the North thirty-one survivors of that same era, and, of course, they have great seniority.

Two senior Democrats, Hayden and Chavez, were in the Senate in the thirties, and Magnuson served in the House during part of the same period. During the forties, the West added a baker's dozen of men to the House who have survived and still serve, and four, Morse, Anderson, Magnuson, and Henry Dworshak (R-Idaho), who are still serving in the Senate. Three other westerners, Henry Jackson (D-Washington), Mansfield, and Clair Engle (D-California), now in the Senate, served in the House during the forties.

Only about one-third of the present western senators were in the upper chamber when this past decade began. Hence the West, although it has little seniority in the House, is strong at the top in the Senate (Hayden is Congress' all-time senior member in point of service). It is, however, very thin in the second file or middle grouping. The West obviously depends too heavily for seniority

[12] Certain Western GOP members did, however, play key roles in the 1959 deposing of veteran Republican House leader, Joseph W. Martin, in favor of Indiana's more aggressive Charles Halleck as minority leader.

and positions on the handful of Senate veterans who cannot defy time forever. The West's real surge in the Senate may show up in its third file, the men of the fifties, some of whom, Mansfield, Bible, Frank Church (D-Idaho), Bennett, and Goldwater, may be the senior senators of tomorrow. In the House, however, western voters will probably continue to preclude most of their representatives from acquiring seniority for more than two chairmanships in the foreseeable future.

In the 1959 House, the West had five members on the House Agriculture Committee, seven on Appropriations, fourteen on Interior, five on Public Works.[13] It had only Hamer Budge (R-Idaho) on the oft-times crucial Rules Committee. Thus the West has grouped itself reasonably well to serve its interests in the House in spite of its only moderate strength in that body.

In 1940, the chairmen of eight standing committees out of thirty-three in the Senate were westerners. In 1950 the West held six out of fifteen committee chairmanships. In 1959 it held five out of sixteen chairmanships,[14] including Appropriations.[15] Among these committee chairmanships has been the politically meaningless District of Columbia Committee, but otherwise it appears that in the last decade the West has taken over those committees in which it has the keenest interest — Appropriations, Interior, and Public Works.

The West has excellent representation (1959) on the Interior Committee (holding all but one of fifteen seats), eight members on Appropriations, including the chairmanship and the same position on several of its subcommittees. It has four men on Armed Services, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, including the chair, and three members on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, Foreign Relations, Labor and Public Welfare and Rules. It is underrepresented on Finance (2), Banking and Currency (1), and Agriculture (0).

Here again the West has grouped itself well for its own purposes, with the possible exception of fiscal and agricultural matters. The recent policy struggles in farm policy have swirled about price supports for the so-called "basics" in which the West does not have an overriding general interest, and this may account for its deference to colleagues from other regions where membership on that committee would be viewed as particularly advantageous. In fact, in several western states farm income from unsubsidized livestock and livestock products exceeds by several times the income from crops. In no western state does farm income from "basics" constitute the major part of agriculture income.

The West's two primary voices in fiscal matters — Bennett and Anderson — speak a different language and are not united on interest rates, debt manage-

[13] Montana's liberal Lee Metcalf was elected to the Ways and Means Committee. Democratic members of this Committee also serve as their party's Committee on Committees. Two other westerners, Cecil R. King and Republican James B. Utt, both Californians, serve on Ways and Means.

[14] In addition, Anderson chaired the powerful Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. In 1959 this Committee's activities ranged from "the genetic effects of fallout to the fine print in insurance policies." With Murray's retirement, Anderson succeeded to the chairmanship of the Interior Committee, where he promises to be a more vigorous leader than Murray has been.

[15] Their Appropriations Committee representation and chairmanship give not only direct benefits to the West, but in relationship to the House, which traditionally cuts appropriations for western programs, it gives westerners, in the words of Carl Hayden, "a little trading stock," especially in conference committees.

ment, etc. Yet fiscal policy underlies the financial feasibility of other policies and programs in such a way as to make this lack of western representation — as with farm matters — short-sighted and in need of revision.

In the matter of chairmanships the West's strength in the Senate was put rather baldly once by Chavez in his reply on the Senate floor to a friendly taunt from Illinois' Democratic Senator Paul Douglas. Chavez noted that New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and California combined could claim not a single chairmanship of a Senate committee.

The South gets its committee rank through the Democratic party only, having in 1959 nineteen spokesmen who are among the three most senior members of standing committees. The West has eighteen such spokesmen when the Democrats are in power and only five on the Republican side.[16] Other regions get their rank through the GOP in all but a very few cases.

An often ignored additional reflection of western strength is its representation on the important Senate Democratic Policy Committee. Of the 1959 committee's nine members, the West claimed Mansfield,[17] Murray, and Hayden. Had its Chairman Lyndon Johnson (who has used the committee effectively to reconcile differences and to obtain voting unity for his party in the Senate) and Kerr been included because of their recent affiliation with the new Democratic Conference of Western Senators, this would have given the West a majority of the committee. Only two members of the GOP Policy Committee in 1959 were westerners, Goldwater and Kuchel, but this committee has not really been analogous to its Democratic counterpart, especially when there was a Republican President in the White House where policy is made.

In the beforementioned interrogation of senior western legislators Majority Leader Mansfield said the impact of western legislators on national policy is definitely "increasing." In this judgment his former senior colleague, Murray, concurs. Walter Horan, however, saw the swing from party to party in western elections as inimical to the West's chances of building up men of stature in both parties. "We are at least holding our own on the House side," he said in bemoaning the loss to the West of former Senators Watkins and Guy Cordon in the Senate, men whom the West could not afford to lose, "regardless of party and maintain an advantage."

In its relationship to other regions in the Senate, some members, like Senator Mike Monroney (D-Oklahoma), see in the joining to the West of Oklahoma, Texas, and the border states "a great new keystone to hold together the Democratic Party" which will also serve as a "moderating balance wheel in improving race relations."

There has been a cooperation between western and southern legislators in voting support for programs that benefit each other's region. Senator Douglas

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[16] If the GOP were to regain control of the Senate, two Senate committees, Labor and Interior, would have western chairmen, and only on Banking and Currency would there be another westerner as a top-ranking member.

[17] Mansfield is now majority leader. Thomas Kuchel (R–California) was assistant minority leader.

once commented laconically about the "mutual admiration society" that existed between the South and the Rocky Mountain region in water matters. These two regions may well join in a unified insistence on more tariff protection in the years ahead.

The influence of westerners is, of course, multitudinous in their individual relationships to various executive agencies and departments. Westerners have influenced Treasury's actions in connection with countervailing duties on South American wool as well as the State Department's decisions as to the relative emphasis as between economic or military aid abroad. In each of many such instances, there is usually a particular western lawmaker with a committee connection which admits him behind the veil of executive policymaking. Goldwater obviously is a factor with which the Department of Labor must reckon, and Commerce must be cognizant of the views of a man such as Magnuson. Treasury will cock its ear when Wallace Bennett speaks as will the Atomic Energy Commission to the words of Clinton Anderson. The State Department has a generally friendly critic in Mansfield with his conservative internationalism which may reflect Montana's earlier penchant for isolationism; his influence on aspects of American foreign policy seems likely to increase. Of course, how could Interior have ignored Murray, who was backed by a western committee? Carl Hayden, who regulates the flow of monies into all agencies and departments, speaks seldom and softly but carries a big stick, and Chavez has an established relationship with the Department of Defense and the Army Corps of Engineers which cannot be gainsaid.

In addition to these "regularized" influences, several western senators have certain "hobbies" which they pursue.[18] For instance, Goldwater on the danger of labor union power; Bennett on the dangers of inflation; and "Scoop" Jackson on the failures of the Defense Department to keep our military might up to necessary levels; Congressman John E. Moss (D-California) on the dangers of Executive Branch censorship and suppression of news and facts.

Some westerners in these key positional relationships are assertive and others are not. For instance, Chavez does not embroil himself in the intricacies of tactics and war plans, but Clinton Anderson is more assertive in his relationships with AEC on policy matters. In general, westerners are inclined to favor effective behind-the-scenes work. Morse may cry out publicly and frequently against our foreign policy, while Mansfield usually will work inside and often to more advantage.

Occasionally there is fratricide in the West, as in the fight over Colorado River water that pitted California against the Basin states. Westerners split, too, on public and private power issues, but when the West stands together — especially in the Senate — as a solid phalanx, it is a rather formidable force, "terrible as an army with banners."

While the focus of this chapter is on Capitol Hill, any effort to measure the influence of westerners on national policy must take at least passing cognizance of

[18] Hobbies are seldom transferred to political successors. McCarran's fears of "conquest by immigration" were more personal than regional; so was Ed Johnson's vigilante-like interest in big league baseball.

the role of non-elected westerners in high Executive Branch positions. In a compilation made by Walter Kravitz of the Library of Congress of major officeholders in the Executive whose states of residence are among the thirteen western states, several generalizations emerge.[19]

During the two decades, 1940–60, approximately 140 westerners are known to have held positions within the Executive ranging from the Cabinet level down through the under-secretary; assistant secretary; commission, board, or bureau chairman; commission, bureau, or board member; and administrator or director levels. Obviously, there is a qualitative difference between a Cabinet position and membership on the Interstate Commerce Commission; and, of course, some of these individuals held several different positions within the Executive during this period of time.

By way of comparison, in 1940 there were one under-secretary, three assistant secretaries, four chairmen, fourteen members or commissioners, and four administrators or directors who were westerners. In 1960 one Cabinet member, the treasurer, two under-secretaries, six assistant secretaries, seven chairmen, fourteen members or commissioners, and five administrators or directors were westerners, a significantly larger quantitative role in Executive policymaking than existed two decades earlier.

During this same twenty years, the West has had eight Cabinet posts: Dan A. Kimball and Charles Thomas, Secretaries of the Navy; Charles F. Brannan, Clinton P. Anderson and Ezra Taft Benson, Secretaries of Agriculture; Oscar L. Chapman and Douglas McKay, Secretaries of the Interior; and Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Secretary of Labor.[20] Fifteen westerners have held under-secretary posts; thirty-one, assistant secretary positions; seventeen, chairmanships; forty-nine, membership or commission posts; and twenty, director or administrator posts.

Actually, the number of westerners serving during twelve years of Democratic administrations and during the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration was roughly proportional. A baker's dozen of westerners served both parties during this period.

In the Kennedy Administration, westerners were appointed immediately to the following major posts: Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall (D-Arizona); Postmaster-General, J. Edward Day (D-California); and Treasurer, Elizabeth R. Smith (D-California). There were several other appointments at the under-secretary and assistant secretary levels.

California, as might be expected, led western states by contributing forty-nine such non-elective officeholders; Washington contributed fourteen; Colorado

[19] This compilation, of course, does not claim complete accuracy but affords the best data on the subject known to be available. Of course, some positions in the Executive offer no place for a regional point of view, and, similarly, previous residence in the West by individuals would not automatically project a regional viewpoint, even if there were one.

[20] Again it should be noted that the influence of men like Benson and McKay on farm and power policies, respectively, merit separate studies. Obviously, westerners in these particular positions would carry with them points of view such as Benson had on sugar and wool and McKay on private power. These views would affect policy at the departmental level. Had the Secretary of Agriculture been from the South or Midwest during the years of the struggle over subsidies on the "basics," American farm policies would probably have been very different.

and Oregon followed with twelve each; Utah and New Mexico were next with ten apiece; Arizona and Wyoming each had eight; Montana, six; Nevada, five; Idaho, four; and Hawaii and Alaska, none.

Republican and Democratic administrations in terms of the state of residence appointed approximately the same number to office in the case of California, Arizona, Colorado, Washington, and Oregon. The ratios appear to favor GOP appointees slightly in Idaho and Democrats in Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming.

Appointments of westerners at the secretary, under-secretary, and assistant secretary levels during the last twenty years show thirteen such appointments in the Department of Interior, eleven in the Department of Defense complex, eight in Agriculture, seven in the Attorney General's Office, five in Commerce, three in State, two each in Treasury and Labor and one in the Post Office. The cluster of high-ranking western officeholders in Interior is, of course, a reflection of regional interests, just as is western dominance of the Senate Interior Committee. On the other hand, western representation in directing farm policy has been considerable in the Executive Branch even though westerners on "The Hill" had no committee representation in the Senate and about their share on the House Committee on Agriculture.

Voting Patterns

An analysis of a number of key votes by western senators during the 1950's indicates that on economic matters affecting the West or their constituencies, westerners usually stand together, but that on national or traditional party policy matters they will normally follow party lines. This illustrates the "whirlpool theory" of legislation: that each issue has its own temporary voting alliances swirling about it, and that when the issue is resolved, new alliances of regional or vested interests are formed to revolve about the next issue. For instance, Senators Goldwater and Morse are at opposite ends of the political spectrum, but they have voted together on mining, stockpiling, and sugar matters.

The roll-call votes which follow have been selected to contrast the voting patterns of western senators on various issues. In 1954, in the vote on the Magnuson amendment to the Columbia River Power Project, which would have given preference to rural cooperatives and municipalities in the sale of power, westerners split down party lines. Virtually the same voting pattern prevailed ten days later in a power "preference" vote in the sale of excess power from AEC plants.

When the St. Lawrence Seaway Project passed the Senate only seven westerners voted against it. Western bread cast upon the Seaway waters was undoubtedly returned in kind in support of the Upper Colorado Project, which passed the Senate handily (58–23). Only two western senators, Knowland and Kuchel of California, opposed it; their state's water interests ran counter to those of the Upper Colorado states.

In contrast to the general unity of the West on the Upper Colorado Project was the 1956 western vote on a federal dam at Hell's Canyon. Senate Demo-

crats favored the public power program thirty-nine to eight. The GOP senators opposed it, forty-three to two. There were no breaks in party lines among westerners. Senate passage of the Hell's Canyon bill in June 1957 resulted from the shift of several southern votes. Westerners voted or were paired the same as in 1956. The Hell's Canyon issue was a matter of power and reclamation policy on which party lines had been drawn. It is interesting to compare the Hell's Canyon vote with the vote on the 1955 Mineral Stockpiling Program, which passed the Senate with the support of all but one western senator.

Senator Morse, who supported the Upper Colorado Project, was critical of western GOP senators for not supporting the proposed federal dam at Hell's Canyon. Nevertheless, Morse has publicly eschewed "disciplinary procedure" because it might result in "anarchy in Western development."

In the successful Malone amendment to the Mutual Security Authorization for 1955 (to eliminate the authority of the President to use Mutual Security funds to stimulate the production of strategic metals in other countries) westerners found common ground. Only two of them voted against the amendment: Mansfield and the then Majority Leader William Knowland, who undoubtedly did so to represent White House opposition to the amendment.

On the successful Aiken amendment in 1954, which applied flexible instead of rigid price supports to the farm "basics," the western senators voted party lines generally except for two western Republicans who opposed the amendment because they represented wheat states.

Voting by western senators on the 1956 omnibus farm bill generally followed previous patterns on price support votes. One change was notable: Carl Hayden was one of several senators from cotton-producing states who receded from their position of favoring rigid supports,[21] in what some observers saw as a maneuver to benefit Arizona in relationship to the Department of Agriculture's cotton proposals and programs.

On the Aiken amendment to remove 90 per cent supports from millable wheat (for which Hayden voted in spite of predictions that he would stand by rigid supports), the western senators split generally along party lines, with the only GOP defection being registered as a result of Colorado's wheat-producing status.

Party lines were also clearly enforced, too, in the 1954 vote on the Taft-Hartley revisions, which were in accord with President Eisenhower's views. On Senator Lister Hill's (D-Alabama) motion to recommit, all the Senate Democrats, including westerners, voted with the majority to send the bill back to the committee.

On the controversial Bricker Amendment (as amended by Walter George), in 1954, a regional sentiment was expressed to some extent. This seems especially clear in that the Bricker Amendment was supported by such western liberals as Mansfield, Chavez, and Anderson in a tense situation where just one more "yea" vote would have given Bricker and George the necessary two-thirds. The opposition by westerners consisted of only five Democratic votes.

[21] Cotton and cottonseed were the major source of Arizona's farm income in 1953.

The disputed Natural Gas bill received the overwhelming support of westerners, a fact which reflected the role of several western states as gas producers. The 1956 vote on lowering the disability age for Social Security to fifty instead of sixty-five found Senate Democrats supporting the lower age (41–7) and Republicans opposed (38–6). The western vote was also along party lines except for Malone who "defected" to provide the margin of victory for the Democrats.

An example of diversity of state interests within the region was evidenced in the vote in 1956 on the Bennett amendment to the Defense Production Act expressing congressional policy on industrial dispersal. Senators from industry-hungry states saw to it that it passed the Senate easily (it squeaked by the House 200 to 197). The provision was opposed, understandably, by the senators from industrialized California, Oregon, and Washington, while other western senators supported the dispersal provision overwhelmingly. Oregon's senators supported the bill on final passage after having voted specifically against the dispersal provision.

The action by Congress in supporting the revision of the Sugar Act's production quotas provided common ground for senators from sugar beet and cane producing states. Almost all westerners were co-sponsors on Bennett's bill, which passed on a voice vote.[22]

A similar unified response by westerners was made in the face of efforts by eastern senators to repeal the Silver Purchase Act during the Eighty-fourth Congress. Senator Bennett was one of only three westerners on the parent committee considering the repeal. His efforts, combined with those of western Democrats who were not on the Banking and Currency Committee but who managed to gain the support of some of their colleagues on it, kept the bill off the floor.[23]

An erroneous opinion occasionally voiced is the notion that westerners are not internationalist in their voting. In both the 1940's and the 1950's western legislators generally have been generous in their support of Lend-Lease, the United Nations, displaced persons, and foreign aid.

In 1959 voting in the Senate, party lines prevailed on the Senate vote on Aid to Depressed Areas, the attempt to override Eisenhower's veto of the Housing bill, and several fiscal policy matters. On a Labor Reform amendment by McClellan party lines also held except for Chavez, who supported the Arkansan; the amendment won approval by one vote. Chavez, who is opposed to Right-to-Work legislation, is by no means an automatic-in-all-things pro-labor voter.

In the areas of legislation of keen interest to the West in 1959 the usual pattern of voting prevailed. The 1959 Airport Construction bill, which passed easily, received "yea" votes from all but three western senators. Matters which deal with the West's need to conquer its space and terrain through improved transporation and communication usually provide a natural alliance in voting except as they become involved in the two parties' fiscal policies.

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[22] The 1956 teamwork of Bennett and Senator Allan J. Ellender (D-Louisiana) was reminiscent of the combined efforts twenty-seven years earlier of Utah's Reed Smoot and Louisiana's Senator Broussard to hike sugar tariffs to protect domestic producers. *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 10, 1930.

[23] Leading the effort for repeal were senators from the East's silver-processing states.

In Douglas' 1959 effort to amend the Senate Rules to limit debate, which the Senate rejected, westerners voted seventeen "nay" and six "aye." Two of the affirmative votes belonged to California's Republican Kuchel and Democrat Clair Engle, whose state has a large number of Negroes. Colorado's Carroll joined Washington's Magnuson, Utah's Moss and Oregon's Morse to provide the balance of the half-dozen votes. Undoubtedly, many westerners were supporting Majority Leader Johnson, but westerners were also — as they were in the case of the Bricker Amendment — probably expressing a protective attitude toward the institution of the Senate itself. Perhaps the West will not only assume the South's dominance of the Senate but some of its protective role toward that institution.

In the overriding of Eisenhower's veto of the Public Works bill western Republican senators split three to three. On the same measure in the House, five GOP westerners voted to override in a tight party line situation, reflecting again the regional considerations which make it difficult for westerners to support an Administration when its veto strikes a political nerve center in terms of western or local interests.

The high interest-level in western states in resource development and the effectiveness of their solons in getting money for development may be seen in the federal reclamation projects authorized and constructed in those states. The number of projects authorized within the western states since reclamation began in 1902 is as follows: Arizona, thirteen; California, eighteen; Colorado, fourteen; Idaho, nineteen; Montana, twenty-three; New Mexico, thirteen; Oregon, twenty-one; Nevada, ten; Utah, fourteen; Washington, eleven; Wyoming, seventeen; and Alaska, one. Projects also have been developed within Oklahoma, Texas, South and North Dakota, Kansas and Nebraska, but generally the western states have monopolized reclamation activity.

A history of the Reclamation Fund from fiscal year 1901 to 1958 shows that the first annual appropriation in fiscal year 1903 totaled $6,115,000. In fiscal year 1958 the appropriations totaled $87,090,552. The all-time high occurred in 1956 when $98,139,950 was allocated for reclamation. The all-time low was in 1935, when only $1,176,750 was appropriated. Thus about three and one-half billion dollars have been spent on reclamation projects — much less than on flood control in the South, farm subsidies, and foreign aid.

The allocation of money by state for reclamation projects and activities, including investigations, fiscal year 1903 to 1958 was as follows:

Alaska	$ 32,149,256	Colorado-New Mexico	$ 2,600,000
Arizona	80,399,559	Hawaii	110,000
Arizona-California	24,995,621	Idaho	10,793,006
Arizona-Nevada-California	545,055,465	Idaho-Oregon	81,847,350
Arizona-Utah	37,177,000	Idaho-Wyoming	107,673,440
California	665,230,024	Kansas	46,400,065
Colorado	206,493,369	Montana	207,924,147
Colorado-Kansas	13,349,531	Montana–North Dakota	25,668,858
		Nebraska	75,560,548

Nebraska-Kansas	$ 34,345,162	Oregon-Idaho	$ 24,659,562
Nevada	15,313,287	South Dakota	43,788,530
Nevada-California	1,079,984	Texas	26,141,628
New Mexico	53,482,201	Utah	84,523,077
New Mexico-Texas	42,700,133	Utah-Wyoming	6,100,000
North Dakota	18,584,877	Washington	647,656,345
Oklahoma	16,424,981	Wyoming	167,779,065
Oregon	42,025,319	Wyoming-Montana	34,256,325
Oregon-California	23,231,012	Wyoming-Nebraska	32,812,616

The Appropriation Act for 1959 for the Bureau of Reclamation was typical of what happens on "The Hill." The Bureau of the Budget approved $269,101,000. The House cut to $246,739,200 and the Senate restored and approved $263,730,335. The Conference Committee recommended $255,577,335, which the Congress passed, and the President signed. All thirteen western states received monies from the bill.

The 1930 plea of the then Secretary of Interior, Ray Lyman Wilbur, seems pertinent for the West in the 1960's. Wilbur called for thinking and acting cooperatively and collectively instead of sectionally and selfishly, not only in water and power problems, "but in other western problems" because the West must "balance off private and political against regional and national interests."

But will the West be "one," and if so, which "one" — a liberal, militant force in American politics in a "swing away from old conservatism" that Senator Murray said he saw, or a moderate but forward-looking force in American politics?

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