

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of states with Republican Governors and amounts of money next to them. 1 pg.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Hadwritten notes titled Special. Lists California, Del., Mass., and S.C. with numbers by each. 1 pg.
19	2	7/22/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	States that are electing new senators in 1970 and whether or not they will need dollar assistance. 1 pg.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of Democratic senators and the amount of money they are receiving for 1970 campaign and from where they are receiving the money. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A list titled Key States. Some states have checks, question marks, or 'I' while other states have no marking at all. 1 pg.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of names next to monetary values under the handwritten title "ACA." 1 pg.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Reading of the situation as of Oct. 20. How the outcomes of the senator elections will effect the President's image. 3 pgs.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Priority Congressional Races in Nineteen Dent States. 1 pg.
19	2	10/7/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Murray Chotiner To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Opinion on which states should receive assistance during senator races. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten "House" written on note. Priority Congressional Races in 31 Chotiner States. Murray Chotiner's notes on candidates running for senator including their strengths and weaknesses. 17 pgs.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten "Governors" on note. Murray Chotiner's opinion on Vulnerable GOP Governor Races. 2 pgs.
19	2	7/16/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Harry Dent To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Governor Races Worthy of Campaign Contributions. 2 pgs.
19	2	7/1/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report on the House and Senate races. The odds on who is more likely triumph. 8 pgs.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign		A color coded map of The House of Representatives and how many Democrats and Republicans are represented from each state. Two map of governors and senators from each state, their political party, and year up for elections. 4 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article by columnist, Kevin Phillips, regarding chicanos in Texas ignoring Democratic primary. 2 pgs.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Vermont displays Democratic strength and may signal defeat for Prouty. 1 pg.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Maine voting trends and candidate Muskie's background. Attached 1970 Maine Election Questionnaire. 2 pgs.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	What states Agnew should be placed depending on administration. 1 pg.
19	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Developing campaign counter-strategy based on the novel, "The Real Majority," by Scammon and Wattenburg. Offers a cogent strategy for a liberal Democrat which can be used as a conter-startegy for Republicans. 13 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
19	2	9/11/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	For: The Middle America Group From: Tom Charles Huston RE: The Labor Vote in 1972. 6 pgs.
19	2	6/17/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	New York Times article by Jack Rosenthal about white ethnic working class angry at being ignored by the government and the media. Titled: Angry Ethnic Voices Decry a 'Racist and Dullard' Image. 4 pgs.
19	2	8/7/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Bill Safire To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Early Warning on '72. 1 pg.

Alaska

10,000

Ariz

Calif

2,500

Del

2,500

Hawaii

Illinois

Maine

15,000

Mass

20,000

only needs 10 not 15,000 - 5 for lay land.

Mich

Miss

60,000

Neb

N. Y.

Penn

Virginia

Wash

W. Va.

Trade debt - \$11,000

S.C. Heberford 10,000

S.D. Heberford 25,000

9/12  
Del

Special

Calif

2.5

Del.

2.5

Mar 2  
3

5

S.C.

9

10

mic. 30

Ferrari ? 25

any chance in Ga Gov. - if so help him if needed

MEMORANDUM

July 23, 1970

Following are the conclusions of the meeting 7/22/70.

35 states elect a Senator in 1970.

States which undoubtedly should not receive dollar assistance -- 13:

Arizona	Illinois	New York	West Virginia
California	Michigan	Pennsylvania	
Delaware <i>2.5</i>	Mississippi	Virginia	
Hawaii	Nebraska	Washington	

States to watch -- possible dollar assistance -- need more information -- 9:

Connecticut	Maryland <i>2.5</i>	Texas	
Florida	Missouri	Wisconsin	
Indiana <i>7.5</i>	Ohio	Wyoming <i>21</i>	<i>10 going (hold two weeks)</i>

States to assist -- 13 -- We agree that:

1. No state will receive more than the total outside need of that state as assessed by our group.
2. Timing will be geared to avoid the problem of candidates' financial committees becoming lazy. Big money shouldn't go before September -- Emphasize media.
3. Money may be allocated whether or not the primaries have been completed, if necessary.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12356, Section 1.1

By *AH* NARA, Date *5/2/96*



	Unions (COPE)	DSC <sup>1</sup>	NCEC <sup>2</sup>	McG <sup>3</sup>	S. A. <sup>4</sup>	TOTAL
Gore	\$22,850	\$ 9,000	\$20,000	\$40,000		\$91,850
Moss	26,700		20,000	40,000	\$1,000	87,700
Tydings	17,200	10,000	5,000	3,000	100	35,300
Hart	15,250	10,000	20,000	25,000		70,250
Burdick	18,250	1,000	15,000	29,000		63,250
Williams	53,300		15,000	25,000	1,100	94,400
McGee	24,540	10,000		25,000		59,540
Montoya	21,100	9,000		1,000		31,100
Muskie	23,750		5,000	1,000		29,750
Cannon	11,100	6,000			1,200	18,300
Proxmire	22,400	9,000	5,000	14,000		50,400
Symington	1,200	5,000	5,000	1,000		12,200
Mansfield	5,000		5,000	1,000		11,000
Jackson	11,800			1,000	1,000	13,800
Byrd	14,650				1,000	15,650
Hartke	12,570	10,000		1,000	1,100	24,670
Kennedy	6,700			1,000		7,700
Metzenbaum	9,500			10,000		19,500
Tunney	12,800			10,000		22,800
Stevenson	6,000		15,000	25,000		46,000
Hoff	13,100		25,000	15,000		55,600

<sup>1</sup> Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

<sup>2</sup> National Committee for Effective Congress

<sup>3</sup> 1970 Campaign Fund (McGovern)

<sup>4</sup> Savings Association Pol. Education Committee

KEY STATES

I Alaska

I California

Connecticut

Delaware

Florida

I Illinois

Indiana

Maryland

Michigan

? Minnesota

Missouri

Nevada

New Jersey

New Mexico

North Dakota

✓ Ohio

✓ Tennessee

✓ Texas

Utah

I Vermont

Wyoming

# ACA

Brock	\$3,000
Burton	\$3,000
Carter	\$2,000
Murphy	\$3,000
Roudebush	\$3,000
Weicker	\$1,000
Buckley	\$1,000
H. Byrd	\$3,000
N. Gross	\$ 500
Kleppe	\$ 500

Bob H.  
For what it is worth  
of anything -

Reading of the Situation as of Oct. 20

Most conservatives seem to feel that the Agnew offensive has not carried many party Senate candidates over the top, and that it has not been able to make up - among conservative-leaning Middle-Americans - for the Administration's lack of programmatic achievement, plus the doubtful state of the economy.

As a result, many conservatives, who feel that if they don't take steps the defeat will be blamed on Administration conservatism, want to disassociate themselves from the pre-Nixon achievement levels of the campaign. This is being done.

But the same manuevers that get conservatives off the hook also establish that the situation antedating the President's involvement was not good. This does two things: 1) it mitigates the identification of the President with any defeat (if he has been already) and 2) it prevents any surprise victory to redound to his credit.

Everybody expects to start playing an uptrend theme next week, and this mid-month slump may provide the base for a surge if the President can strike some new and more positive notes in his tour. With things being played this way, if the election goes well, its his ball game.

Of course, I don't see that happening right now. A Senate gain of 2-3 would be an ambiguous result viz all the hoopla of taking control. The propagandists might do well to switch to the idea that a 3-5 seat gain (ideological control) was the realistic target all along.

P.S. The Ripons and The American Conservative Union are talking together about Administration programmatic inaction - and on a joint front for things like the (school) voucher system.

## 1. White House Polls

I looked at the five July-August polls: Tenn. (J), N. Mex. (A), Maine (J), Indiana (A) and Missouri (A). They do not seem particularly useful.

The New Mexico one (by Decision-Making Information) seemed the most carefully done. As of August, Carter trailed by a wide margin. Recent polls in the Albuquerque Tribune show him running ahead of the levels scored by Montoya's 1964 opponent, Ed Mechem, who won 45%. This one has to be close.

The Maine poll was a local one, with little data. It indicated a Muskie win on the magnitude of 1964. I would think he would win by a little less.

The Missouri poll suggests that Symington will beat Danforth by a large majority. The poll is out of date already, but I would agree that Symington is set.

The Tennessee poll shows Brock ahead; so do current polls. However, Gore seems to be coming up.

As for the Indiana poll, this one seemed to have too Democratic a sample group. The people questioned were about two-to-one for Bayh in 1968, and Bayh won only narrowly. The poll showed Roudebush well behind in August. I have not seen any more recent.

As for issues, the polls (outside of Maine) suggest that the usual spectrum of social issues cuts best for the GOP.

Overall, I don't think that at this date, these polls are worth much. Small (300-sample) trend polls run every two weeks are the best way to keep track of a campaign.

## 2. Senate races

I am getting less sanguine about GOP chances. I have a gut feeling that second-rate types like Murphy, Prouty, Smith, Roudebush and Cramer (I would not even rate Nelson Gross) are going to lose seats that should be won. It is a bit like October, 1968. I see it slipping away because most of our candidates do not stand for anything except law and order and Harry Treleavenism/media imagery. The electorate is smarter than that.

The Vice President's speechmaking is symbolic of the party's lack of a positive, programmatic appeal in conservative directions. The namecalling turns people off, but more than that, it is a virtual admission that we can do nothing with these issues except namecall - and that in itself is major cause for disenchantment with Republicanism as an alternative to liberal bankruptcy. If one likens the recent societal ills of this country - violence, anarchy, amorality - to a rockslide, the Vice President never describes how the inept and misguided Democrats pulled the timbers and braces out of the side of the mountain, he simply accuses the Democrats of being for rockslides. Since nobody is consciously for rockslides, it doesn't sell. The social issue is not working for us because Agnew's appeal is superficial and the real differences that should be developed between the parties - viz social engineering, welfare, neighborhoods - cannot because of the welfare scheme, George Romney, plus all the social programs (like rent subsidies) that the budget people continue to move forward. In a similar vein, it would be useful to develop attacks on the Democratic pattern of non-law enforcement between 1965-1968 as a setting for the breakdown of authority.

Right now, I see Vermont, Illinois and New York probably replacing Republicans with Democrats, while Tennessee, North Dakota and Ohio (if Metzenbaum's Red-front record gets played up) should elect new Republicans. Utah would be a fourth. Doubtful are California, Texas, Florida, Connecticut and New Mexico. If all goes fairly well, I see a gain of 1-3. I am not optimistic.

I think it is time for the President and positivism to replace the Vice President and negativism. The key states for him to visit would be Ohio and Tennessee, then Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Utah and California.

Priority Congressional Races in  
Nineteen Dent States

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>
<u>Yes</u> Colorado	1st	Mike McKeivitt
New Jersey	9th	Henry L. Hoebel
New Jersey	4th	Edward Costigan
North Carolina	11th	Luke Atkinson
Maryland	6th	George Hughes
<u>Yes</u> South Carolina	2nd	Floyd D. Spence
<u>Yes</u> South Dakota	2nd	Fred Brady
<u>Yes</u> South Dakota	1st	Dexter Gunderson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

I recommend assistance to our candidates in the following House races:

<i>yes</i>	California	34 C.D.	Teague (R) v. Hanna (D)
	California	38 C.D.	Veysey (R) v. Tunno (D)
<i>yes</i>	New York	5 C.D.	Lent (R) v. Lowenstein (D)
	New York	25 C.D.	Peyser (R) v. Dretzin (D), DeVito (Con.) and Greenawalt (Lib.)
	New York	34 C.D.	Terry (R) v. McCurn (D)
	New York	39 C.D.	Kemp (R) v. McCarthy (Con.) and Flaherty (D)
<i>yes</i>	Massachusetts	6 C.D.	Phillips (R) v. Harrington (D)
<i>yes</i>	Connecticut	1 C.D.	Uccello (R) v. Cotter (D)
<i>yes</i>	Connecticut	2 C.D.	Steele (R) v. Pickett (D)
	Wisconsin	7 C.D.	LeTendre (R) v. Obey (D)
<i>yes</i>	Missouri	10 C.D.	Rust (R) v. Burlison (D)
<i>yes</i>	Utah	1 C.D.	Richards (R) v. McKay (D)

*Murray*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*House*

---

PRIORITY CONGRESSIONAL RACES IN 31 CHOTINER STATES

PRIORITY GAINS

Richard Hanna	Calif. 34
Vacant (D)	Calif. 38
John Melcher	Mont. 2
Allard Lowenstein	N. Y. 5
Vacant (D)	N. Y. 34
James Hanley	N. Y. 35
Vacant (D)	N. Y. 39
Michael Harrington	Mass. 6
Vacant (D)	Conn. 1
Vacant (D)	Conn. 2
Gus Yatron	Pa. 6
David Obey	Wisc. 7
James Corman	Calif. 22
Don Edwards	Calif. 9
George Shipley	Ill. 23
Bill Burlison	Mo. 10
Vacant (D)	N. Y. 25
William Hungate	Mo. 9

Dent

John Mark Va 7  
 Byron Rogers Colo 1  
 David Henderson NC 3  
 Henry Holstanki NJ 9  
 Roy Taylor NC 11  
 Robert Roe NJ 8  
 Nick Galipianakis NC 4  
 James Haley Fla 7  
 Carl Calpell Tex 5  
 William Chappell Fla 4  
 Frank Thompson NY 4

INCUMBENT VACATING - VULNERABLE

Howard Pollock	Alaska, At Large
Lowell Weicker	Conn. 4
Thomas Meskill	Conn. 6
Glenn Cunningham	Nebr. 2
Thomas Kleppe	N. D. 2

Glenn Ball Ind 6  
 Albert Watson SC 2  
 William Brock Tenn 3  
 EY Berry SD 2  
 Ben Reifel SD 1

INCUMBENT HELD - VULNERABLE

Orville Hansen	Idaho 2
Ross Adair	Ind. 4
Roger Zion	Ind. 8
David Dennis	Ind. 10

William Cowger Ky 3  
 Glenn Whitehurst Va 2

INCUMBENT HELD - VULNERABLE

Fred Schwengel	Iowa 1
John Kyl	Iowa 4
Keith Sebelius	Kan. 1
Odin Langen	Minn. 7
Manuel Lujan, Jr.	N. M. 1
Ed Foreman	N. M. 2
Henry Schadeberg	Wisc. 1

LONG SHOT GAINS

Morris Udall	Ariz. 2
Ronald Dellums	Calif. 7
Vacant (D)	N. Y. 1
Edward Koch	N. Y. 17
Vacant (D)	N. Y. 19
Lee Hamilton	Ind. 9

<i>Richard Preya</i>	<i>NC 6</i>
<i>Tom Stead</i>	<i>Okla 4</i>
<i>Pet Holohan</i>	<i>W Va 1</i>
<i>David Satterfield</i>	<i>Va 3</i>
<i>James Howard</i>	<i>NJ 3</i>

FROM: Murray Chotiner

TOP TARGET HOUSE DISTRICTS-- Total 8

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
California	34	Richard Hanna	William Teague	49.1%	Teague made a strong showing last time and has a strong campaign.
California	38	Vacant (Tunney)	State Assemblyman Victor Veysey	35.4%	Veysey has strong agricultural support, although he is facing Tunno, whose name may be confused with Tunney. He was AA with Tunney.
Montana	2	John Melcher	Jack Rehberg	48.5%	Melcher (D) won in the special election to replace GOP James Battin. A strong campaign can regain the seat.
New York	5	Allard Lowenstein	Norman Lent	49%	Lowenstein won in 1968 with only 51% of the vote. Reapportionment has given the GOP a good majority.
New York	34	Vacant	John H. Terry	43.8%	Reapportionment has given us a GOP majority and our candidate is the Assemblyman for much of the District.

FROM: Murray Chotiner

-2-

TOP TARGET HOUSE DISTRICTS--Total 8

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
New York	35	James Hanley (he was the incumbent in the 34 CD, but is now running in the 35 C.D.)	John O'Connor	29.5%	The percentage of the 1968 election means nothing. Reapportionment radically realtered the District and is now Republican 2 to 1.
New York	39	Vacant	Jack Kemp	42%	Kemp is widely known.
Massachusetts	6	Michael Harrington	Howard Phillips	47.6%	Harrington won a special election to fill the vacancy created by the death of Wm. Bates (R). Phillips is the organizer of YAF.

FROM: Murray Chotiner

SECOND TARGET HOUSE DISTRICTS--Total 4

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Connecticut	First	Vacant	Mayor Ann Uccello	37.3%	Mayor Uccello of Hartford is a strong vote getter and there is no incumbent.
Connecticut	2	Vacant	R. H. Steele	45.3%	Steele is 31 years of age; member of the investment department of Travelers Insurance; a former CIA agent and son of TV personality, Bob Steele.
Pennsylvania	6	Gus Yatron	Michael Kitsock	47.5%	Incumbent Yatron is a Democrat one-termer.
Wisconsin	7	David Obey	Andre LeTendre	48.5%	Obey (D) won the special election when Mel Laird came into the Cabinet; LeTendre is immediate past President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

FROM: Murray Chotiner

THIRD TARGET HOUSE SEATS--Total 7

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
California	22	James Corman	Tom Hayden	41.4%	Campaign is headed by John Wayne and is infused with many young, active people. We can win this if HUD will stop putting low cost housing units in selected residential areas.
California	9	Don Edwards	Mark Guerra, Educator	43.1%	Edwards was on and off whether he would run for re-election this time. He has marital difficulty as a result of deciding to run. There are a large number of voters of Mexican descent.
Illinois	23	George Shipley	Phyllis Schafly	46%	Mrs. Schafly is putting on a very strong campaign.
Missouri	10	Bill Burlison	Gary Rust	46%	The incumbent is a one-termmer. The results last time make it a key target area.
New York	25	Vacant	Peter Peyser	34.7%	The '68 percentage does not mean much. The District is basically Republican. It is the

FROM: Murray Chotiner

-2-

THIRD TARGET HOUSE SEATS--Total 7

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
New York	25 (contd.)				former Ottinger seat. The Conservatives and Liberals each have another candidate so it is a four-way race.
Missouri	9	William Hungate	Anthony Schroeder	47.8%	The results last time make it a key target area.



FROM: Murray Chotiner

LONG-SHOT HOUSE SEATS-- Total 6

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Arizona	2	Morris Udall	State Treasurer Morris Herring	29.7%	This is a sleeper and Herring is mounting considerable support.
California	7	Jeffery Cohelan upset by Ronald Dellums	John E. Healy	29.6%	An ultra-liberal Black peace candidate defeated the incumbent. There may be a strong Democratic dissent as a result.
New York	1	Vacant	Malcolm Smith	35.9%	Smith has Republican and Conservative endorsement.
New York	17	Edward Koch	Peter Sprague	42.8%	Koch (D) is a first-termer. This was a Republican District until 1968.
New York	19	Vacant	Barry Farber	33.2%	Incumbent Farbstein (D) was defeated. The Democratic nominee Bella Abzug has a knack for turning off voters; Farber (R) has Republican as well as Liberal line on the ballot.
Indiana	9	Lee Hamilton	Richard Wathen	45.6%	Roudebush could help bring this one through.

PRIORITY CONGRESSIONAL RACES IN NINETEEN DENT STATES

PRIORITY GAINS

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>GOP Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Virginia	7th	John Marsh	J. Kenneth Robinson	43.2	Marsh is retiring and is helping Robinson.
Colorado	1st	Byron Rogers	Mike McKeivitt	41.5	Polls show we will take the Denver seat with District Attorney McKeivitt.
North Carolina	3rd	David Henderson	Herbert Howell	46.0	Howell lost last time but never quit campaigning. I think he is stronger this time.
New Jersey	9th	Henry Helstoski	Henry L. Hoebel	48.6	This Bergen County seat should be ours. Hoebel is a county free-holder and a conservative.
North Carolina	11th	Roy Taylor	Luke Atkinson	42.9	This is western North Carolina and has been close before. Atkinson is a strong candidate.
New Jersey	8th	Robert Roe	Alfred Fontenella	49.9	This seat went nearly Republican last election. Our candidate is much stronger now.

PRIORITY GAINS (continued)

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>GOP Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
North Carolina	4th	Nick Galifianakis	Jack Hawke	48.5	Former GOP seat.
Florida	7th	James A. Haley	Harry Blair (probably)	45.0	This is a Republican area and Blair is an eager candi- date.
Texas	5th	Earle Cabell	Frank Crowley	38.6	Good candidate from Dallas
Florida	4th	William Chappell	Not determined	47.2	This is a Republican area. We need a good candidate.
New Jersey	4th	Frank Thompson	Edward Costigan	46.4	We have been doing well there with weaker candidate than we have this year.

FROM: Murray Chotiner

VULNERABLE GOP HOUSE SEATS -- TOTAL 16 (+ Ohio)

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Democratic Candidate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Alaska	At Large	Vacant (Pollock)	State Senator Nick Begich	54.2%	Congressman Pollock is running for Governor. The GOP candidates are Bircher - C.R. Lewis; Frank Murkowski and Red Stevens. Lewis may defeat Murkowski. Begich lost to Pollock in 1968 receiving 45.8%.
Connecticut	4	Vacant (Weicker)		51.4%	Incumbent Weicker is running for Senator. GOP candidate is State Rep. Stewart McKinney. Weicker only won by a narrow margin in 1968.
Connecticut	6	Vacant (Meskill)	Secy. of State Ella Grasso	62.3%	Although Meskill carried the District easily in 1968, Grasso is a good vote getter. GOP candidate is Richard Kilbourn.
Idaho	2	Orville Hansen	Marden Wells	52.6%	GOP Hansen is a first-termer and the margin was close in 1968.

FROM: Murray Chotiner

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Democratic Candidate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Indiana	4	Ross Adair	Edward Roush	51.4%	Democratic nominee Roush is a former member of Congress. The vote was close in 1968.
Indiana	8	Roger Zion	David Huber	54.4%	Zion is a two-termmer and the percentage is marginal.
Indiana	10	David Dennis	Philip Sharp	53.9%	Dennis is a one-termmer and the percentage is marginal.
Iowa	1	Fred Schwengel	Edward Mezvinsky	53%	Schwengel had primary opposition and the per- centage is marginal.
Iowa	4	John Kyl	Roger Blobaum	53.9%	The percentage is marginal.
Kansas	1	Keith Sebelius	Billy Jellison	51.5%	Sebelius is a first- termmer and the percentage is marginal.
Minnesota	7	Odin Langen		51.2%	The percentage is marginal.
Nebraska	2	Vacant (Cunningham)	John Hlavacek	55.2%	GOP candidate is John McCollister. The District is 58% Democratic and Cunningham forces are un- happy over his defeat in the primary.

FROM: Murray Chotiner

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Democratic Candidate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Notes</u>
New Mexico	1	Manuel Lujan, Jr.	Fabian Chavez, Jr.	52.8%	Chavez narrowly missed being elected Governor in the Cargo '68 race; Chavez received 49.8% of the vote.
New Mexico	2	Ed Foreman	Harold Runnels	50.5%	Foreman is a two-termer and the percentage of victory was razor thin.
North Dakota	2	Vacant (Kleppe)		51.9%	This is a marginal District.
Ohio -- No determination has been made on how these races will be affected by the present turmoil in the State.					
Wisconsin	1	Henry Schadeberg		50.9%	The GOP margin is paper thin.

INCUMBENT VACATING - VULNERABLE

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>GOP Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Maryland	6th	J. Glenn Beall	Not determined	53.0	Beall leaving seat. Democrats are strong with a good candidate.
South Carolina	2nd	Albert Watson	Floyd D. Spence	57.6	School issue casting shadow over Republican chances.
Tennessee	3rd	William Brock	Not determined	57.0	Primary situation will make this a tough seat to hold without Brock
South Dakota	2nd	E. Y. Berry	Fred Brady	59.3	Turmoil in party in state.
South Dakota	1st	Ben Reifel	Dexter Gunderson	58.0	Reifel is retiring, and the Republican statewide ticket is not too strong.

INCUMBENT HELD - VULNERABLE

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>GOP Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Kentucky	3rd	William Cowger	William Cowger	55.9	Cowger may have trouble holding his usual Negro supporters.
Virginia	2nd	G. Wm. Whitehurst	G. Wm. Whitehurst	54.2	This Norfolk House seat has many Negroes, and Fitzpatrick will have Henry Howell helping him.



LONG SHOT GAINS

<u>State</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Incumbent</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>GOP Percentage</u>	<u>Notes</u>
North Carolina	6th	Richardson Preyer	Clifton Barham	46.4	A shift our way in North Carolina could make the difference in several House races.
Oklahoma	4th	Tom Steed	Jay Wilkinson	46.4	An attractive candidate with a will to win, coupled with a good organization.
West Virginia	1st	Pat Hollohan	Den Doll	46.1	Former Arch Moore seat.
Virginia	3rd	David Satterfield	Jay Wilkinson?	39.7	Conservative-Republican area. We have come very close before.
New Jersey	3rd	James Howard	Bill Dowd	42.2	Strong candidate with real feel for politics - will make Democrats sweat.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

*Governors*

---

FROM: Murray Chotiner

VULNERABLE GOP GOVERNOR RACES

<u>State</u>	<u>GOP Nominee</u>	<u>Democrat Nominee</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Alaska	Incumbent Keith Miller	Probably former Gov. William Egan	Bitter GOP primary contest between Miller and Congressman Pollock. Delay in pipeline hurting GOP chances.
Ohio	Roger Cloud	John Gilligen	A determination has not been made at this time whether the race will be affected adversely by the turmoil there.
Oregon	Incumbent Tom McCall	Robert Straub	State administration adversely affected by economic conditions.
Pennsylvania	Lt. Governor Ray Broderick	Milton Shapp	Heavy Democratic statewide vote.
Vermont	Incumbent Deane Davis		Davis has a bitter primary contest with Lt. Gov. Tom Hayes which may affect the final outcome.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1970

*Watch Ga. closely  
after primary*

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: Harry Dent *HD*

SUBJECT: Governor Races Worthy of Campaign Contributions

In the 19 states I am monitoring, there are four states worthy of consideration for out-of-state campaign contributions. They are in this order of importance: South Dakota, Texas, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Maryland needs money, but I see no possibility of winning that race under the present circumstances. We should win in Nevada, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Florida. We have no opposition to Wallace in Alabama; and although Arkansas will be close, the last thing Rockefeller needs is money.

*no money now  
- speaks etc  
crank in*

South Dakota: Governor Frank Farrar is in trouble. His race is important because his successor could appoint a successor to Senator Mundt. If the Democrat wins, this would strengthen the hand of Senator McGovern in trying to take both House seats next time because the GOP in South Dakota is in disarray and we have both Republican Congressmen retiring this year.

*hold for  
polls*

Texas: This state is important because Paul Eggers very much needs money in view of a cancellation of a big pledge by Sam Wylie. As you can see from the Texas polls, Eggers has a chance to win this big electoral vote state because of the weakness of Governor Smith.

Thus, Texas is important for its electoral vote in 1972; and a Republican Governor for the first time would be able to help us line up better candidates for Congressional seats in 1972.

Tennessee: Here we have another possible Governorship gain. Currently, the Republicans are battling in a primary. If Maxey Jarman wins, he has plenty of money. However, if any of the other candidates should win we might need to help them. Tennessee is important with its electoral votes and the possibility of getting one or more new Congressional seats in 1972, since they have control of the State House of Representatives now by a one vote margin.

*wait & see*

South Carolina: Congressman Albert Watson is facing a close uphill battle with Lt. Governor John West. Watson needs money. However, it may not be possible for him to win in view of current school problems in the state unless, of course, the school problems anger the population enough for them to vote for the more conservative candidate. South Carolina has some importance from the standpoint of the Wallace problem in 1972. We are trying to hold Watson's Congressional seat this year, and we have the potential in 1972 of picking up Congressman John McMillan's seat because he should be through by that time.

~~wait & see~~  
*10 now*  
*watch closely*

Maryland: I would not put Maryland in the money category but it is worthy of discussion. Stan Blair is running and needs money but I see no possibility that he can win against Governor Mandel who has done well in handling the riots at the University of Maryland and has \$750,000 bankrolled for the campaign.

*No*



# HOW THEY SEE THE HOUSE AND SENATE RACES



**GENERAL ELECTION – NOVEMBER 3, 1970**

probable close races  
**U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
**1970 congressional elections**  
**(103 Districts)**

STATE	DIST.	INCUMBENT	PARTY	TERMS	% OF VOTE 1968	% OF VOTE 1966	Organization Voting Ratings		
							ACA	ADA	COPE
Alaska	AL	Pollock, Howard W. <sup>18/</sup>	R	2	54.2	51.6	68	13	33
California	3	Moss, John E.	D	9	56.0	68.0	2	87	99
	9	Edwards, Don <sup>1/</sup>	D	4	56.6	59.1	4	100	100
	15	McFall, John J.	D	7	53.8	57.4	3	53	98
	17	Anderson, Glenn M.	D	1	50.7	--	18	87	100
	28	Bell, Alphonzo	R	5	71.3	71.3	61	20	30
	29	Brown, George E., Jr. <sup>2/</sup>	D	4	52.3	51.7	8	87	98
	34	Hanna, Richard T.	D	4	50.9	52.6	5	54	93
	38	Tunney, John V. <sup>20/</sup>	D	3	62.7	55.6	9	80	91
Colorado	1	Rogers, Byron G.	D	10	45.7 <sup>3/</sup>	56.0	8	40	94
	3	Evans, Frank E.	D	3	52.1	51.7	11	80	91
	4	Aspinall, Wayne N.	D	11	54.7	58.6	11	13	80
Connecticut	2	Vacant <sup>4/</sup>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	4	Weicker, Lowell P. <sup>21/</sup>	R	1	51.4	--	41	40	70
	6	Meskill, Thomas J. <sup>19/</sup>	R	2	62.3	48.9 <sup>5/</sup>	73	13	48
Delaware	AL	Roth, William V., Jr. <sup>22/</sup>	R	2	58.7	55.8	82	7	18
Florida	4	Chappell, Bill, Jr.	D	1	52.8	--	93	7	10
	7	Haley, James Andrew	D	9	55.0	68.4	93	7	10
Idaho	1	McClure, James A.	R	2	59.4	51.8	91	7	10
	2	Hansen, Orval	R	1	52.6	--	35	7	60
Illinois	3	Murphy, William T. <sup>1/</sup>	D	6	54.0	52.0	4	47	99
	21	Gray, Kenneth J.	D	8	54.1	56.2	10	47	89
	23	Shipley, George E.	D	6	54.0	56.4	25	40	89
Indiana	2	Landgrebe, Earl F.	R	1	55.1	--	88	0	0
	3	Brademas, John	D	6	52.2	51.2	4	73	100
	4	Adair, E. Ross	R	10	51.4	60.2	89	13	13
	5	Roudebush, Richard <sup>23/</sup>	R	5	63.0	55.8	94	7	7
	8	Zion, Roger H.	R	2	54.5	52.6	88	7	24
	9	Hamilton, Lee H.	D	3	54.4	54.5	19	53	83
	10	Dennis, David W.	R	1	53.9	--	81	0	10
	11	Jacobs, Andrew, Jr.	D	3	53.1	50.9	6	80	100
Iowa	1	Schwengel, Fred	R	7*	53.0	51.3	65	40	39
	4	Kyl, John	R	5*	53.9	51.7	88	13	18
Kansas	1	Sebelius, Keith G.	R	1	51.5	--	86	0	11
	3	Winn, Larry, Jr.	R	2	62.8	52.9	84	0	13
Louisiana	2	Boggs, Hale	D	13*	51.2	67.9	7	27	79
Maryland	5	Hogan, Laurence	R	1	52.7	--	65	20	30
	6	Beall, J. Glenn, Jr. <sup>8/</sup>	R	1	53.0	--	47	20	70

STATE	DIST.	INCUMBENT	PARTY	TERMS	% OF VOTE 1968	% OF VOTE 1966	Organization Voting Ratings		
							ACA	ADA	COPE
Massachusetts	3	Philbin, Philip J.	D	14	47.8 <sup>7/</sup>	71.0	10	47	95
	6	Harrington, Michael <sup>9/</sup>	D	1	52.4	--	22	100	100
	9	McCormack, John W. <sup>1/</sup>	D	22	82.9	(6)	--	--	--
	12	Keith, Hastings	R	6	(6)	51.9	63	33	31
Michigan	2	Esch, Marvin L.	R	2	54.3	50.7	44	53	50
Minnesota	3	MacGregor, Clark <sup>8/</sup>	R	5	64.8	65.4	70	27	25
	5	Fraser, Donald M.	D	4	57.5	59.7	2	100	98
	6	Zwach, John M.	R	2	56.2	51.4	72	20	46
	7	Langen, Odin	R	6	51.2	63.2	87	0	6
Missouri**	2	Symington, James W.	D	1	50.5 (D)	--	7	73	100
	6	Hull, W. R., Jr.	D	8	54.4 (D)	56.8	60	13	42
	10	Burlison, Bill D.	D	1	46.6 (D)	--	41	53	70
Montana	1	Olsen, Arnold	D	5	53.6	50.8	7	73	95
	2	Melcher, John <sup>10/</sup>	D	1	50.9	--	29	78	75
Nebraska	1	Denney, Robert V.	R	2	54.1	50.9	92	0	5
	2	Cunningham, Glenn C. <sup>11/</sup>	R	7	55.2	64.1	79	0	29
New Jersey	3	Howard, James J.	D	3	57.8	53.1	5	80	97
	4	Thompson, Frank, Jr.	D	8	53.4	56.5	5	93	100
	6	Vacant <sup>12/</sup>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	8	Roe, Robert <sup>13/</sup>	D	1	50.4	--	29	75	100
	9	Helstoski, Henry	D	3	49.8 <sup>14/</sup>	45.3	6	93	100
New Mexico	1	Lujan, Manuel, Jr.	R	1	52.8	--	76	13	44
	2	Foreman, Ed <sup>15/</sup>	R	2*	50.5	--	96	7	10
New York**	3	Wolff, Lester L.	D	3	50.6 (D)	--	24	80	89
	5	Lowenstein, Allard K.	D	1	44.0 (D)	--	20	100	100
	16	Murphy, John M.	D	4	44.5 (D)	--	4	43	98
	17	Koch, Edward I.	D	1	51.1 (D)	--	18	100	100
	22	Scheuer, James H.	D	3	68.9 (D)	--	7	100	100
	25	Ottinger, Richard L. <sup>24/</sup>	D	3	51.5 (D)	--	22	100	94
	27	McKneally, Martin B.	R	1	43.7 (R)	--	38	20	60
	28	Fish, Hamilton, Jr.	R	1	45.9 (R)	--	29	33	80
	29	Button, Daniel E.	R	2	56.5 (R)	--	30	73	87
	34	Vacant	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	35	Hanley, James M.	D	3	48.9 (D)	--	8	67	97
	39	McCarthy, Richard D. <sup>2/</sup>	D	3	55.4 (D)	--	11	100	86
	North Carolina	3	Henderson, David N.	D	5	54.0	(6)	64	7
4		Galifianakis, Nick	D	2	51.5	46.4	56	7	39
6		Preyer, Richardson	D	1	53.6	--	25	27	60
7		Lennon, Alton A.	D	7	(6)	(6)	78	7	13
8		Ruth, Earl B.	R	1	51.2	--	82	0	0
10		Broyhill, James T.	R	4	54.8	46.5	90	0	6
11		Taylor, Roy A.	D	6	57.1	52.8	64	13	24
North Dakota	2	Kleppe, Thomas S. <sup>8/</sup>	R	2	49.9 <sup>16/</sup>	51.9	82	7	22
Ohio	1	Taft, Robert, Jr. <sup>25/</sup>	R	3*	67.2	54.6	66	33	36
	19	Kirwan, Michael J. <sup>1/</sup>	D	17	69.7	72.5	7	27	99



STATE	DIST.	INCUMBENT	PARTY	TERMS	% OF VOTE 1968	% OF VOTE 1966	Organization Voting Ratings		
							ACA	ADA	COPE
Ohio	22	Vanik, Charles A.	D	8	54.7	44.4	12	87	97
	23	Minshall, William E.	R	8	52.0	64.2	87	7	13
Oklahoma	2	Edmondson, Ed	D	9	54.9	52.9	8	33	84
	4	Steed, Tom	D	11	53.6	58.4	27	13	67
Pennsylvania	19	Goodling, George A.	R	4*	57.7	51.7	91	0	5
South Dakota	1	Reifel, Ben <sup>1/</sup>	R	5	58.0	66.7	68	0	15
	2	Berry, E. Y. <sup>1/</sup>	R	10	59.3	60.5	88	0	5
Tennessee	3	Brock, William E. <sup>8/</sup>	R	4	57.0	64.4	89	7	7
Texas	7	Bush, George H. <sup>26/</sup>	R	2	(6)	57.1	78	7	5
Utah	1	Burton, Laurence J. <sup>8/</sup>	R	4	68.1	66.5	83	0	14
	2	Lloyd, Sherman P.	R	3*	61.6	61.3	77	13	12
Virginia	2	Whitehurst, G. William	R	1	54.2	--	67	7	30
	3	Satterfield, David E.	D	3	60.3	(6)	89	0	6
	7	Marsh, John O. <sup>1/</sup>	D	4	54.4	59.3	87	0	6
Washington	3	Hansen, Julia B.	D	6	56.8	65.1	64	67	98
Wisconsin	1	Schadeberg, Henry C.	R	4*	50.9	51.0	94	13	16
	7	Obey, David R. <sup>17/</sup>	D	1	51.5	--	20	92	100
Wyoming	AL	Wold, John <sup>8/</sup>	R	1	62.7	--	69	7	22

- 1/Not seeking re-election  
2/Sought nomination to U.S. Senate; defeated in primary; not seeking re-election to House seat  
3/Three-way race in which opponents received 41.5% and 12.8%  
4/Rep. William L. St. Onge (D) died May 1  
5/Republican candidate elected by plurality vote instead of majority vote  
6/No opposition in general election  
7/Three-way race in which opponents received 27.7% and 24.5%  
8/To seek nomination/election to U. S. Senate  
9/Rep. Michael J. Harrington (D) elected September 30, 1969, to fill vacancy created by death of Rep. William H. Bates (R)  
10/Rep. John Melcher (D) elected June 24, 1969, to replace former Rep. James Battin (R), now federal judge  
11/Rep. Cunningham defeated for renomination in May 12, 1970 primary by John Y. McCollister (R)  
12/Vacancy created by resignation of former Rep. William T. Cahill (R), now Governor  
13/Rep. Robert A. Roe (D) elected November 4, 1969, to replace former Rep. Charles S. Joelson (D), now Superior Court judge  
14/Five-way race in which nearest opponent received 48.6%  
15/Former Representative of Texas, one term, 1963-1964. Again elected November 5, 1968. ACA and COPE's cumulative ratings cover voting record both terms  
16/Three-way race in which opponents received 48.7% and 1.4%  
17/Rep. David R. Obey (D) elected April 1, 1969, to replace former Rep. Melvin Laird (R) now Secretary of Defense  
18/Rep. Howard W. Pollock, (R-AL) will seek Republican nomination for Governor of Alaska against incumbent Governor Miller (R)  
19/Rep. Thomas J. Meskill (R) received Republican State Convention nomination for Governor of Connecticut. He may face primary.  
20/Rep. John V. Tunney (D) received Democratic nomination to run for the U. S. Senate from California  
21/Rep. Lowell P. Weicker (R) received Republican State Convention nomination for the U. S. Senate.  
22/Rep. William V. Roth, Jr. (R) is the Republican nominee for the U. S. Senate from Delaware.  
23/Rep. Richard Roudebush (R) nominated by the GOP State Convention as the nominee for the U. S. Senate  
24/Rep. Richard L. Ottinger (D) received the Democratic nomination to run for the U. S. Senate  
25/Rep. Robert Taft, Jr. (R) received Republican nomination for the U. S. Senate in Ohio  
26/Rep. George H. Bush (R) received Republican nomination for the U. S. Senate in Texas

probable close races

U. S. SENATE  
1970 congressional elections  
(21 Races)

STATE	INCUMBENT	PARTY	BEGAN SENATE SERVICE	% OF VOTE 1964	ORGANIZATION VOTING RATINGS			CANDIDATES 1970 ELECTIONS
					ACA	ADA	COPE	
Alaska	STEVENS, Theodore F. <sup>1/</sup>	R	Dec. 24, 1968	--	17	28	56	Primary August 25 R: Theodore F. Stevens D: Joe Josephson Fritz Singer
California	MURPHY, George	R	Jan. 1, 1965	51.5	81	11	18	R: George Murphy D: John V. Tunney
Connecticut	DODD, Thomas J. <sup>2/</sup>	D	Jan. 3, 1959	64.7	21	56	88	R. Primary 8/12: 8/ Weicker, Lupton D. Primary 8/19: Donahue, Marcus, Duffey
Delaware	WILLIAMS, John J. <sup>3/</sup>	R	Jan. 3, 1947	51.7	92	22	8	R: William V. Roth, Jr. D: Jacob W. Zimmerman
Florida	HOLLAND, Spessard L. <sup>3/</sup>	D	Sept. 25, 1946	64.0	64	6	17	Primary September 8 R: William C. Cramer G. Harrold Carswell D: Fred Schultz Lawton Chiles Robert Haverfield C. Farris Bryant
Illinois	SMITH, Ralph T. <sup>4/</sup>	R	Sept. 18, 1969	--	57	29	50	R: Ralph T. Smith D: Adlai E. Stevenson III
Indiana	HARTKE, Vance	D	Jan. 3, 1959	54.3	17	100	90	R: Richard Roudebush D: Vance Hartke
Michigan	HART, Philip A.	D	Jan. 3, 1959	64.4	1	100	100	Primary August 4 R: Mrs. George Romney Robert J. Huber D: Philip A. Hart
Minnesota	McCARTHY, Eugene J. <sup>3/</sup>	D	Jan. 3, 1959	60.3	2	83	99	Primary September 15 R: Clark MacGregor D: Hubert H. Humphrey
New Jersey	WILLIAMS, Harrison A., Jr.	D	Jan. 3, 1959	61.9	5	94	99	R: Nelson G. Gross D: Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
New Mexico	MONTOYA, Joseph M.	D	Nov. 4, 1964	54.7	10	72	93	R: Anderson Carter D: Joseph M. Montoya
New York	GOODELL, Charles E. <sup>5/</sup>	R	Sept. 12, 1968	--	10	83	21	R: Charles E. Goodell D: Richard L. Ottinger
North Dakota	BURDICK, Quentin N.	D	Aug. 8, 1960	57.6	17	83	94	Primary September 1 R: Thomas Kleppe D: Quentin N. Burdick

STATE	INCUMBENT	PARTY	BEGAN SENATE SERVICE	% OF VOTE 1964	ORGANIZATION VOTING RATINGS			CANDIDATES 1970 ELECTIONS
					ACA	ADA	COPE	
Ohio	YOUNG, Stephen M. <sup>3/</sup>	D	Jan. 3, 1959	50.2	15	94	95	R: Robert Taft, Jr. D: Howard M. Metzenbaum
Tennessee	GORE, Albert	D	Jan. 3, 1953	53.6	20	61	78	Primary August 6 R: William E. Brock Tex Ritter D: Albert Gore Hadley Crockett
Texas	YARBOROUGH, Ralph W. <sup>6/</sup>	D	April 29, 1957	56.2	8	78	91	R: George Bush D: Lloyd M. Bentsen
Utah	MOSS, Frank E.	D	Jan. 3, 1959	57.3	8	83	93	Primary September 8 R: Laurence Burton Byron R. Rampton D: Frank E. Moss
Vermont	PROUTY, Winston L.	R	Jan. 3, 1959	53.5	52	39	46	Primary September 8 R: Winston L. Prouty D: Philip H. Hoff Fiore Bove William H. Meyer
Virginia	BYRD, Harry F., Jr. <sup>7/</sup>	D	Nov. 12, 1965	53.3	81	11	11	Primary July 14 R: Darrell Branstetter Kenneth M. Haggarty D: George Rawlings Milton Colvin Clive L. DuVal
Wyoming	McGEE, Gale W.	D	Jan. 3, 1959	54.0	4	39	86	Primary August 18 R: John Wold Art Linde D: Gale W. McGee D. P. "Mike" Svilar

<sup>1/</sup>Sen. Theodore F. Stevens (R) appointed to fill vacancy created by death Dec. 12, 1968 of Sen. E. L. Bartlett (D). Subject to election in 1970 for the two-year remainder of term and in 1972 for full six-year term

<sup>2/</sup>Announced June 12 he will not seek or accept Democratic nomination to the U. S. Senate in 1970

<sup>3/</sup>Will not seek re-election in 1970

<sup>4/</sup>Sen. Ralph T. Smith (R) appointed September 17 to fill unexpired term of the late Sen. Dirksen. Subject to election in 1970 for four-year remainder of term

<sup>5/</sup>Sen. Charles Goodell (R) appointed to fill unexpired term of late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D) beginning September 12, 1968 and ending January 1, 1971. Subject to election in 1970 to full six-year term

<sup>6/</sup>Sen. Yarborough (D) lost in Texas primary May 2, 1970 to Lloyd M. Bentsen (D) for the Democratic nomination to the U. S. Senate

<sup>7/</sup>Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (D) appointed to his father's seat November 12, 1965. Elected November 8, 1966 for the four-year remainder of six-year term beginning January 10, 1967. Subject to election in 1970 to full six-year term. Sen. Byrd has announced he will not seek the Democratic nomination to the U. S. Senate, but will run as an Independent

<sup>8/</sup>Lowell Weicker endorsed at Republican convention; John Lupton received more than 20% of convention vote so Republicans will have primary August 12. Alphonsus Donahue endorsed at Democratic convention; Edward Marcus and Joseph Duffey received more than 20% of convention vote so Democrats will have primary August 19.

This publication lists the House and Senate races which have been judged to be close, according to political data gathered from *Congressional Quarterly*, *Roll Call*, *National Journal*, political columnists, the national Democratic and Republican committees, the American Medical Political Action Committee, the Business-Industry Political Action Committee, residents of the congressional districts involved, and miscellaneous other sources.

The information is subject to change as political conditions change—and will be reflected in future editions.

1-5 copies—minimum charge.....	\$1.00
6-99 copies.....	.17 each
100-999 copies.....	.13 each
Larger quantity prices upon request	

Order from:  
Chamber of Commerce of the United States  
1615 H Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

END NOTES

ACA ratings for House members are cumulative for veteran members of the House, covering the individual Representative's voting record since 1957, or since the date of his first term served if that date comes after 1957, and continuing through the First Session of the 91st Congress.

ACA ratings for Senators are cumulative, covering the individual Senator's voting record since 1955, or since the date of his first term served if that date comes after 1955, and continuing through the First Session of the 91st Congress.

ADA ratings for House and Senate members are based on votes cast on ADA-selected issues during the First Session of the 91st Congress.

COPE's ratings for House and Senate members are cumulative, calculated from AFL-CIO voting records of the individual Representative or Senator since 1947, or since his first year in the House or Senate, continuous through the First Session of the 91st Congress.

\*All terms served are consecutive except those marked with an asterisk (\*)

\*\*Redistricted since the 1968 elections. In states that have redistricted since the last election, the % of vote for 1968 and 1966 is the percentage of the congressional vote cast in the new district for the PARTY of the present incumbent. It does not represent the percentage by which the incumbent won previous elections.

Listing of some close House and Senate races is based on 55% or less margin over opponent.

All percentages are from Republican Congressional Committee because of availability, reliability and comprehensiveness.

\*\*\*\*\*

Mail to:  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES  
1615 H STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

Please send \_\_\_\_\_ copies of **How They See the House and Senate Races** ( 2188 )

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ TITLE \_\_\_\_\_

FIRM OR ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_ CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP CODE \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is a check for \$ . . . . . as payment for material. Make checks or money orders payable to: *Chamber of Commerce of the United States*.

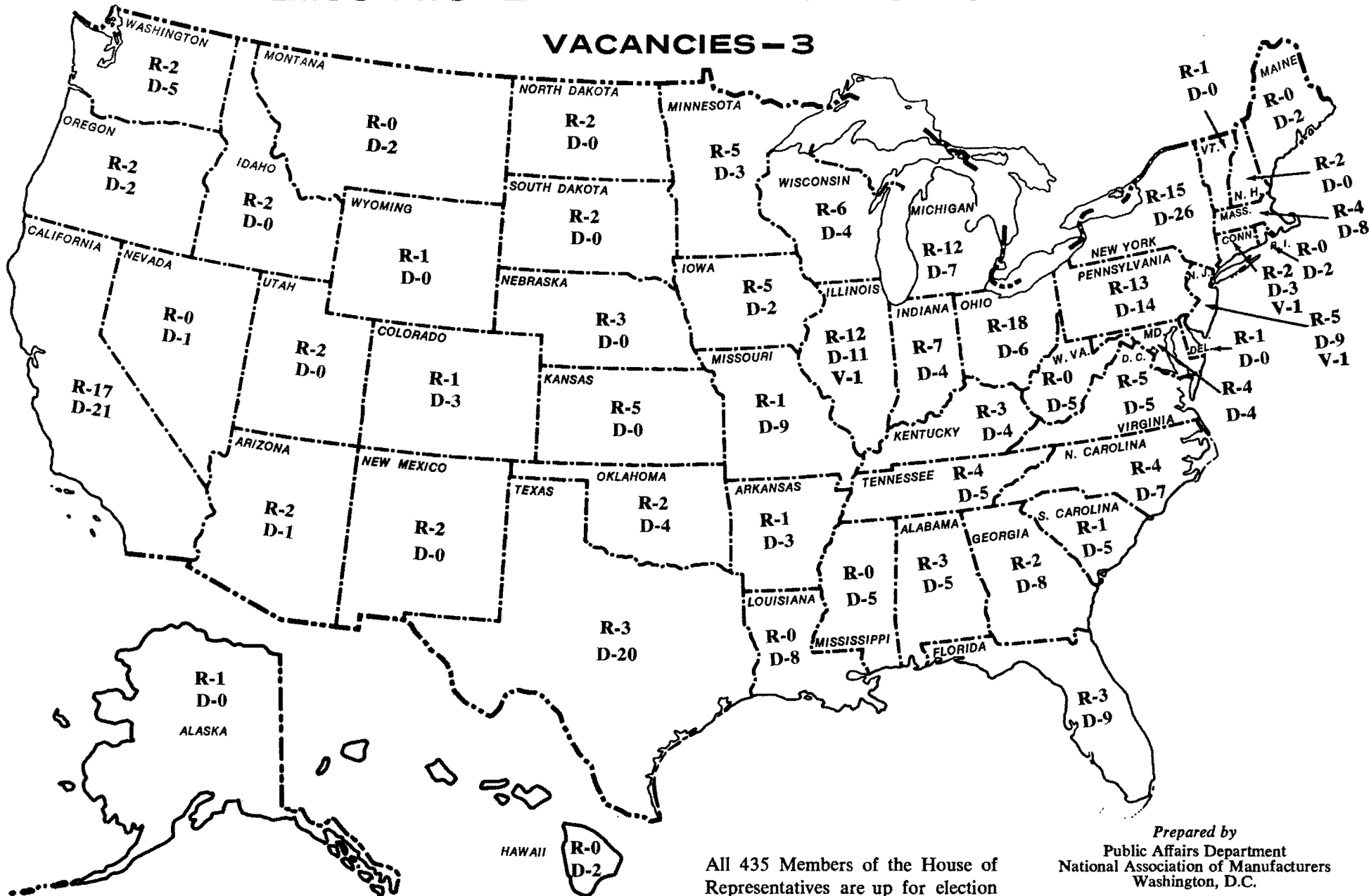
\*\*\*\*\*

# THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE 91st CONGRESS

DEMOCRATS - 244

REPUBLICANS - 188

VACANCIES - 3



All 435 Members of the House of Representatives are up for election in 1970.

Prepared by  
Public Affairs Department  
National Association of Manufacturers  
Washington, D.C.

# The House of Representatives of the 91st Congress

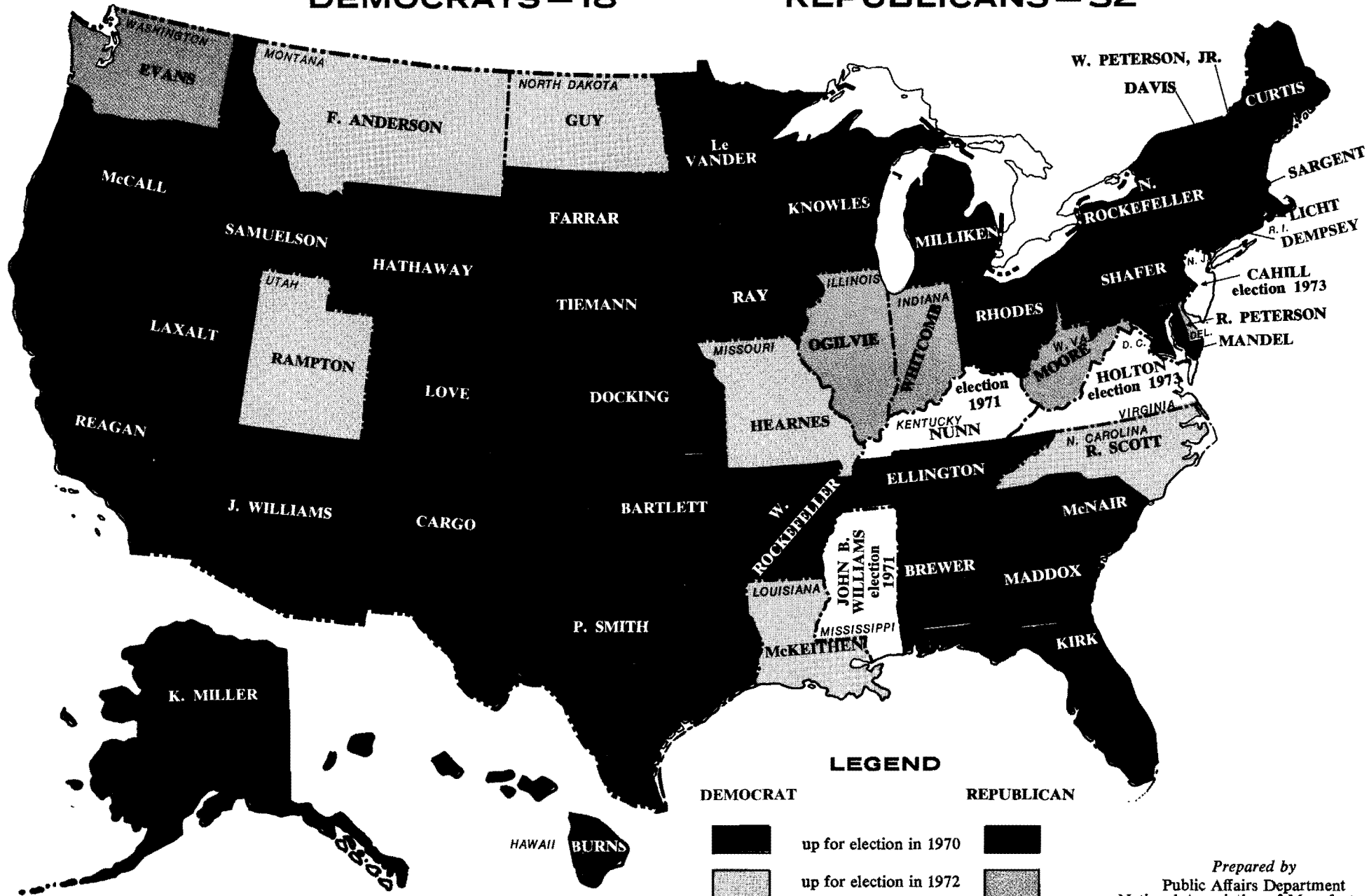
<b>ALABAMA</b>	<b>CALIFORNIA (cont'd)</b>	<b>ILLINOIS (cont'd)</b>	<b>LOUISIANA</b>	<b>MINNESOTA</b>	<b>NEW MEXICO</b>	<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>	<b>PENN. (cont'd)</b>	<b>TEXAS (cont'd)</b>
1 J. Edwards	36 B. Wilson	5 Kluczynski	1 Hebert	1 Quie	1 *Lujan	1 M. Andrews	15 F. Rooney	16 White
2 *Dickinson	37 Van Deerlin	6 Vacancy	2 *H. Boggs	2 A. Nelsen	2 *Foreman	2 *Kleppe	16 Eshleman	17 O. Burlison
3 G. Andrews	38 Tunney	7 Annunzio	3 Caffery	3 MacGregor			17 Schneebeli	18 R. Price
4 Nichols	<b>COLORADO</b>	8 Rostenkowski	4 Waggoner	4 Karth	<b>NEW YORK</b>	<b>OHIO</b>	18 Corbett	19 Mahon
5 Flowers	1 *B. Rogers	9 Yates	5 Passman	5 Fraser	1 *Pike	1 Taft	19 Goodling	20 Gonzalez
6 Buchanan	2 Brotzman	10 Collier	6 Rarick	6 Zwach	2 Grover	2 Clancy	20 Gaydos	21 Fisher
7 Bevil	3 *F. Evans	11 Pucinski	7 E. Edwards	7 *Langen	3 *Wolff	3 Whalen	21 Dent	22 Casey
8 R. Jones	4 *Aspinall	12 McClory	8 S. Long	8 Blatnik	4 Wydler	4 McCulloch	22 Saylor	23 Kazen
<b>ALASKA</b>		13 Crane		<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>	5 *Lowenstein	5 Latta	23 A. Johnson	<b>UTAH</b>
AL *Pollock	<b>CONNECTICUT</b>	14 Erlenborn	<b>MAINE</b>	1 Abernethy	6 Halpern	6 Harsha	24 Vigorito	1 L. Burton
<b>ARIZONA</b>	1 Daddario	15 C. Reid	1 Kyros	2 Whitten	7 Addabbo	7 C. Brown	25 Clark	2 Lloyd
1 Rhodes	2 Vacancy	16 J. Anderson	2 Hathaway	3 C. Griffin	8 Rosenthal	8 Betts	26 Morgan	<b>VERMONT</b>
2 Udall	3 *Giaimo	17 Arends	<b>MARYLAND</b>	9 *Delaney	9 *Rosenthal	9 Ashley	27 J. Fulton	AL Stafford
3 S. Steiger	4 *Weicker	18 Michel	1 R. Morton	4 Montgomery	10 Celler	10 C. Miller	<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>	<b>VIRGINIA</b>
<b>ARKANSAS</b>	5 Monagan	19 Railsback	2 C. Long	5 Colmer	11 Brasco	11 Stanton	1 St. Germain	1 Downing
1 Alexander	6 Meskill	20 Findley	3 Garmatz	<b>MISSOURI</b>	12 Chisholm	12 Devine	2 Tiernan	2 *Whitehurst
2 Mills	<b>DELAWARE</b>	21 *Gray	4 Fallon	1 Clay	13 Podell	13 Mosher	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>	3 Satterfield
3 Hammerschmidt	AL Roth	22 Springer	5 *Hogan	2 *J. Symington	14 J. Rooney	14 *Ayres	1 Rivers	4 Abbutt
4 D. Pryor	<b>FLORIDA</b>	23 *Shipley	6 *J. Beall	3 Sullivan	15 Carey	15 Wylie	2 Watson	5 *W. Daniel
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>	1 Sikes	24 M. Price	7 Friedel	4 Randall	16 *J. Murphy	16 Bow	3 Dorn	6 Poff
1 Don Clausen	2 Fuqua	<b>INDIANA</b>	8 Gude	5 Bolling	17 *Koch	17 Ashbrook	4 Mann	7 *Marsh
2 H. Johnson	3 Bennett	1 Madden	<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>	6 *W. Hull	18 Powell	18 Hays	5 Gettys	8 W. Scott
3 J. Moss	4 *Chappell	2 Landgrebe	1 Conte	7 D. Hall	19 *Farbstein	19 Kirwan	9 Wampler	10 Joel Broynhill
4 Leggett	5 Frey	3 *Brademas	2 Boland	8 Ichord	20 Ryan	20 Leighan	<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>	<b>WASHINGTON</b>
5 P. Burton	6 Gibbons	4 *Adair	3 *Philbin	9 *Hungate	21 Scheuer	21 L. Stokes	1 Reifel	1 Pelly
6 Mailliard	7 *Haley	5 Roudebush	4 Donohue	10 *B. Burlison	22 Gilbert	22 *Vanik	2 Berry	2 Meeds
7 Cohelan	8 Cramer	6 Bray	5 Morse	<b>MONTANA</b>	23 Bingham	23 *Minshall	<b>TENNESSEE</b>	3 J. Hansen
8 G. Miller	9 P. Rogers	7 Myers	6 *Harrington	1 *Olsen	24 Biaggi	24 Lukens	1 Quillen	4 May
9 D. Edwards	10 *J. H. Burke	8 *Zion	7 T. Macdonald	2 *Melcher	25 Ottinger	<b>OKLAHOMA</b>	2 Duncan	5 Foley
10 Gubser	11 Pepper	9 *Hamilton	8 T. O'Neill	<b>NEBRASKA</b>	26 O. Reid	1 Belcher	3 Brock	6 Hicks
11 McCloskey	12 Fascell	10 *Dennis	9 McCormack	1 *Denney	27 *McKneally	2 *Edmondson	4 J. Evins	7 Adams
12 Talcott	<b>GEORGIA</b>	11 *Jacobs	10 M. Heckler	2 *Cunningham	28 *Fish	3 Albert	5 *R. Fulton	<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>
13 C. Teague	1 Hagan	<b>IOWA</b>	11 J. A. Burke	3 Martin	29 Button	4 *Steed	6 W. Anderson	1 *Mollohan
14 Waldie	2 M. O'Neal	1 *Schwengel	12 Keith	<b>NEVADA</b>	30 King	5 Jarman	7 Blanton	2 Stagers
15 *McFall	3 Brinkley	2 Culver	<b>MICHIGAN</b>	AL Baring	31 McEwen	6 Camp	8 *E. Jones	3 Slack
16 Sisk	4 Blackburn	3 Gross	1 Conyers	<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>	32 Pirnie	<b>OREGON</b>	9 Kuykendall	4 K. Hechler
17 *G. Anderson	5 Fletcher Thompson	4 *Kyl	2 *Esch	1 Wyman	33 Robison	1 Wyatt	<b>TEXAS</b>	5 Kee
18 R. Mathias	6 Flynt	5 N. Smith	3 Garry Brown	2 Cleveland	34 *Hanley	2 Uilman	1 Patman	<b>WISCONSIN</b>
19 Holifield	7 J. Davis	6 Mayne	4 Hutchinson	<b>NEW JERSEY</b>	35 Stratton	3 E. Green	2 Dowdy	1 *Schadeberg
20 H. A. Smith	8 Stuckey	7 Scherle	5 G. Ford	1 Hunt	36 Horton	4 Deillenback	3 Collins	2 Kastenmeier
21 Hawkins	9 Landrum	<b>KANSAS</b>	6 Chamberlain	2 *Sandman	37 Conable	<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>	4 Roberts	3 V. Thomson
22 Corman	10 Stephens	1 *Sebelius	7 Riegler	3 Howard	38 Hastings	1 Barrett	5 Cabell	4 Zablocki
23 Del Clawson	<b>HAWAII</b>	2 Mize	8 Harvey	4 *Frank Thompson	39 *R. McCarthy	2 James Byrnes	6 O. Teague	5 Reuss
24 Rousselot	AL Matsunaga	3 Winn	9 Vander Jagt	5 Frelinghuysen	40 H. P. Smith	4 Eilberg	7 Bush	6 W. Steiger
25 Wiggins	AL Mink	4 Shriver	10 Cederberg	6 Vacancy	41 Dulski	5 W. Green	8 Eckhardt	7 *Obey
26 Rees	<b>IDAHO</b>	5 Skubitz	11 Ruppe	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>	6 *Yatron	9 J. Brooks	8 John W. Byrnes
27 B. Goldwater, Jr.	1 McClure	<b>KENTUCKY</b>	12 O'Hara	1 W. Jones	1 W. Jones	7 L. Williams	10 Pickle	9 G. Davis
28 A. Bell	2 O. Hansen	1 Stubblefield	13 Diggs	2 Fountain	2 Fountain	8 *Biester	11 Poage	10 O'Konski
29 *George Brown	<b>ILLINOIS</b>	2 Natcher	14 Nedzi	3 *Henderson	3 *Henderson	9 Watkins	12 Wright	<b>WYOMING</b>
30 Roybal	1 Dawson	3 Cowger	15 W. Ford	4 *Galifianakis	4 *Galifianakis	10 McDade	13 Purcell	AL Wold
31 C. Wilson	2 Mikva	4 Snyder	16 Dingell	5 Frelinghuysen	5 W. Green	11 Flood	14 J. Young	
32 Hosmer	3 *W. Murphy	5 Carter	17 M. Griffiths	6 Widnall	6 *L. R. Preyer	12 Whalley	15 de la Garza	
33 Pettis	4 Derwinski	6 Watts	18 Broomfield	8 *Roe	7 Lennon	13 Coughlin		
34 *Hanna		7 Perkins	19 J. McDonald	9 *Helstoski	8 *Ruth	14 Moorhead		
35 Schmitz				10 Rodino	9 C. Jonas			
				11 Minish	10 *James Broynhill			
				12 Dwyer	11 Taylor			
				13 Gallagher				
				14 D. Daniels				
				15 *Patten				

\* Denotes "marginal district." Member was elected by less than 55 per cent of the total vote.

# THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATES

DEMOCRATS — 18


REPUBLICANS — 32




## LEGEND

DEMOCRAT


REPUBLICAN

 up for election in 1970



 up for election in 1972



 up for election in odd year



Prepared by  
Public Affairs Department  
National Association of Manufacturers  
Washington, D.C.



# THE SENATE OF THE 91st CONGRESS

DEMOCRATS — 57

REPUBLICANS — 43



## LEGEND

DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN
<b>NAME IN TYPE</b> up for election in 1970	<b>NAME IN TYPE</b>
<i>Name in Type</i> up for election in 1972	<i>Name in Type</i>
<i>Name in Type</i> up for election in 1974	<i>Name in Type</i>

Prepared by  
Public Affairs Department  
National Association of Manufacturers  
Washington, D.C.

Precede

(Name of paper)'s columnist, Kevin Phillips, says chicanos in Texas are ignoring Democratic primary.

BY KEVIN P. PHILLIPS

LIBERALS HOLD BALANCE OF POWER IN TEXAS

WASHINGTON--Last autumn, Linwood Holton became the first Republican Governor of Virginia since Reconstruction days, and it is with this example in mind that the Texas GOP, out to topple its own state's Democratic establishment this year, has invited Holton to keynote the September 15 State Republican Convention in Fort Worth.

But middle-of-the-roader Holton's election is a dubious precedent for the Lone Star State. Whereas, the Virginia Republican faced a moderate Democrat who had defeated the conservative establishment nominee (as well as a full-fledged liberal) in the primary, the Texas GOP gubernatorial and Senate nominees must fight the candidates of the state Democratic establishment.

This is an important difference. In Virginia, conservative Democrats provided most of the horsepower of the 1969 GOP victory. Contrary to Holton's claims, liberal support was spotty. For example, although Holton won a majority among Richmond Negroes who saw his election as the final nail in the conservative Democratic coffin, his black vote in Norfolk, Portsmouth, Danville, and Lynchburg was a mere 10-20 per cent, and although he enjoyed the endorsement of the state AFL-CIO, the blue-collar wards of unionized Norfolk and Newport News opposed him by lopsided margins.

Texas Republicans have a larger need for liberal votes. Because the Texas GOP cannot tap the usual conservative Democratic realignment current, their candidates must -- while retaining a basic moderate conservative ideology -- seek support from the state's liberal blacks, chicanos, and labor unions, who share Republican desire for a conservative-liberal realignment of the two parties, but who have been unable to bring it about by winning Democratic primaries.

GOP gubernatorial candidate Paul Eggers is looking in this direction. Two years ago, in his first race against incumbent Preston Smith, he garnered a strong 43 per cent of the vote. His base was urban-suburban -- the counties including Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth, and Odessa-Midland gave him a 40,000 lead -- while Smith amassed his majority in the countryside (especially Wallace counties), Negro precincts, and Mexican-American concentrations.

(MORE)

This year, Eggers is expected to do better. Polls indicate that he is holding his urban support, although Smith remains strong in the countryside. More important, Texas liberals, who in 1968 went down the Democratic line against Nixon, are up in arms, recognizing that victory for the local Democratic establishment would put it in the saddle for the foreseeable future.

Republican Senate candidate Bush's opportunity is less clear. Back in 1964, he drew 44 per cent of the vote against liberal Senator Ralph Yarborough, but the Senator lost his May primary to conservative challenger Lloyd Bentsen. As a result, Bush may not be able to hold all of the support he won six years ago. His basic strength, like that of other Republicans in Texas, is centered in the metropolitan areas where he can expect to improve his 1964 showing. But his rural backing is likely to dip, especially in parts of segregationist East Texas where Barry Goldwater helped the ticket in 1964, where Bentsen notched solid primary victories this spring, and where school desegregation suits recently filed by the Justice Department have aroused anti-GOP rancor.

Therefore, both Bush and Eggers have good cause to court -- as they are -- the labor vote and the large Mexican-American vote (15-20 per cent of the statewide total, concentrated in El Paso, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and the Rio Grande Valley).

Despite allegations to the contrary, the GOP has not been able to marshal this electorate against past conservative Democratic candidates. For example, the two most Democratic legislative districts in Texas are the 48th and 59th in the Laredo-Rio Grande area. President Nixon won 22 per cent and 18 per cent of their ballots in 1968; Paul Eggers 24 per cent and 22 per cent in the same year, and Senator John Tower 26 per cent and 24 per cent in 1966. In these districts, at least, the "liberal" vote for Eggers and Tower is a myth (and most of their support probably came from the Anglo minority).

This year could be different. Republicans looking to realign conservative Democrats into the GOP -- the so-called Southern strategy -- recognize that they need to construct a temporary liberal alliance to topple the Texas Democratic establishment and facilitate such realignment. (President Nixon's 1972 prospects in Texas would also be enhanced.)

Across the Latin crescent of South Texas, many chicanos registered this year in their own "El Partido de la Raza Unita" and ignored the Democratic primary. Liberal Senator Yarborough, who earlier injured Bentsen among Latins by saying that his was "a family of land frauds, a family of wetback exploiters," has not yet endorsed the primary victor. The Texas Teamsters have already endorsed Republican Bush. The liberal Texas Observer continually attacks Bentsen, and Northern Democratic realignment seekers like John Kenneth Galbraith urge his defeat.

But the Republican battle is uphill. The party needs a large liberal vote to win, and its size remains in doubt.

Re: Vermont Senate (Addendum)

The turnout in the September 8 primary is a bad sign for Prouty. According to newspaper reports, the vote cast was as follows:

    GOP Senate - 39,000  
    Dem Senate - 33,000

This represents unprecedented Democratic strength. In comparison, the previous turnouts of this decade were:

    1962 - 30,000 R, 10,000 D (Senate)  
    1964 - 44,000 R, 17,000 D (Senate)  
    1966 - 37,000 R, 11,000 D (Congress)  
    1968 - (do not have statistics)

Analysis of these figures suggests: A) Vermont's population build-up (writers, antique dealers, artsy-craftsies etc) is strengthening the Democrats; B) Democratic strength is surging in Vermont this year; and C) despite Prouty's relative strength in what is left of small-town Vermont, he seems headed for defeat this year.

Re: Maine

In 1964, Senator Muskie won re-election by a vote of 253,000 to 127,000. This success was considerably swollen by a) heavy straight Democratic voting by Republicans in protest against the Goldwater candidacy, and b) the staying at home of 10-20% of the Yankee Republican electorate who couldn't bear the thought of choosing between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Under these circumstances - and despite a steady registration trend to the Democrats - Muskie is unlikely to do so well as in 1964. The enclosed xerox of a mid-August poll of Yankees in Hancock County, Maine, shows Muskie down from his 1964 lead over the GOP candidate. The reason: a combination of trending away from Muskie (mostly by persons who cast protest ballots in 1964) and heavier voting by Yankee Republicans who stayed home in 1964. This is not a big trend, but it is a factor nevertheless.

Muskie's 66% of the vote will probably slip to the 60% range because of the above trends and a lighter-than-presidential year turnout in the Catholic milltowns that fuel Maine Democratic pluralities. However there seems little doubt that Muskie will be re-elected handily.

It would not seem wise for the Administration to look like it is too interested in the Maine race. GOP candidate Bishop should be given personal ammunition against Muskie, so that when the results are totaled and Muskie wins, say, by 91,000 votes and 61% of the total, nobody is embarrassed by too much intervention but at the same time, there will be grounds to spread the word that the bloom is off Muskie's appeal.

The enclosed poll shows that the "Southern Strategy" is very unpopular among Maine's Yankee Republicans, 55% of whom think that the Administration pays too much attention to the South. The Machiasport situation and Bath shipyards contract are particularly embarrassing. If any oil free trade zones are to be announced shortly, it would be useful to do so before the election.

Another useful idea might be a "Northern New England Regional Commission" like that for Appalachia. Industrial obsolescence and redundancy is cruel in upper New England - towns with 10-20% unemployment are common - and such a move would be well-received. It would also provide a rebuttal to the "Southern Strategy" innuendo, and also help bolster 1972 prospects in the one part of New England that is winnable. Prouty and Bishop would be bolstered.

Some kind of ethnic appeal or cultural recognition should be extended to upper New England's French-Canadians; that would really be hitting the Democrats from the rear.

1970 Maine Election Questionnaire

1. For whom do you plan to vote in November's Senate election? (Circle one.)  
45% 50% Don't know - 5%  
A) Edmund Muskie (Democrat) B) Neil Bishop (Republican)
2. For whom did you vote when Edmund Muskie last ran for the Senate in 1964? (Circle one.)  
38% 32% 30%  
A) For Muskie B) For his Republican opponent C) Don't know/Didn't vote\*
3. Whom did you support for President in 1968? (Circle one.)  
70% 23%  
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) Hubert Humphrey (Democrat)  
C) George Wallace (Independent), Don't know, Didn't vote — 7%
4. Whom did you support for President in 1960? (Circle one.)  
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) John F. Kennedy (Democrat)  
C) Don't know/Didn't vote
5. Do you plan to vote for President Nixon in 1972? (Circle one.)  
50% 17% 33%  
A) Yes B) No C) Don't know
6. Do you think that the Nixon Administration pays too much attention to the South and not enough to New England? (Circle one.)  
55% 33% 12%  
A) Yes B) No C) Don't know

\* Many Yankee Republicans in Maine did not vote in 1964 because of disaste for both Goldwater and Johnson

poll of 42 random-selected  
Yankees, Hancock Co. (Down East) Maine  
Aug 10-15.

Re: Agnew Scheduling

Apart from any local organizational vicissitudes, the following is a general suggestion of chilly ideological climates viz a foray by the Vice-President.

Probably unproductive: Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Minnesota, Hawaii, Rhode Island

Dubious: Connecticut, New York, Michigan, Oregon, Washington

In general, Agnew should be used in places where the Administration is trying to tap a Southern-type or blue-collar Democratic trend to the GOP. Thus the ruling out of the first seven.

Specific states where Agnew would help Senate candidates are Indiana (to counter Roudebush's increasing irritation of conservatives); Texas (to bolster Bush's rightist appeal); Illinois (to bolster Smith among Chicago area law and order ethnics); Maryland (to bolster Beall in Baltimore area, especially Baltimore County); California and Florida; and conceivably New Jersey if he can be zeroed in on the Catholic industrial/backlash areas.

Agnew would seem useful, but for less specific reasons, in the Rocky Mountain states, North Dakota and Alaska - useful more for publicity purposes/media coverage of local campaign.

He would be useful in Missouri if Danforth looks like he has a prayer; Ohio is questionable, depending on Taft's feelings; and Delaware would not be negatively affected.

## THE ELECTIONS OF '70 & '72

"The Real Majority" by Scammon and Wattenburg contains a credible and workable blueprint for our defeat in 1972. Its three hundred pages contain a realistic cogent strategy for a liberal Democrat in 1972. However, the presentation of that strategy points up a counter-strategy which Republicans are going to have to adopt if they are not to lose the historic opportunity we have had for the last five years.

We can no longer count on our Democratic friends to cooperate in their own demise -- as they have in recent years. Liberals are waking up all over America. Columnists like Breslin and Harriet Van Horne and Mankiewicz, peaceniks like Sam Brown, politicians like HHH, Muskie and Lindsay are clearly moving on a new tough course -- a course outlined in this book. They have begun talking of law and order; they have ceased apologizing for student militants and black radicals; they are silent on bussing. We are no longer going to win the race for Middle America by default. The Democrats are moving to win back their white collar defectors and they are going about it the Scammon-Wattenburg way.

Attached is a comprehensive review of their analysis and strategy for Democratic victory. Appended is the outline of a counter-strategy we should follow in the 1970 elections.

### THE HEART OF THE BOOK

Given the President's ability to wind down the war in 1972 and relatively stabilize the economy, Presidential elections throughout the coming decade will turn on the "Social Issue". First discovered by Goldwater and Wallace, the Social Issue is now the issue on which Middle America will vote -- if one candidate is on the wrong side as Humphrey was in 1968. This social issue embraces drugs, demonstrations, pornography, disruptions, "kidlash", permissiveness, violence, riots, crime. The voters will not tolerate "a liberal" on these issues, and will vote against him on this issue alone as victories for hard-liners Daley in Chicago, Maier in Milwaukee, Stenvig in Minneapolis and Yorty in Los Angeles clearly demonstrated.

It is "in the center of American politics that victory lies" and polls conclusively show that the center of American politics today wants



tougher administrators on campus, a crackdown on crime, pornography and drugs. If the Democrats do not move into that center position on the "Social Issue", then "goodbye Democrats".

"It is the judgment of the authors that the manner in which the Democratic Party handles the Social Issue will largely determine how potent a political force the party will be in America in the years to come."

#### THE RISE OF CONSERVATISM

From 1963 to 1969 the number of those identifying themselves as "conservative" has risen from 46 to 51 percent -- while those identifying as "liberal" has nose-dived from 49 to 33 percent.

Summer 1969 (Gallup)  
(The Way Americans Identify Themselves)

<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Moderate Conservative</u>	<u>Moderate Liberal</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
23	28	18	15	16

In any normal election the moderate conservative (Republican) should have an advantage over the moderate liberal (Democrat). However, what this simple analysis fails to take into consideration is that when individuals consider themselves "conservative", it is "conservative" on the social issue -- Americans will not abide a "liberal" on the social issue. At the same time, however, polls show Americans clearly favor medicare, aid to cities, anti-poverty efforts, aid to education -- issues traditionally defined as "liberal". How do we explain the dichotomy. Say the authors:

". . . the attitudinal center of American politics today involves progressivism on economic issues and toughness on the "Social Issue".

The party that can hold this center will win the Presidency.

#### THE SOUTH

"When the Democratic vote goes from 72 percent in 1944 to 31 percent in 1967, something has happened, and it has been something tidal . . . The Democrats in the South were hurt by being

perceived (correctly) as a pro-black national party, but they were also hurt by the other nonracial aspects of the Social Issue that had become identified with liberal Democrats: soft on crime, "kidlash", morals and disruption . . . The villains in Agnew's tirade were almost exclusively white (kids) --but throughout the South bumper stickers blossomed reading "Spiro is my hero", and a Southern politician was quoted as saying he was voting for Agnew in 1972 and if that meant voting for Nixon, so be it . . . In no southern state are there enough Presidential Democrats to put together a statewide majority . . . Although the divorce may not be final the question now is which of the two suitors the South will accept: "Wallaceite or Republican".

#### CRUCIAL QUESTION FOR '70s

"The key election fact of the seventies is that Democrats, by carrying non-southern states of Quadcali (California plus the Northeast Quadrant from Wisconsin to Massachusetts\*) can win national elections without the South, although it is more difficult than it used to be. Assuming that Republicans stay near the center, the electoral question of the seventies is whether the Democrats will be able to cope with the Social Issue electoral forces at work in the society and, by coping, hold together the FDR Coalition and build upon it.

"As this book is being written in the early part of the year 1970 the votes of the unyoung, unpoor, unblack Quadcalians are still very much up for grabs. The machinist's wife in Dayton may decide to leave the Democratic reservation in 1972 and vote for Nixon or Wallace or their ideological descendants. If she thinks that Democrats feel that she isn't scared of crime but that she's really a bigot, if she thinks that Democrats feel that the police are Fascist pigs, and that the Black Panthers and the Weathermen are just poor, misunderstood, picked-upon kids, if she thinks that Democrats are for the hip cultures and that she, the machinist's wife, is not only a bigot but a square, then goodbye, lady -- and goodbye Democrats."

\*(Quadcali consists of the Northeast Quadrant of the country from Wisconsin to Massachusetts including California; the authors say it is the key to victory in Presidential elections; and they dump generously on Border State Strategies and "Sun Belts" etc. This is the weakest part of the book. It is an effort to contrast their approach with the Phillips Approach by suggesting Phillips wants to trade Illinois for Alabama, or New Jersey for Mississippi, which is nonsense. Basically, there is much in common between the two strategies -- more than Scammon and Wattenburg would care to admit.)

## ON LOW-KEY &amp; "LOCAL" CAMPAIGNING

"And how many people can be assembled to hear or even glimpse a candidate in the flesh on a given day? Twenty-five thousand? Fifty thousand? A hundred thousand? Two hundred and fifty thousand? A two minute clip on each of the three network news shows during the campaign will yield the candidate an audience of many tens of million Americans! Hubert Humphrey or Richard Nixon will be seen by more residents of New Jersey if he says something fairly noteworthy in Oregon than if he says something banal in Trenton, Montclair, Newark, Camden, and Tenafly all in the same day."

What about the shot in the arm given party workers by the personal appearance?

"There is probably some limited truth to this, but again one must remember that far more party workers throughout the nation are enthused seeing their candidate in an effective two-minute spot on a news-broadcast appearance on television than can be enthused by a candidate's visit to Weehawken, Union City, Bergen and Short Hills ..."

"The people in New Jersey, like the rest of Americans will be judging their Presidential choices largely on the basis of national television, national magazines, national columnists, and national reporters appearing in their local newspapers and largely on national issues and national images."

## "LIBERALISM AND BUSSING!"

"All of this represents the beginnings of a strategy for liberals in the seventies. Beware of the 'liberal' label but do not be despondent about the liberal program ... Beware of the Social Issue. It cuts deep and must be approached on little cat feet. There is learning as well as leading to do. There can be no pandering to disruption or crime; the public is not buying the notion that there are not bad boys, only bad environments ..."

## REPUBLICAN AWARENESS

"There can be no question that a good deal of Republican gardening will be done on the Social Issue. When Vice President Agnew says:

'The rank-and-file Democrat in this country does not share the philosophy of permissiveness expressed by the best publicized moral and intellectual leaders of our society. He read with disgust all the rave reviews the press gives the latest dirty movie or dirty book ...'

then it is clear that the Republicans are aware of this strategy."

#### FORMULAS FOR SUCCESS

"This is the nature of centrism. Democrats must heal the wound of the Social Issue. Republicans must prove that they are the party of Middle America and not of the fat cats."

#### A FOURTH PARTY

"Furthermore, unlike the Wallace situation, an extreme left party would take almost all its votes from one party -- the Democratic Party. If it ever got strong, then, it could only be a "spoiler" ensuring Republican victories. As a weak party, however, an extreme left party might be helpful to Democrats, by getting the crazies out of the tent, decreasing the identification of 'Democrats' as radicals."

#### LINDSAY & CHARISMA

Charisma counts in an election, but it only makes the difference when both candidates have acceptable positions on the Social Issue. The Lindsay charisma did little for him when we consider that three of five New Yorkers voted against returning him in the mayoralty in the most liberal city in America. Had the "oppositionist" vote not been divided, even the wholly uncharismatic figure of Mario Procacino would have cleaned up the floor with him.

Lindsay, in effect, scored a "victory defeat".

~ "What other phrase better describes the results of an election in which a politician with national aspirations pulls only one in four votes of the 'white workingman', or if one chooses to look at Lindsay specifically as a potential Democratic candidate, what kind of recommendation is it to say that he received fewer than half the Jewish votes the last time out."

As of today, if Lindsay were nominated as a Democrat, RN would crush him. If he were nominated as a Republican, he could conceivably bring about the election of George Wallace -- so much for Big John.

### MYTHS & ASSERTIONS

1. The authors proceed to explode one popular press myth after another in this volume.

Myth No. 1: The vote in the primaries and general election in 1968 was a vote "against Vietnam".

McCarthy, the "dove" in New Hampshire, only got 18% of the total vote in that state -- and a University of Michigan survey showed that 60% of the McCarthy votes were from hawks dissatisfied that LBJ had not done enough to end the war. In addition, at the time of New Hampshire, by 51 to 40 percent Americans did not want to stop the bombing; by 44 to 36 percent Americans avored an invasion of North Vietnam. Candidates and press may have been talking about it, but Vietnam was not the voting issue of 1968.

The contention that the McCarthy vote in the Wisconsin Primary was an anti-war vote seems implausible on the following grounds: That same day an anti-war amendment in dovish Madison was defeated 58-42; a law-and-order pro-LBJ Major (Maier) won over a liberal anti-war candidate 86-14; LBJ was still leading McCarthy two-to-one nationally; and Republicans who would later vote for "hawkish" RN crossed over by tens of thousands to vote for Eugene.

Finally, in the last Wisconsin full page ads of RN, LBJ and McCarthy, in the Wisconsin primary, not a single one mentioned the word Vietnam -- though the media played it as the key to the election.

Myth No. 2: The Conventions were rigged -- the popular choices Rockefeller and McCarthy denied nomination by the bosses.

Nonsense -- Nixon and Humphrey were far and away the popular choices of their parties -- (RN over Rocky 60-23; HHH over McCarthy 58-38) -- and thus the only Democratic choices. Rigged conventions are exceptional. The only convention in the last twenty-five years where the candidate with the widest support in his party was not nominated was Goldwater in 1964.

Myth No. 3 By forging a coalition of the young, the poor and the black and the intellectuals, the Democrats can put together a new and winning coalition. Scammon and Wattenburg believe this a prescription for disaster. First, the young and the poor and the black vote is the lowest percentage of any groups in America. Secondly, the young and the poor are hardly monolithic in voting patterns. A poor white from the Midwest was a likely Nixon voter; a poor white in the South a Wallace voter, and a poor black in the cities a Humphrey voter. Neither are the young monolithic in their voting patterns. More than any other group to vote, they tend to vote like their parents. In addition, as a group 21-29 year olds are more hawkish than the over-50s; Wallace did his best among the 21-29 group.

As for the intellectuals, those with college degrees are more likely to vote Republican than Democratic. If you are talking about Ph. D. s -- the Democratic vote is greater here -- but the number of voters is so miniscule as to be irrelevant.

True, blacks are solidly Democratic -- but it is also true that among races black voting percentages are the lowest--

"... the 'drop-off' alone in the Wallace vote in the last six weeks of the campaign was about equal to the total number of black votes cast in 1968."

We must face facts, say the authors: the average voter is unpoor, unyoung, unblack, unintellectual. The average voter is a 47-year-old housewife from Dayton, Ohio, whose brother-in-law is a cop and who is herself married to a machinist. Even if the voting age is dropped to 18 -- the average voter is still well over forty years of age.

"You can knock the 'liberal intellectuals' out of the Democratic coalition, and you've lost the front bumper; knock out the black vote, and you've lost the fenders and the back seat; but knock out labor, Middle America, or the unpoor, unyoung, unblack, and you've lost the engine, and the car won't run. This is an unpleasant fact to some, but fact it is."

Further, it is interesting to note that in 1968, 22 percent of the population could be considered "poor"; by 1972 that figure will be down to 15 percent; further:

"... of the poorest dozen states in the nation, six went for Nixon, five went for Wallace and only one for Humphrey. The richest state in the nation -- Connecticut--went for HHH."

(However, it is true that the pool of non-voting black represents a great plus for Democrats if they can get them registered and voting, since unlike the poor and young -- blacks do vote in blocs -- Democratic blocs.

"Six in seven voters are over thirty. Nine out of ten are unpoor, nine out of ten are white."

#### 'PACKAGING' NIXON

Myth No. 4: The "packaging" of RN won him the election. Ridiculous. All candidates are packaged to one degree or another. But Stenvig won in Minneapolis with \$3,600 spent. While HHH was saying he was running poorly in the polls because of RN's TV, Muskie was running 17 points ahead of Agnew in polls --yet Agnew had the same TV exposure as RN, and Muskie as Humphrey. "Voters are not nitwits." RN was ahead because he

"...was more closely attuned to the temper of a larger segment of the electorate than was his opposition. He was a man for the season. That may sound simplistic; it is simplistic -- and accurate ... The feelings that Nixon capitalized on were not part of a Southern Strategy or a Border State Strategy -- they were part of a national strategy that was attuned to the national malaise we have discussed earlier... It may be said in fact that Agnewism as a social thought won the election for Nixon, while Agnew, the individual, almost lost it for him."

Myth No. 5: The Kennedy victory in Gary, uniting hard hats and blacks, showed how formidable he would be in a general election. Again -- no such thing, contend the authors. RFK won the blacks and the union workers; but he did not have to compete against either Wallace or HHH, each of whom would have had tremendous drawing among one or the other of these groups.

"The authors also go to lengths to show how RFK moved to the Center throughout the primaries by abandoning his early frenzied campaigning pace, by clipping his hair, speaking in low-keyed voice,

accusing McCarthy of seeking to have blacks from Watts forcibly integrated in Orange County, talking to Indiana's concern about riots, war and Communism. Say the authors, Bobby was not selling out, but simply addressing himself to concerns of a country where half the women are afraid to go out at night.

#### WALLACE '72

In 1972 Wallace should, as he did in 1968, take seven million votes from Nixon and three million from the Democrat.

#### PRIMER FOR DEMS

Chapter Twenty of the book offers Democrats a Primer on precisely how to phrase their appeal to the voters. Example:

Do Not Say: 'Well, I don't agree with the Students for a Democratic Society when they invade a college president's office, but I can understand their deep sense of frustration.'

Do Say: 'When students break the law they will be treated as lawbreakers.'

Example:

The Democrats made a disastrous error in saying "Law and order is a code word for racism." This is a losing position on the Social Issue -- they should say "I am for civil rights and against crime." They should not link the two.

#### ON CANDIDATES

A Presidential aspirant must above all be a "take charge guy". Humphrey would have been better off had he come down on one side or the other on Vietnam -- rather than leaving the impression of being wishy-washy.



## CONCLUSION

"To know that the lady in Dayton is afraid to walk the streets alone at night, to know that she has a mixed view about blacks and civil rights because before moving to the suburbs she lived in a neighborhood that became all black, to know that her brother-in-law is a policeman, to know that she does not have the money to move if her new neighborhood deteriorates, to know that she is deeply distressed that her son is going to a community college where LSD was found on the campus -- to know all this is the beginning of contemporary political wisdom."

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1970

Given this Scammon-Wattenburg thesis--which is right on the mark for Democrats -- we are in serious danger of being driven back to our minority party posture. Our needs seem crystal clear.

1. We cannot allow the Democrats to get back on the right side of the Social Issue. This they are attempting to do right now with tough talk, etc. They have to be branded -- and the brand must stick -- as permissivists, as indulgent of students and black rioters, as soft on crime. This can be accomplished with their record in the last Congress. But for us to contest with them primarily on the Economic Issue -- Big Spenders, etc. -- as the major assault seems not a prescription for success. Republicans for forty years have been tarring Democratic Congresses with "Big Spender" labels, and Democrats have been winning those Congresses, lo, these same Forty Years.

The focus should be on tarring them with "ultra-liberalism" and "radicalism" -- especially on the Social Issue where we are strong and they are weak.

2. Where are the swing voters in 1970? We must assume left-wing Democrats are going for their Democratic Candidates and Republicans are going for Republicans, come hell or high water. The swing voters are thus Democrats -- law and order Democrats, conservatives on the "Social Issue", but "progressive" on domestic issues. This is the Wattenburg thesis -- and it is basically correct. How to conduct ourselves then.

Tar the Democratic Leadership specifically with the "radical" label on social policy; tar them as well with the "obstructionist" label on the President's programs for reforming society, for getting America moving; tar them as for bussing -- and against our crime control legislation.

Frankly, we should go after the "Daley Democrats" -- but we cannot get these voters by using rehashed Republican arguments or stale Republican rhetoric.

"Big Spenders" is a theme that 'might work, will work, with our Republicans -- we are using it in all our GOP literature -- but will it have any real bite with the union guy to whom big spending may mean the medicare for his mom or old man? (Foot-dragging Congress does not seem charged with much electricity, either.)

3. Scammon contends that a hard-line on riots etc. by Democrats may anger "liberals", but liberals have no place to go anyhow except the Democratic Party. Just so, regular Republicans have no place to go in 1970 (no Wallace) but the GOP. So, let's go straight after the Daley Democrats.

4. We should win these Democrats to the Presidential banner by contending that RN is a progressive on domestic policy blocked by "obstructionists" in the left-wing leadership of the Democratic Party; that RN is a hard-liner on crime, drugs and pornography, whose legislation is blocked by "ultraliberals" in the Senate who care so much about the rights of the criminal that they forget about the rights of society; that the President is a man trying with veto after veto to hold down the cost of living but is being thwarted by radicals and wild spenders who would, given the chance, create the kind of inflation that would put Indonesia in its heyday in the shade; that the President is a man in foreign policy who is moving toward peace with honor but whose efforts are being attacked and undercut by unilateral disarmers and isolationists who think peace lies in an abject retreat from the world and the dismantling of the Army, Navy and Air Force. This is said strong -- but these would be the ways we could best appeal to the patriotic, hard-line pro-medicare Democrats who are the missing element in the Grand New Party.

5. There is no conflict between garnering national publicity and helping local Senate candidates -- the two are thoroughly complimentary.

The Democrats -- see Seammon's book -- are only now coming around to recognize what we knew in 1966 and 1968 -- that a strong statement in Oregon is more effective in getting to voters in New Jersey than a banal statement in Trenton, Tenafly, Newark and Elizabeth. The way to help the Senatorial Candidate is to praise him to the skies, fine -- but to hammer the national Democratic Leadership in a manner that will keep our big press corps excited and with us; that will get network time every night if possible with our message; and so help every Republican Senatorial Candidate while we are helping the local one.

All we have to do to forfeit that national publicity is run around talking about "cattle and oil" in Casper, as has been suggested already. We ought to remember also, that when we give up the television time -- on the networks -- someone else, namely our Democratic friends, gets it.

A hard-hitting tough campaign can help bring home Senators and Congressmen who live or die on a few national percentage points.

6. Clearly, from the Scammon book, we should tar the liberal Democrats as being not only the party of "bugout" but the party of bussing, the advocates of "compulsory integration," the party whose last Attorney General banged down the door in Chicago in order to testify on behalf of the Chicago Eight, the leadership that let this country turn into the porno capital of the world, and is blocking RN's effort to change that. Also, the Democratic Leadership has altered its historic foreign policy position to kow-tow to student radicals who bully-ragged those same leaders in the streets of Chicago, etc. The Democratic Leadership should be portrayed as selling out to the crazies in their own ranks -- and selling out the interests and views of the good patriotic Democrats who number in the millions. We might even say LBJ was destroyed by the "ultra-liberals" in his own party.

7. We should stay on the offensive, taken the "out" (and offensive) position even though we are the "ins" (and defensive) by hammering at the "liberal Eastern Establishment" that is responsible for what has happened to America, the "Establishment" that is frustrating our efforts to right the wrongs in Society, the Establishment whose wards are tearing up the colleges, the Establishment that indulges rioters, etc. (Of course, said in better phraseology, but the need to be on the offensive, to act as "outs" seems vital.)

8. The Economic Issue. To get into a debate on whether or not we are in a "recession" seems an utterly foolish idea -- since the very discussion of "recession" is surely not going to help us and since anyone who is hurt in the current economic situation is not likely to be convinced he is not being hurt by anybody's rhetoric. Rather than debate whether or not the investors and brokers and unemployed are being hurt, let's go after the Democratic radicals whose wild schemes are frustrating our efforts to stop the rise in prices. This is the Big Spender theme -- but in different rhetoric, tougher rhetoric, equating the Democrats with the same kind of ultraliberalism in spending that they follow on the Social Issue. Call them ultra-liberals.

August 11, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE MIDDLE AMERICA GROUP

SUBJECT: THE LABOR VOTE IN 1972

1. The Problem. At issue is the question whether our political interests would be best served by attempting to court George Meany and the leadership of the AFL-CIO with an eye toward receiving their overt support for the President's re-election, or whether it would be wiser to concentrate on winning the support of the union membership by appealing directly to the worker over the heads of his union leadership.

2. Meany's Position. There is no doubt that George Meany and many of his colleagues in the leadership of the AFL-CIO are greatly disturbed at the capture of the Democratic Party by peaceniks and isolationists who ignore or discount the Soviet threat and who generally favor allowing events to take their course in the world without regard to America's strategic interests. Meany and Jay Lovestone understand international Communism as only old-school trade unionists can. These men are tough and they understand that we have enemies who are tough. On foreign policy issues, the AFL-CIO leadership has always been hard-line and in their support of a hard-line policy, bipartisan.

Were foreign policy the only issue at stake, Meany, et. al. would certainly be right at home in RN's tent. However, more is involved. Meany presides over a fragile empire -- the UAW and the Teamsters have pulled out and represent a constant and powerful threat. His members are restless and union discipline on issues not directly related to the economics of employment is increasingly ineffective. The median age of union membership is falling sharply, bringing into the ranks men who have never known the tough times of union organizing which created the elan so important to unity and power in the 1930s and '40s. The union membership today does not have the class identity and political solidarity which characterized the labor movement in the early days or even in the difficult post-war period. The average worker no longer regards his union as the instrument through which he can grab a piece of the economic pie but as simply his bargaining agent to ensure that the piece he has is proportionate to that enjoyed by others similarly situated. He relates to his union on economic issues of immediate personal concern: pay, benefits, conditions of employment.

His status as an employee, as a participant in the economic life of the country, is taken for granted; he has security and only a serious recession could change this. In terms of American pluralism, the union is only one of many associational influences upon his life style and political orientation.

Meany and the Old Guard have developed and sustained over the years policies and alliances which are no longer relevant to a significant portion of the rank and file. The national leadership is wedded politically to the Democratic Party and philosophically to the Welfare State. The latter represents the manifestation of a policy commitment whose roots run deep in the history of the labor movement, dating to the early days when democratic socialism was the political orthodoxy of organized labor. Under the influence of the New Deal, this philosophy mellowed into welfare statism, while politically the leadership of the labor movement moved into the ranks of the Democratic Party. On domestic issues, organized labor is camped on the left bank of the American mainstream and has been for 40 years. This is not some tactical encampment, but a strategic commitment.

To assume that Meany, et. al. could be brought into camp in 1972 presupposes that we are willing to change our domestic policy (i. e., strike to the left) or that Meany is willing to accept our domestic policy (i. e., shift to the right). The latter assumption strikes me as preposterous. The only viable course if we want to recruit Meany is for the Administration to adopt a left-of-center domestic policy compatible with his New Deal orientation. Foreign policy considerations are not enough to bring him around; he has too much at stake on the home front to allow his political allegiances to be determined by foreign policy considerations.

3. Gains and Losses of Striking to the Left to Pick Up Meany. In recent weeks, Meany has been particularly harsh in his attacks on our economic policy as well as on our attitude toward the racial problem. Presumably, it would be necessary to change both in order to win his support in '72. This presupposes, of course, that (a) he is willing to abandon his long-standing position as a power within the leadership of the National Democratic Party and (b) that he can carry his colleagues and the rank and file with him.

The political power of organized labor is exercised through COPE. The funds it can contribute to campaign coffers and the resources it can mobilize for voter registration are important political factors. There is little evidence to sustain the thesis that organized labor can "deliver" the labor vote, although it can certainly influence it (as we witnessed in the closing days of the 1968 election when organized labor concentrated rather successfully on bringing the Democratic faithful back into the Humphrey camp after a serious flirtation with Wallace). The question is whether Meany could deliver COPE to RN, or at least neutralize its influence, as well as deliver the labor vote. The problem here is that COPE would still want to support Democratic congressional and senatorial candidates, which would mean pouring money into their campaigns and registering Democratic voters in their districts and states. The political implications of this activity for RN and for the GOP are obvious.

Assuming Meany came over and assuming he could deliver at least a significant portion of the labor vote for RN, if not for the GOP, what price would we pay? To the extent we had to adopt a higher profile on the race question, we would pay a serious price in the South. To the extent that we had to modify our economic policy, we would alienate our traditional business support as well as risk failure in our fight against inflation with the attendant political implications. To the extent we endorsed new social welfare programs and accelerated social welfare spending (which would mean a greater budget deficit), we would alienate our conservative base within the GOP and encourage either a conservative revolt within the party or an exodus of conservative Republicans to Wallace who, with an aroused South rallying to his banner, would once again pose a formidable national political threat.

This estimate may be off-base and inaccurate on some points. But I believe the evidence and common sense suggest that a systematic effort by this Administration to win the support of George Meany in 1972 by a shift to the left on domestic policy is inherently risky; in fact, the risks foreseeable, if not inevitable, are perhaps as great as the potential benefits. It would be a high risk effort, and in politics as in the stock market one should not assume high risks unless the potential gains are not only great, but cannot be realized at a lesser risk.

4. An Alternative Policy. This Administration has an opportunity to win the support of a significant portion of the labor rank and file without regard to the political disposition of the labor leadership by pursuing a course which is substantially without political risk. By concentrating on the ethnics and other blue collar workers, we have an opportunity to win millions of new supporters for the President and the Party. The ethnic and other blue collar workers are ripe for the GOP. It is their jobs up for grabs as more blacks are trained, their neighborhoods where racial tension is worst, their families who are the victims of a high crime rate, their children who are to be bussed, -- in short, they are the fellows who have borne the burden and paid the price of eight years of social engineering by the Democratic Party of which their union leaders are charter members. On foreign policy, they are generally sympathetic to the President's position; the ethnic particularly is sensitive to the Soviet threat, for unlike our intellectuals they know about Hungary, the Berlin Wall, Czechoslovakia, and Cuba.

In this regard, the union leadership is rather representative of the union membership (the UAW may be an exception); but on domestic issues there is an obvious estrangement. To the extent we move to win Meany, to the same extent we inherit rather than exploit that estrangement.

The gut issues -- crime, campus violence, inflation, school integration -- are issues of overriding concern to these people and they are issues on which we have, or could have, the initiative. We operate, however, too often at cross-purposes, as when we adopt a "Philadelphia Plan" while seeking "hard hat" support or ignore "Captive Nations Week" while seeking support among the ethnics. We can survive such inconsistencies, but we shouldn't add to them (as we appear to be doing by playing both ends of the campus/student unrest issue). On the gut issues we can reach the labor vote without assuming the risks inherent in attempting to win the union leadership. A systematic, calculated policy designed to exploit the issues of concern to Middle America could result in a smashing sweep in 1972 for the President and for the Party.

5. But Don't Forget George. We ought to bear in mind that Wallace is as strong today as he was in November of 1968. I doubt that there is anything we could do to deprive him Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, but we should consider taking the steps necessary to deprive him Arkansas and Georgia -- and at every cost deny him access to the Upper South and border states which we carried in 1968. If the events of



the past few weeks are any indication, we may be forced to fall back to this primary consideration and devote our attention to recouping our losses in order to keep what we had in 1968. I find it difficult to discern where the electoral votes are to come from we are apparently prepared to risk in the South. New York, Michigan, Massachusetts certainly don't look encouraging -- with or without George Meany -- and Texas, which should be a target state certainly isn't a likely target if we are in trouble in North Carolina and Florida, which all the evidence suggests we may be.

Wallace has several aces up his sleeve. First, he is the only candidate who can profit from a US defeat or disguised surrender in Vietnam. Second, he is the candidate who has the most to gain from an aroused public fed up with forced integration, disruption of the schools, sustained campus violence, and general social disquietude. And third, he has great appeal to the blue collar and ethnic worker based on his ability to combine anti-communism, anti-establishmentarianism and economic populism all into a single well merchandized package, with a dime's worth of difference on the race question as a kicker.

It would be a fatal mistake to sell George short. To the extent he can muster sufficient evidence to sustain the charge that RN has "betrayed" the South ("Strom, boy, you've been had"), he is a potent political force in a key region of the country -- certainly we cannot expect to win a national election without the South. And to the extent he can broaden his appeal nationally -- e. g., has anyone studied Warren, Michigan? -- he can play the spoiler for the Democrats, for we will be the "ins" in 1972 and the existence of crime, campus violence, inflation, racial tension, etc. will be our responsibility then (we can't be talking about what we inherited, but only about what we accomplished).

We have to head George off at the pass before he corrals the ethnic and the blue collar worker, and George Meany isn't going to be of much help in this regard.

6. Conclusion. My estimate of the political prospects in 1972 is essentially this: we have to hold the states we carried in 1968 with the possible exception of New Jersey, and we need to add Texas and hopefully Georgia and Arkansas. Anything else we get is a bonus, and we shouldn't take risks to get a bonus.

To attempt to win the support of the union membership by seducing the union leadership is the long way around to a goal that can be more directly realized. By calculated exploitation of the gut issues, by a slight shift in rhetorical emphasis, and by some programmatic innovations, we can reach the blue collar and ethnic, while holding our current strength.

We ought to knock down the myth that going after Meany is a viable political strategy and get busy working out the details for going after the blue collar and ethnic workers. It makes more sense.

T/H

TOM CHARLES HUSTON

6/19 The

# Angry Ethnic Voices Decry

By JACK ROSENTHAL  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 —Voices of the white ethnic working class rose in anger at being ignored by government and the press, anger at being ridiculed by intellectuals, anger at being exploited by right-wing reactionaries like George Wallace.

The occasion was an unusual conference of priests, politicians and community workers, one that some participants believe may signal the beginning of a major social movement among 40 million people of European descent in scores of older industrial cities in the Northeast and Middle West.

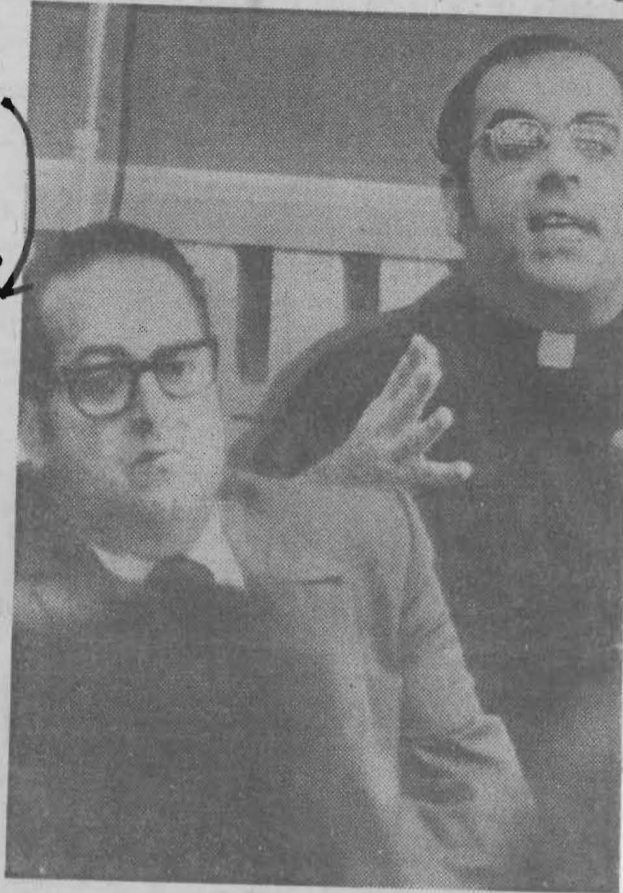
The hundreds of selected participants, from most of those cities, were called together by the Urban Task Force of the United States Catholic Conference. They poured out their resentment and discussed strategies for self-help, like community organization and legislative activity.

### 'Sick of Being Stereotyped'

"The ethnic American is sick of being stereotyped as a racist and dullard by phony white liberals, pseudo black militants and patronizing bureaucrats," Barbara Mikulski, of the Southeast Community Organization in Baltimore, said in a prepared statement.

"He pays the bill for every major government program and gets nothing or little in the way of return. He himself is the victim of class prejudice," she declared.

The Rev. Paul Ascioffa, editor of a Chicago news-



The Rev. Paul Ascioffa, center, editor of Chicago newspaper councilman, and the Rev. Daniel Bogus of Detroit.

get," said Father Ascioffa, "is pejorative. We're portrayed either as racists or as violent hard-hats. And that's just as wrong as the image that all young people are like a minority of student radicals."

### Significance Is Assayed

To Msgr. Geno C. Baroni, a principal organizer of the conference, its lasting significance derives from the constructive activities the conferees plan afterwards.

"Many ethnics are Catholic, and the church, parish and laity have a role to play in conquering the neglect of their communities," he said in an interview.

"George Wallace doesn't speak for these people," he asserted. "He only voices their basic insecurity by being anti. What this conference is saying is that there are positive elements in that insecurity which can be marshaled against polarization of our society."

ing on the pride and strength of various ethnic heritage

Monsignor Baroni, widely known in Washington for years of work in black communities, believes that the budding ethnic movement is wonderfully parallel to what black were a few years ago —my hunch is this is going to move faster."

Miss Mikulski, a young woman in red dwarfed by the black-suited figures of the priests sitting with her, with appreciative laughter and a pause from the conference for her illustration of a similar point.

An area containing both black and ethnic white homes was threatened by a new highway in Baltimore, she said. Blacks protested first and it took time for ethnic white protest to develop.

"But now we're together," she said. "We don't hold hands and sing 'We Shall Overcome.' We don't say we're interacting socially according to an affirmative b



Msgr. Geno C. Baroni, conference organizer, said ethnic drive is where blacks were a few years ago.

paper for Italian-Americans, said, his voice rising through the normally sedate nurses' lecture hall at a Catholic University: "What we have to do is get ourselves together for something positive. If we don't, the right-wing reactionaries like George Wallace are going to take us over."

"Nobody has done anything for ethnics since Social Security," he went on. "Yet here they are being blamed for white racism. But they're not the people in the executive suites who would not hire a single Jew or Negro for so long. The ethnics are just the people whose own jobs are threatened."

"That's why they are all reacting so spastically."

#### 'Power Structure' Scored

Conference participants were most emphatic in rejecting the view that white ethnics are racist, a view they described as an "intellectual elitist" stereotype.

"The enemy is not the black man," Anthony Garofoli, a Cleveland City Councilman, said in an interview. "It is the power structure that plays off one group against the other."

"It's not that we are against the black man getting his, but it's time we starting getting ours too," he declared. "If the real needs of these people—for housing rehabilitation, for their elderly—are not responded to by government, there is going to be a sharp move to the right—even beyond Wallace."

Frank Ferrone, who quit a \$15,000-a-year job to become a community organizer in an Italian section of Cleveland, described the attitude of the young resident this way:

"All he knows is he's in a confused community. He sees his dad's \$9,000 job in jeopardy. His mother can't go downtown on a bus without being afraid of having her purse snatched. He can't go to a swimming pool without it meaning a fight with black kids. He can't afford to go to college. If you don't think that kid is angry, you've got to be crazy."

"And it's not antiblack. The blacks don't know this. They don't know where the white ethnic is coming from in attitude. He wants what he thinks they're getting—so they call him a racist."

But such problems are rarely reported by the national media, several conferees asserted in comments on the floor.

"The only attention we

Monsignor Baroni and other conferees described plans for a study group to develop a social agenda for white urban ethnic groups. This is to include community organization and economic development similar to that done in black communities in the mid-nineteen-sixties.

Another aspect will be regional conferences to share technical assistance in obtaining funds from governmental housing, health and other programs.

Underlying the effort will be an emphasis, also paralleling past black trends, toward "ethnic power," build-

havior model. And we still at the point where we have to meet on neutral turf.

"But we're working."

#### TEXT OF STATEMENT

Following is the text of the statement presented by Miss Mikulski:

America is not a melting pot. It is a sizzling cauldron for the ethnic American who feels that he has been politically courted and legally exploited by both government and private enterprise.

The ethnic American is sick of being stereotyped as a racist and dullard by phonetic white liberals, pseudo black

## News Summary

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1970

### The Major Events of the

#### International

South Vietnamese and Cambodian troops entered the provincial capital of Kompong Speu yesterday and found that the enemy force they had expected to encounter had fled. Although they had left the city, the enemy forces reportedly still held parts of Highway 4, the only access route between Phnompenh and the country's main ocean port. [Page 1, Columns 2-3.]

Three American news correspondents captured in Cambodia May 7 were released by Communist troops. The correspondents, Richard B. Dudman of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Elizabeth Pond of The Christian Science Monitor and Michael D. Morrow of Dispatch News Service, said they had received good treatment once their identities had been established. [18:2-5.]

An Israeli Army force crossed into Syria and attacked two military objectives near Damascus. A bridge 24 miles south of Damascus was struck and a military camp northeast of the capital city was shelled. An Israeli spokesman said the attack was in response to "increased aggression" by Syria. [1:4.]

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet novelist, has criticized the detention of Zhores A. Medvedev, an outspoken critic of the regime, in a mental hospital. Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who is also under an official cloud, called the detention "a variant of the gas chamber." [1:4-5.]

West Germany's Ambassador to Brazil was released unharmed after the Government had met the kidnapers' demands to fly 40 political prisoners to freedom in Algeria. The diplomat, Ehrefried von Holleben, had been seized in a machinegun ambush near his home in Rio de Janiero. [1:2.]

#### National

Stringent new standards to determine if young men can qualify for conscientious objector draft exemptions under Monday's Supreme Court decision were announced by the Selective Service System. Under the standards the applicant must be opposed to all wars and there must be no question of his sincerity. The belief must also be the product of rigorous training." [1:1.]

In a televised speech to the nation at noon today, President Nixon is expected to begin an educational campaign to check the

rise in wage speculation named that consequences actions. [1:2.]

A postal strike by Nixon and blocked by consideration in version alternate agreement and has been national position.

A bipartisan bill to prohibit freedom of speech be used against administrative students against banned order.

Vice President Rhodes Jr., fellow appointee commission stated that objectivity, objectivity panel and Rhodes said.

#### Metropolitan

Kenneth Hugh J. Addark's bitter runoff may become the Eastern Seal was the largest the city's history for Mr. Gibbs and fear. [1:2.]

Dr. Martin Luther King House Speaker asked House Ford and Sen. K. Javits to his trial for expected to open.

The first Panthers accused party member The prosecution of assuring the nation of seeking the defendant.

10

# The New York Times

## by a 'Racist and Dullard' Image



Photographs for The New York Times by MIKE LIEN

per for Italian-Americans, with Anthony Garofoli, left, Cleveland said nothing had been done for ethnics since Social Security.

th militants and patronizing  
s. bureaucrats. He pays the bill  
ly for every major government  
or program and gets nothing or  
n- little in the way of return.  
e Tricked by the political  
s rhetoric of the illusory  
re funding for black-oriented

social programs, he turns his  
anger to race—when he him-  
self is the victim of class  
prejudice.

He has worked hard all his  
life to become a "good  
American"; he and his sons  
have fought on every battle-

field—then he is made fun of  
because he likes the flag.

The ethnic American is  
overtaxed and underserved at  
every level of government.  
He does not have fancy law-  
yers or expensive lobbyists  
getting him tax breaks on  
his income. Being a home  
owner, he shoulders the ris-  
ing property taxes — the  
major revenue source for the  
municipalities in which he  
lives. Yet he enjoys very lit-  
tle from these unfair and  
burdensome levies.

Because of restrictive eligi-  
bility requirements linked  
either to income or "target  
areas," he gets no help from  
Federal programs. If he  
wants to buy in "the old  
neighborhood," he cannot get  
an F.H.A. loan. One major  
illness in his family will wipe  
him out. When he needs a  
nursing home for an elderly  
parent, he finds that there  
are none that he can afford,  
nor is he eligible for any fi-  
nancial assistance.

### Gets Little School Aid

His children tend to go to  
parochial schools which re-  
ceive little in the way of gov-  
ernment aid and for which  
he carries an extra burden.  
There is a general decline of  
community services for his  
neighborhood, e.g. zoning, li-  
braries, recreation programs,  
sanitation, etc.

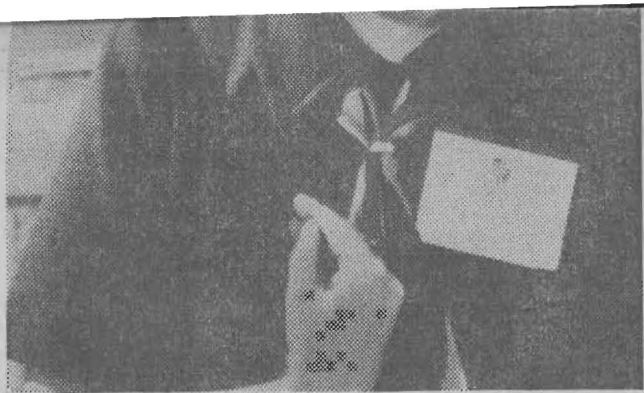
His income of \$5,000 to  
\$10,000 per year makes him  
"near poor." He is the vic-  
tim of both inflation and an-  
ti-inflationary measures. He  
is the guy that is hurt by  
layoffs; tight money that  
chokes him with high inter-  
est rates for installment buy-  
ing and home improvements.

Manufacturers, with their  
price fixing, shoddy merchan-  
dise and exorbitant repair  
bills, are gouging him to  
death. When he complains  
about costs, he is told that it  
is the "high cost of labor"  
that is to blame. Yet he  
knows he is the "labor" and  
that in terms of real dollars  
he is going backwards.

The ethnic American also  
feels unappreciated for the  
contribution he makes to so-  
ciety. He resents the way  
the working class is looked  
down upon. In many in-  
stances he is treated like  
the machine he operates or  
the pencil he pushes. He is  
tired of being treated like  
an object of production.  
The public and private in-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKE LIEN



Barbara Mikulski of Southeast Community Organization in Baltimore said, "... the ethnic American pays Government bill ... but he himself is the victim of class prejudice."

stitutions have made him frustrated by their lack of response to his needs. At present he feels powerless in his daily dealings with and efforts to change them.

Unfortunately, because of old prejudices and new fears, anger is generated against other minority groups rather than those who have power. What is needed is an alliance of white and black, white collar, blue collar and no collar based on mutual need, interdependence and respect, an alliance to develop the strategy for new kind of community organization and political participation.

## Index

### Day

s and prices. There was some that a commission would be might identify the inflationary of specific wage and price

reform bill backed by President leaders of organized labor was the House as it took up for cons own postal bill. The House s several provisions of the at halted April's postal strike n termed "unacceptable" by al union leaders. [1:7.]

an Congressional group intro- that would allow Federal courts and punish interference with beech. On campus, the law could nst disruptive students by the n; it could also be used by nly an administration that y demonstrations. [1:6-7.]

dent Agnew said that Joseph a 22-year-old Harvard junior nted to the new Presidential n campus unrest, had demon- he did not possess the "matur- y and judgment" to sit on the lled for his resignation. Mr. e would not resign. [1:6-7.]

### tan

Gibson decisively defeated onizio, the incumbent, in New- fought and racially devious al election. Mr. Gibson thus first black Mayor of a major oard city. The voter turnout est of any mayoral runoff in tory. A campaign spokesman n called it a victory over hate [8.]

Sweig, the suspended aide of er John W. McCormack, has Minority Leader Gerald R. tors Claiborne Pell and Jacob ppear as defense witnesses at perjury and conspiracy, ex- today. [53:1.]

a series of trials of Black sed of murdering a fellow opened quietly in New Haven. on made the unusual move e defense that it had no inten- the death penalty against in the trial. [28:4-8.]

## The Other News

### International

In a Cambodian town: War and terror. Page 1

U.N. and citizens group to fight narcotics. Page 2

Thant urges Big Five meet on world problems. Page 2

South Africa urged to restore writer's passport. Page 2

Martial law declared in Istanbul after rioting. Page 3

Heath says Labor would devalue the pound. Page 3

U.S. and Soviet edging toward nuclear accord. Page 7

Arab leftists aloof toward guerrillas. Page 8

Israel recognizes marriage without clergy. Page 11

Seoul protests U.S. troop pullout plan. Page 16

Hanoi sees all Indochina as war arena. Page 18

U.N. aviation agency meets on hijacking. Page 94

### Government and Politics

Diplomats reassured on Cambodia protest. Page 19

Addonizio backers dismayed by election results. Page 34

Priest is opposed as a politician. Page 35

Report confirms illegal loans in Ohio. Page 35

Harriman backs Goldberg for governor. Page 36

O'Dwyer assails M.T.A.'s operation of subways. Page 36

Ottinger says poll shows he leads Sorensen. Page 36

Powell predicts he'll win by 3-1 margin. Page 36

Samuels says racism is injected in primary. Page 36

### General

Second draft lottery to be held July 1. Page 14

Queens students reflect on boy's stabbing. Page 22

Recovery of miners' bodies hits big delay. Page 32

Police expert urges tighter conspiracy laws. Page 37

16 accused of operating Bronx gambling ring. Page 37

Pentagon backs Congressional scrutiny of PX's. Page 39

Governor stresses economy and ecology. Page 42

Judge's son arraigned at 5 A.M. at station. Page 51

Addonizio case witness tells of contract loss. Page 53

## Quotation of

"Industry has to reject the that brags about a car going fro in 4.5 seconds and says noth poisoned air it leaves behind." speaking to a conference of ina

Mutiny conviction of G.I. is set aside. Page 95

### Industry and Labor

Hospital union uses film to emphasize point. Page 33

### Education and Welfare

N.E.A. says black teachers lose jobs. Page 1

### Health and Science

Astronomers detect evolu- tionary ingredient. Page 30

Suit to press ban on useless drugs. Page 31

### Amusements and the Arts

Rikers Island gets nightclub act. Page 38

Regina Resnik sings title role in "Carmen." Page 39

City folk play country music. Page 39

Ballet Theater opens month- long season. Page 40

Film "Censorship in Den- mark" opens. Page 41

Rochester to have a film festival. Page 43

Bobby Seale's "Seize the Time" is reviewed. Page 45

A.B.C. to produce TV feature films. Page 95

TV conferees look to next meetings. Page 95

### Fashions and Home

New hairstyle is called "The Ape." Page 52

She's doctor, doctor's wife, mother. Page 52

### Obituaries

Elsa Triolet, winner of the Goncourt prize. Page 47

Brian Piccolo, Chicago Bears halfback. Page 47

Viscount Thurso, British Lib- eral leader. Page 47

### Financial and Business

Stock prices surge as Dow rises by 18.90. Page 63

Prices advance sharply in credit markets. Page 63

Nixon names 14 to panel on financial structure. Page 63

Allied Stores sees a lag in quarterly sales. Page 63

ar  
to  
si  
er  
he  
st  
tv  
  
vc  
pe  
vi  
cl  
tl  
ur  
tl  
  
p  
s  
ir  
a

Bu  
Ne  
A.  
Ec  
i  
Co  
e  
  
Adv  
Ame  
Banc  
Busi  
Comm  
Cott  
Divic  
Forei  
  
Spe  
Gra  
Si  
Yan  
fo  
Orio  
at  
Foste  
in  
Crug  
Bel  
Pacer  
"di  
Graeb  
gra  
Brazi  
Cup  
Zach  
Jer  
Rain  
U.S  
Fren  
at  
  
Man  
Josej  
ca  
  
Ana  
B.  
In  
E. B  
ch  
Edit  
Lett  
Jam  
re  
C. L  
M

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Political*

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: BILL SAFIRE

August 7, 1970.

RE: EARLY WARNING ON '72

The John Gardner "Common Cause" movement, in which Eugene McCarthy will probably take part, will be partially bankrolled by Howard Stein, an ardent McCarthyite.

Stein, head of the Dreyfus Fund (and one of the forty Wall Streeters invited to our dinner early this summer) is said to feel that "we have to split the Republicans in '72 just the way the Democrats were split in '68, and the way the Republicans were split in '64."

The plan, as a mutual friend tells it to me, is not to organize a group of liberal Democrats who will sit on their hands and make it easier for us, as happened in '68 to some degree; instead, to organize a group designed to attract liberal Republicans who can then be split from us. This would probably be most damaging in the fund-raising area and might be harmful to the preemption of the center.

I think we would be making a mistake to view the Gardner operation as a do-gooder movement or as a potential Democratic Party-splitter. It is aimed at us, and it can develop into a threat in the next year.

Thus, we should (1) do what we can sub rosa to discourage liberal Republicans from joining his ranks, since they would be getting on board an organization that will turn on us when the chips are down; (2) identify Gardner as a politician out to be elected to national office and not a citizen devoid of personal ambition out to do what is right for his fellow man, as he would have everyone believe. We should help cause "what's in it for him?" to be asked, and "he thinks he's Wendell Willkie" to be answered.