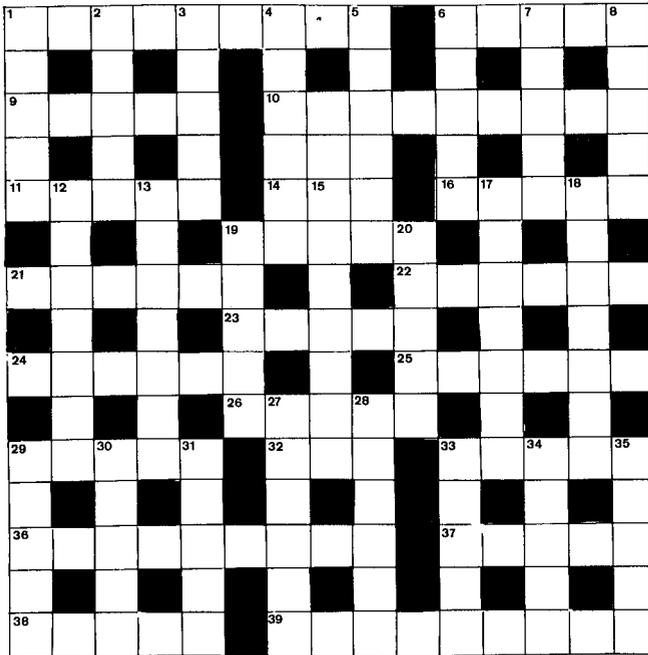


The Political Puzzle

by John Barclay



ACROSS

1. Veteran Congressmen say yes in riot. (9)
6. McGovern and Hatfield, for example. (5)
9. After ad, Hartke gets good start. (5)
10. Why I'll tie my hopes to pure segregation. (4-5)
11. Gets dirt off the studs. (5)
14. To get last of dawn back, fly Northwest. (3)
16. Place to be seen and see. (5)
19. Eats food on the divan. (5)
21. They got the short end of the stick. (6)
22. He must be in alert posture. (6)
23. At last brutally frank vote count. (5)
24. 75% of villagers is
- needed to protect home. (6)
25. Use a conger to improve iron? (6)
26. Uses crane to correct faulty conservation. (5)
27. Men of this era do adulate. (5)
28. In the middle of flesh the French are happy. (3)
29. North Vietnam sees Tet as opportunity to try U.S. (1, 4)
30. Men met and decided to change Constitution. (9)
31. I bail the boat, while others commit crime. (5)
32. He teaches us to rut the streets. (5)
33. He bends sack rather than accept. (5, 4)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 26.

DOWN

1. Dave's game won on end-around play. (5)
2. Pirates and Indians, for example. (5)
3. Starts the peons playing. (5)
4. Midwest eleven is sick in one group. (6)
5. Southerner telling Russian to stay out in sun? (6)
6. Four on the field but one on the tube. (5)
7. Of doom or experience. (5)
8. Allen or Barber. (5)
12. Escorted her into past employ. (7)
13. Tea ritual exists in name only. (7)
15. We include a call back in 1972 plans. (7)
17. Medicine source—it can be used by President. (7)
18. Cash and Mailer, for example. (7)
19. Trevino, not in, is upset but makes choice. (5)
20. You don't see his patch in just any ad. (5)
27. Normally excludes one's children, but not for golfer Lee. (6)
28. He shot an arrow into the air. (6)
29. He does not join in intra-party struggles. (5)
30. He hides nothing in the midst of poverty. (5)
31. The witch is a drone. (5)
33. He was as mad as two Presidents. (5)
34. I've at least as much as she had. (5)
35. Not less than thieves. (5)

Maryland: The Governor Raiseth

by Thomas B. Edsall

With the decline of organization control of large blocs of votes and a waning reform movement in the Democratic Party, a quiet transfer of power is taking place in Maryland politics, a transfer based on the use of money as an exclusive force in winning office.

The importance of money in 1972 is not particularly noteworthy in itself, since politicians, with rare exceptions, have always depended on cash to win elections. But the significance of recent developments lies in the techniques that those with money, or with access to it, have developed. Contrary to the expectations of those who were optimistic following the decline of the political machine, these techniques have given a small number of people even greater influence, without the restrictions that applied to the power held by bosses in the first half of the century.

An examination of this transfer requires some history of power centers in elections and an explanation of the failure of efforts in the 1960s to reform state politics, a failure based in part on the internal contradictions between the claimed aims of the reformers and their sources of financial support.

The sources of cash for the candidates have been, and continue to

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be, the various interests affected by the actions of state government. These interests can be broken down into three general categories: 1) the state-regulated industries, including liquor outlets and manufacturers, nursing homes, race tracks, and finance companies; 2) the contractors, developers, consultants, and real estate dealers who gear their activities to state projects; and 3) the large banks, law firms, and insurance companies that want to maintain their control over the methods used to sell bonds and to store monies.

Aside from lining up contributors, candidates had always been required to seek out the support of the local political machines, which also had to be paid off. In local elections the machines often tried to win seats, and in isolated cases a particular machine's candidate might run for statewide office. In most cases, however, the local machine merely bargained with various candidates over the price of votes, and the votes were paid for with money and jobs. The money, in turn, financed the printing of ballots and the "walking around" expenses of precinct and ward workers; the jobs kept the workers employed between elections. As the machine leaders developed their own interests, such as construction firms or real estate, the bargaining often expanded to include the promise of contracts for beneficial land deals.