

**POLITICS & GOVERNMENT***Contesting the  
Catholic Vote*

"How Conservative Are American Catholics?" by Andrew M. Greeley, in *Political Science Quarterly* (Summer 1977), 2852 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Right wing theorists (such as Kevin Phillips, who hopes to see Catholics join a "new conservative majority") and nonpartisan scholars (such as Norman Nie, who is skeptical of Catholic "party loyalty" after the massive Catholic defection to Nixon in 1972) have advanced the notion that Catholic voters, once staunch members of the Democratic coalition, have turned more conservative.

Greeley, director of the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center, disagrees. Even if Catholics seem more conservative on social issues, he writes, there is a greater separation between "social" and "economic" conservatism "than either conservatives or liberals are prepared to believe."

According to the "conventional wisdom" of "realignment politics," says Greeley, Catholic voters, at least 60 percent of whom always voted Democratic between 1932 and 1972, have begun to drift away as the party becomes more "liberal." In this view, Northern Catholic migration to the suburbs and the increased importance in politics of social issues (pornography, abortion, drugs) have driven Catholics to the right.

In rebuttal, Greeley provides data showing "little erosion" of Catholic support for the Democratic Party over the past two decades. Most Catholics also remain on the "liberal side" of the political spectrum—liberalism defined as "support for the New Deal 'bread and butter' stance." It is not a "pure" McGovern-style liberalism, Greeley concedes. Nevertheless, most Catholics surveyed in the late 1960s and early 1970s favored such liberal causes as U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, a guaranteed annual wage, the vote for 18-year-olds, racial integration, and cost of living increases for welfare recipients. A majority did not own guns, were concerned about pollution, and would vote for a black presidential candidate. In short, concludes Greeley, "the Catholic marriage with the Democratic Party has not come to an end."

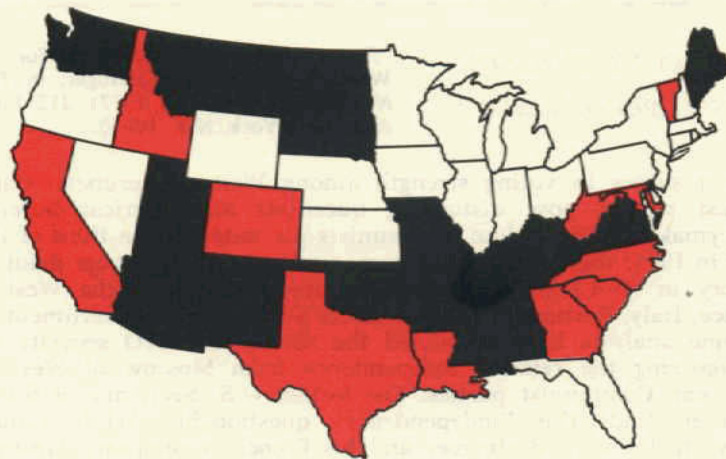
*War Between  
the States*

"A Year Later, the Frostbelt Strikes Back" by Joel Havemann and Rochelle L. Stanfield, in *National Journal* (July 2, 1977), 1730 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

During fiscal year 1976, the 16 older "Frostbelt" states in the Northeast and Great Lakes regions sent \$29 billion more in taxes to Washington than they received in federal outlays.

According to the *National Journal's* second annual survey of inequalities in federal largesse (see map), the Southern and Western

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More than \$1.20
  \$1.00 to \$1.20
  Less than \$1.00

Money spent in each state by the federal government for every dollar it takes out in revenue.

*Adapted, with permission, from National Journal.*

states of the "Sunbelt," on the other hand, enjoyed a \$23 billion "balance of payments" surplus.

This pattern is not new; what *is* new, report the *National Journal's* Havemann and Stanfield, is the Frostbelt's increasingly powerful "self-preservation" coalition, comprising hundreds of local officials, congressmen, and governors. Organized loosely, but effectively, in both the House and Senate, and backed by a Carter administration cautiously sympathetic to the old Industrial Belt, the "well-oiled, bipartisan lobbying machine" already has several victories to its credit and "no major defeats." (Last May, for example, it altered federal funding formulas in the Community Development Act in favor of the Northeast.) The coalition's Capitol Hill spokesmen unabashedly call for increased military procurement and federal "risk-capital" programs in the region.

Sunbelt and Frostbelt partisans discount talk of an impending "war between the states." However, the Sunbelt states have been lobbying informally under the auspices of the Southern Growth Policies Board and the newly formed Western Policy Office. Time is on their side, the authors note; on the basis of U.S. population shifts, congressional reapportionment in 1980 should swing the majority in Congress to the South and West.