

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	11		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Journal article from Battle Line, December, 1971, Vol. V, No. 12, regarding the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Other articles about current political issues are included. 6 pgs.
19	11	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Pat Buchanan To: John Ehrlichman, H.R. Haldeman and Charles Colson RE: Catholic Vote & 1972 (Political Strategy-1972 file). 8 pgs.
19	11	9/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Roy Morey To: Ed Harper and Ken Cole RE: The Catholic Vote and 1972. 11 pgs.
19	11	10/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From: Roy Morey To: Gordon Strachan RE: Results from ABC production, "National Polling Day: The Surprising Americans." 5 pgs.

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19	11	1/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Charlie McWhorter To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Advised steps to be taken to achieve a greater sense of identification with the President and the Administration. 3 pgs.
19	11	11/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From: Stephen Hess To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Consequences of "Check-off Plan". Another letter is attached addressing plans to subsidize presidential campaigns from public monies. Handwritten note addressed to H.R. Haldeman preceeds letters. 5 pgs.
19	11	11/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	The Youth Vote and the Congressional Elections by Stephen Hess. 4 pgs.
19	11		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	Brochure titled The President and Young America. Several different examples and newspaper article clippings proving Nixon's pland benefit the youth. 16 pgs.
19	11		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Outline regarding Evaluation of November 2, 1971, Elections. 2 pgs.

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19	11	11/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Gordon Strachan To: H.R. Haldeman RE: Final Election Returns prepared by Harry Dent from previous date. 3 pgs.
19	11	11/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Ed Debolt To: Gordon Strachan RE: Preliminary Election Report. 15 pgs.

Battle Line

American Conservative Union
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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Congressmen Against Prayer
Congressmen For Busing Pages 4, 5

INDOCHINA

Nixon's Toughness Page 6

STATE POLITICS

California Redistricting Page 6

Democratic Race Takes Shape

The race for the Democratic Presidential nomination is taking on clear definition for the first time. Most of the non-serious candidates have dropped out, and those who have entered, or are about to enter, will be the main factors at least through the primary season.

The most notable development of recent weeks has been consolidation on the party's left wing. As *Battle Line* predicted when Mayor John Lindsay became a Democrat in August, his prospective entry has cleared much of the deadwood out of the left. Harold Hughes, Birch Bayh, William Proxmire, and Fred Harris have dropped out in surprisingly short order. The only Democratic leftist who has survived the Lindsay specter—Sen. George McGovern—has done so because he has raised his money by direct mail, rather than from a few fat cats as was the case with all the dropouts. The big money on the left wing—and there is plenty—will mostly be with Lindsay. McGovern has the backing to last a couple of primaries, but his vote must be comparable to Lindsay's for him to survive beyond Wisconsin. The guess here is that it won't.

Aside from McGovern, Lindsay's only problem on the left is the possible entry of former Sen. Eugene McCarthy. Unlike McGovern, the Minnesota poet has access to some fat cats. If McCarthy runs in New Hampshire where he is well known, he could get a head start on Lindsay, who is disinclined to run in Edmund Muskie's back yard. But McCarthy faces a viciously hostile national press for such heterodoxies as his vote against Edward Kennedy for Majority Whip.

While the party left has been consolidating rapidly, center-right contenders have been proliferating almost as fast. Last month Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Mayor Sam Yorty of Los Angeles joined McGovern as the only officially declared Democrats, and indications are growing that Alabama Gov. George Wallace will enter most if not all of the Southern Democratic primaries, including Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee. This is bad news for Jackson, the only moderate with a chance. Yorty will be splitting the non-leftist vote with Jackson in



Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), who last month became the third announced candidate for the Democratic nomination

New Hampshire, and Wallace (no doubt) in Florida. This is likely to prevent Jackson from winning either of the psychologically important first two primaries.

But Jackson is a formidable man. His announcement statement November 19 suggested that he has rejected the advice of aides who urged him to tone down his differences with the Democratic disarmers and social liberals, including Muskie. He described America as "the only Western industrial democracy where people are afraid to go out on the streets at night. Talk about civil rights! Talk about civil liberties! What about the civil rights and liberties of Americans—of ALL races—who don't feel safe in their own neighborhoods?"

Despite this, Jackson said, "many politicians whine at the public's demand for law and order. They say law and order is a code word for racism, for repression. I say

that until we are prepared to acknowledge that law and order is a real problem, we just won't solve it." In recent weeks Jackson has also been moving toward a more conservative position on forced school busing. He has expressed concern about possible arms-limitation concessions by the Nixon Administration to the Soviet Union, and has said he will continue to oppose a withdrawal deadline in Indochina.

Jackson Plays Tough

Perhaps most important for his chances, Jackson gave some indication that he will not play possum when it comes to his liberal-left competitors. Quoting from a recent Muskie speech which said the Attica prison riot indicates something "is terribly wrong" with America, Jackson said: "A prison riot does not prove that something is terribly wrong in America. That kind of talk is part of the problem, not part of the cure.

"This society is not a guilty, imperialist, oppressive society. . . . This is not a sick country. This is a great country. This is a country that is conscious of wrongs and is capable of correcting the wrongs in our society. But those wrongs won't be corrected by throwing bombs, by trying to stop the government, or by attacking policemen. Nor will these wrongs be corrected by politicians who apologize for extremists. Let's remember that the first victim of extremism is justice."

This is the kind of campaigning, if sustained, that gives Jackson an outside chance of carrying several primaries and perhaps of winning the nomination. He is not a charismatic figure, and the hostile national media will not impart to him a charisma that is not there. Jackson's only chance of serious contention is to emphasize his disagreements with his competitors, not his similarities. Of all the serious Democratic contenders, Jackson has the most to gain from openly expressed ideological cleavage. Whether this tough, attacking stance will be enough to overcome Muskie's early lead and the competition from Yorty and Wallace on the center-right is highly doubtful, but it is Jackson's sole hope of success. His strong emphasis on the economic issue will help him in the already friendly ranks of organized labor, and will provide him with his major issue should he manage to win the nomination, but in terms of getting the nomination itself he must cut into the "centrist" constituency of Muskie and possibly Hubert Humphrey as well. He can do this, not by moving to the left, but by showing that Muskie and Humphrey are not centrists.

Humphrey is the largest remaining imponderable in the Democratic race. He has sounded like a candidate one day and a spectator the next, but there is no question his statements have averaged out more and more on the side of candidacy as 1971 has progressed. But even lately, Humphrey has been showing a tendency to pick and choose which primaries he will enter. This is a mistake. Humphrey's single biggest handicap is a widespread impression that he is strictly a bosses' candidate—he has

never won a Democratic Presidential primary, either in 1960 or 1968—and he desperately needs strong primary showings in order to win.

If he gets them, it is Muskie who will suffer the most. Right now, the Maine Senator holds the middle ground in potential constituencies. Part of his strength is that he is the only Catholic running in a heavily Catholic party, but he is also helped by the division on each of his flanks: Lindsay and McGovern on the left, Jackson and Wallace-Yorty on his right. The entry of Humphrey would bring serious competition to the center as well; and if Hubert stays the route, the likely dropout of McGovern, Yorty, and Wallace could give Jackson and Lindsay uncontested bases on either side in the later primaries, especially California and New York.

Primary Importance

The overriding importance of the primaries, in absolute terms and in comparison to 1968, is not widely understood. Because of reforms pushed by the McGovern Commission, approximately two-thirds of all Democratic delegates will be chosen in party primaries. In a few scattered areas—most notably Mayor Daley's Chicago—strong local organizations can probably beat any outside candidate with slates of unpledged delegate candidates, but in 1972 this will be an exception rather than the rule. If anyone, even Jackson or Lindsay, puts together a primary sweep of the type mounted by John F. Kennedy in 1960 or Richard Nixon in 1968, he will be the nominee barring accident or death.

At this time, Muskie appears to be the only candidate capable of achieving a sweep of Kennedy-Nixon proportions. Despite some rather wide national poll fluctuations in recent months, Muskie is far ahead in every Northern primary state in which a reliable poll has been taken, and he is stronger than any other single candidate even in

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much of the South. The misleading thing about the Gallup and Harris polls showing Muskie's decline is that they all match him against three men: President Nixon, Sen. Kennedy, and Sen. Humphrey. But Muskie does not have to run against Nixon or Kennedy in the Democratic primaries, and he may not have to run against Humphrey in more than a few. Thus there is no question that Muskie is the only primary entrant so far with broad support in the states that matter. No one else has "caught fire." The main cloud on this horizon is that the two newest factors, Jackson and Lindsay, are capable of doing so. The fact remains that they have failed to do so as yet, and this is why Muskie is very likely to be the nominee.

He is helped particularly by his apparent mastery in New Hampshire, a small primary with large implications simply by virtue of being the first. If Muskie's big lead holds up in the Granite State, it could set off a chain reaction that carries its Maine neighbor right through the remainder of the primary route. This is exactly the kind of boost New Hampshire gave to Nixon in 1968. Candidates like Humphrey and Lindsay who have downplayed the importance of New Hampshire had better think twice.

A conspicuous absentee in this discussion has been Edward Kennedy—and with reason. Whatever Kennedy and his closest aides may be thinking privately, the new structure of the Democratic Party, with its emphasis on direct election of delegates, makes it extremely unlikely that Kennedy can win without running. And his disavowals of candidacy have been too convincing to be suddenly disowned without serious loss of face, and probably ultimate disaster. Kennedy's only hope is a shattering fragmentation in the primaries, in which no one would win more than two or three and the convention would begin deeply deadlocked. This has not happened in either party since 1952, and the "bandwagon" psychology of the primary route renders it highly improbable in 1972.

If Muskie holds his big lead for much longer, speculation will begin to focus on his Vice Presidential running mate. Muskie has already ruled out a Negro candidate, and his own background makes him unlikely to choose either a Catholic or a Northeasterner, though a very strong second-place showing by Lindsay could change this.

Half of the elected Democratic politicians in the South are preening themselves these days, but a Southern running mate for Muskie is even more unlikely than an Eastern one. The Democrats carried one Southern state in 1968, and polls matching various Democrats against Nixon and Wallace suggest that they may carry none in 1972. The fact is that the Democrats have moved too far left in their national policies to have much of a chance in the South with anyone but Jackson; and if Jackson bulls his way to the nomination the South will be the last place he would look to gain strength. With Jackson, the Democrats will contend strongly in the South without a Southerner on the ticket. With anyone but Jackson, Democratic

Battle Line/December, 1971

planners will almost certainly write off the area to Nixon and Wallace as the very first "given" of the campaign.

In the West, the only Protestant Democrat of national stature is Jackson. But given Jackson's apparent decision to emphasize his differences with Muskie, a Muskie-Jackson ticket would look more than a little schizophrenic—far more so, for example, than the Kennedy-Johnson ticket of 1960. In 1960, Kennedy and Johnson disagreed very little on the issues; it is hard to recall a single important area where they disagreed on substance, rather than style or emphasis. This will not be the case with Muskie and Jackson in 1972. Moreover, Muskie will know that the nomination of a fellow liberal-dove will almost certainly not alienate either Jackson or the AFL-CIO—but that the nomination of Jackson would almost certainly cause a schism with the party's powerful Left.

Midwesterner Likely

Aside from Humphrey, the only presentable Protestant Democrats to hold statewide office in the Midwest are Sens. McGovern and Hughes from the Farm Belt; and Sens. Proxmire, Mondale, Bayh, and Stevenson from the Lake states. Muskie's choice will almost certainly come from this group. Humphrey, who has already been Vice President and very nearly President, can be ruled out. So can Proxmire, if only because of his two divorces. McGovern and Hughes are from smaller, non-strategic states where the Republicans will be favored no matter what; furthermore, the selection of either one would not be taken kindly by George Meany. That leaves Bayh, Mondale, and Stevenson as the front-runners.

Bayh dropped out of the Presidential race because of the illness of his wife, but it was an open secret in political circles that his campaign was dead well before the announcement. Despite his good looks, glibness, and national reputation, Bayh appears to lack an indefinable "big-league" quality that makes for a serious national politician. The odds appear to be against his selection.

Mondale is handsome and articulate, and may have the "national" quality Bayh lacks. He is a real possibility, probably with a better chance than Bayh, but he has been very liberal on the wrong issues—like busing.

Without having any of the others' disadvantages, Adlai Stevenson III has one strong recommendation which they all lack: he is a proven vote-getter in a large state that Muskie must carry to win nationally. The nomination of Stevenson would also be a significant bargaining card with Daley—who probably would like to see Stevenson advance beyond the Illinois political scene for more reasons than one. Then there is the name, which for Muskie would be a symbolic gesture to the party's past—a past which, in defense and foreign policy, Jackson is trying to revive substantively rather than symbolically. A Muskie-Stevenson ticket, because it is the path of least resistance and least pain to so many elements in the Democratic Party as now constituted, is the likeliest outcome as of now.

Page Three

Congressmen Against Prayer

Below is a list of the 162 House members who voted against, and thus defeated, a constitutional amendment that would have permitted voluntary prayer or meditation in U.S. public schools:

DEMOCRATS

Abourezk
Abzug
Adams
Anderson (Calif.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspin
Aspinall
Badillo
Begich
Bergland
Biaggi
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton
Cabell
Carey
Celler
Chisholm
Clay
Collins (Ill.)
Conyers
Corman
Cotter
Culver
Daniels (N.J.)
Danielson
Davis (Ga.)
Dellums
Denholm
Dingell
Dorn

Dow
Drinan
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fascell
Foley
Ford, William
Fraser
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Gonzalez
Grasso
Green (Pa.)
Griffin
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Harrington
Hathaway
Hawkins
Helstoski
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Jacobs
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Link
Long (Md.)
McCormack

McFall
McKay
Macdonald
Madden
Meeds
Metcalfe
Mikva
Miller (Calif.)
Mills (Ark.)
Minish
Mink
Mitchell
Moorhead
Moss
Nedzi
Nix
Obey
O'Hara
O'Neill
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Podell
Preyer (N.C.)
Rangel
Rees
Reuss
Rodino
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rosenthal
Roy
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
Satterfield
Scheuer
Seiberling
Sisk
Smith (Iowa)
Stanton, James V.

Steed
Stephens
Stokes
Symington
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Waldie
Wilson, Charles
Yates

REPUBLICANS

Anderson (Ill.)
Biester
Dellenback
Findley
Frelinghuysen
Frenzel
Gude
Hansen (Idaho)
Heinz
Horton
Keith
McCloskey
McCulloch
Mailliard
Mayne
Morse
Mosher
Peyster
Railsback
Reid (N.Y.)
Riegle
Robison (N.Y.)
Schwengel
Steiger (Wis.)
Whalen
Wiggins

Congressmen For Busing

Below is a list of 122 Congressmen who voted with pro-busing forces on at least two of three House test votes last month. This compilation was made by Human Events.

DEMOCRATS

Abourezk
Abzug
Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Badillo
Begich
Bergland
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Burke (Mass.)
Burton
Byrne
Carey
Celler
Chisholm
Clay
Collins (Ill.)
Conyers
Corman
Daniels
Danielson
de la Garza
Dellums

Denholm
Dent
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Drinan
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans (Colo.)
Fascell
Foley
Fraser
Gallagher
Gonzalez
Green (Pa.)
Hanley
Harrington
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks (Wash.)
Holifield
Howard
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kyros
Leggett
Link
McCormack
McFall

Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Melcher
Minish
Mink
Mitchell
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nix
Obey
O'Neill
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Podell
Preyer
Price (Ill.)
Rangel
Reuss
Rodino
Roncalio
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roy
Roybal
Ryan

Seiberling
Smith (Iowa)
Stokes
Symington
Thompson (N.J.)
Van Deerlin
Waldie
Wolf
Yates

REPUBLICANS

Anderson (Ill.)
Bell
Conte
Dellenback
Erlenborn
Fish
Frenzel
Gude
Heckler
McClory
McCloskey
Mailliard
Mayne
Morse
Mosher
Quie
Reid
Riegle
Steiger (Wis.)
Whalen
Zwach

Nix on Prayer

The House of Representatives rejected last month a constitutional amendment which would have permitted schoolchildren to participate in "voluntary prayer or meditation."

The amendment, sponsored by Rep. Chalmers Wylie (R.-Ohio) and modified slightly by Rep. John Buchanan (R.-Ala.), received 240 votes to 162 against. It thus fell 28 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed for passage of constitutional amendments.

Expected to pass earlier in the year, the amendment was scuttled by an hysterical lobbying campaign by liberal-controlled church groups and denominations. These included the National Council of Churches, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the American Baptist Convention, the Episcopal Church Executive Council, the American Jewish Congress, the United Presbyterian Church, the United Methodist Church, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the Church of the Brethren, and the Unitarian Universalist Association. This ponderous array led Rep. John Hunt (R.-N.J.) to remark, "Everyone is against voluntary prayers in our schools except the people."

Indeed, every reputable poll has shown that an overwhelming majority of the American people favor school prayer. The idea that a practice as old as the Republic itself is a threat to church-state separation, as the Supreme Court ruled in 1962, is ludicrous to most Americans.

This issue is far from dead. The Conservative Victory Fund, an affiliate of the American Conservative Union which gives financial aid and advice to Congressional candidates around the country, will encourage candidates it supports to revive the school-prayer issue in campaigns this fall. In the meantime, we publish on the adjoining page a list of all Representatives who voted against the amendment. Conservative organizers, workers, and candidates would be wise to regard quite a few of these gentlemen as vulnerable in their home districts, whether in primaries or general elections.

Busing Setback

In a series of amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1971 last month, House busing foes won a string of overwhelming victories. Unfortunately, though, the margins were not sufficient to pass Rep. Norman Lent's constitutional amendment banning forced busing that may be voted on early next year. Unless a half dozen or so Congressmen who voted for busing this year can be persuaded to vote against it next year, the amendment will fall short of the two-thirds majority it needs.

The most important amendment passed last month was introduced by Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), a Board member and past chairman of the American Conservative Union. The Ashbrook Amendment, if passed by the Senate and signed by the White House, would bar the use of Federal funds for busing students or teachers for "racial balance," or for purchasing buses for that purpose.

Battle Line/December, 1971

It passed on a vote of 233 to 124.

A key amendment to the Ashbrook measure was introduced by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.). It would bar any Federal employee or agency from forcing or inducing the use of state or local funds for any purpose for which Federal funds could not be used. In other words, if Federal funds cannot be used for busing, Federal bureaucrats cannot use their leverage to divert local funds to that purpose. The Green Amendment passed by a similar vote, 231 to 126.

A third amendment was offered by Rep. William Broomfield (R.-Mich.). It would postpone the effectiveness of any Federal court order requiring busing until all appeals, or all deadlines for appeals, have been exhausted. It passed, 235 to 125.

On the adjoining page, *Battle Line* publishes a list of all Congressmen who voted against two or more of these three amendments. ACU members who live in the districts of these Congressmen are urged to oppose in letters and wires further pro-busing votes, and demand that they resist busing by backing the Lent Amendment next year.

States Can Handle Welfare

While President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan remains stalled in the Senate Finance Committee, evidence continues to mount that the radical guaranteed-income scheme should never have been proposed in the first place.

One of FAP's main assumptions, for example, is that states and localities have proven themselves incapable of keeping their welfare rolls within reasonable bounds. If FAP is passed, all welfare programs will be transferred to a new 65,000-man bureaucracy in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to be administered by liberal Richard Nathan.

A year or so ago, the incompetence of states and municipalities did seem a provable contention. It was under their stewardship, after all, that national welfare cases more than doubled in the decade of the 1960s. But there was, it turned out, a limit. More and more governors, mayors, and legislators were finding that either welfare would have to be cut, or taxes would have to be raised. Not surprisingly, more and more are choosing the former option.

In the month of July, 84,000 people were dropped from state welfare rolls, according to figures recently released by HEW. It was the third straight month this had happened, a reversal of a decade-old trend. Since more and more states have adopted tougher welfare practices, it is likely that later figures will show further declines.

Passage of FAP, which would add 14 million Americans to the welfare rolls as well as federalize the system, would be particularly senseless coming at a time when the states are proving their ability to bring the problem under control. ACU members are reminded to write their home-state Senators urging opposition to FAP, and support of an anti-FAP filibuster if necessary.

Page Five

Toughness on Indochina

President Nixon's Vietnam-oriented press conference November 12 provided an encouraging contrast to his disastrous China policy.

The acceleration in the troop-withdrawal program was not unexpected—and, considering the progress of our South Vietnamese allies, probably not imprudent. What was welcome and more than a little unexpected was the President's firm articulation of our reasons for standing by our treaty commitments, together with the concrete pledges he outlined toward achieving that end.

Perhaps the most important departure in Mr. Nixon's remarks was the explicitness of his commitment to a "residual force": "If we do not get a negotiated settlement, then it is necessary to maintain a residual force for not only the reason . . . of having something to negotiate with, with regard to our prisoners, but it is also essential to do so in order to continue our role of leaving South Vietnam in a position where it will be able to defend itself against a Communist takeover." In this statement, the President underlined the immorality of using a residual force merely as a device to obtain POW release. In addition, it is clear that he has no intention of eliminating the residual force by stages, and then using vital air support as the only remaining bargaining chip for prisoner release, as some have speculated. That is a formula for Communist victory that Mr. Nixon rightly rejects.

Regarding air power, "we will continue to use it in support of the South Vietnamese until there is a negotiated settlement or, looking further down the road, until the South Vietnamese have developed the capability to handle the situation themselves." This goes a long way toward complete detachment of air power from the prisoner issue, a policy *Battle Line* strongly urged last month. American air power is too vital a part of the South Vietnamese military machine to become part of the political equation, at least for quite a while.

Later in the week, in signing the military procurement bill, the President announced he would not be bound by the newly enacted Mansfield Amendment making it the "policy of the United States" to withdraw from Indochina subject only to prisoner release. His decision was not only good policy, but good law. The Mansfield measure was passed in language which makes it non-binding, and to carry it out would mean overt betrayal of our allies.

The President's new toughness was rewarded later that day in Congress. By a surprisingly one-sided vote of 238 to 164, the House of Representatives rejected an amendment of Rep. Edward Boland (D.-Mass.) that *would* have been binding: a cutoff of all funding for the war by June 1, subject only to prisoner release. ACU members are urged to contact their Senators urging rejection of any similar measure. America's role in Asia, not to mention the credibility of our anti-Communist foreign policy on every continent, depend on continued toughness by the President and continued resistance by Congressional hawks.

State Politics

California: Up for Grabs

Gov. Ronald Reagan and the Democrats who control the California Legislature have come to tentative agreement on a Congressional redistricting plan that gives both parties a shot at significant gains. The state's reapportionment maneuvering has been one of the most closely watched in the nation, since California gains five House seats in the new Census.

None of the 38 incumbents—20 Democrats and 18 Republicans—will be seriously hurt by the new plan, and only a mammoth sweep could affect even a handful of these seats. But at least three of the five new seats could go to either party.

One district will include the "Inland Empire" east of Los Angeles, including San Bernardino County. The rapidly growing suburban area has Democratic traditions, but has had a Republican trend in recent years. President Nixon rolled up a 22,000-vote plurality in San Bernardino in 1968 in the context of a close race statewide.

Another marginal district will lie in the San Joaquin Valley, sprawling all the way from Sacramento to Bakersfield. This is traditionally Democratic "Okie" country, but conservative Republicans have won here recently.

A more problematic district will include Santa Clara County, a booming suburban area south of San Francisco. The key figure here is Rep. Paul McCloskey, the liberal Republican who is challenging President Nixon in the primaries. If McCloskey runs and wins renomination in what is left of his old district, Republicans would be favored in the new one as well as the old one. But if McCloskey runs in Santa Clara, his old district will probably go Democratic as a result of Census shifts.

The two other new districts, one in the Sun Belt area of Orange and San Diego Counties, and the other in a Negro section of Los Angeles County, will not be marginal. Barring a cataclysm, the first will go Republican and the second Democratic.

The likeliest outcome is that three of the new seats will go Republican, and two Democratic. This would leave the Democrats in narrow control of the nation's largest House delegation, 23-22.

As in Illinois (see November *Battle Line*), the situation would have been much worse if state Republicans had heeded the advice of their Congressional colleagues. Rep. Phillip Burton, a very liberal Democrat from San Francisco, asked the Republican Congressmen to carve out their own seats. After they had predictably given themselves ultra-safe districts, in the process gobbling up almost every spare Republican precinct in the state, Burton took the leftovers and produced four sure Democratic seats and a single, unavoidable Republican one. The entire delegation then united behind this monstrosity and presented it to the state. The Governor, to his credit, wouldn't play, and insisted on the more equitable map now headed for passage.

Louisiana: Familiar Split

There was something old and something new in the outcome of Louisiana's Democratic gubernatorial primary November 6. But Bayou State observers were betting that the old patterns will triumph in the two-man runoff December 18.

The novel side of things, which received most of the attention in the national press, consisted in the striking fact that the race issue was absent from the campaign and that the two front-runners, Rep. Edwin Edwards and State Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, are both considered political moderates by Louisiana standards.

But a more traditional element, less commented upon outside the state, was present as well: the two survivors of the wild 17-man race are a Catholic from the southern and a Protestant from the northern part of the state. Whenever this situation has arisen in the past two generations, and it has done so often, the northern Protestant has always won the governorship.

So the smart-money favorite in the December election is not Edwards, the Catholic who ran first with 24 per cent of the vote, but Johnston, the Baptist who ran second with 18. Another moderate, former Rep. Gillis Long, ran third with 15 per cent. More conservative candidates like two-time former Gov. Jimmie Davis, Lt. Gov. Taddy Aycock, State Sen. John Schwegmann, and Rep. Speedy Long, were well back in the pack. But their combined strength adds up to nearly 30 per cent of the ballots, while the votes of the liberal also-rans do not exceed 20 per cent.

This has led some observers to predict that Johnston will take a more conservative line as the election approaches, since conservative social views have been a major factor in the Protestant domination of gubernatorial runoffs. This pattern obtained in 1964, when the present Governor, John McKeithen, moved to the right to overtake the moderate Catholic Mayor of New Orleans, the late deLesseps Morrison, who had finished far ahead in the first primary. Johnston is considered somewhat less liberal than Edwards to begin with.

David Treen breezed to victory in the Republican primary with 93 per cent of the vote. Treen, who twice came within a hair of unseating House Majority Leader Hale Boggs in New Orleans, is an articulate conservative with strong financial backing. His chances of winning the February 1 general election would dramatically improve if Edwards wins the runoff, or if Johnston wins it without moving toward the right.

Vermont: Mallery Wins

Candidates from the more conservative wings of Vermont's two parties were nominated for the state's only House seat November 17. Richard W. Mallery, a 42-year-old dairy farmer, took the Republican nomination with 15,011 votes in a six-man field. His nearest competitor, Secretary of State Richard Thomas, got 10,833, while conservative-turned-liberal State Sen. John Alden placed a

distant third with 5,660. Mallery, a former state senator and representative, was an aide to Gov. Deane Davis until recently.

Probate Judge J. William O'Brien, 45, won the Democratic nomination with 5,744 votes, or 45 per cent, in a race against three liberals. But Mallery is heavily favored to win in a state where Republicans have lost only one Congressional race since the party's founding. The general election is January 7.

The contest was necessitated by the death earlier this year of Sen. Winston Prouty, a Republican. Robert Stafford, the state's Congressman since 1961, was appointed to succeed him and is a sure winner in January for the remaining five years of Prouty's term.

If Mallery wins, he will be in line for a Senate seat in the near future. Sen. George Aiken, a 79-year-old Republican, is expected to retire in 1974. Both Aiken and Stafford are liberals.

Massachusetts: Bad Scene

Massachusetts has completed its Congressional redistricting—and the outlook for Bay State conservatives of both parties is worse than ever.

No conservative has represented the state in Congress since the 1969 death of veteran GOP Congressman William Bates, whose House seat was taken over by radical Democrat Michael Harrington. Just last year, one of the less liberal (and most hawkish) Democrats in the delegation, Philip Philbin, was unseated in the primary by another radical, Father Robert Drinan. In this year's interim ACU Key Issues Index, only two members of the 12-man delegation had conservative ratings higher than 15 per cent.

It is precisely these two members that the bill signed November 13 by way-out GOP Gov. Francis Sargent, and drafted by the Democratic-controlled legislature, is likely to unseat. Rep. Hastings Keith, whose 50 per cent ACU rating is liberal for most Republicans but unequalled in Massachusetts, watched helplessly as his home town of West Bridgewater was lifted from the already shaky 12th District, which comprises Cape Cod and much of southeastern Massachusetts. Keith is now rated a slight underdog to peace Democrat Gerry Studds, who nearly unseated him last year.

Boston-based Congresswoman Louise Day Hicks (ACU Index: 33) is fresh from a disappointing showing in her second run for Mayor and may be in for more frustrations in her second race for Congress. Not only has her Ninth District seat been extended far out into suburban areas where social conservatism is likely to be less appealing, but most of her strength in working-class Dorchester has been removed. Her main hope for renomination lies in the proliferation of more liberal Democrats aching to challenge her. These include State Sen. Robert Cawley, architect of the redistricting plan; State Sen. John Joseph Moakley, who made a strong showing against Mrs. Hicks

(Continued on Page 8)

Affairs of State

By M. Stanton Evans
Chairman, American Conservative Union

These words are written on a return trip from the first annual banquet of the New Jersey Conservative Union—a state affiliate of ACU.

In one year's time NJCU has written an organizational success story with few parallels anywhere in the country, one which may provide an example to conservatives in other states concerned to take effective grass-roots action. My own conviction is that the long-term future of the conservative movement will chiefly depend on state and local groups established on this pattern.

Some 300 leaders of the NJCU assembled at the Neptune Inn in Paramus to mark the anniversary of the group and to hear reports on state and national issues. The program featured remarks by Prof. Henry Paolucci, vice-chairman of the New York Conservative Party, Vietnam hero Dr. James Walker Ralph, and NJCU chairman Dr. Heinz Mackensen. Progress of the organization was recounted and plans charted for the coming year.

NJCU claims 3,000 members and a well-balanced executive board including figures from the academic world, businessmen, media representatives, and practicing politicians. An active membership committee seeks out new recruits and a steady flow of names is received by state headquarters in Hackensack. Participation of young conservatives is solicited and campus representatives are prominent on the board.

NJCU interviews and endorses selected candidates for state and local office and acts as a lever of conservative influence on both major parties. It publishes a regular newsletter, and has special divisions responsible for women's and youth activities. Its major objective for 1972 is to come up with a conservative replacement, regardless of party label, for ultra-liberal Republican Sen. Clifford Case.

It was apparent from the size and enthusiasm of the Paramus meeting that this is a strong and growing organization—precisely the kind of organization which can bring victory to the conservative cause. New Jersey has been under liberal bi-partisan dominion for so long that the process will not be easy, but there is little doubt from what I have seen that Dr. Mackensen and his legions will eventually get the job done.

ACU is a Washington-based group with a national constituency, and its energies are focused on events and personalities in the national capital. But the balance of forces in Washington can in the final analysis be altered for the better only by action in the states, and the total sum of our distress alleviated only by attention to local as well as national issues. In both respects, state conservative groups are of crucial importance.

Such groups are important in another sense as well. Despite its heterogeneous political population, Washington is a strangely insulated city. Its fads and delusions

have a way of affecting not only the orthodox liberals who abound in government, but Republicans and conservatives as well. Solid common sense from state and local conservatives must penetrate the miasma of liberal confusion if any sense of balance is to be maintained.

For all of these reasons, ACU seeks to encourage formation of state affiliates—an undertaking in which NJCU and other state conservative unions have promised their assistance. Just as Dr. Mackensen's group began with timely help from Bill Duff and the leaders of the Pennsylvania Conservative Union, so the experience of these state leaders can prove invaluable to conservatives in other localities. Those who would like to start such groups are invited to contact national ACU headquarters for further information.

(Continued from Page 7)

in the old district last year; Boston School Committeeman James Hennigan; and David Nelson, a Negro attorney who also ran in 1970. But even if an opposition split enables Mrs. Hicks to survive the primary, she will be vulnerable to challenge from a liberal Republican such as State Sen. John Quinlan of suburban Norwood.

The ten liberals in the delegation, seven Democrats and three Republicans, all have safer districts than before. If a state ever needed a Conservative Party, this is it.

Pennsylvania: PCU Grows

Elsewhere on this page, ACU Chairman M. Stanton Evans comments on the growing muscle of the New Jersey Conservative Union, one of ACU's most active affiliates. It's appropriate to add that NJCU's elder sister, the Pennsylvania Conservative Union, has been equally active across the state line.

The group has just issued a first-rate analysis of the bloated state budget of liberal Democratic Gov. Milton Shapp. The PCU study recommended cuts of \$942,978,000 from Shapp's \$5.7 billion budget. PCU Chairman William Duff charged that the Shapp budget "is, in truth, a master plan for the socialization of Pennsylvania and should be of great concern to all Pennsylvanians who are jealous of their freedom." The PCU study, modelled on ACU's study earlier this year of the Federal budget and one of the first such analyses by a state conservative group, should add to the level of that concern.

On other fronts, PCU has joined with the Pennsylvania chapter of Young Americans for Freedom, as well as the national headquarters of both groups, in a protest campaign against the reported decision of Mack Truck, Inc. to build a truck assembly plant in the Soviet Union. PCU has notified state business leaders of the proposed deal and urged them to write Mack in opposition.

PCU announced last month the establishment of a state speakers' bureau. Like NJCU, the group has joined ACU in suspending support of the Nixon Administration.

Catholic Vote & 1972

(Political Strategy - 1972 file)

✓ 10/4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1971

*JFK had to choose
between the extremes
Buchanan vs. Morey
I would have at least
had no trouble. I hope
Pat's views (perhaps not
brought down) will get through
the policy types - they could
make the difference.*

MEMORANDUM TO: John Ehrlichman
H. R. Haldeman
Charles Colson

FROM: Pat Buchanan

While this memorandum, for stylistic and obvious reasons, is not sent to the President -- would hope that the dissenting views herein expressed, would be gotten to him -- before he makes any decision upon the rather remarkable document I have in hand entitled, "The Catholic Vote and 1972." For if we are making scheduling, budget and political decisions on the basis of this remorseless nonsense, then we are going to have to count upon a Chicago repeat to be back in 1972.

Points that come up after only a rapid reading of the Morey memorandum:

1. Nowhere does one see proper recognition of the hard political fact that while there are six million Jews in this country, 22,000,000 blacks -- there are some 46,000,000 Catholic. Not only are the Catholic by far the hugest bloc of available Democratic votes to win for us -- they by Mr. Morey's statistics, the easiest to convert.
2. Here is another hard political fact that does not emerge: If the President could raise himself from say 25 percent of the Catholic vote to 40 percent of the Catholic vote -- that would be worth more in terms of absolute vote than if the President went from 0 percent of the Jewish vote to 100 percent.

Since Catholic Democrats are more numerous and easier to win over than black Democrats and Jewish Democrats, clearly this is where our emphasis should be placed.

3. Morey contends that "Catholicism" is no longer so binding a factor as it once was in 1960 -- with JFK. That is precisely our point. We are not asking that the President throw in with the mackerel snappers, convert and become a daily communicant. We are saying that since "Catholicism," per se, "religious affiliation," is less important than it was in 1960, RN has a far better chance in 1972 of taking away Catholic voters from a Catholic candidate, i. e., (Muskie). Indeed, much of Morey's analysis, analyzed separately, makes a somewhat different point.

4. Says Morey, things other than Catholicism are more important to Catholics. He mentions ethnicity; we don't disagree with that. We endorse it one hundred percent. The President should go after the Catholic vote in a multi-faceted approach. By endorsing the aspirations of ethnics (Italians, Poles, Irish, Slovaks); by appointing conspicuous ethnics to top visible federal posts, by his Middle America appeal, in addition to aiding the schools in which so many of them believe and in which millions upon millions of Catholics and ethnics have placed their children.

My recommendation is now and has been that the Administration -- in placing minority members in visible jobs -- stop concentrating on the "media's minorities" (Blacks, Mexican Americans, Spanish-speaking) which are tough to crack, almost solid Democratic -- and begin focusing on the large ethnic minorities (Irish, Italians, Poles, Slovaks, etc.), the big minorities where the President's name is not a dirty word, where the President's personal beliefs and political actions are more consistent with their own.

When we begin to recognize and act on the idea that there are as many Italian-Americans in the Bronx as there are Black Americans in Harlem, we will better begin to serve the President's interests.

As noted in previous memoranda, and proved by Senator Buckley in New York, there are more "Queens Democrats" than there are "Harlem Democrats" and they are a hell of a lot easier for a Republican to get.

5. Morey contends that Blacks and Jews and Catholics won for JFK -- but that is like comparing tangerines to grapefruits to watermelons. One can say that the "Maltese-Americans" won it for Kennedy. The crucial points are a) the size of the bloc and b) the winnability of the bloc. On both counts any politician will tell you the Catholics are where the ducks are.

6. Morey contends there is a trade-off, that aid to Catholic schools will alienate some Protestants. No one denies this. We may lose some votes. But where is there recognition of these points. Just as 1) pro-Catholicism on the part of voters diminished since 1960 -- so, too, has anti-Catholicism. 2) Aid to Catholic schools will no longer kill a candidate in Protestant areas -- as is clearly evident from the fact that perhaps a dozen states in the last decade moved that route. 3) Look closely at the trade-off. Are Protestants, traditionally anti-Catholic, going to vote against Richard Nixon for some indirect assistance to parochial schools -- and then turn around and vote for a Catholic Ed Muskie. Hardly. Many of them will not like it. But very few will go the full route. Morey mentions Milliken gaining votes among Michigan Catholics, and losing them among upstate Protestants for coming out for parochial aid. Without any statistics I question that. For this reason. I can't believe that a reactionary Protestant will vote against

Milliken for aiding Catholic schools -- when the choice is to turn around and vote for a long-haired Jewish liberal Democrat, which Milliken ran against.

In short, our Protestant supporters will be angry, many of them, with this kind of aid, but fewer than ever before, and the overwhelming majority not so angry as to desert a middle-of-the-road Republican for a Catholic liberal Democrat.

A phrase used around here recently is appropriate. The WASPS have "nowhere else to go."

7. Where in this entire memo is recognition of the problem this creates for the other side -- the Democrats. That party is divided between Establishment liberals and increasingly militant blacks on the one hand -- and Roman Catholics on the other, for a simple view. The Jim Buckley Democrats versus the New York Times Democrats if you will.

When RN comes out for aid to parochial schools, this will drive a wedge right down the Middle of the Democratic Party. The same is true of abortion; the same is true of hard-line anti-pornography laws. For those most against aid to Catholic schools, most for abortion, and an end to all censorship are the New York Times Democrats. And those most violently for aid to Catholic schools and against abortion and dirty books, are the Jim Buckley Catholic Democrats.

Rockefeller, in coming out for parochial aid, has recognized this. In 1970 he won over Catholic Democrats in greater numbers than ever -- while his upstate Protestants grumbled about aid to Catholic schools, but they "had no place else to go."

8. Morey mentions that "a Gallup Poll conducted in July 1968 indicates that the voter's choice between McCarthy and Humphrey was not guided by religious affiliation of the candidate. In fact it was slightly reversed."

This shows an utter lack of understanding of the Catholic Community and the Catholic issue -- as we see it.

Of course, rank-and-file Catholics did not go for McCarthy. The reason has nothing to do with his religion -- everything to do with his style. McCarthy is an upper middle class liberal, who hobnobs with radical kids, who writes poetry, a post-Vatican II peacenik, snobbish, ecumaniac who apes the Harvard Wasps. Your average lower middle and middle income

Catholic cannot identify with McCarthy and the Beautiful People; they are not Gene McCarthy men, they are Dick Daley men. The fellows who join the K. of C., who make mass and communion every morning, who go on retreats, who join the Holy Name Society, who fight against abortion in their legislatures, who send their kids to Catholic schools, who work on assembly lines and live in Polish, Irish, Italian and Catholic communities or who have headed to the suburbs -- these are the majority of Catholics; they are where our votes are.

Morey's statistics on Catholic clergy uninterested in Catholic schools repeat the same error. The one-third of priests who are not interested in Catholic schools probably contain the one hundred percent of Catholic clergy who either endorse or "understand" what the Berrigan boys were trying to do. What I am saying is that there is a deep division in the Catholic community. We should be working the Catholic social conservatives -- the clear majority.

As for the Catholic liberals, who ape the Wasp upper East Side liberals -- like Southern liberals, they are the worst kind. Converts to liberalism, and to "right thinking", they outdo the New York Times in their fanaticism for their "New faith."

9. Morey contends that Catholic schools do not seem a really strong issue among Catholics. How can one say that? Surely, among some Catholics who have "made it" the importance of Catholic schools has diminished. But among those Catholics who deeply believe in their schools, among those who send 5,000,000 of their children to Catholic schools, a "religious education" is a burning issue, and in an age of "permissiveness" bound to stay a burning issue. Why do I say this? Common sense I think tells us that when Catholic pressure in the 1960s can bring Protestant legislatures in state after state to vote aid for their schools that shows interest, concern and power. Secondly, running the Catholic school system in an "extra tax" upon Catholics of -- one estimates runs -- five billion dollars a year. Any group willing to pony up an extra five billion in taxes, to educate its children a different way from the free public schools is a group whose interests ought to be reckoned with.

10. Catholic schools as an issue can be compared with "gun control" and "aid to Israel." It is an issue on which a minority of Americans, i. e. conservative Catholics, are so deeply concerned that their votes can be switched on that issue alone. For the majority who may disagree, it is not a "voting issue."

Thus, while eighty percent of the people favor gun control, if you come out too strong for it, you win next to nothing, but you have ten or fifteen percent of the electorate working night and day to see you defeated. (See: Joe Tydings, circa 1970, and Joe Clark, circa 1968)

11. In 1960 because he could not lose the Catholic vote; it was in his pocket, it had "no place else to go," JFK could come out against aid to Catholic schools -- working the Protestant side of the street. That was where the ducks were for him. Quite naturally, ours are over there, in the Catholic community.

12. Just look at Muskie himself, and his tergiversations over the Catholic issue. He waffles on abortion; he has refused to speak out on Catholic schools; he has a split party; and the more we force these "splitting" issues the better for the President.

13. The final argument against aid to Catholic schools is that it drew "extremely negative responses" from the NEA, and "others involved in public education". that could "well alienate 1.8 million public school teachers. For Christ sake, anti-Catholic public schools teachers are not the President's constituent; as for the NEA, and its lobby they have made an avocation of cutting the President's throat. We are Never going to get people like that why should we be solicitous about offending them if it can get us votes elsewhere.

Indeed, the fact that it would "frost" the NEA is one of the more appealing arguments for going ahead with aid to parochial schools.

14. When we move on aid to parochial schools, it can be done through the mechanism of vouchers and tax credits, which is the least offensive to everyone, and most acceptable. Which would minimize any losses -- and we could through the Catholic media and Catholic outlets, maximize the gain. If the President can go up 15 percent among Catholics, that would be worth more than getting 100 percent of the Jewish vote, and worth more than going from ten percent to forty percent among blacks.

Any my view is that it is one hell of a lot easier thing to do, because conservative Republicans, i. e., James Buckley, have shown that it is a realistic political alliance. Morey supports this point by indicating Goldwater's gains among Catholics in New York.

15. Finally, there is a potential, latent majority out there -- available for the President which we have failed to put together. It consists of the President's WASP and white-collar conservative base -- added to it Southern Protestants and Northern, Midwestern and Western Catholics. Morey is right in that parochial school aid alone will not win it for us.

When that is put together, not everyone in that coalition will agree on every issue -- but they will agree on enough. Southern Protestants will not like aid to Northern Catholic schools -- but the bonds that hold that coalition together will be stronger than those forcing it apart. (Indeed, Roosevelt's coalition of Southern whites plus Southern blacks had far more inconsistencies than our potential coalition has).

And Morey is right in that we ought not to rely on one appeal -- whether it be aid to parochial schools or what. It should be multi-faceted; it has to be. A mixture of social conservatism, which is a majority view nationally, plus economic assistance and visibility appointments and, for the Democrats who are willing to go half-way with the President, not the Democrats who detest him. Thus, instead of sending the orders out to all our agencies -- hire blacks and women -- the order should go out -- hire ethnic Catholics' preferable women, for visible posts. One example: Italian Americans, unlike blacks, have never had a Supreme Court member -- they are deeply concerned with their "criminal" image; they do not dislike the President. Give those fellows the "Jewish seat" or the "black seat" on the Court when it becomes available.

Regrettably, neither our budget or our political emphasis seems to me to reflect these realities.

True, there will be losses from this kind of strategy. Josiah Lee Auspitz will be very angry with us. But the Republican Party is a last-place ball club; living in Washington, one can understand that. To win we have to make "trade-offs." To come out of the cellar we may have to give up Frank Howard. One should recall that recently a poll showed that Independents have passed Republican -- and we are now only 22 percent of the vote. One reason why can be found sitting in the Legislative Leadership meeting -- and looking at all those WASPs.

If the GOP is to become a national majority party it will be because of fellows like Cahill in New Jersey and Volpe in Mass., who hold our base -- and add to it the Catholics who were Democratic from time immemorial.

There is a clear potential majority out there. The President could be the new Roosevelt, who put it together, or he could be the last of the liberal Presidents. But to put it together requires a "leap in the dark," it means "pushing our skiff from the shore alone;" it means telling John Chancellor and the New York Times that, no, we have not done anything for the blacks this week, but we have named a Pole to the Cabinet and an Italian Catholic to the Supreme Court.

In an oversimplified way, the reason the President is at 42 percent of whatever it is that we have not broken out of our minority base. In my heretical view, we are never, never going to do it with public relations. The President is not Eisenhower; he did not lead the armies ashore against Hitler's Europe. We are not going to build any new majorities on the Nixon personality, or the admitted Nixon personal political skill. We need to do it with issues and budget dollars, and we are not.

Let us assume that, for one, RN tubed OEO the day he took office, and had spent the \$5 billion we have wasted on that pit since then -- on providing tax credits for non-public schools. That is just one example. From here it does not appear we have a political "strategy" which is being imposed upon the bureaucrats and budget makers; the latter seem more responsive to media pressure than the imperatives of the President's and the party's long run political interests.

If there must be unemployment to halt inflation, why are Southern California aerospace workers unemployed -- instead of liberal school teachers, social workers and poverty concessionaires. These latter aren't for us anyway. Instead of buying off media hostility, that massive Federal budget should have bought us by now a new majority, should have bought new friends for Richard Nixon, should have bought him a place in the history books as the Republican who got it all together.

Chesterton once wrote in defense of his faith, that "It cannot really be said that Christianity has failed; because it cannot really be said that Christianity has been tried." The quote may be off; but is apposite. The new Republican Majority in this country is not a disproven myth; it has not seriously been tried.

P.S. We are not doing the President any favors by sending in to him, uncriticized, memorandum on politics of the vapidty of the document that came to me. I know the affection for Kevin Phillips is well contained in the West Wing; but he is a genius of sorts; and the White House might well hire him for one week -- his political agency -- on a confidential basis -- to assess the labors of the Morey team.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN COLE
ED HARPER

FROM:

ROY MOREY 

SUBJECT:

The Catholic Vote and 1972

This memo briefly outlines the voting behavior of Catholics in the 1960 election, the Catholic electorate today and political trade offs involved in attempting to woo the Catholic vote in 1972.

I. The Catholic Vote in 1960

Before discussing the Catholic vote in 1972, it is necessary to briefly review the 1960 election because it will be used as an historic referent -- especially if either Muskie or Kennedy is the Democratic nominee. The following is a list of major conclusions about the voting behavior of Catholics and the issue of Catholicism in the 1960 election:

1. There was a significant Catholic vote in 1960.

According to the Gallup poll Catholic support for a Democratic nominee increased from 51 percent in 1956, to 78 percent in 1960. Furthermore, 62 percent of the Catholics who voted for Eisenhower in 1956, actually voted for Kennedy in 1960. While only 3 percent of the Catholics who voted for Stevenson in 1956 switched to Nixon. This does not mean, however, that during the mid-1950s Catholics were leaving the Democratic Party only to return to the fold in 1960 when the Democrats offered a Catholic candidate. The Gallup results show that in the 1958 Congressional elections 75 percent of the Catholic voters supported Democratic candidates. The GOP appeal to Catholics

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

in 1956 seemed to be more attributable to the magic of Ike, rather than a desertion from the Democratic Party. However, as will be pointed out later, the Democratic appeal to Catholics in 1960 may have been a high watermark not to be achieved again.

2. The Catholic vote alone was not sufficient for Kennedy's victory.

While it is true that there was a sizable shift in the Catholic vote toward Kennedy, there were other shifts in the electorate which indicate that in addition to the Catholic vote, Kennedy relied on increased Democratic votes among Blacks, Jews and other groups to win. Gallup reports that on a national basis, the votes of Jews increased from 75 percent to 81 percent Democratic over 1956 and the votes of Blacks from 61 percent to 68 percent. In 1960, Illinois and Texas together accounted for 51 electoral votes. Out of approximately 4.7 million votes cast in Illinois, Kennedy's margin of victory was only 8,858. A shift of 4,500 votes by any group -- Catholics, Blacks, Jews, etc, would have been enough to make the difference. In Texas, Kennedy's margin was 46,233 out of 2.3 million votes cast. Here again, a shift by as many as 25,000 Blacks, Catholics, Jews, etc, would have made the difference in carrying the state. The point is that the Catholic vote alone was not the single factor which gave Kennedy a victory in 1960.

3. The religious issue cut both ways in 1960.

While some Catholics swung to Kennedy, it is clear that Protestants who had formally voted Democratic swung away. The best estimates indicate that probably as much as 10 percent of the electorate shifted both ways on the religious issue and in terms of aggregate popular vote, the swing away from Kennedy because of his religious affiliation cost him 1.5 million votes or 2.3% of the total popular vote.

4. The net results of religious shifting favored Kennedy.

While Kennedy's Catholicism lost him popular votes, it still helped him more than it hurt him in the election. This is due to the fact that Catholics were disproportionately located in closely divided large electoral vote states. The best evaluation of the probable effect of the religious issue in 1960 is the MIT simulation project conducted by Pool, Abelson and Popkin (Candidates, Issues and Strategies, 1964). According to their calculation Kennedy lost, by the religious issue, the following states he otherwise would have won: Kentucky (10), Tennessee (11), Florida (10), Oklahoma (8), Montana (4), Idaho (4), Utah (4), California (32), Oregon (6), Virginia (12), and Washington (9). He won the following states he would have otherwise lost: Connecticut (32), New York (45), New Jersey (16), Pennsylvania (32), Illinois (27), and New Mexico (4). Hence, according to this best-fit simulation, Kennedy achieved a net gain of 22 electoral votes because of the religious issue.

On balance, it appears that Kennedy was hurt somewhat in the Southern and Border states and perhaps in the Midwest and Mountain states as well, but he more than made up for it in the Northern and Midwestern industrial states whose electoral votes were far larger.

According to a study that was done several years ago on Wisconsin, Democratic candidates for Congress in Wisconsin suffered defeat in close districts probably because of Protestant defection due to Kennedy's candidacy. This is interesting to keep in mind in a state which is over 33 percent Catholic.

The Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan published a study several years ago which indicates that there was a net loss in the popular vote because of Kennedy's religious affiliation. The study estimated what was the "normal" votes of Catholics and Protestants for Democratic Presidential candidates and then calculated the 1960 divergence from this hypothetical norm, they concluded Kennedy lost about 2.2 % of the two party vote, with the largest portion of the

defections coming from the South. The two-edged nature of the religious issue is an important factor to keep in mind looking toward 1972.

II. The Catholic Vote Today

The 1960 election was atypical, because not only was there a Catholic candidate running, but Catholicism itself was an issue. In fact, the Kennedy forces found it profitable to make Catholicism an issue. According to an informal conversation with Lou Harris, the decision by Kennedy on how to handle the Catholic issue was based on key state polling. The decision seemed to be to lay out Catholicism in full view as an issue as a calculated risk to pick up Catholic votes in key electoral states, knowing full well that other states were not going to be picked up. This informed gamble paid off for Kennedy.

Today, the situation is substantially different. While it is true that Catholics are still more likely to vote Democratic than Protestants, they are less likely to vote as Catholics. A Gallup poll conducted in July, 1968, indicates that the voters' choice between McCarthy and Humphrey was not guided by religious affiliation of the candidate. In fact, it was slightly reversed. The religious affiliation of a candidate is simply far less important (including Catholic voters favoring Catholic candidates) than it was in 1960. In fact, Scammon and Wattenberg contend that "today Catholicism seems thoroughly dead as a political issue." There are several reasons for the decline in importance of the Catholic affiliation.

1. 1960 was billed as a test case and now that that hurdle has been cleared it is far less important in the minds of most Catholics. In analyzing voting behavior, one finds that a social factor like religion or ethnicity would become important temporarily during the political campaign and become relatively unimportant subsequently.

2. Group identification is politically important if it is in a group which has a bearing on social status -- such as race or ethnicity. Within recent years, religion has become far less important in determining social status than it once was; yet the same thing cannot be said for race and ethnicity. Poles, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans maintain ethnic identification but do not necessarily look upon themselves as Polish-Catholics, Mexican-American Catholics, etc.
3. There has been considerable movement and economic mobility among Catholics in the past decade, and today most Catholics are middle income types who do not live in the central cities. As they have become more affluent and have moved to the suburbs, they tend to identify less with Catholicism as a political issue and more with general social and economic issues. For the ethnic blue collar Catholic who remains in the city, issues such as race, community control of the schools, crime and patriotism have largely replaced Catholicism as a major political issue.

While it is true today that blue collar and retired Catholics lean in the Democrat direction, one should not over look Goldwater's gains among city Catholics in New York and Nixon's gains among New York City Catholics and the ethnic Catholic Congressional District of Pucinski and Derwinski in Chicago. One may ask whether the voter is Catholic or Protestant, but of much greater significance is the question is the voter rich or poor, Black or White, employed or unemployed an urban or suburban dweller, etc.

III. Issues of Interest to Catholics

The point has been made previously that in attempting to woo the Catholic vote, perhaps one need not appeal to Catholics as Catholics. In fact, as will be discussed in the next section, there are definite risks in attempting to woo Catholics as Catholics.

According to Tully Plessner, President of the Cambridge Marketing Group in New York, unpublished data he collected in June indicates that the major issues among Catholics are not related to Catholicism but rather to general economic and social conditions. Catholics seem to be more concerned with tax levels, tax increases and general problems in the environmental area. No doubt most of those interviewed do not live in the central city areas and these concerns would reflect a point made earlier about the movement and economic mobility of Catholics.

It could well be that the issue of aid to parochial schools is of concern to an increasing minority of Catholics who in fact have their children in Catholic schools. The issue of parochial aid is of greatest importance to inner-city dwellers and at the heart of their concern is the question of autonomy and community control of the schools and racial separation. The ethnic blue collar urban Catholics are on the firing line of the racial problems that plague our city cores. They believe in maintaining control of their schools, (parochial) as much as they believe in the virtues of a Catholic education.

There are numerous reasons why Catholic elementary schools are on the decline, and only some of these reasons relate to higher operating costs. Other important reasons for their decline include: a) movement of Catholic ethnic groups into suburbs that already had academically superior public schools, b) upward mobility, which places more emphasis on using family funds for college, c) elimination of Protestant biases in public schools, d) the loss of teaching clergy. The point is that the issues of greatest concern to most Catholics may not be strictly Catholic issues in nature such as aid to parochial schools.

Furthermore, the parochial aid issue is complicated and many Catholics may either contribute to the decline of these schools, or are relatively unconcerned about the problem. The same may be said for Catholic clergy. A 1970 Gallagher Presidents' Report Survey found that 35.4 percent of the active Roman Catholic priests affirm that the Church should discontinue or abandon its schools.

IV. Conclusions, Strategic Implications and Trade Offs

Since in the minds of many, winning the Catholic vote is translated to a position on the question of aid to parochial schools, many of the points in this section are related to that issue. The point should not be lost, however, that one can woo Catholics without favoring public aid to parochial schools. One should recognize that most Catholics may not rank the plight of parochial schools as an issue of major concern to them, and that religious identification as a significant political variable has declined in recent years.

1. The parochial school aid question is a two-edged sword. While it may be possible to pick up a few votes among urban Catholics, one stands the risk of alienating Protestant voters. On the national level, one must remember that two out of every three voters are Protestants and the proportion would be much higher in most of our key states (see Tab A).

In Illinois and Michigan, for example, this is a sensitive issue which cuts both ways. The strength of the GOP in Illinois is in the largely Protestant suburbs and out-state vote. In Michigan last year, Governor Milliken pushed through the Legislature a program for aid to non-public schools. This gained him a few Catholic votes in Detroit, and probably lost him more among Protestant out-state Republicans. The school aid program he favored was overwhelmingly rejected in a referendum vote.

Where the parochial aid issue may mean the most, that is among urban blue collar and largely ethnic Catholics, we are least apt to attract strongly committed Democrats. In the case of a few areas in Chicago, if we win these types, it may be for reasons other than parochial aid, anyway.

The most heavily Catholic states like Massachusetts and Rhode Island, went for Al Smith in 1928, Hubert Humphrey in 1968, and no doubt will go Democratic once again in 1972 regardless of the President's

position on aid to parochial schools.

2. Even if a Catholic is nominated by the Democrats one must recognize that religious identification appeal is not constant for all candidates. According to Tulley Plessner, Edward Kennedy has a considerably stronger appeal among Catholics as a Catholic than does Muskie, despite the fact that they are both Catholics. The point here is that part of the strategy of wooing the Catholic vote must depend upon the Democrat opponent. If the opponent is Muskie, his Catholic appeal per se, will be a reduced factor. Jackson is a Presbyterian and the indications are clear that Lindsay might have a difficult time pulling the urban Catholic vote no matter what he does.
3. One may not have to agree with Scammon and Wattenberg that Catholicism as an issue is dead, but the fact is that 1960 was a high watermark in the history of the importance of this issue. In its decline, it probably still lingers in the minds and hearts of anti-Catholic Protestants more than it does among Catholics. If so, we must look carefully at the Protestant strength found in most of our key states.
4. The parochial aid issue may not be that important in the minds of most Catholics. There are approximately 4 million Catholic children enrolled in Catholic schools, and almost twice that number (approximately 7,788,000) enrolled in public schools.
5. There are other appeals on general social and economic issues which may be more significant to Catholics than an appeal on parochial aid. These include taxes, crime, basic values, patriotism, and equality of opportunity. Obviously in many areas, there is a significant overlap between ethnic and religious affiliation. Ethnic identification is must the stronger and this should be kept in mind in making an appeal. The same could be said for Spanish-speaking Americans in Florida, Texas and California.

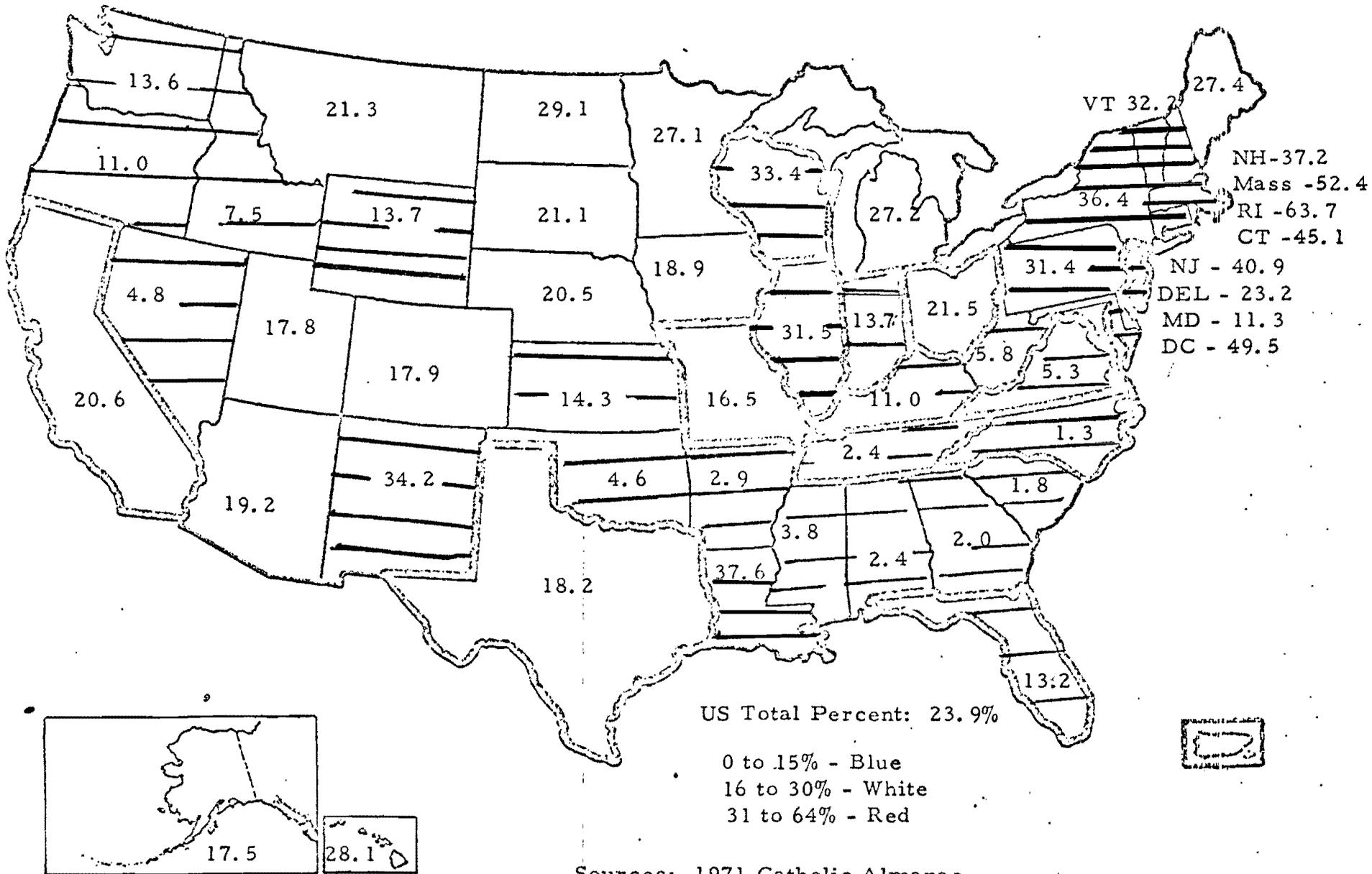
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

9

6. By coming down too hard on the issue of aid to parochial schools, not only do we run the risk of alienating Protestant voters, but more directly we could alienate the well organized and active 1.8 million public school teachers in this country. The President's recent statement on Catholic aid drew extremely negative responses from not only the NEA but others involved in public education as well.

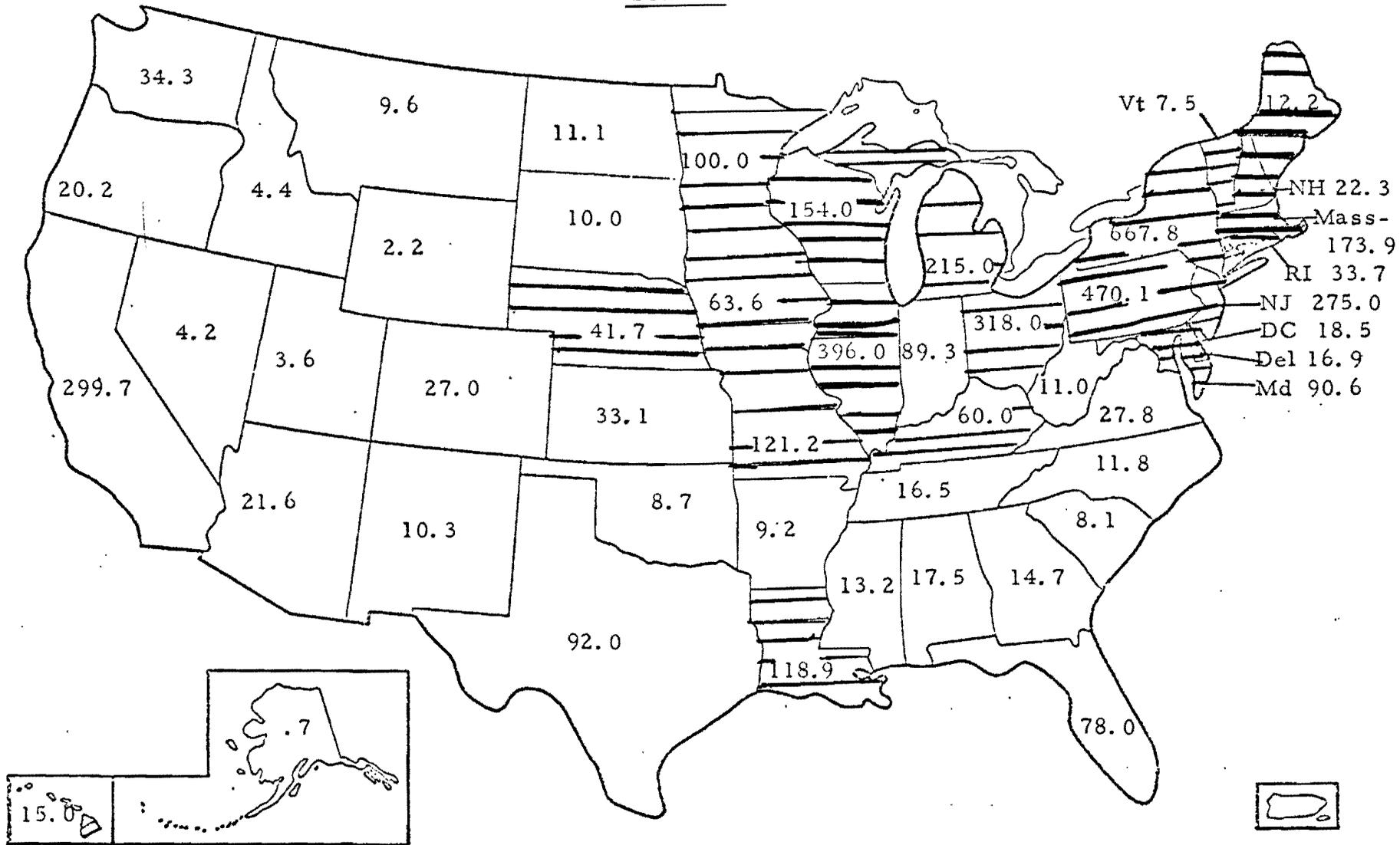
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

PERCENTAGE OF STATE WIDE CATHOLIC POPULATION



Sources: 1971 Catholic Almanac

Children Attending Non-Public Elementary and Secondary
Schools



Less than 10% - White
 10% to 15% - Blue
 Over 15% - Red

Catholic School Enrollment (in thousands)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Betty -

Date 10/1/71

TO: Gordon Strachan

FROM: Roy Morey

F. Y. I.

Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

Questions and results taken from material prepared for use on "National Polling Day: The Surprising Americans" produced by ABC Television News in association with Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.

April 16, 1971

	<u>Total public</u> %	<u>Catholics</u> %
1. In general, over the past ten years, do you feel that America has become a better place to live, a worse place to live, or is it just about the way it was ten years ago?		

Better place to live	30	33
Worse place to live	43	44
About the same	24	21
Not sure	3	2

2. Compared with ten years ago, would you say morality in the United States is lower today, higher, or not changed much?

Lower	65	70
Higher	10	9
Not changed much	21	19
Not sure	4	2

3. Compared to what it was in your parents' day, do you feel that respect by children for their parents has declined, increased, or not changed much?

Declined	77	72
Increased	4	5
Not changed much	17	19
Not sure	2	4

4. Compared to what it was in your parents' day, do you feel that the pressures of day-to-day living have increased, declined, or not changed much?

Increased	84	84
Declined	5	5
Not changed much	9	9
Not sure	2	2

5. As an American have you often, sometimes, or hardly ever felt upset because (Read list)?

	Total public %	Catholics %
--	----------------------	----------------

	(Often and Sometimes combined)	
a. Some people in this country still go hungry.	85	88
b. Of the way blacks have been discriminated against for 300 years.	65	67
c. Of the way our highways and parks are polluted by empty beer cans and soft drink bottles.	89	90

6. Now I want to ask you about people you might personally know about. Do you know anyone or not who (Read List)?

(For each "KNOW SOMEONE") Is that someone close to you or not?

(Close to me)

1. Overeats too much	55	50
2. Has a chronically ill member of the family	29	28
3. Has family quarrels quite often	26	26
4. Has an unfaithful wife or husband	13	13
5. Is lonely most of the time	23	24
6. Gambles too much	8	8
7. Drinks too much	27	26
8. Has no real friends	10	12
9. Has a child who has tried marijuana	13	14
10. Has a mentally disturbed member of the family	18	18

7. Now let me read you some statements. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with the statement.

	(Agree)	
a. People with real get-up-and-go never will go hungry.	82	81
b. Blacks are too pushy about wanting equality now, before they are ready.	52	47
c. Returnable bottles and cans are too much trouble to bother with.	30	34

		<u>Total public</u> %	<u>Catholics</u> %
8.	Would you be willing or not willing to (Read List)?		
a.	Ride to and from work in a car pool every day to help relieve pollution and traffic congestion.		
	Willing	82	79
	Not Willing	14	17
	Not Sure	4	4
b.	Pay 15% more for your groceries to insure that all packaging could be recycled for use again.		
	Willing	23	21
	Not Willing	68	71
	Not Sure	9	8
c.	Have a low-cost housing project in your neighborhood.		
	Willing	60	51
	Not Willing	36	44
	Not Sure	4	5
d.	Have children of a different race bussed to school in your neighborhood to achieve racial balance.		
	Willing	47	48
	Not Willing	46	44
	Not Sure	7	8
e.	Give up a wage increase to fight inflation.		
	Willing	48	44
	Not Willing	40	45
	Not Sure	12	11
f.	Cover up for a member of your family who was an alcoholic to protect his job.		
	Willing	28	34
	Not Willing	60	56
	Not Sure	12	10

-End-

File

January 4, 1971

Memorandum For: H. R. Haldeman

From: Charlie ^{KMUW} McWhorter

In accordance with your kind note of December 11, I am setting forth some additional comments about what might be considered as we get ready for 1972. As I am sure you are aware, the Administration currently has a serious problem of GOP morale, but it is a situation which I believe can be turned into a positive advantage. The problem stems from many factors--some valid and a great many others of lesser substance. In any event, I would hope that during the intervening months steps will be taken to bring about a much greater sense of identification with the President and the Administration on the part of elected and party officials and rank and file party workers.

The average voter is not greatly affected by the type of things which need to be done in this regard since he has no expectation of any particular interest by the President or Administration in his individual problems. However, elected and party officials do require special handling because of their established role in the political process. Means must be found which are effective in accomplishing this objective without alienating ordinary voters who more and more seem to turn away from emphasis on purely partisan concerns. This is not an impossible task, and in fact there are many facets of this general problem which can be turned into an advantage with the general public.

White House Liaison with Party

1. If possible, an informal event should be held at the White House honoring the members of the National Finance Committee, State Chairmen and National Committee during their meetings on January 13-16, 1971. The Vice President and members of the Cabinet and their wives should be urged to attend if possible. In addition, the President should attend the national fund-raising dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel on March 24, 1971. In his participation in these

events the President should stress that he must necessarily concentrate his interest in non-partisan activities that contribute to the overall success of his Administration for the next year or so. He can emphasize that he is sure they will understand and support his decision to provide the broad-gauged leadership which Americans expect and demand of the President during this phase of his Administration.

2. The choice of a new National Chairman should be handled in such a way that key members of the Republican National Committee are included in the process. Recognition should be given to the almost unanimous view of party officials and Governors that the National Chairman be a "full-time" Chairman and not a member of Congress. If the President wants a member of Congress as National Chairman in order to have an effective partisan spokesman, then a very strong full-time "Director of Organization" should be designated to have the primary responsibility for party building activity and be given prominent leadership recognition.

White House Liaison with Governors

On several occasions the President has stressed his intention to have close cooperation between the Administration and the various Governors. The Vice President's recent meeting with Republican Governors at Sun Valley resulted in a positive statement which stressed his interest in improving liaison procedures and his commitment to attend all future meetings of both the National Governors and Republican Governors. In my opinion, the following should also be considered:

1. The President should take some active part in the winter meeting of the National Governors Conference in Washington on February 23-25, again stressing his broad-gauged approach to public issues.
2. The Vice President should send a letter to the various Governors indicating that he would be willing, subject to scheduling convenience, to spend a day at the State Capitol of each Governor who desired this for the purpose of reviewing with the individual Governor and key members of his state administration the problems of Federal-State programs. While it may be that not all 50 Governors would respond, I am sure there would be

a substantial response which would serve not only a worthwhile substantive purpose, but would also provide the Vice President with a positive and noncontroversial reason for visiting in the various states on behalf of the Administration.

3. A systematic procedure should be set forth so that at least once each month a call is initiated by a member of the Vice President's staff to the principal assistant for each of the 50 Governors to keep in close contact with their respective offices.
4. A systematic procedure should be set forth so that at least once each month a call is initiated by a member of Herb Klein's staff to the Press Secretary for each Republican Governor to keep in close contact with their respective offices.

Organizational Activities for 1972

In my opinion, there should be an immediate examination on a state by state basis of the problems facing our party between now and 1972. This would certainly include an examination of the health of existing state and local party organizations; prospects for various races for state office and U. S. Senate and House of Representatives; reapportionment of congressional and legislative districts; party finances; and direction of the 1972 Presidential campaign in each state. This examination should proceed even though it is obviously not possible to resolve all of the various problems which will be noted in the various states. It may well be that there should be a division of responsibility for those who are concentrating on the 1972 Presidential campaign in a given state and those who are working on party and statewide problems. The urgency of this matter is increased by the fact that there has been a deterioration of party organization in many states since 1968 and because the Democrats are already setting up organization on behalf of Presidential candidates in key states.

If you would like to have a more detailed development of any of these or other related matters, I would certainly be glad to cooperate.

cc: Robert H. Finch
John D. Ehrlichman
Herbert G. Klein
Harry S. Dent

White House
Conference
on Youth

A
Needn't
see
File

Bob -

I think these will
be of interest to you.

Best,

Steve Waco



STEPHEN HESS
3705 PORTER STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

November 24, 1971

Editor
Washington Post

Sir:

In order to correct a bad situation -- the way presidential campaigns are now financed-- the Congress appears about to create a system that may have even more dire consequences. For the proposal to establish a public subsidy for presidential nominees could lead to a permanent multi-political-party arrangement in this country.

This is what could result from the so-called "checkoff plan":

1. It guarantees that George Wallace will run for President in 1972 and gives ^{his} supporters a permanent base as a political party. Under the proposed law, Wallace, on the basis of his vote total in 1968, would automatically receive in excess of \$6 million merely by declaring his candidacy, while, at the same time, he could still raise nearly \$14 million from the private sector ^{as} without forfeiting his Federal subsidy.

2. It greatly increases the likelihood of a fourth ^{party} presidential candidate from the Far Left. For if such a candidate received 5 percent of the popular vote his expenses would be publicly reimbursed. Running for President now becomes an acceptable gamble. And, of course, once a party gets 5 percent of the vote it is in business for the next presidential election.

3. Given the present dissatisfaction with President Nixon among some conservative leaders, it may also be that the possibility of Federal underwriting could produce a Far Right candidate for President next year. Even if this failed to materialize, it is not hard to hypothesize a national fifth party of this persuasion some time in the future.

In short, the Senate has offered a considerable lure to those who would prefer not to resolve their differences within the two-party system. Now members of the House of Representatives, who will have to vote on this bill next week, should ask themselves whether potential proliferation of political parties is in the public interest. Clearly the inherent instability of a multi-party system was amply demonstrated in pre- and post-World War II France.

The proposed law not only assures the perpetuation of a racist-oriented third party, with George Wallace and his heirs on the ballot until such time as their support drops below 5 percent, but it could equally insure that future presidential elections are decided in the House of Representatives, where each state would cast one vote, and the balance of power would swing to the small, low-population states.

Thus, it is ironic that many urban liberals, rightly concerned with devising a more equitable method of campaign financing, also well may be creating a racist, anti-urban method of choosing our Presidents.

Stephen Hess

STEPHEN HESS
3705 PORTER STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20016

November 24, 1971

The Editor
New York Times

Sir:

Tom Wicker, in the Times of November 21, rightly opposes the Senate-passed plan to subsidize presidential campaigns from public monies, but, in this observer's opinion, does so in part for the wrong reason.

He writes of the income tax checkoff proposal: "Obviously, with its greater benefits to the major parties, it would tend to perpetuate them as major parties; minor parties would be put at severe and unwarranted disadvantage. Where is it written and on what tablets of stone that Democrats and Republicans are ordained from on high and endowed with special privilege?"

The plan in practice would have exactly the opposite effect: encouraging the proliferation of splinter party candidates for president and potentially creating the sort of multi-party system that produced chaos in France before and after World War II.

While there is no Constitutional sanction for the two-party system, in fact it is highly unlikely that either major party will go out of business without a Federal subsidy. Neither party has lost a presidential election in the past because it lacked resources to tell its story. This is not to say that the present system of financing campaigns is any good. It isn't. I am only trying to make the point that the proposed subsidy does not really give the major parties any advantage that they don't already have.

On the other hand, what will be the effect of the tax checkoff on potential splinter party candidates?

It will certainly guarantee that George Wallace will run in 1972. Why not? Under the new plan he would automatically get more than \$6 million from the government without any restraints on his raising an additional \$14 million privately. Moreover, there would continue to be a racist-oriented third party in every presidential election until its support drops below 5 percent.

There would be a greater chance of a fourth party of the Far Left in 1972 because the new plan assures that if such a candidate receives 5 percent of the vote his expenses will be retroactively reimbursed from the Treasury. The same applies to a candidate of the Far Right; while this is politically less likely in 1972, it is hardly inconceivable for 1976 or 1980.

The possibility of five substantial presidential candidates, even four, greatly increases the likelihood that more and more elections will be decided by the House of Representatives, where constitutionally each state will cast one vote, and the balance of power will swing to the rural, less-populated states.

The grand irony is that the checkoff system, strongly supported by urban liberals, could create a racist, anti-urban means of choosing our Presidents.

Stephen Hess

This was written as an op-ed article for the New York Times -- but they've now held it over 2 months!

Revised November 3, 1971

THE YOUTH VOTE AND THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

BY STEPHEN HESS

A front-page headline in the New York Times of September 20 proclaims YOUNG VOTERS MAY CHANGE MAKE-UP OF CONGRESS IN '72. A more accurate, if somewhat more cumbersome, headline would be YOUNG VOTERS PROBABLY WILL MAKE LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN THE MAKE-UP OF CONGRESS IN '72.

The substance of Times reporter Warren Weaver's story is that young voters next year have the potential to defeat 31 of 33 Senators up for reelection and 70 per cent of the members of the House of Representatives for whom figures are available. He reaches this conclusion by determining that in these districts "the number of newly eligible voters exceeds the margin by which the incumbent was elected the last time he ran...."

Fortunately for these legislators (if not necessarily the nation), the Times article--and a good deal of the conventional wisdom about the youth vote--is hugely misleading.

With only modest refinement of Mr. Weaver's figures, it is possible to contend that the onslaught of youth ballots is more likely to defeat two (not 31) Senators and 14 Members of the House of Representatives (not 280).

The only new factor in the 1972 election equation is the vote of those enfranchised by the Constitution's 26th Amendment. Next year the number of 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds will be slightly in excess of 11 million out of a voting population of 139,563,000, or 8 per cent of the electorate.

Mr. Weaver rightly reports that "some political statisticians have made a broad national estimate that only about half of the new young eligibles will vote and that about two-thirds of those who do will probably vote Democratic."

Voting participation in our society seems like fine wine to ripen with age. Historically, younger people simply have not gone to the polls as frequently as their elders. For example, in a Maryland Congressional election last May to fill the seat vacated by Rogers Morton, the 18-to 20-year-olds made up 2.5 per cent of the total vote cast, while comprising 8.6 per cent of the district's voters.

Nevertheless given the novelty of voting for the first time and given the special efforts that will be made to get youth registered, it is reasonable to assume that there will be a 50 per cent turnout among young voters in 1972.

Public opinion surveys consistently show a 2 to 1 Democratic preference among the young, although the links to both parties are weak. Ideologically

youth also splits 2 to 1, liberal over conservative. The massive survey of college freshmen conducted by the American Council on Education in the fall of 1970⁶ indicates 36.6 per cent on the left of the political spectrum and 18.1 per cent on the right.

Thus postulating a 50 per cent turnout and 2-1 Democratic split, what is youth's likely impact on next year's Congressional races?

In Senate elections the application of this formula would produce the defeat of two Republican incumbents, Oregon's Mark Hatfield and John Tower of Texas.

Yet here we see the difficulty of trying to fit the youth vote into a statistical mold. Hatfield is a liberal. (Are young people liberals first and then Democrats?) Tower is a Southerner. (Are Southern youth as liberal as their Northern counterparts?)

Moreover neither Hatfield at 49 nor Tower at 46 is a senatorial fuddy-duddy. And there is plenty of evidence that style may be more important than ideology or party label to young people. Take the considerable attraction to youth of conservatives William Brock (R.,Tenn.) and James Buckley (R.,N.Y.).

Excluding the House races in New York, where Census Bureau figures have not yet been compiled by age group, what is note-worthy about the 14 Republican Congressmen who might be expected to fall victims to the youth vote is that 12 of them are first-, second-, or third-termers. The only veterans to be threatened by the 26th Amendment are Alvin O'Konski of Wisconsin (second-ranking

Republican on the Armed Services Committee) and Hastings Keith of Massachusetts (fourth-ranking Republican on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee).

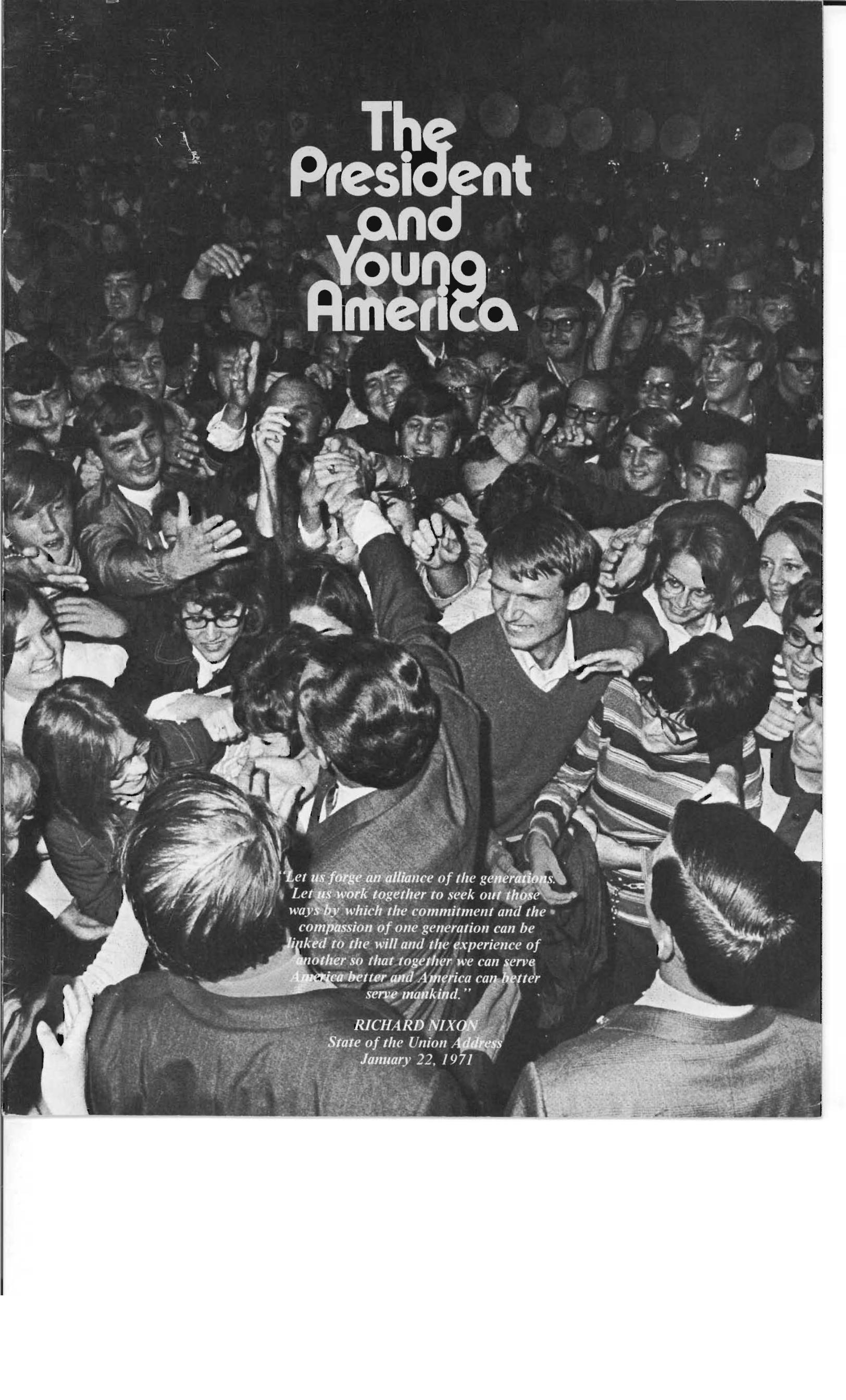
Allotting a two-thirds "liberal" youth vote in the South to the Republicans would likewise make virtually no difference on the make-up of the 93d Congress, although it could unseat James Haley of Florida, rated the most conservative Democrat in the House by Americans for Constitutional Action.

Of course districts in which there are significant concentrations of students could produce statistically improbable upsets, and election-watchers might follow with special interest the fates of such Congressional powerhouses as Tom Steed (University of Oklahoma), Harley Staggers (University of West Virginia), Frank Ichord (University of Missouri and Lincoln University), Frank Bow (Kent State) and William Springer (University of Illinois-Urbana).

The right to vote assumes the self-protective obligation on the part of politicians to take youth seriously. They now become a force not only on election day but in the choice of candidates and issues. Yet the most apparent conclusion from the data at hand is that the youth vote, rather than being a "ballot bomb" as Kingman Brewster has predicted, will have no explosive effect on the Capitol Hill power structure.

This is not to dismiss any 8 per cent of the electorate. Especially in close elections. "But, of course, in a close election every vote is important," writes Scammon and Wattenberg in their new epilogue to The Real Majority. "In Detroit a close election can swing on the votes of Maltese-Americans."

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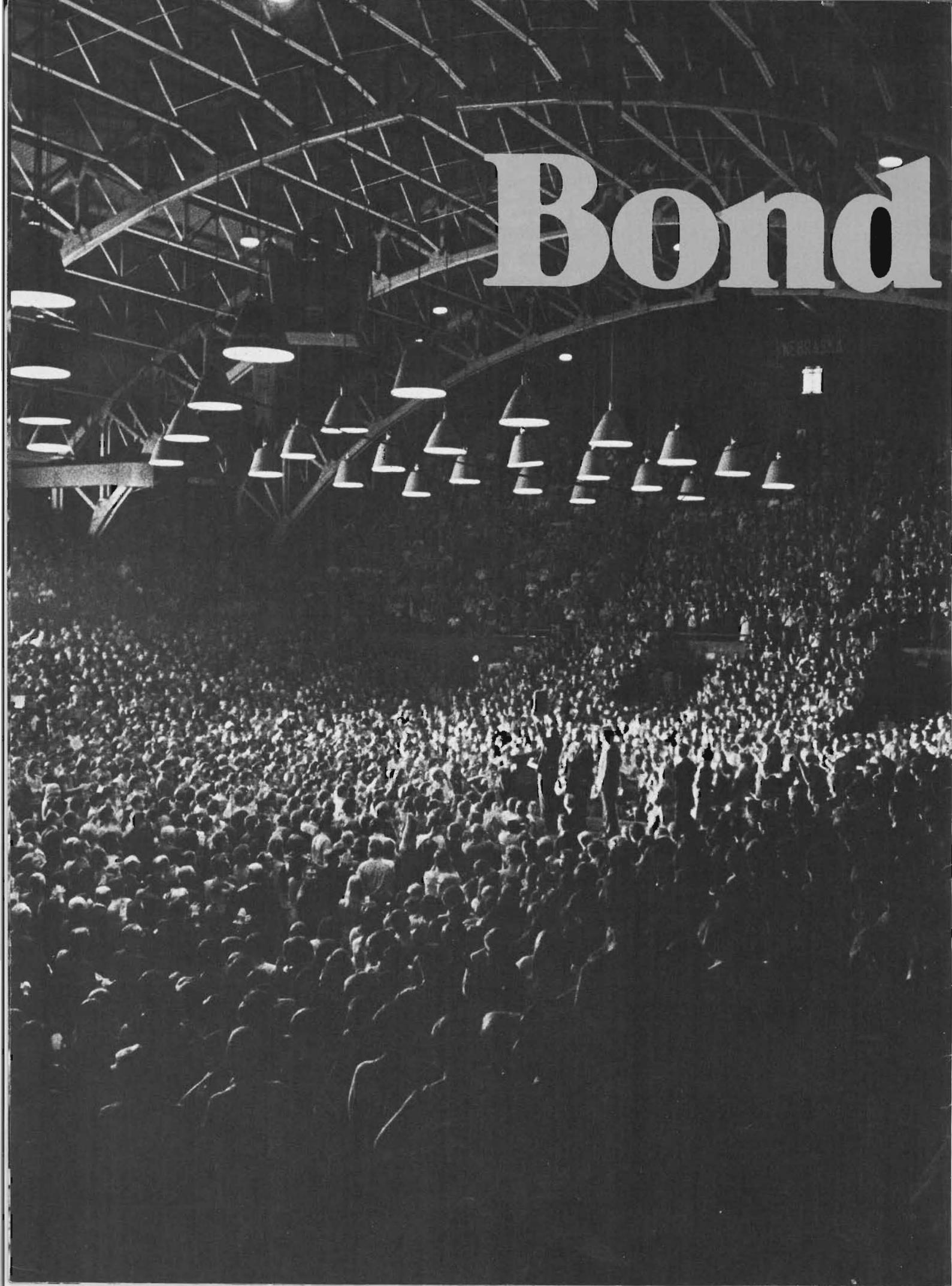


The President and Young America

*"Let us forge an alliance of the generations.
Let us work together to seek out those
ways by which the commitment and the
compassion of one generation can be
linked to the will and the experience of
another so that together we can serve
America better and America can better
serve mankind."*

RICHARD NIXON
*State of the Union Address
January 22, 1971*

Bond



of Peace...

November, 1971

During the 1968 Presidential campaign, newsmen travelling with Mr. Nixon repeatedly remarked on the "surprising" number of young people packing his record-breaking audiences.

But it wasn't really surprising at all.

At no time since he entered public life has Richard Nixon tried to co-opt young people or snow them with theatrical charisma.

Instead, he has addressed them as young adults, spelling out the risks and the responsibilities as well as the opportunities. He refuses to undercut the nation's honor—whether it's bowing to violence in the streets at home, or violent aggression plotted in the war sanctums of Hanoi.

Young people who have declared themselves to be "anti-Administration" keep discovering that they're more and more agreeing with President Nixon's proposals and actions in areas of particular concern to them.

Recent, separate polls by college specialists, *Campus Opinion* and *Columbia Features*, reveal overwhelming student support of the President's "Journey for Peace" to the People's Republic of China as well as his design for economic stability and the wage-price freeze.

The President has repeatedly said that, in the long run, he will be judged by the results of what he does, not by the temporary voice of criticism of actions that are unpopular to some. His courageous decisions on Cambodia and Laos are cases in point—two strategic moves that dramatically served to curtail the enemy's long term offensive capacity.

He has acted positively on every issue of importance to young people—not because it would win favor with youth but "because it was right for America."

THE DRAFT

One of his first Presidential actions was the reform of the inequitable draft system—one of the key causes of student unrest.

VIETNAM

He has kept his pledge to wind down the war in Vietnam and bring American troops home.

HUMAN RESOURCES

His 1971 budget allotted more for human resources than for defense—reversing a 20-year trend.

DRUG ABUSE

He has waged the most vigorous international war against drugs—"Public Enemy Number One" and the nation's Number One cause of youth deaths.

THE ENVIRONMENT

His is the first Administration to make protection of the environment a national priority.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

And he has backed his conviction that "No qualified student who wants to go to college should be barred by lack of money," with action. Among other things, his sweeping Higher Educational Opportunity proposal to Congress will increase student grants by 70 percent.

THE NIXON DOCTRINE

An increasing concern of young people—spanning succeeding generations since War II—had been America's accelerating role as policeman to the world. The Nixon Doctrine lowers the American profile abroad—providing assistance to other countries in need, but playing a supportive rather than a dominant role in their affairs.

MAN OF PEACE

On every side, and in every action, the underlying theme of the Nixon Administration has been PEACE—Peace at home and abroad; on the campus and in the city; Peace with our environment and between our generations.

The message is getting through—from the man of peace in the White House, to the generation of peace; to the young people who must live in the future of the world.

That is the common bond between the President and young America.

Inaugural Peace Theme Hailed

WASHINGTON POST
Jan. 21, 1969

Columnist's Mail Shows Youth Shift to Nixon Following Cambodia

"It is not only the silent majority that is finding a new folk hero in R.M.N., but a considerable number of young people. In the President's first 16 months in office, letters praising him were rare in this commentator's mail. He was not bitterly attacked or even sharply criticized, but it was clear that he was not idolized either.

"This changed with his decisive action in Cambodia, especially since it uncovered vast stores of arms and other supplies which otherwise would have been used to kill American soldiers in Vietnam. Mr. Nixon suddenly became a leader to be worshipped.

"Inquiry at the White House disclosed the same to be true of their mail which, of course, is of tremendous volume as compared with the trickle that reaches this observer's desk. Yet over a hundred letters provide some measure of the public pulse."

Walter Trohan
CHICAGO TRIBUNE
June 15, 1970

Cambodia, A Vital Victory

PHOENIX GAZETTE
May 27, 1970

President's Peace Search Steady, Not Stampeded by Demonstrations

SALT LAKE CITY TRIBUNE
May 1, 1971

Nixon's Vietnamization, A Working Reality

LOS ANGELES TIMES
May 7, 1971

The President with G.I.'s in Vietnam.



NIXON: MAN OF PEACE

(LONDON TIMES)

President's
Tenacity Pays
Off In SALT
Stalemate
Breakthrough

OMAHA WORLD HERALD
June 22, 1971

President's Vietnam Action
Gives Nation Hope

DETROIT FREE PRESS
May 1, 1971

Nuclear Treaty, Peace
Milestone

WASHINGTON POST March 6, 1970

Nixon's Mideast Policy A Working Reality

DETROIT NEWS March 7, 1971

Nixon Broke Berlin Talks Deadlock

LOS ANGELES TIMES Aug. 3, 1971

Statesmanship

"With a deft and daring command of the tools of statecraft, Mr. Nixon has managed a political and diplomatic master stroke. . . in the service of world peace and the finest tradition of statesmanship."

(PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER)



Any nation can be our friend without being any other nation's enemy. I have taken this action because of my profound conviction that all nations will gain from a re-

duction of tensions and a better relationship between the United States and the Peoples Republic of China.

It is in this spirit that I will undertake what I deeply

hope will become a journey for peace — peace not just for our generation but for future generations on this earth we share together.

Richard Nixon July 15, 1971

Nixon Pushes Job Help for Viet Veterans

NEW YORK NEWS
March 13, 1971

"Give Youth a Break" President Orders Federal Bureau Heads

"The beginning of this decade is a fitting time for us to demonstrate our commitment to the full involvement of today's youth in the processes of government which will help share their tomorrow and ours," Mr. Nixon said. "Only with the help of this generation can we meet the challenge of the 1970's."

"The President directed each department and agency to assure that:

...Manpower planning provides for an 'adequate and continuing intake of career trainees to meet future requirements.'

... 'Young people are placed in jobs that challenge their full abilities and provide opportunities to grow, innovate and con-

tribute in a real way.'

...Young professionals are 'exposed to the decision-making processes and to a broad view of their agencies' missions.'

... 'Open channels for communication are established and freely used, and provide for listening, considering and responding with fast means for ideas to reach officials who can act on them.'

... 'All supervisors understand how much they influence young employees' job attitudes and career decisions through their receptivity, their interest and their flexibility.'"

BALTIMORE NEWS AMERICAN
April 2, 1970

Nixon Youth Job Plea Gives Priority to Cities

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER
April 10, 1971

Nixon Asks Congress To Increase Disadvantaged Teens' Summer Aid

Seeks 576,000 Summer Jobs

"President Nixon announced yesterday he will ask Congress for an extra \$64.3 million to put 'disadvantaged' teenagers to work during the summer ahead.

"If approved by the lawmakers, the additional funds would create 100,000 more jobs, providing a total of 576,000 temporary jobs in the President's summer youth program. The White House said yesterday this would be the largest summer program ever."

WASHINGTON POST
April 10, 1971

At the Washington, D.C. meeting of POW and MIA families in September, President Nixon said that the U.S. would eventually succeed in winning the release of their young men in Vietnam. (Picture left—The President greets Doug Rice of New York City, whose brother, Navy Lieutenant Chuck Rice, is missing in action).



NIXON ORDERS DETAILED PLAN TO END DRAFT

WASHINGTON STAR
January 31, 1969

Startling Innovation: Youth Draft Advisors

"President Nixon within the week will proclaim a startling innovation in the draft to make conscription a little sweeter for the nation's youth. He's going to let the young people who have to serve help administer the selective service system.

NEW YORK TIMES
May 18, 1969

'No more sweating...' Collegians Hail Nixon's Draft Plan

"President Nixon's proposal to change the draft laws was viewed as a far more equitable plan by college students contacted by The Sun-Times Tuesday.

"Most of the students agreed that the new system would cause fewer complaints about the draft system."

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES
May 14, 1969

Nixon's Draft Reform Goes A Long Way in Making SS Palatable

DETROIT NEWS
May 15, 1969

Youth Supports Nixon

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER
July 29, 1970

NIXON SEEKS PLAN TO REPLACE DRAFT WITH VOLUNTEERS

Order to Pentagon Envisions Shift When Vietnam Cost is Substantially Lower

"President Nixon has ordered the Defense Department to devise a 'detailed plan' to replace the military draft with an all-volunteer Army when expenditures in Vietnam have been 'substantially reduced,' the White House announced today. The order represents Mr. Nixon's first public indication since his election that he intends to carry out a campaign pledge to end the draft."

NEW YORK TIMES
January 31, 1969

President's SS Reform Proposal Has Merit

NEWSDAY
May 15, 1969

Draft-Age Youths Applaud President's Lottery Plan

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 14, 1969

We Urge Congress: Get Busy On President's Draft Plan

COLUMBUS CITIZEN JOURNAL
May 15, 1969

President's Draft Lottery Erases Arbitrary Call-Ups

"President Nixon's proposal to set up a random, lottery system for the military draft promises to be the next best thing to ending the draft altogether. Under the Nixon proposal young men would be subject to the draft's first call for one year—either their 19th year or the year after their educational deferments end. After this period of maximum vulnerability, they would be less and less available each year.

"Under the present system a youth becomes more and more eligible for the draft until he reaches the age of 26. The

lottery plan would be applied locally by each draft board to meet its quota, but the lottery system should eliminate any arbitrary decisions by local draft boards about who gets drafted and who doesn't.

"Like President Nixon, we believe that 'the disruptive impact of the military draft on individual lives should be minimized as much as possible.' The lottery plan goes a long way in that direction."

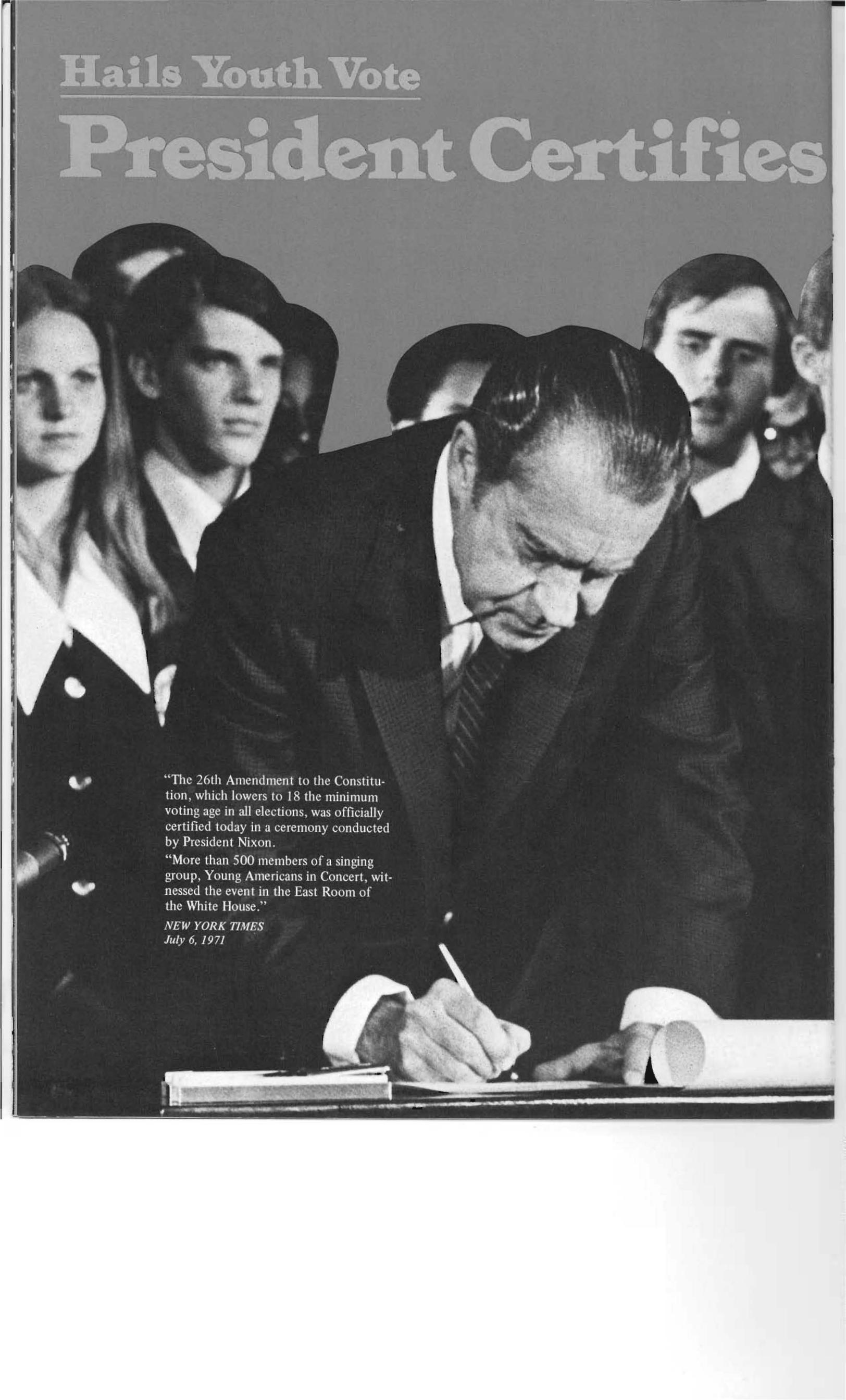
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
May 14, 1969

Nixon's Draft Plan Vast Improvement

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS May 14, 1969

Hails Youth Vote

President Certifies

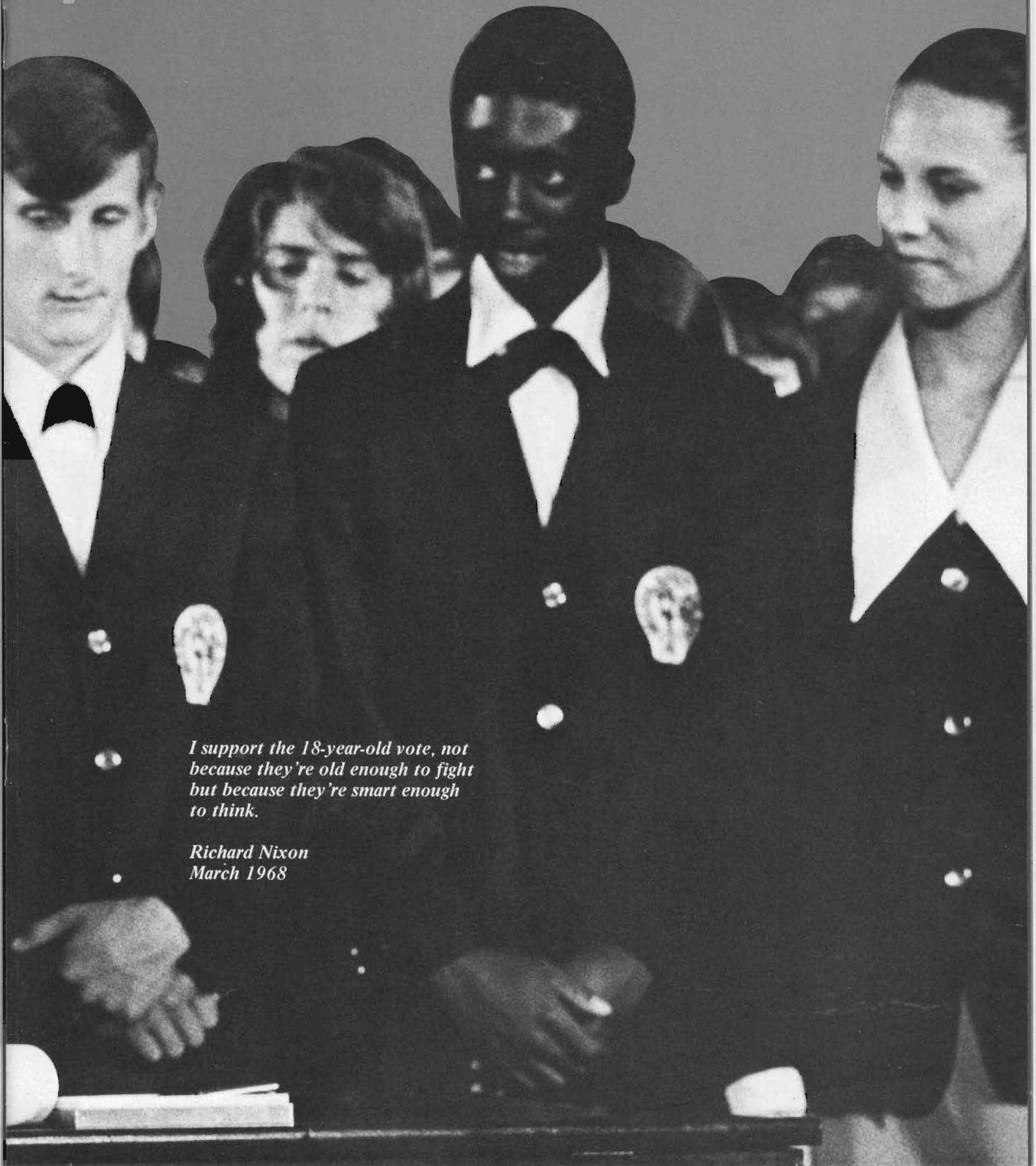
A black and white photograph of President Richard Nixon signing a document. He is in the foreground, wearing a dark suit and tie, looking down at the paper. Behind him, several young people, mostly men in suits, are looking on. The scene is set in a formal room, likely the East Room of the White House.

“The 26th Amendment to the Constitution, which lowers to 18 the minimum voting age in all elections, was officially certified today in a ceremony conducted by President Nixon.

“More than 500 members of a singing group, Young Americans in Concert, witnessed the event in the East Room of the White House.”

NEW YORK TIMES
July 6, 1971

26th Amendment



*I support the 18-year-old vote, not
because they're old enough to fight
but because they're smart enough
to think.*

*Richard Nixon
March 1968*

Landmark Quality



Explorer Scouts visit the President.

Nixon Moves to Improve Veterans' School Benefits

ALBANY KNICKERBOCKER NEWS March 17, 1970

President Offers Massive, Bold Look to a More Hopeful Future

PROVIDENCE JOURNAL January 24, 1971



February in New Hampshire.

Whitman team says "Nixon's the One."
(State of Washington)

President's New ACTION Agency Fulfills Campaign Pledge to Youth

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER
January 19, 1971

TEEN-AGE MR. NIXON POLL SPEAKS PICKS TO YOUTH NIXON

"It probably would not have affected either way the congressional decision for 18-year-old voting, but some lawmakers way out in left field may note with after-the-fact chagrin that a teenage poll shows President Nixon to be their most popular American—as borne out by a survey conducted by the Electronic Computer Programming Institute among 4,000 high school juniors and seniors across the country.

"It was a serious poll, testing the preferences of serious-minded young people.

"It has been significant that throughout a period of controversy, especially in such areas of policy as the Vietnam war, and the Cambodian thrust, the American majority of men and women have strongly supported the President. It is equally significant, surely, that the high school age majority is in that corner, too."

NASHVILLE BANNER
July 6, 1970

"The eloquent appeal to the young by President Nixon, urging them to help 'forge an alliance of the generations' that can surmount the challenges facing America, is persuasive.

"Nor should the older generations forget Mr. Nixon's reminder that preserving the dream of America is largely up to the young.

"The President's plan to combine the existing Peace Corps, VISTA and other programs into a new 'volunteer service corps' would provide one outlet for youthful energy and idealism. Another, equally important, is implicit in his defense of the political process. To those who brush off politics or shun participation in it, he rightly emphasized that politics 'is a process, not an end' and 'the process can be as good or as bad as the people that are part of it.'

"That invitation to the young to get actively involved in politics is excellent advice, perhaps as wise a practical suggestion they'll hear in the next two years."

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS
January 16, 1971



in Nixon's Education Goals

SAN DIEGO UNION March 21, 1970

President's School Plan Sound

LOS ANGELES TIMES
March 26, 1970

Nixon's Education Reform Proposals Spur a Lively Flow of Student Ideas

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
March 22, 1970

President Offers A Better College Policy: More Loans, Grants, New Ideas

NEWARK NEWS
March 24, 1970

Nixon's School Leadership Welcome

DENVER POST March 25, 1970

Nixon Puts Out Welcome Sign for Young People

Nixon's School Stance Brilliant

ARIZONA REPUBLIC
March 27, 1970

Nixon Offers Revamped Aid For Students

LANSING STATE JOURNAL
Feb. 19, 1970

Nixon's Education Goals Offer Hope to Black Children

William Raspberry (WASHINGTON POST)
March 21, 1970



"President Nixon has moved dramatically but quietly to achieve formal and understanding relations with the youth movement. He talked for an hour in the White

House with six young men from Kent State University. He not only obtained their personal point of view on the tragic slaying of four students, but their opinions

on what the youth movement on the nation's college campuses generally is all about."

NEW YORK NEWS May 7, 1970

Kansas State Applause Affirms Nixon Knows His Job

"One of the most essential jobs of the President of the United States—any president—is to keep the nation's eye on the ball. He must set forth goals worthy of the people's best efforts: he must raise a standard around which good and reasonable men can rally, regardless of their politics.

"President Nixon did this exceptionally well the other night at Kansas State University. Taking as his topic the inhuman violence plaguing college campuses, cities

and even airliners, Nixon said many things that needed to be said. And the applause he drew from an audience of predominantly university people confirms that he said them well.

"But perhaps the best thing Nixon did at Kansas State was to point out, finally, that 'we in America have a great deal to be proud of—and a great deal to be hopeful about.'

"We do have, as he said, the material foundation on which to develop 'great

qualities of the spirit...the brightest chapter ever in the unfolding of the American dream.'

"This is precisely the kind of America most of the young people we know want to build—and live in. They all too rarely hear a President pointing in that direction with the humility and sincerity Nixon displayed at Kansas State."

THE DENVER POST
September 18, 1970

President Urges Expanded Youth Role in Government

PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN
September 13, 1970

President Says Youth Not 'Turned Off'

"President Richard Nixon, says the younger generation 'is being given a bad name by a few violent demonstrators.'

"They do not speak for youth and they do not speak for Americans,' Nixon told a gathering of more than 10,000 people last night at Kansas City auditorium.

"The President said his appearance at Kansas State University last month demonstrated that most students 'stood up

against violence' because they recognize that as long as there is a 'means for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence and lawlessness.'

"In Ohio State today, I ran into students, scores of them, and that was the same message that came through loud and clear,' Nixon told his Kansas City audience."

WASHINGTON STAR October 20, 1970

Nixon Innovates, Invites Young to Take Charge of White House Youth Parley

"President Nixon has decided to do what other Presidents haven't—let the young, including some militants, take charge of the White House Conference on Youth.

"The conference, held every 10 years since President Theodore Roosevelt started it, in the past has consisted mainly of adults talking about the problems of youth.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER August 10, 1970

With Governor Lin Holton and Young Virginians.



Nixon's Environment Plan Historic

CHARLESTON GAZETTE
July 20, 1970

Nixon's Environmental Agency: Big Gain in Pollution Attack

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER
July 10, 1970

President Announces Student Ecology Awards

President Nixon announced a new award program yesterday to stimulate high school students to undertake programs designed to protect the environment.

"I have been impressed by the thousands of letters I have received from young people who want to join our national effort to reclaim, protect and preserve our national inheritance," Mr. Nixon said. "Environmental programs sponsored by high school students can play an important part in this vital effort."

Awards would be made for educational programs, community service projects and public affairs programs.

Theme of the program, "Life—Pass it On."

WASHINGTON POST November 1, 1971

Nixon's Environment Program Holds Promise of Success

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION Nov. 18, 1970

Nixon Vows to Clean Great Lakes

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
Feb. 20, 1970

President Hits Federal Pollution

NEWARK NEWS March 23, 1970

Nixon Puts Teeth in Refuse Act

MINNEAPOLIS JOURNAL
Dec. 27, 1970

A Presidential Push On Pollution—Pronto

MIAMI HERALD Dec. 27, 1970

Nixon Gives Leadership For Improved Environment

AKRON BEACON JOURNAL Feb. 11, 1970

Nixon Proposes Sweeping Pollution Fight Program

CHICAGO TRIBUNE Feb. 11, 1970

President Firm in Fight To Save The Environment

CHICAGO SUN TIMES Feb. 9, 1970

We Applaud President's Crackdown on Polluters

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
Feb. 10, 1970

Nixon's Top-Notch Environment Plan

LOS ANGELES TIMES
March 6, 1970

Nixon Moves in Right Direction

IDAHO STATESMAN March 12, 1970

Nixon's 'Alliance of Generations' A Fresh Approach to Young People

"President Nixon will win widespread public support for his new 'alliance of the generations.'

"In both his University of Nebraska speech and his State of the Union address Mr. Nixon called upon the idealism of youth to help fight poverty at home and abroad.

"It is good leadership to appeal to young people."

HARTFORD TIMES
January 25, 1971

President's Message—A Restatement Of Faith in America's Young People

"An understanding President—guest, and briefly a speaker in U.T.'s Neyland Stadium last night—was a President understood. A Chief Executive with respect for both the occasion, and his audience, had and has the respect of these. Where there is mutual interest in and concern for the present and future of the greatest nation on earth, there is reciprocity of

regard for honest convictions, even if they do not coincide at every point.

"That was the spirit of President Nixon's message last night.

"It was Mr. Nixon's faith in America's young people reiterated; in the objectives and dedication of that vast majority, striving with heart and hand and mind to build a better nation and better world."

NASHVILLE BANNER May 21, 1970

Newspaper Boy Week Proclamation.



Girls Nation Leaders.



And at every stop—young people! (Walla Walla, Washington)

President Shows Admirable Willingness to Adapt to Needs

NEW YORK TIMES
April 6, 1971

140

Nixon Releases Funds for War on Drug Use Among Pupils

WASHINGTON POST March 12, 1970

We Welcome Nixon's Attack on Drugs In Schools

WICHITA EAGLE March 16, 1970

Nixon Blocks Narcotics Traffic

WASHINGTON STAR June 6, 1971

Nixon Taps Youth's Quieter Idealism

OMAHA WORLD-HERALD
January 16, 1971

Nixon's Attack on Drugs Deserves Active Support

DENVER POST
March 25, 1970

100,000 Youth Jam UT Stadium, Give Nixon Tumultuous Welcome

KNOXVILLE JOURNAL
May 29, 1970

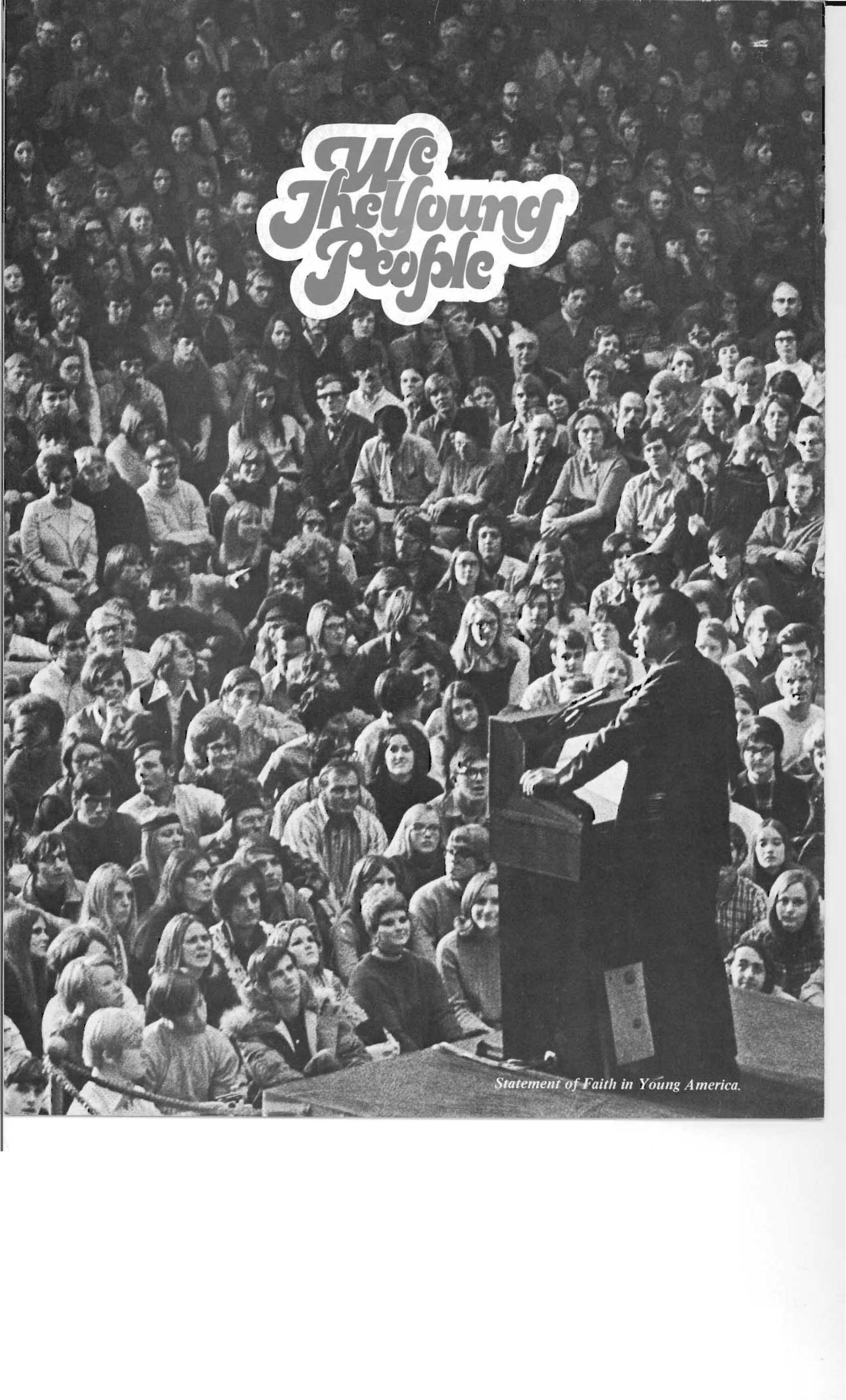
Nixon Gives Priority to Youth

BOSTON GLOBE
June 8, 1970

The President Toward Youth: Dignity and Understanding

WASHINGTON STAR
Jan 21, 1971

Editor: Frank Leonard. Design: Frank Foster. Photography: Ollie Atkins, Jack Kightlinger, Byron Shumacker, Bob Knudsen, Karl Schumacher.



We The Young People

Statement of Faith in Young America.

File

EVALUATION OF NOVEMBER 2, 1971, ELECTIONS

I. Victories

1. Indianapolis, Indiana: Incumbent Republican Mayor Richard Lugar, running a campaign closely identified with the President, won re-election 153,407 votes to the Democrat candidate's 100,552. This was the biggest percentage for any Republican candidate since President Eisenhower. State Chairman John Snyder says this should be seen as a real victory for the President as well as Lugar.
2. Evansville, Indiana: Evansville has elected a Republican mayor for the first time in 20 years, Russell G. Lloyd.
3. San Diego, California: Republican Assemblyman Pete Wilson won the mayoral race with 115,417 votes to his opponent's 71,321. Both men were of conservative stripe, and voting was on party lines.
4. Birmingham, Alabama: Republican Mayor George Seibels who is closely tied to the President in Birmingham won re-election by 12,000 votes on October 12. Seibels, regarded as one of the South's most progressive mayors, won despite heavy opposition because of an occupational tax he supported.
5. Cleveland, Ohio: Republican Ralph Perke was elected mayor, beating out a Stokes-backed black independent and a moderate Democrat. Perke had been auditor of Cuyahoga County. Party people see strengthening of President's position in Ohio reflected in the vote. Perke has ties to the President from 1968, when he worked with ethnics.
6. Columbus, Ohio: Republican Tom Moody was elected mayor of Columbus. Republicans now hold all but three or four city halls in Ohio.
7. Pennsylvania 18th Congressional District: Republican Heinz over his Democrat opponent by 103,000 to 49,000 at latest count. Seen as victory for President since the Democrat, Connelly, tried to exploit the economic issue.

II. Toss-ups

1. New Jersey: GOP retained Senate, but lost control of Assembly, though not by overwhelming majority. Republican State Senator Hap Farley lost big in Atlantic County, taking everyone with him. GOP held in counties where President was strong in 1968. Party people feel they made fairly good showing.
2. San Francisco: Republicans here not surprised at Alioto win, but feel some significance in that Republican Dobbs was second in the three-way race, with 69,786 votes. A Republican, John Molinari, was elected a San Francisco supervisor.

III. Major Setbacks

1. Kentucky: Democrat Wendell Ford beat Republican Tom Emberton. Ford had styled his campaign as running against the President as well as Emberton and Nunn. Emberton turned off attack too early, wound up on defensive. Democrats turned out consistent numbers of voters statewide. Democrats hold 2 - 1 edge in registration.
2. Virginia: George P. Shafran, the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor ran third statewide despite heavy campaigning by Governor Linwood Holton. Democrats captured all of Northern Virginia State Senate delegation.

Overall Evaluation: Ohio showed greatest Republican vigor. While Indiana was strong, several college towns were lost, indicating need to beef up youth vote efforts. Attempts will be made by Democrats to use Kentucky as a barometer (Scoop Jackson said it this morning in a press conference), but the Pennsylvania 18th should refute this to a degree since the Democrat who ran much in the style of Ford, was defeated.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11-3-71

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Harry Dent prepared the attached summary of the final election returns.

The President has called Lugar, Perke, Rizzo, and Pete Wilson but not Heinz as of 12 noon.

November 2, 1971

ELECTION RETURNS

CONGRESSIONAL RACE:

Pennsylvania 18th

Heinz (R)	103,000
Connelly (D)	49,000

GUBERNATORIAL RACE:

Kentucky

Emberton (R)	388,594
Ford (D)	448,418
Chandler (I)	37,739
Smith	7,231

Mississippi

Waller (D)	427,544
Evers (I)	117,652

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR:

Virginia

Shafran (R)	183,926
Kostel (D)	269,841
Howell (I)	317,008

MAYORAL RACES:

Indianapolis

Lugar (R)	153,407
Neff (D)	100,552

page 2 - Election Returns
for November 2, 1971

Philadelphia

Longstreth (R)	343,169
Rizzo (D)	391,692

Cleveland

Perke (R)	87,374
Pinckney (D)	72,386
Carney (I)	64,923

San Francisco

Dobbs (R)	69,786
Alioto (D)	97,251
Feinstein	55,175

Boston

Hicks (D)	70,326
White (D)	113,119

San Diego

Wilson (R)	115,417
Butler (D)	71,321

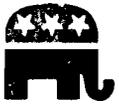
Baltimore

Pierpont (R)	17,740
Schaefer (D)	128,807



Harry S. Dent

11:00 a.m., November 3, 1971



Republican
National
Committee.

November 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO:  GORDON STRACHAN
FROM:  ED DeBOLT
RE: PRELIMINARY ELECTION REPORT

I have attached the results that our political field staff and research staff have gathered from the various major races across the country yesterday. We have contacted various independent sources to compile this information. I hope that you will find it useful.

Early next week we plan to have completed an in-depth analysis of these races with emphasis on the political impact within the states and particular areas of these races. You will receive a copy.

/jrg
attachment

INDIANA

INDIANAPOLIS

Incumbent Mayor Richard Lugar won election easily over his Democrat rival, attorney John Neff. Lugar ran extremely well for a Republican in the inner-city, normally a Democrat stronghold. The final vote was 153,407 for Lugar and 100,552 for Neff. Lugar also brought in a Republican State Senator and 2 state representatives who were running in special elections. Republicans think they have won 20 of the 29 city council seats, giving Lugar the support he will need on the council. The two city judges running for the first time on the city ticket, also went to the Republicans.

SOUTH BEND

Incumbent Mayor, Lloyd Allen, a Republican who has held the office for eight years, did not seek re-election this year. Instead, the election was between Jerry Miller, a Democrat and President of the County Commissioners, and Janet Allen, a city councilwoman. Mrs. Allen, age seventy-some, lost to Miller, who is in his early thirties. South Bend is considered a Democrat stronghold, having never gone Republican in recent elections, save the mayors race in 1963 and 1967.

BLOOMINGTON.

Normally a Republican city, Bloomington went Democratic in Tuesday's election. This is largely attributed to the large turnout of students from Indiana University who were expected to vote Democratic.

FORT WAYNE

Until last year when incumbent Congressman E. Ross Adair lost his bid for re-election, Fort Wayne was traditionally a Republican city. This year the Republican Mayor lost in his bid for re-election to the Democrat opponent.

EVANSVILLE

Normally a Democrat city and county, Evansville went Republican this year for the first time in recent history. Mayor McDonald, a democrat, was not seeking re-election and the two candidates were both new and trying for the first time.

GARY

Unlike four years ago, the Democratic party was united behind Mayor Richard Hatcher, and he easily won re-election.

INDIANAPOLIS

Lugar 153,407

Neff 100,552

(Exceeds Nixon and Eisenhower margin in past years.)

Republicans won:

20 of 29 Council seats
both criminal court judges
2 special elections
 1 legislature (Both former Republican seats, but won
 1 State Senate by a large margin.)

All the margins here are well in excess of normal GOP margins (12,000-20,000)

Victories due to:

- 1) Met and won the busing issue and the Democrats were discredited.
- 2) The attack of Matt Reese's involvement in race.
- 3) Positive pitch of Lugar record - pollution control, safest city, lower taxes.

CLEVELAND MAYOR'S RACE

UNOFFICIAL RETURNS

REPUBLICAN	Black-INDEPENDENT	DEMOCRAT
Ralph J. Perk	Arnold R. Pinkney	James M. Carney
88,774	72,785	65,887

Republican Ralph J. Perk, Cuyahoga County Auditor since 1962 won on his third attempt at becoming Mayor of the City of Cleveland, Ohio. Perk won with a plurality vote defeating Democrat James Carney and Black-Independent Arnold Pinkney. Carney, a wealthy businessman was estimated to have spent over \$400,000 in his third place finish, Arnold Pinkney, the favorite candidate of incumbent Mayor Carl Stokes finished second spending some \$250,000. Ralph Perk ran a tightly financed campaign (\$40,000) bringing together a coalition of Republicans, Democrats and Blacks. He collected some 40% of the three-way split despite the fact that Democrats out-register Republicans in the City of Cleveland by a 10 to 1 margin.

The vote was an apparent backlash at the two-term Democratic Mayor Stokes who steps down this next Monday morning. The City faces bankruptcy, and may be unable to meet its December payroll. Despite some cries that Perk ran a "racist" campaign, the Mayor-Elect plans to bring together these same three factions in his new administration.

Note: This is the last partisan campaign that will be conducted in the City of Cleveland, because during the September Primary the electorate vote to make all future campaigns for Mayor of the City of Cleveland Non-Partisan.

Ohio - State-wide

The Republicans swept the Northeast Section of Ohio.

- 1) Long-term incumbents were unseated.
- 2) The unpopularity of Democrat Governor Gilligan, who actively campaigned, also affected the outcome.
- 3) Columbus - large youth vote plus black vote, helped upset long-time incumbent Sensenbrenner.

Columbus

Moody (R)	77,853
Sensenbrenner (D)	76,840

Warren

Richard (R)	10,307
Bennett (D)	9,032

Niles

Thorp (R)	4,107
Marino (D)	4,002

San Francisco - Mayor

Joseph Alioto (D)	95,744
Harold Dobbs (R)	68,637
Diane Fienstein (D)	53,911

Joseph Alioto's pending federal indictment had no effect on the lower socio-economic voters who gave him most of his support.

Harold Dobbs suffered his third loss in election for mayor. He lost by a greater margin in this race than he lost by in 1967 (margin in 1967 was only 16,000 votes). Approximate totals for the 1967 race are: Alioto, 112,000; Dobbs, 96,000; Morrison, 50,000.

Diane Fienstein (D) ran on a liberal platform.

The total vote for San Francisco mayor dropped off significantly since the last election.

San Francisco - Other

1) Proposition S - Voters said yes to electing school board at large. This is a direct ramification of the city busing plan instituted in September.

2) Proposition I - took away life-time tenure for teachers and reduced it to 4-year tenure.

3) Proposition T - voters defeated this measure to limit all building in the San Francisco area to 6 stories (139,000-85,000).

San Diego - Mayor

Assemblyman Pete Wilson (R)	109,000 (63%)
Ed Butler (D)	70,000

This victory will provide good assistance for Convention.

Sacramento - Mayor

Richard Marriott(D)
Milton McGhee (D)

This campaign was an establishment - anti-establishment oriented campaign. Richard Marriott, although a Democrat, was supported by the local GOP organization, and represented the establishment to voters. Milton McGhee was a black, anti-establishment candidate.

VIRGINIA ELECTION RESULTS

LT. GOVERNOR

HENRY HOWELL (I)	332,987	(40.4%)
GEORGE KOSTEL (D)	301,974	(36.6%)
GEORGE SHAFRAN (R)	189,149	(23%)

COMMENT: This is the second significant defeat for Governor Linwood Holton in as many times. The Governor lent the full weight of his prestige to Shafran, but this was not enough to to offset a late-starting, poorly-financed campaign run by largely inexperienced personnel. Governor Holton's popularity will be at a new low among conservative Republicans, who opposed his efforts to nominate Shafran this year and moderate Ray Garland for the Senate last year. A conservative revolt could be brewing.

Shafran did well only in Northern Virginia, his home ground. He finished third in the traditional GOP stronghold, the Shenandoah Valley. Howell had broad support all across the state, running third only in Southwest Virginia's Ninth Congressional District. His campaign was built around his own brand of "consumer populism" coupled with racial moderation which drew heavy support from the state's Blacks and blue-collar whites. The busing issue may not have had the impact originally anticipated, although this may be due to a lack of any clear-cut difference between any of the candidates.

Shafran's overwhelming loss indicates the GOP has a long way to go if it is to retain the Governorship in 1973. It looks increasingly like Holton's 1969 victory was more of a personal victory than a Republican victory, and that without another candidate with his personal magnetism, the Statehouse will go to Henry Howell in 1973.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

STATE SENATE: No net change 33D 7R

HOUSE OF DELEGATES: Net loss of two seats 77D 22R 1I

COMMENT: Despite Shafran's overwhelming loss, Republican members of the State Legislature held their own by and large. Many local candidates avoided close association with Shafran when it became apparent that the campaign was floundering badly. The failure to make any significant inroads into the Democrat-dominated General Assembly is discouraging, however, in view of the tremendous effort put into candidate recruitment this year. 99 out of 140 General Assembly seats were contested this year, far more than ever before.

OUTLOOK FOR NIXON IN 1972

These races cannot really be viewed in terms of the Presidential contest. The issues were almost exclusively local issues. Nixon should still do well here, and State Chairman Warren French believes there will be little trouble in carrying the state.

BOND ISSUES AND PROPOSALS

CALIFORNIA

San Diego. On the ballot in San Diego was a proposal which would have allowed the city to go in debt \$2,850,000 to acquire land to develop in Balboa Park to be used for educational, recreational and cultural activities. The proposal received 106,260 votes "yes" against 70,799 votes "no". This was a 60%-40% breakdown, but the proposal failed to get the 2/3 majority needed for passage.

San Francisco On the ballot were the following:

		yes	no
Proposition A.	Public School bond	107,910	121,913
Proposition B.	Harbor Improvement Bond	160,499	67,266
Proposition C.	Improve Hall of Justice	113,660	110,892
Proposition D.	Fire Improvement Bond	153,664	71,004
Proposition E.	Police Dept. Reorganization	108,269	105,917
Proposition F.	Budget Analysis	91,510	120,345
Proposition G.	Examination by those on disability	152,159	60,208
Proposition H.	Mayors to submit to voters opposing arguments	112,423	96,194
Proposition I.	School dept. contracts	115,767	94,363
Proposition J.	Work week incentive program for Police, fire	87,984	130,959
Proposition K.	Election law	59,547	147,529
Proposition L.	Separate boards for community colleges	119,698	86,692
Proposition M.	Amend zoning ordinances	111,877	84,183
Proposition N.	Retirement benefits	88,762	120,234
Proposition O.	Printing of Legislative Journal	100,049	100,098
Proposition P.	Retirement of widows of police and firemen	134,013	81,081
Proposition Q.	Save the cable cars	120,989	81,730
Proposition R.	Recodification of city charters	128,794	67,493
Proposition S.	Elective school boards	128,745	91,726
Proposition T.	Height limits on high-rises	86,792	142,399

BOND ISSUES AND PROPOSALS

OHIO

Dick Baker of the Ohio Education Association reported today that with 80% of the vote totals in, the results of the school bonding issues were dismal. 67% of the new money requests were defeated in the state and 6 of the renewal issues were also defeated. According to Mr. Baker, defeats of renewals is usually unheard of in Ohio. On a statewide average, only 29% of the bondings for new buildings passed.

In the Dayton school system, the bonding issue was defeated. Starting this Friday, the schools will be closed for at least 10 days. On November 12th an emergency measure will again be on the ballot and if it passes schools will again be open. Without passage, schools will be forced to stay closed until January, when they can borrow from next year's budget.

NEW YORK

Proposition 1. Proposition 1 failed to pass in yesterday's election. This proposal would have allowed the state to increase the fares for the Mass Transit Authority. Gov. Rockefeller and the Republican Party of New York campaigned for the proposal, feeling the proposal was needed to balance the budget. The Republican Party of New York says the defeat of this measure will leave the state in financial crisis.

Amendment 1. Amendment 1 was a proposal which would have allowed the state to give or lend money for the development of community projects such as housing projects. This proposal also failed to pass.

Amendment 2. This amendment would have allowed the cities to extend for 10 years the authority to exceed their debt limit for the construction of sewage facilities. This amendment also failed to pass.

The defeat of the proposals from New York were given to me by the New York Republican Party, although there are no figures available until late today or tomorrow.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

All municipal races

In the three partisan municipal races, GOP lost all by narrow margins. Due to lack of organization.

MAINE

Income tax referendum: the proposal to repeal an already-existing income tax was defeated by a large margin.

MASSACHUSETTS

Democrat Kevin White won by large margin (over 60 per cent).

Louise Hicks will run for re-election to Congress.

A Republican won in Quincy, which has been Democrat for many years.

NEW YORK

Bond issue was defeated badly. This presents serious problem since the \$300 million which the bond issue was to raise has already been incorporated into this year's budget.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA MAYORAL RACE:

Rizzo 391,692* (D)

Longstreth 343,169 (R)

Rizzo, former Police Commissioner, ran on law and order theme.
Republicans were counting on large black vote - they stayed home.

*with 1,752 out of 1,756 precincts reporting.

18th DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL RACE

Heinz 103,000 (R)

Connelly 49,000 (D)

(This only Congressional race in the country).

PRELIMINARY KENTUCKY RESULTS

Governor - State Wide - 2,873/3,079
 Ford - 442,763 .
 Emberton - 381,497
 Chandler - 36,553
 Smith - 7,133

GOVERNOR AND LT. GOVERNOR BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>GOVERNOR</u>	425/425	328/392	360/360	464/476	441/505	428/441	478/480
Ford	80,615	60,676	49,101	66,370	48,768	65,565	76,995
Emberton	46,124	46,354	44,305	67,115	70,964	54,799	58,682
Chandler	2,263	2,611	7,005	7,539	2,189	14,185	1,954
Smith	1,308	743	1,499	1,485	467	1,310	428
<u>LT. GOVERNOR</u>							
Carroll	80,805	59,724	53,185	69,624	47,737	67,168	72,389
Host	39,287	40,674	40,722	61,127	62,278	51,301	52,913

a) Jefferson County

b) 201/476 precincts in Jefferson County, For those 201 precincts this is the breakdown:

Ford 25,529
 Emberton 34,974
 Chandler 4,929
 Smith 1,097

Adding the results of the third district with this portion of the third Emberton scored the following:

Ford 74,630
 Emberton 79,279

Emberton carried Jefferson County by 4-5 thousand votes.

c) This district was considered to be Emberton stronghold. He did not do as well as expected.'

d) This district is Chandlers home and he did better here than in other areas.

ANALYSIS

1. Ford did surprisingly well in eastern and southeastern parts of the state -- areas very crucial to future GOP hopes. Consider the following statistics:

1967 - Nunn carried region by 40,000 votes

1971 - Emberton carried region by 16,000 votes

2. Emberton carried Jefferson County but not by large enough margin to offset low margins in other sagging areas of the state.

3. The 7th District was considered to be a Bert Combs power base and Republicans expected to do well there because of the bitter Ford/Combs primary battle last spring. However, Emberton ran 15% behind Nunn totals in 1967.

4. General Assembly likely to remain Democrat by a 78-22 margin in the House. In the Senate the Democrats should increase their pre-election 23-15 margin.

5. All Democratic state candidates were swept into office -- generally by much larger margins than that of Ford.

6. Jefferson County elected 12 Democrats in the Aldermanic race and both City Commissioner elected were Democrats.

7. Wendell Ford proclaimed last night and today that the "Dump Nixon Campaign has begun."

CONNECTICUTT

In Bridgeport, the state's second largest city, the Republican nominee for mayor, Nick Panuzio won by three votes. Panuzio was backed by a young group of Republican who took control of the party two years ago, according to Chip Andrews, the State Executive Director. Panuzio was running against the incumbent mayor, Hugh Currin.

This is the first election in 50 years in which the Republican have won in Bridgeport. The 3 vote margin was out of a total vote of approximately 152,000 citizens in Bridgeport.

NEW JERSEY

State Senate: previously GOP 31-9 stands now GOP 24-16, but possibly 25-15. Ten GOP incumbents did not run.

State Assembly: previously GOP 59-21; now Democrats 40-39 with one Independent. One race undecided but presently counted in Democrat figures as it is likely to go that way. 20 GOP incumbents did not run who did not run for the Senate.

NOTE: A recount in Assembly District 11D (Essex County) - GOP member running: John F. Trezza