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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HSD*
SUBJECT: 1972 U.S. Senate Races

Since the last report, our potential seems to have slipped in Virginia and Kentucky and picked up in New Mexico. At present, the Senate lineup is 55-45 (Byrd as a Democrat). If we win 19 of the 33 seats up and Byrd comes over, we can still start 1973 with a net gain of one, as reported last time.

Roudebush has won a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that he can get a recount in 11 counties on his 1970 loss to Hartke by 4,283 votes. Thus, there is a small chance we could get another seat if the Senate buys the recount results.

GOP Sure (10) -- Alaska, Idaho, Iowa, New Jersey, Texas, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Illinois, South Carolina and Wyoming.

GOP Possible (9) -- Nebraska, Maine, Colorado, Delaware, Kansas, Oregon, Michigan, New Mexico and Rhode Island.

Democrat Sure (6) -- Alabama, Mississippi, West Virginia, Minnesota, Louisiana and Arkansas.

Democrat Possible (8) -- South Dakota, Oklahoma, Georgia, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Montana, Virginia and Kentucky.

ALASKA: GOP Sure, Stevens (R)

There has been no appreciable change in the Stevens race. He should win. There still remains the possibility of a challenge from C. R. Lewis, a Bircher. Lewis has been a leading vote-getter in Anchorage for the State Senate. Democrat opposition will come from U.S. Representative Nick Begich, or Speaker Gene Guess. Guess is very well liked and has never lost an election, but has never run statewide. Begich could make it a tight race, but probably wants to wait for Gravel's seat in 1974.

The pipeline is still the most critical issue, though the Native Land Claims Act has helped (some conservatives are upset).

IDAHO: GOP Sure, Jordan (R)

The situation has not appreciably changed. Jordan has announced his retirement. Congressman Jim McClure appears way out front. A poll taken last fall indicated that McClure, Congressman Hansen (won't run) and former Governor Smylie in that order, were favored for the Senate seat. George Hansen has resigned his position at USDA to run, but has not announced. Smylie is showing some activity but with little apparent success. Bill Bergeson, a political unknown from Pocatello, has announced, as has Glen Wegner, of Finch's staff. Samuelson is definitely not a candidate. He hopes to run against Church in 1974.

The best contender likely to emerge among the Democrats is W. E. "Bud" Davis, President of Idaho State University. Edward Williams, AA to Governor Andrus, has decided to run for McClure's House seat. Attorney General Tony Park and State Legislator Vernon Ravenscroft are also interested in the Senate race. McClure should win.

IOWA: GOP Sure, Miller (R)

Miller is looking good. He currently has no primary opposition. The Cherokee Times recently conducted two polls, one among high school seniors and the other among 3% of the adult population in Cherokee County. Miller received 71% from the students and 69% from the adults.

Farm income is up (cattle and hog prices) and there appears to be no farm problem.

A potential threat, Stan Culver, announced for re-election to his House seat. Democrats have been polling and the results look bad for them. They may have to draft a candidate, unless FCC Bad Guy Nick Johnson goes home to run.

NEW JERSEY: GOP Sure, Case (R)

Case is considered unbeatable, and vulnerable only in a GOP primary. Sandman has announced he is considering a challenge to Case unless Case becomes a good Republican by supporting the President and does not push the state income tax in a Presidential year.

Sandman will be having a \$50 dinner on March 11. That is the outside date for him to announce his decision. He has implied White House support, but got shot down on this by us. Case is grateful.

The Democrats have only one announced candidate, Pat McGahan, of Atlantic County. If the Governor comes out, he will support Case. Adrian "Bud" Foley, of Governor Hughes' law office, has declined to run. An AP sampling is reputed to show Case has the bulk of the vote.

TEXAS: GOP Sure, Tower (R)

Tower is unopposed in the primaries and the outlook is good. The Democrats have three candidates seeking the nomination,

Ralph Yarborough, Barefoot Sanders and Hugh Wilson, a Port Arthur laboratory technician. Tower looks good in the polls taken late last year. The busing issue remains a drag on Tower and the state of the economy may be a significant influence on the outcome. Tower's finances are in good shape.

TENNESSEE: GOP Sure, Baker (R)

Baker appears to be doing well. There is no serious primary contender. The Executive Committee of the State GOP has endorsed Baker. The Democrats are badly split. Congressman Ray Blanton should be the Democratic contender. Busing remains a problem, but it is not as volatile as last fall. The President is looking increasingly better.

MASSACHUSETTS: GOP Sure, Brooke (R)

Brooke is in a very strong position. He is strong in the polls and has raised a good portion of his budget (\$200,000 from one dinner). In polls measuring acceptability, Brooke constantly rates over 70% approval and never above 10% disapproval. No primary opposition has as yet developed, and there is little likelihood of a third party entry. No Democrat of any stature has come forward. The Democrat Speaker, David Bartley, is mentioned but he has not announced.

ILLINOIS: GOP Sure, Percy (R)

Percy seems to be in very good shape. It is part of their strategy to keep a low profile and concentrate on organizing and building a foundation until June. Pucinski is a formidable opponent with excellent name identity. He has the pro forma endorsement of the AFL-CIO (COPE) state organization. Percy, however, got an endorsement from the Chicago UAW, and will have the tacit support of local union chapters. There have been no polls taken. Percy should win, but Pucinski's campaigning potential is of some concern.

RHODE ISLAND: GOP Possible, Pell (D)

Pell is running 2-1 to 3-1 behind Chafee, depending on which poll you use, but the polls may be questionable. The "Chafee '72 Committee" is organized and has nearly completed the state organization. Some 5,000 bumper stickers were mailed out the second week in February. Chafee will have no serious primary contention. His chief worry is money. It will be closer than some think, but we should get a pickup here.

SOUTH CAROLINA: GOP Sure, Thurmond (R)

Thurmond is unbeatable, but State Senator Nick Ziegler is being made to run. Thurmond moved from a 2-point deficit a year ago to a 26-point lead over ex-Governor McNair, who won't run.

WYOMING: GOP Sure, Hansen (R)

Hansen continues to look very good. No primary opposition has emerged. Among the Democrats, two Casper lawyers are talking about running but have not announced. Mayne Miller and Jim Fagan have little political experience and would not represent much of a threat. Roncalio will probably seek re-election to his own House seat.

The Executive Order restricting the use on Federal lands of chemical toxicants issued February 8, 1972, is bringing howls here and in other Western states. Morton has been told.

COLORADO: GOP Possible, Allott (R)

The Allott picture is beginning to brighten. There is no primary opposition. Frank Evans is the most formidable opposition that could arise. Evans, however, probably will not challenge Allott unless he is adversely redistricted.

That is highly unlikely. There are several other probable weaker challengers. Allott's greatest handicap is his age (65). Because of Allott's position of leadership and the relatively small money involved in a Colorado campaign, the National Democrats can be expected to target this race.

OREGON: GOP Possible, Hatfield (R)

Several months ago, Hatfield was losing in the polls to Governor Tom McCall, Representative Wendell Wyatt, or Representative Edith Green, but now none of them is running. Green and Wyatt have announced for re-election. It is too late for McCall to put together a primary challenge now. He has talked of running as an independent, but the State Chairman publicly told McCall that if he wanted Republican support he would have to do it as a Republican. The Democrat challenger will be Wayne Morse. Morse has a credibility problem about his age. If McCall stays out, Hatfield should retain his seat. If McCall comes out as an independent (which is unlikely), things could be bad.

DELAWARE: GOP Possible, Boggs (R)

Boggs should retain his seat. He has no primary opposition. Boggs' chances would be better were the party not divided.

There are two possible Democrat contenders. Ex-Governor Elbert Carvel is interested - as is 29-year old County Councilman Joe Belden, of Wilmington.

MICHIGAN: GOP Possible, Griffin (R)

Griffin's chances are improving daily. There will be no primary opposition. There will, however, be third and fourth party candidates. Ex-State Senator Robert Huber and ex-Demo Chairman Zolten Farency. State GOP officials feel the Democrats will be hurt more than the Republicans by this.

The Democrats have four primary contenders. The present front-runner is Attorney General Frank Kelley. He would make the toughest opposition. Others are State Board of Education Member Marilyn Kelly (young and a real looker!); former Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh; and the first Black to hold statewide elected office, Secretary of State Richard Austin. Senator Griffin is looking better because of his stand on busing and auto tax relief. The President is looking good. The Detroit Free Press polled a Detroit high school in January. The President walked away with it!

MAINE: GOP Possible, Smith (R)

Opinion remains mixed regarding the vulnerability of Senator Smith. Her primary opponent is Robert Monks, who has been in the state only two years and is married into a wealthy family. He is President of Sprague Associates, an oil and coal distribution company. The issues revolve around Senator Smith's age (74) and health, and the fact that Monk appears to be a newcomer trying to purchase the election. Monk has put together an excellent organization and is working hard. Congressman William Hathaway will be the Democrat nominee. He is a strong candidate and the GOP primary fight could give him a boost. Also, if Muskie is the Democrat Presidential nominee. This one is very much up in the air.

NEBRASKA: GOP Possible, Curtis (R)

The Curtis election is closely tied to the President's campaign and national issues, especially farming. If Vietnam and the summit meetings go well, Curtis will benefit. The economy is in good shape. Unemployment is approximately 2.2%. Curtis has two primary challengers, but neither is a threat. The Democrats are in a tough primary. There are seven contenders. The two most likely to win are State

Legislator Wayne Ziebart, and a Professor from the University of Nebraska, Dr. Wallace Peterson. Peterson is the Chairman of the Economics Department. No polls have been taken. Curtis is expected to win in a close race.

KANSAS: GOP Possible, Pearson (R)

Senator Pearson will have a tough race. There will be no primary race and the party is fairly united, but the response of party people to Pearson is only lukewarm. Governor Docking will be the Democrat nominee, though he won't make an announcement until the Legislature adjourns in mid-March or later. Docking is the first third-term Governor in Kansas history and as a conservative, he is a formidable vote-getter. (If not Docking, Attorney General Vern Miller would be strong too.) With a good campaign, Pearson can probably win.

KENTUCKY: Democrat Possible, Cooper (R)

Cooper has announced his retirement. The only possible GOP winner would be ex-Governor Louie Nunn, and that is questionable. However, he is not too willing and wants some reassurances and financial backing from the White House. Bob Gable is also talking about running. He was Parks Commissioner under Nunn. His name identity is not good throughout the state. Dee Huddleston, Majority Leader in the State Senate, will probably be the Democrat nominee. He has good name identity and has the strong backing of Democrat Governor Ford. There is a question whether Nunn is vulnerable on possible scandals and could hurt the Presidential race.

VIRGINIA: Democrat Possible, Spong (D)

Spong, who appeared to be a loser a year ago, is in better shape today. He will probably have little opposition in the primaries. The only announced GOP candidate is Rep. William Scott, a sure loser. Joel Broyhill doesn't want to

give up his spot on Ways and Means. However, he is trying to line up Democrat Dan Daniel to switch and unite Byrd and GOP forces. As usual, Holton is a problem, and Scott won't get out of the way. Jack Marsh has refused to go. Looks like we get Daniel or Broyhill, or we forfeit the seat. To get Daniel, Scott must get out and Holton must assent -- two real problems.

GEORGIA: Democrat Possible, Gambrell (D)

Former Governor Ernest Vandiver has announced against Gambrell in the Democrat primary. Vandiver is a nephew of Senator Russell by marriage and was allegedly promised the seat. Ex-Governor and liberal Carl Sanders may get in too. Gambrell will probably win, but it will be close.

Lester Maddox is still a factor, but no one knows what he will do. Most think he will wait for another run at the Governor's office.

Fletcher Thompson will be the GOP nominee. Bo Callaway is involved with a new business venture. Phil Campbell thinks Thompson could win, especially if Sanders gets the Democrat nod. Also, the President looks good and coattails could help. Probably Gambrell will win.

MONTANA: Democrat Possible, Metcalf (D)

Metcalf is fading, but may win despite himself. His temper and drinking are renowned throughout Montana. The only Republicans to file are State Senator Henry Hubbard and State Senator Fred Carl. Neither represent the dream candidate. Chet Huntley considered running GOP, but put his Big Sky effort first. Attorney General Bob Woodall has announced for re-election. Former Governor Tim Babcock is beginning to look like the most viable potential candidate. He has some carry-over liabilities. But, since 1968, his credibility has increased. His business ventures may have given him some

momentum. Babcock makes an attractive candidate. He has not announced, but is ahead of the field. The right candidate could get Metcalf; he is vulnerable.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Democrat Possible, McIntyre (D)

As yet no one has announced against McIntyre. Wes Powell says he wants to wait until after the Presidential primary. Bob Whalen, the State Chairman, thinks Powell is becoming reluctant. The strongest candidate would be Louis Wyman, but he won't run. He is looking at Cotton's seat. U.S. Attorney Dave Brock is also interested and has said he would run against Powell if no one else did. That is unlikely. McIntyre is in good shape at this point. Only Loeb is taking pot shots at him in the press. Other papers are generally supportive. McIntyre will probably retain his seat.

NEW MEXICO: GOP Possible, Anderson (D)

The Democrats have a wide open primary on their hands. The primary candidates include Dave Norvell, the Attorney General; Jack Daniels, ex-State Representative and candidate for Governor; ex-Congressman Tom Morris; Jesse Kornegay, State Treasurer with much experience in state administration. Lt. Gov. Robert Mondargon, a Mexican-American, may announce. He would make an attractive candidate. Jack Daniels is favored to win. The GOP has three announced candidates -- Pete Domenici, 1970 Governor nominee; David Cargo; and former Lt. Gov. E. Lee Francis. Domenici will win the GOP nod, and a poll indicates he could take the seat in a squeaker.

NORTH CAROLINA: Democrat Possible, Jordan (D)

There are two prime contenders in the GOP primary: Jesse Helms, a very conservative (WRAL-TV) broadcaster, and

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State Rep. James C. Johnson. Among the Democrats, Rep. Nick Galifianakis is Jordan's major opposition. The Senator should get the nomination. With RN coattails, we have a chance though behind now in a poll.

OKLAHOMA: Democrat Possible, Harris (D)

The Democrats are in a bitter primary fight. Congressman Ed Edmondson is favored to win. His toughest opponent is State Corporation Commissioner Charles Nesbitt. There are several other contenders.

The GOP candidate will be Dewey Bartlett. The general election is going to be very tough, but the GOP does have a fighting chance. Bartlett is putting together a good organization and is working very hard. The President is looking good and should be a help to Bartlett's chances. Edmondson is favored.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Democrat Possible, Mundt (R)

Because of Senator Mundt's problem and farm woes, the GOP is in trouble. They are, however, fielding five candidates - three of whom have announced. Bob Hirsch, with 12 years experience in the legislature; Ken Stofferahan, an NFO official and farmer; and Tom Reardon, a banker with little political background. Two unannounced candidates are Chuck Lien, a businessman with party experience, and Gordon Midland, the State Attorney General. This will be a very close primary. Hirsch probably has the edge, but he must receive 35% of the vote. If a candidate fails to receive 35%, the top two go into convention. In convention Midland and Hirsch would be favored, but no one will make a guess at the outcome.

Democrat Congressman Abourezk, worse than McGovern, has announced. He will be tough to beat because of GOP woes and he is a good politician.

ALABAMA: Democrat Sure, Sparkman (D)

The GOP has a four-way primary race between Winton Blount, young State Rep. Bert Nettles, Jim Martin, and Doris Callahan. This is a very close primary and the first statewide GOP primary. It is probably between Blount and Nettles. Sparkman has some primary opposition but is expected to have no problems. He should retain his Senate seat.

ARKANSAS: Democrat Sure, McClellan (D)

McClellan is very much in the race, but has two announced primary candidates - Congressman David Pryor and Ted Boswell. Labor-backed Boswell ran for Governor in 1968 and missed by a narrow margin.

Republicans will probably not field a serious contender. They feel that McClellan is most vulnerable in the general election, not in the primary. They all also feel that the "White House" will give no encouragement to anyone challenging McClellan. Chairman Charles Bernard would like a chance at McClellan, but thinks it best to wait for Fulbright. McClellan wins.

LOUISIANA: Democrat Sure, Ellender (D)

Senator Ellender will run. Who will oppose him in the Democratic primary is still uncertain. Gov. McKeithen is less likely to challenge him (will probably take Presidency of LSU); also, he has scandal problems.

Tom Stagg, the GOP Committeeman, is still very interested and very weak, as are several other hopefuls from New Orleans.

The attitude for the President is very good.

MINNESOTA: Democrat Sure, Mondale (D)

Senator Mondale has no serious primary opposition and is in excellent shape. Some Republicans have gone so far as to argue that he should be allowed to run unopposed. The GOP, however, does have a field of potential candidates. They include Rudy Boschwitz, the National Committeeman; State Rep. James Ulland; State Rep. Ed Brandt; and Arlin A. Erdahl, Secretary of State. Mondale should retain his seat.

MISSISSIPPI: Democrat Sure, Eastland (D)

Eastland is unopposed and should retain the seat. There is no GOP candidate except James Meredith, and the state GOP is trying to find a way to keep him out. Ex-Lt. Gov. Sullivan is thinking about running as a Republican.

WEST VIRGINIA: Democrat Sure, Randolph (D)

Randolph has no major opposition since Arch Moore has filed for re-election. Ken Hechler has been redistricted and has filed both against Randolph and for his own redistricted seat. The GOP candidate is Mrs. Louise Leonard. She is a State Senator and won her seat in a heavy Democrat area. She is a viable candidate.

Tab "A" is a map showing Senate seats up for re-election in 1972.