

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>
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes labeled "Phillips." 2 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Clark MacGregor's scheduled meeting with Dent, Timmons, Anderson, and Teeter to review the local races. 1 pg.
22	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: Senate Races in Alabama and Louisiana. 4 pgs.
22	3	9/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Campaign Russia 5 Minute Spot. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 9/22. 2 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to GS. RE: Message that reads, "He wants them kept together." 1 pg.
22	3	9/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Stephen Bull to Haldeman. RE: Key Senate Candidates. 2 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races. 10 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A detailed schedule of "prominent opportunities" as of September 16. 4 pgs.

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22	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: Senate Races in Alabama and Louisiana. 4 pgs.
22	3	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Congressional Campaigns. 4 pgs.
22	3	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Several problems that have arisen concerning the Congressional races. 4 pgs.
22	3	9/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Congressional Campaigns. 3 pgs.
22	3	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William Timmons to Haldeman. RE: Presidential Endorsements. 3 pgs.

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22	3	9/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Congressional Comapaigns (copy of the original). 6 pgs.
22	3	9/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dwight L. Chapin to Stephen B. Bull and David N. Parker. RE: The campaign strategy of helping men in key Senate races by having them meet with the President in his office. 1 pg.
22	3	9/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races, with attached chart summarizing the 14 marginal races. *Documents repeated throughout. 4 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races. 10 pgs.
22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
22	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 14 pgs.
22	3	9/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Louis Harris Survey. RE: The contests for the White House and for control of Congress. 4 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	A chart listing the details of the various upcoming senate races. Information includes the likelihood of a victory on a scale of: Safe, probable, marginal, and long shot. 1 pg.
22	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Charlie McWhorter to Haldeman. RE: Senate Campaign-1972. 1 pg.
22	3	9/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	A political action memo that reads: "We need to review the question of supplying, or directing financing, to key Senate races." 1 pg.

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22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races, and the factual analysis prepared by Dent. 1 pg.
22	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: '72 Campaign, and the need to work with the Re-Elect Committee's resources. 1 pg.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A report on "Late News/Miscellany". RE: NBC's Harris Poll results on the approval of the bombing policy, and the report that Democratic seats are in trouble in certain states. 1 pg.
22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 1 pg.
22	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 14 pgs.

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22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Bruce Kehrl to William Timmons. RE: The request for a complete plan for all possible endorsement requests, and challengers in Gubernatorial, House, and Senate races. 1 pg.
22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: Endorsement of Incumbents. 1 pg.
22	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Mary Ann Allin to Bill Timmons. RE: Endorsement of Congressional Candidates, Part 1: Incumbent Republicans in the House. 1 pg.
22	3	9/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Lists of incumbent Republican Members of the House who have been endorsed by the President. 2 pgs.
22	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Unknown sender to Phil. RE: Best wishes for successful re-election campaign for the House of Representatives. 1 pg.

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22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes. 1 pg.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From the President to Haldeman. RE: The need to come up with a plan to help elect Republican Senate and House members. 3 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The status of the 33 U.S. Senate Races. 10 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Marik to Haldeman. RE: Senate Races, and a list of the candidates for the U.S. Senate in every state where a seat is up for election. 6 pgs.
22	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races, and attached are a brief analysis of the 33 U.S. Senate races. 7 pgs.

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22	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: 1972 Governor Races. 5 pgs.
22	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races, with the GOP Congressional campaign committee expecting a pickup of 12 to 25 House seats. 20 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik to Haldeman. RE: Status of the Senate Races. 3 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Marik to Haldeman. RE: A list of all the candidates for the U.S. Senate in every state where a seat is up for election. 6 pgs.
22	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The President. RE: The 1972 U.S. Senate Races, and an attached rundown on the 33 U.S. Senate races. 7 pgs.

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22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Senate Races, along with handwritten notes that describe each race with the current estimation of the chances for victory. 4 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes. 3 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes. 5 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. RE: Heading that reads: "P could campaign and help in." 1 pg.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes. 3 pgs.

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22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
22	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Haldeman. RE: '72 Campaign. 1 pg.
22	3	8/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Harry Flemming to Clark MacGregor. RE: Congressional and Gubernatorial Assistance Program. 7 pgs.
22	3	8/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report of the Key House Races. Listed are: The Code, State, District, GOP Candidate, Democrat Candidate, and Comments. 12 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report of the 1972 State Legislative Seats. 2 pgs.

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22	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to The President. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 20 pgs.
22	3	8/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Harry Dent to Haldeman. RE: Maximizing the Coattails. 2 pgs.
22	3	7/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to The President. RE: 1972 Governor Races. 5 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 9/3. 2 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes. 1 pg.

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22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 1 pg.
22	3	9/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry Dent to Haldeman. RE: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races. 14 pgs.
22	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	An Evans-Novak Political Report from Evans-Novak to the subscribers. RE: Possible danger for Nixon in his campaign for re-election if he lets himself go. 4 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note dated 9/7. 3 pgs.
22	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report entitled: "Campaign Strategy Group Meeting of September 7, 1972." 3 pgs.

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22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	A memo listing the candidates for the U.S. Senate in every state that is up for election. 6 pgs.
22	3	9/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	A memo analysis of the 33 Senate races of 1972. 3 pgs.
22	3	9/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	A memo analyzing the total 1972 campaign, along with an attached summary of Congressional races. 3 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report listing the Candidates in Marginal Races where the incumbent is now running. 6 pgs.
22	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report listing the Districts Where no Incumbant is Running in 1972. 8 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/19

**TO:** H.R. HALDEMAN  
**FROM:** GORDON STRACHAN

Clark MacGregor has scheduled a meeting on Friday, September 22 with Dent, Timmons, Anderson and Teeter to review local races. I will attend the meeting and report to you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT  
SUBJECT: Senate Races in Alabama and Louisiana

Alabama

Red Blount is in an uphill battle, but shows good signs of closing the gap. Al Fox\*, political editor of The Birmingham News, says the Sparkman people have been terribly quiet about poll data, but that he managed to worm some figures out of a Sparkman aide. The data comes from an Oliver Quayle poll of about three weeks ago, showing Sparkman ahead with 56%. This worries the Sparkman people, because:

1. Given his incumbency and the fact he has been campaigning hard, the gap should be wider.
2. No accurate assessment was made on a black candidate who has just started campaigning under the banner of a black-white liberal Democrat faction called the National Democrat Party of Alabama. Sparkman concedes the black's candidacy will cut into his vote.
3. Quayle picked Sparkman to win the Democrat primary by 54%. He wound up with about 50%.

Wallace remains quiet. Everyone is holding their breath, since a Wallace endorsement would be the magic Sparkman needs right now. The Wallace people have been calling about a \$45 million highway fund they think the Administration is

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\*Fox has just done a poll of newspaper editors in the ten deep south states, having a total of 101 electoral votes. The President wins by 100%.

Page Two

H. R. Haldeman  
September 18, 1972

holding up, and have dropped hints that the outcome on this could have some impact on the Blount race - though they won't define specifics. Wallace has the impression the President made a commitment on the funds. My office is working on this.

Mrs. Sage Lyons, wife of the Wallace-picked Speaker of the Alabama House, is working for Blount. Pro-Blount interest has also been expressed by former Wallace campaign professionals now working with the Connally organization.

Blount has made much of the "McGovern-Sparkman" ticket, leading Sparkman to deny support of McGovern in a recent television shot. Now Sparkman is trying to take advantage of the RN coattails. A bumper sticker supposedly put on in Alabama this week reads: "The best of the Two-Party System: Nixon/Sparkman."

On balance, this race at present is about even, and may be won by a small margin. The two most significant factors, short of a Wallace endorsement for either candidate, seem to be:

1. The President's coattails. Definitely Blount's major advantage.
2. The black candidate. The NDPA is no fly-by-night entity, having been born and having ballot position in Alabama in 1968. Their candidate is a Mobile man by the name of LeFlore, a long-time civil rights activist. There is some suggestion the McGovernites may have helped orchestrate this because they would like to see Proxmire chairman of the Banking Committee. But a strong vote for LeFlore would be to Blount's advantage. The NDPA got more than 10% in 1970, and that much from Sparkman could help this time.

Page Three  
H. R. Haldeman  
September 18, 1972

Surprisingly, Jimmy Allison - Blount's campaign manager - says one of their big problems at the moment is money.

#### Louisiana

Optimism is running pretty low for the candidacy of the GOP's Senate nominee Ben Toledano. This is primarily because some of the flukes it would take to put Toledano in just aren't happening.

A Toledano victory has been envisioned through the following means: Former Governor John McKeithen gets in as an independent, and so does a black. Between them, the two independents siphon off enough votes from Ben Johnston, the Democrat nominee, to throw the election to Toledano.

But, though McKeithen will get on the ballot, he's not there yet. And it looks highly unlikely that a black will get on. The reason lies in Louisiana law: An independent candidate must file a petition signed by 1,000 registered independent voters. There are only 12,000 such folk in the whole state, and estimates are that 5,000 are dead or have moved. McKeithen has been paying his volunteers \$5 a name.

Toledano has a serious name-recognition factor. According to a poll taken by Dave Treen, who was considering the Senate race, Toledano had a 26% recognition factor state-wide, concentrated mainly in New Orleans, Toledano's home. Estimate is that it would take \$350,000 to overcome that problem.

Toledano's plusses are that he is a good campaigner, and, being a resident of southern Louisiana, can play the same theme that gave Edwards the gubernatorial victory: It's

Page Four  
H. R. Haldeman  
September 18, 1972

time south Louisiana had a Senator. Since 60% of the population is in the south, that could help. McKeithen and Johnston both hail from the north, the traditional source of GOP strength in Louisiana.

McKeithen has indicated he might switch to GOP when and if elected. But publicly, he is playing theme that he would go to Senate as independent and demand a price for Louisiana for the right vote.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S  
SUBJECT: Campaign Russia  
5 Minute Spot

You reviewed the Russia 5 Minute Spot last Thursday, September 14, when you saw the Connally 5 Minute Spots. In Peter Dailey's meeting with the President and you on Friday, September 15, the subject of the Russia 5 and 1 minute spots was raised but Dailey does not know what decision was reached. Dailey decided on his own to drop the basketball sequence in light of the Olympics.

The attached September 14 Action Memorandum indicates some specific changes. Also, the Tanya reference has been dropped from the Drug Speech. *What?*

What specifically should Dailey do to the Russia 5 and 1 minute spots?

*I'll talk to him*

Sen. Mtg

9/22

Flemming - Field Report

Ga }  
RI }  
NM }  
ala }

La, Mont, Okla, N.C.? → pessimistic  
9/30-McKethlen  
deadline  
might drop  
Needs \$  
all media

B.T. - Ala - Red in real trouble  
Poll - Sparkman slipped.

HF Allison - says Gurney's poll worse  
than Reds

HF G Upl → Red, GU not support Spark  
Camp aids aiding GU

Mae G - goal to get list of  
50 House seats - inum + other  
for targets of Gurney, etc.

B.T. - Griffin - some \$ prob  
Mild a P trip poss

S.D. - Heish - needs \$ ← crucial  
Need \$100,000 - 75 to Sen + <sup>15</sup> in

IX - Tower - needs another P trip

McClure - 25,000 would buy Idaho race

R.I. - Orafie - needs camp manager  
N.M. - Pomenici - needs P trip  
Tied closely

S to  
H.F. Keep going to SD + would be as  
helpful as P.  
- S.D.: OM B holding

Okla - needs P + VP trip. Bartlett  
- # OK

Ga - ~~Thompson~~ - needs P contact  
during Atl visit  
- keep considering so Ga event  
best organized + run

N.C. - Helms - going dur the  
pair on  
- 1<sup>st</sup> lady - to moderate  
Helms image  
- VP will be in today  
Goldwater, Buckley

Taft approached + Cliff White  
in pushing to enter

BT - can't push manage types in  
too late; consultancies OK.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO:

*AS*

FROM: L. HIGBY

*He wants them  
kept together*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1972

3:00 p. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM: STEPHEN BULL

RE: Key Senate Candidates

You asked that a plan be developed for bringing key Senate candidates into the White House. The basic idea that was suggested by you was to set up one day per candidate where he (or she) would come in, meet and be briefed by a number of people, and then meet with the President for 30-40 minutes.

I discussed the matter with Bill Timmons who feels that it is a great idea but offered the observation that realistically he doubts whether the President or his staff can spare enough separate days for all of the candidates. Therefore, the recommendation is offered that one day be set aside where all of the candidates are brought in and receive briefings. Although we lose the individual flavor whereby, for example, Domenici would be discussing something of particular importance to New Mexico, the candidates would be given a broad spectrum briefing on many domestic issues which would bring them in tune with the White House. At the conclusion of the day we would schedule a film session for each of the candidates with the President, but would announce to the Press that these individual candidates are meeting with the President and other staff members throughout the day.

Gordon Strachan gave me what he referred to as a "rough cut" of what Teeter has determined to be those Republican candidates with a decent chance of winning. This list, according to Gordon, will probably be cut in half by the end of September, which is to say by the time we get around to scheduling the briefing. The list of 15 candidates from the rough cut is as follows:

\$

12

†Alabama -	Blount
†Georgia -	Thompson
Idaho -	McClure
Kentucky -	Nunn
†Louisiana -	Toledano
Maine -	Smith
Michigan -	Griffin
†Montana -	Hibbard
†New Mexico -	Domenici
†N. Carolina -	Helms
†Oklahoma -	Bartlett
Oregon -	Hatfield
†Rhode Island -	Chaffee
So. Dakota -	Hirsch ?
Texas -	Tower

? Va  
 Ark  
 ? NH  
 W Va  
 Minn -  
 Min

Alaska  
 Colo  
 Del  
 Ill  
 Ia.  
 NJ  
 SC  
 Tenn  
 Wyo.  
 Kans -  
 Mass  
 Nebr

The briefings that would be set up are as follows:

- John Ehrlichman - domestic economy
- Henry Kissinger - national security
- Charles Colson - attack issues
- William Timmons - legislation
- ~~Dwight Chapin - possible scheduling opportunities~~
- Harry Dent - politics

It is proposed that the Roosevelt Room be set aside the entire day for these briefings.

General concept of plan: Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove H.

cc: D. Parker

old

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM : GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT : 1972 U.S. Senate Races

This memorandum briefly describes the status of the 33 U.S. Senate races. The attachment describes each race with the current estimation of the chances for victory by Clark MacGregor (CM), Harry Dent (D), Fred Malek (FM), Bill Timmons (BT), and Robert Marik (RM), along with Bob Teeter (T). The comments by MacGregor, Dent, Timmons, Teeter, and Malek's Field Operation are given below for the 18 swing states:

1/ Alabama 16.

Dent believes Blount could win because of the straight party ticket voting. Also, a black is entering the race. This will pull votes from Sparkman.

Teeter says Blount is moving up in the polls and is now within 10-15%, up substantially from the Wave II polls.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists Alabama as 5th in its 6 priority races (Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama, and Montana). In each of these races they will give the Republican candidate \$70 - 75,000. Dent says they are asking 1701 for an additional \$500,000 to distribute between September 15 and 30.

2/ Georgia

Dent says Fletcher Thompson is coming up but would have had a better chance against Gambrell. Maddox's blast at McGovern helped the President and Thompson. The President's coattails and personal identification with Thompson would be very helpful.

Teeter indicates there are no polls available. He knows Thompson personally and characterizes him as an "opportunist" and "free spirit".

MacGregor and Malek concur in this assessment of Thompson (opportunist). They urge money and organizational support for Thompson.

Timmons says Thompson is a long shot but possible.

### 3 Idaho

Dent says the race is closer than previously believed. The President could really help with personal identification.

MacGregor and Malek say there are still party wounds from the tough primary. Teeter concurs. All indicate McClure needs money and organizational help.

Timmons believes McClure should win.

### 6/ Kentucky

Dent urges more Presidential identification with Nunn, who should win.

Teeter reports Nunn is moving up in recent polls.

MacGregor says the field organization is good, but Malek says Nunn needs money. There is some question about a possible commitment of money made by Mitchell to get Nunn to run.

Timmons says Nunn is a winner.

### 5 Louisiana

Dent reports that the Republican candidate, Ben Toledano, could have a chance in the three-and possibly four-way race. Bennett Johnson is the conservative Democratic candidate. Ex-Governor McKeithan, who is running as an Independent will split the Democratic vote. McKeithan is also urging a black to run to pull votes from Johnston.

6 Maine

Teeter urges a non-political trip by the President to show his support of Smith as a national figure. She needs no money.

7 Michigan

Dent believes this is very close though he sees Griffin with a slight edge.

Teeter says the polls have had Griffin ahead and behind twice in the last year. Busing may fade some by November. Teeter urges Administration assistance in the form of grants or projects, especially in the Detroit tri-county area.

MacGregor says Griffin needs money and Administration assistance.

Malek indicates that all telephone and door-to-door canvassing is done jointly by the President and Griffin's campaign organizations.

8 Montana

Dent says Hibbard has a better chance than previously thought. The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Montana listed 6th. A Presidential sweep could pull Hibbard in.

Teeter says there are no polls available. Metcalf is well liked in Montana.

Malek says Hibbard is a poor candidate with a poor organization.

9 New Mexico

Dent gives Domenici a 50/50 chance.

Teeter says Domenici needs money.

Malek reports that neither the President's nor Domenici's organizations are very strong. Domenici needs money and organizational support.

Timmons says Domenici has a good chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists New Mexico 2nd in its list of 6 top priority seats.

## 10 North Carolina

Dent says Helms has a 50/50 chance but badly needs identification with the President.

Teeter's month old data indicates Helms is behind in spite of the President's huge lead.

MacGregor and Malek indicate Helms needs money but organizational help more.

Timmons believes Helms is a good possibility.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has North Carolina fourth.

## 11 Oklahoma

Dent says Bartlett really needs identification with the President. Bellmon's gratuitous slap at Bartlett recently didn't help.

Teeter urges a Presidential visit because Bartlett needs the identification and the President is so far ahead there is little risk.

Malek reports Bartlett has real organizational problems.

Timmons says Bartlett has a fighting chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Oklahoma 3rd.

## 1 Oregon

Dent says Hatfield should win because McCall is still staying out.

Teeter says the race is very close because Hatfield's approval rating is so low (35% by Republicans). McCall is very popular (65% by Republicans) and should be encouraged to help Hatfield.

Malek says Hatfield has no money problems but the 1701 and Hatfield organizations are not helping each other to the degree that they should.

Timmons says Hatfield will win.

### 13 Rhode Island

Dent says this is our best chance for a Democratic seat, but he wonders whether Chafee will vote with the President.

Teeter says the race is closer than most believe, and Chafee's lead is the "softest" in the country.

Malek says money is not a problem but needs organizational help. Chafee has been "playing anti-Nixon games" so far.

Timmons says Chafee is a winner.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Rhode Island at the top of their list of six.

### 14 South Dakota

Dent believes this should be our #1 defensive battle. Hirsch is coming on strong and would totally support the President. Abourezk is identified too closely with McGovern.

Teeter says Hirsch was way behind but since Abourezk is so close to McGovern, Hirsch has a chance.

Malek urges money for Hirsch but no Presidential visit.

Timmons says Hirsch is a sure loser.

### 15 Texas

Dent says this should be our #2 defensive battle.

Teeter believes Tower will win, because the President is so strong.

Malek says money is no problem and the organizational problems are resolving themselves. 1701 and Tower are working their telephone campaigns together.

### 16 Virginia

Dent says Scott could only win if the President won by a landslide. Even Harry Byrd doesn't like Scott. Scott would vote with the President if elected.

Malek urges some money for organizational help but suggests that Scott be kept off the road and that there be no Presidential visit. The possibility of sending Cliff White into Virginia was raised.

Timmons says Virginia is a long shot.

To summarize, the President should visit Texas and Oklahoma. In the other states, money and behind the scenes organizational help should be given.

State	Candidates	Republicans		Democrats		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Alabama	D ✓ Blount (R) <u>Sparkman (D)</u>			D	RM, FM CM, T	
Alaska	R ✓ <u>Stevens (R)</u> Guess (D)	RM, CM, T	D, FM			
Arkansas	D ✓ Babbitt (R) <u>McClellan (D)</u>					T, D, RM, FM, CM
Colorado	R ✓ <u>Allott (R)</u> (Democrat Primary 9/12)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
Delaware	R ✓ <u>Boggs (R)</u> Biden (D)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
? Georgia	D Thompson (R) Nunn (D) <i>vs Cambrell</i>				RM, CM, FM, D, T	
? Idaho	D McClure (R) Davis (D) <i>Jordan</i>		D, BT		RM, CM, FM, T	
Illinois	R ✓ <u>Percy (R)</u> Pucinski (D)	RM, CM, FM, T	D			
Iowa	R ✓ <u>Miller (R)</u> Clark (D)	T, RM, CM, FM, D				

State	Candidates	Republicans		Democrats		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Kansas	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Pearson (R)</u> Tetzlaff (D)	T, CM, FM D	RM			
? Kentucky	<i>R</i> Nunn (R) <i>Cooper</i> Huddleston (D)	BT	RM, D	CM, FM	T	
? Louisiana	<i>D</i> Toledano (R) Johnston (D) <i>Ellender</i> McKeithan (I)			D	RM, CM FM	T
Maine	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Smith (R)</u> Hathaway (D)	FM, BT, D	T, RM, CM			
Mass.	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Brooke (R)</u> (Democratic Primary 9/19)	T, CM, FM RM, D, BT				
? Michigan	<i>R</i> <u>Griffin (R)</u> Kelley (D)			T, RM, CM, FM D		
Minnesota	<i>D</i> ✓ <u>Hansen (R)</u> <u>Mondale (D)</u>				D	T, CM, FM, RM BT
Mississippi	<i>D</i> ✓ <u>Carmichael (R)</u> <u>Eastland (D)</u>					RM, FM, CM, T, D
? Montana	<i>D</i> Hibbard (R) <u>Metcalf (D)</u>			D	T, RM, CM, FM	
Nebraska	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Curtis (R)</u> Carpenter (D)	T, RM, CM D	FM			

State	Candidates	Republicans		Democrats		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
? N.H. D	(Republican Primary 9/12) <u>McIntyre (D)</u>			FM	T, RM, CM	D
N.J. R ✓	<u>Case (R)</u> Krebs (D)		T, CM, FM, RM, D, BT			
? New Mexico D	Domenici (R) Daniels (D) <i>Anderson</i>			RM, D, BT	T, CM, FM	
? N. C. D	Helms (R) Galifianakis (D) <i>Jordan</i>			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
? Oklahoma D	Bartlett (R) Edmondson (D) <i>Harris</i>			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
Oregon R ✓	<u>Hatfield (R)</u> Morse (D)	BT		RM, CM, FM	T, D	
+X Rhode Island D	Chafee (R) <u>Pell (D)</u>	BT		T, RM, CM, FM, D		
S. Carolina R ✓	<u>Thurmond (R)</u> Ziegler (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				
? S. Dakota R	Hirsch (R) <i>Murdet</i> Abourezk (D)			T, CM, FM	RM, D	
Tennessee R ✓	<u>Baker (R)</u> Blanton (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Texas R ✓	<u>Tower (R)</u> Sanders (D)		T	CM, FM, RM, D		
Virginia D ✓	Scott (R) <u>Spong (D)</u>				T, RM, CM, FM D, BT	
W. Virginia D ✓	Leonard (R) <u>Randolph (D)</u>					T, RM, CM, FM D
Wyoming R ✓	<u>Hansen (R)</u> Vinich (D)	T, FM, CM, D	RM			

PROMINENT SCHEDULE OPPORTUNITIES  
(As of September 16)

Sept. 17-21	International City Management Association	Minneapolis	V. P. (19th) Weinberger
Sept. 18	Citizenship Day	Chicago	Mrs. N.
Sept. 18-22	United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO	Las Vegas	Hodgson (20th)
Sept. 18-19	Yellowstone Centennial	Yellowstone Park	Mrs. N. (19th) Morton
Sept. 20	Young Presidents Organization	Wash., DC	Cong. Wilson
Sept. 20-23	Retired Officers of America	Anaheim, Calif.	Coffin (20th) Moorer (22nd)
Sept. 21-23	U. S. Attorneys Conference	Myrtle Beach, S. Carolina	Kleindienst (21st to 23rd)
Sept. 21	Natl. Conference on Agri. Exports	Chicago	Butz

Sept. 21	National Retail Merchants Association	Wash., DC	Hodgson (21st)
Sept. 22	National Federation of Womens Clubs	L. Ang eles	Banuelos
Sept. 22	National Farm Power Show	Algona, Iowa	
Sept. 24-27	Natl. Assoc. of Retired Federal Employees	Ft. Worth	V. P. (26th) Flemming (24th) Kleindienst (25th)
Sept. 24-25	Natl. Defense Transportation Association	San Antonio	V. P. (25th)
Sept. 26	Federal Bar Association	L. Angeles	Kleindienst
Sept. 24-28	American Transit Assoc. Annual Meeting	Seattle	Volpe
Sept. 25-29	State Bar of California Annual Meeting	Monterey, Cal.	Reagan (27th)
Sept. 25-28	American Academy of General Practice	N. Y. City	Richardson
Sept. 26-28	Farm Progress Show	Galesburg, Ill.	V. P. Butz (27th)

Sept. 28	Council on Foreign Relations	N. Y. City	Rogers
Oct. 3-6	National Business League	Dallas	Hooks
Oct. 7-13	International Narcotics Conference	N. Orleans	Ambrose
Oct. 10-13	National Future Farmers of America Conv.	K. City, Mo.	RN? Butz (12th)
Oct. 13-19	Natl. Assoc. of Mutual Insurance Agents	N. Y. City	Volpe (17th)
Oct. 15	Annual Pulaski Parade	Buffalo, N. Y.	V. P. ? Kemp
Oct. 16	Natl. Savings and Loan League Convention	L. Angeles	Finch
Oct. 17	Int. Association of Chiefs of Police	Salt Lake City	Kleindienst Romney
Oct. 18-20	World Trade Conference	Williamsburg, Virginia	Eberle

Oct. 22-25	National Association of Food Chains	Miami Beach	Peterson (23rd)
Oct. 29-Nov. 1	American Dental Association	San Francisco	Dunn (27th) Reagan (29th)
Oct. 29-Nov. 2	Pennsylvania Student Nurse Association	Philadelphia	Knauer (Nov. 1)
Oct. 30-Nov. 2	National Safety Congress and Exposition	Chicago	Ford (Nov. 1)
Nov. 2-4	Associated Collegiate Press	N. Y. City	Klein (2nd) Ambrose (3rd)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT  
SUBJECT: Senate Races in Alabama and Louisiana

Alabama

Red Blount is in an uphill battle, but shows good signs of closing the gap. Al Fox\*, political editor of The Birmingham News, says the Sparkman people have been terribly quiet about poll data, but that he managed to worm some figures out of a Sparkman aide. The data comes from an Oliver Quayle poll of about three weeks ago, showing Sparkman ahead with 56%. This worries the Sparkman people, because:

1. Given his incumbency and the fact he has been campaigning hard, the gap should be wider.
2. No accurate assessment was made on a black candidate who has just started campaigning under the banner of a black-white liberal Democrat faction called the National Democrat Party of Alabama. Sparkman concedes the black's candidacy will cut into his vote.
3. Quayle picked Sparkman to win the Democrat primary by 54%. He wound up with about 50%.

Wallace remains quiet. Everyone is holding their breath, since a Wallace endorsement would be the magic Sparkman needs right now. The Wallace people have been calling about a \$45 million highway fund they think the Administration is

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\*Fox has just done a poll of newspaper editors in the ten deep south states, having a total of 101 electoral votes. The President wins by 100%.

Page Two

H. R. Haldeman

September 18, 1972

holding up, and have dropped hints that the outcome on this could have some impact on the Blount race - though they won't define specifics. Wallace has the impression the President made a commitment on the funds. My office is working on this.

Mrs. Sage Lyons, wife of the Wallace-picked Speaker of the Alabama House, is working for Blount. Pro-Blount interest has also been expressed by former Wallace campaign professionals now working with the Connally organization.

Blount has made much of the "McGovern-Sparkman" ticket, leading Sparkman to deny support of McGovern in a recent television spot. Now Sparkman is trying to take advantage of the RN coattails. A bumper sticker supposedly put on in Alabama this week reads: "The best of the Two-Party System: Nixon/Sparkman."

On balance, this race at present is about even, and may be won by a small margin. The two most significant factors, short of a Wallace endorsement for either candidate, seem to be:

1. The President's coattails. Definitely Blount's major advantage.
2. The black candidate. The NDPA is no fly-by-night entity, having been born and having ballot position in Alabama in 1968. Their candidate is a Mobile man by the name of LeFlore, a long-time civil rights activist. There is some suggestion the McGovernites may have helped orchestrate this because they would like to see Proxmire chairman of the Banking Committee. But a strong vote for LeFlore would be to Blount's advantage. The NDPA got more than 10% in 1970, and that much from Sparkman could help this time.

Page Three  
H. R. Haldeman  
September 18, 1972

✓ Surprisingly, Jimmy Allison - Blount's campaign manager - says one of their big problems at the moment is money.

#### Louisiana

Optimism is running pretty low for the candidacy of the GOP's Senate nominee Ben Toledano. This is primarily because some of the flukes it would take to put Toledano in just aren't happening.

A Toledano victory has been envisioned through the following means: Former Governor John McKeithen gets in as an independent, and so does a black. Between them, the two independents siphon off enough votes from Ben Johnston, the Democrat nominee, to throw the election to Toledano.

But, though McKeithen will get on the ballot, he's not there yet. And it looks highly unlikely that a black will get on. The reason lies in Louisiana law: An independent candidate must file a petition signed by 1,000 registered independent voters. There are only 12,000 such folk in the whole state, and estimates are that 5,000 are dead or have moved. McKeithen has been paying his volunteers \$5 a name.

Toledano has a serious name-recognition factor. According to a poll taken by Dave Treen, who was considering the Senate race, Toledano had a 26% recognition factor state-wide, concentrated mainly in New Orleans, Toledano's home. Estimate is that it would take \$350,000 to overcome that problem.

Toledano's plusses are that he is a good campaigner, and, being a resident of southern Louisiana, can play the same theme that gave Edwards the gubernatorial victory: It's

Page Four  
H. R. Haldeman  
September 18, 1972

time south Louisiana had a Senator. Since 60% of the population is in the south, that could help. McKeithen and Johnston both hail from the north, the traditional source of GOP strength in Louisiana.

McKeithen has indicated he might switch to GOP when and if elected. But publicly, he is playing theme that he would go to Senate as independent and demand a price for Louisiana for the right vote.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1000

September 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN S  
SUBJECT: Congressional Campaigns

This memorandum outlines several problems that have arisen while compiling data on Congressional races. You would probably have to discuss personally with MacGregor the recommended solution.

1. In Congressional campaigns since 1966, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee has attempted to formulate a list of key races through a process of checking with Congressional leaders like Ford and Wilson, reviewing outside data such as AmPac and BiPac (Business and Industry Political Action Committee), and analyzing reports received from various field sources. Their current number of target districts is 115. The process in the past has been very complex and resistant to changes during the campaign. The process has not been effective according to Timmons and Anderson.
2. In the 1701 strategy meeting last week, Clark MacGregor indicated a strong desire to rely heavily on the opinions of Ford, Wilson and the Congressional Campaign Committee because they badly want a Republican House.

Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson, who are assigned the task at 1701 of pulling together data on the House and Senate races, argue strongly that it doesn't make sense to rely entirely on these Hill sources. They propose instead an internal committee which would analyze all available sources, but would be independent and flexible and be in a position to make judgements on various races on the basis of what is best for the President. Attached at Tab A are several examples of how the polling data and field reports compiled by Anderson differ widely from information available to the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Teeter and Anderson recommend forming a small working committee at the White House to undertake the basic analysis of House races. They recommend that Bill Timmons be the senior member of this committee; others ~~included would be Ehrlichman,~~ Dent and Dick Cook. Timmons role would not be a visible one. This group would rely heavily on available polling data and on detailed field reports from 1701, then analyze the individual races and make recommendations on each race as to Presidential, White House and campaign involvement.

Mac - T - Dent

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

Mac w/ set it up

DISCUSS \_\_\_\_\_

~~Put Ehrlichman in charge of this whole project~~

L

Attached at Tab B is a list of Congressional seats which, if won by the GOP, would result in a net gain. Anderson and Timmons concur with Dent's list of 10 incumbents that need defensive help.

Race	GOP Candidate	Democrat Candidate	Polling Results	Field Survey	Congressional Campaign Committee
Calif. 11th	Chase	Ryan	-25	1 in 20	target
Calif. 34th	Ratterree	Hanna	-25	no chance	target
Conn. 1st	Rittenband	Cotter	-	little chance	target
Ind. 4th	Bloom	Roush	-28	poor	target
Kans. 2nd	McAtee	Roy	-35	poor	target
Mich. 18th	Huber (Anti-Nixon Rep.)	Montgomery	-15	poor	target
Wyom. AL	Kidd	Roncalio	-13	-	target

GOP HOUSE GAINS

<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Arizona	4	Conlin	Grossman	even
California	36	Ketchum	Lemucchi	good
California	38	Snider	Brown	even
California	42	Burgener	Lowe	even
Colorado	4	Johnson	Menson	even
Colorado	5	Armstrong	Johnson	good
Connecticut	5	Sarasin	Monagan	good
Florida	5	Runoff	Gunter	good
Florida	10	Bafalis	Runoff	good
Illinois	3	Hanrahan	Coman	good
Illinois	10	Young	Mikva	even
Illinois	11	Hoellen	Annunzio	even
Illinois	17	O'Brien	Houlihan	good
Indiana	11	Hudnutt	Jacobs	good
Kentucky	3	Kaelin	Mazzoli	even
Kentucky	6	Jackson	Breckinridge	good
Lousiana	3	Treen	Runoff	good
Maine	2	Cohen	Violette	even
Maryland	4	Holt	Fornos	even
Mississippi	2	Butler	Bowen	even
Mississippi	5	Lott	Stone	even
Missouri	6	Sloan	Litton	good
New Jersey	13	Maraziti	Meyner	even
New York	3	Roncallo	Bales	good
New York	26	Gilman	Dow	even
N. Carolina	4	Hawke	Andrews	even
Oklahoma	1	Runoff	Jones	good
S. Carolina	1	Limehouse	Davis	even
S. Dakota	2	Adnot	McKeever	good
Tennessee	6	Beard	Anderson	even
Texas	5	Steelman	Cabel	even

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APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

.....  
\_\_\_\_\_ DISCUSS

Attached at Tab B is a list of Congressional seats which, if won by the GOP, would result in a net gain. Anderson and Timmons concur with Dent's list of 10 incumbents that need defensive help.

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Connecticut	5	Sarasin	Monagan	good
Florida	5	Runoff	Gunter	good
Florida	10	Bafalis	Runoff	good
Illinois	3	Hanrahan	Coman	good
Illinois	10	Young	Mikva	even
Illinois	11	Hoellen	Annunzio	even
Illinois	17	O'Brien	Houlihan	good
Indiana	11	Hudnutt	Jacobs	good
Kentucky	3	Kaelin	Mazzoli	even
Kentucky	6	Jackson	Breckinridge	good
Lousiana	3	Treen	Runoff	good
Maine	2	Cohen	Violette	even
Maryland	4	Holt	Fornos	even
Mississippi	2	Butler	Bowen	even
Mississippi	5	Lott	Stone	even
Missouri	6	Sloan	Litton	good
New Jersey	13	Maraziti	Meyner	even
New York	3	Roncallo	Bales	good
New York	26	Gilman	Dow	even
N. Carolina	4	Hawke	Andrews	even
Oklahoma	1	Runoff	Jones	good
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\_\_\_\_\_  
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O'NEILL 9-17  
NIGHT LD

BY GEORGE J. MARDER

WASHINGTON (UPI)--DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS BELIEVE SEN. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN WILL BE RIDING THEIR COATTAILS -- NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND -- IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

NONETHELESS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, REP. THOMAS P. O'NEILL OF MASSACHUSETTS, SAID SUNDAY SOME DEMOCRATS ARE EDUCATING VOTERS ON TICKET SPLITTING, SO THOSE WHO DON'T WANT TO VOTE FOR MCGOVERN WILL STILL BE ABLE TO VOTE FOR THE CONGRESSMAN OF THEIR CHOICE.

"THE DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS DON'T RUN ON THE COATTAIL OF THE PRESIDENT OR THE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT," O'NEILL SAID IN A UPI WASHINGTON WINDOW INTERVIEW.

"IT WORKS THE OTHER WAY AROUND. MCGOVERN WILL ACTUALLY BE RUNNING ON THE COATTAIL OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES. THE STRENGTH THAT THEY SHOW LOCALLY WILL HELP HIM IMMENSELY. IT DOESN'T WORK THE OTHER WAY."

ASKED IF TICKET SPLITTING WILL BE A CRUCIAL FACTOR IF MCGOVERN DOES NOT DO WELL, O'NEILL SAID "I HAVE TO AGREE WITH YOU ON THAT."

ASKED IF A STUDY HAD BEEN MADE ON THE TICKET SPLITTING POSSIBILITIES, HE SAID, "YES, VERY DEFINITELY."

HE WENT ON TO LIST THE STATES WHERE TICKET SPLITTING IS ALLOWED AND SAID CANDIDATES WHO WERE TRYING TO EXPLOIT THE POSSIBILITY WERE BEING TOLD TO GET VOTERS TO IDENTIFY WITH THEIR NAME -- SO VOTERS CAN SINGLE THEM OUT RATHER THAN VOTING A STRAIGHT TICKET WITH PRESIDENT NIXON AT THE TOP.

O'NEILL FLATLY PREDICTED THE DEMOCRATS WOULD CARRY THE HOUSE IN NOVEMBER BY WINNING "A MINIMUM" OF 50 SEATS MORE THAN THE REPUBLICANS. HE FIXED THE HOUSE BATTLEGROUND AT 87 MARGINAL SEATS, 58 NOW HELD BY DEMOCRATS AND 29 BY REPUBLICANS, CONCEDED THAT THE DEMOCRATS WOULD FINISH UP WITH A NET LOSS OF POSSIBLY 15 SEATS.

REPUBLICANS WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A NET GAIN OF 39 SEATS TO WIN CONTROL.

O'NEILL, WHO ALSO IS DEMOCRATIC WHIP IN THE HOUSE, DISMISSED AS "IDLE TALK" REPORTS THAT REPUBLICANS MIGHT TRY TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE HOUSE IN THE NEXT CONGRESS WITH THE AID OF CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS, IN THE EVENT THE ELECTION IS CLOSE.

HE ALSO DISCOUNTED MUCH ANXIETY EXPRESSED BY SOME DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES THAT THEY MAY BE PULLED DOWN TO DEFEAT IN THE EVENT OF A MCGOVERN LOSS.

"THAT'S THE USUAL COMMENT THAT YOU HEAR," O'NEILL SAID. "I RECALL DURING THE KENNEDY DAYS WHEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS CAME TO ME AND SAID, 'DON'T ALLOW KENNEDY TO COME INTO MY DISTRICT, HE WILL HURT ME.' WE HAD THE SAME THING HAPPEN IN 1968 WHEN THEY DIDN'T WANT HUBERT HUMPHREY INTO THEIR DISTRICTS.

"I PREDICT THAT BEFORE THIS ELECTION IS OVER, THOSE SAD SACKS WILL BE ASKING THE COMMITTEE IF THERE'S ANY POSSIBLY WAY THAT MCGOVERN AND SHRIVER (DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE R. SARGENT SHRIVER) CAN GET INTO THEIR DISTRICTS," HE ADDED.

O'NEILL SAID "WORK AND WAGES" ARE THE BIG ISSUES FOR DEMOCRATS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. HE EXPECTED "SIZEABLE FINANCIAL HELP FROM LABOR IN THE 87 BATTLEGROUND SEATS WHILE PREDICTING THAT REPUBLICANS WOULD OUTSPEND DEMOCRATS IN HOUSE RACES, \$20 TO ONE.

UPI 09-17 01:52 PED

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM TIMMONS **BT**  
SUBJECT: Presidential Endorsements

Attached is Mary Ann Allin's excellent report on candidates and possible Presidential endorsements. I have reviewed the listing and make recommendations for each category.

My congressional staff and Stan Anderson, handling congressional candidates information for the Re-Elect Committee, concur in this report.

PART I - INCUMBENT REPUBLICANS IN HOUSE

I recommend no Presidential endorsements for:

1. Pete McCloskey (Calif)
2. Donald Riegle (Mich.)
3. John Ashbrook (Ohio)

I suggest a carefully worded, non-endorsement letter to Rep. Bob Price (Tex) who faces incumbent Democrat Graham Purcell, a strong Presidential supporter on Vietnam and domestic issues.

All GOP incumbents should receive the standard letter attached except those with asterisks who should have personal letters tailored for maximum assistance.

PART II - NON-INCUMBENT REPUBLICANS FOR HOUSE

I recommend no Presidential endorsements to GOP challengers for the following Democrats:

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Alabama:	Nichols, Bevill, Jones
Calif:	Johnson, Sisk, Holifield, Wilson
Conn:	Monagan, Giaimo
Fla:	Bennett, Chappell, Haley, Rogers
Ga:	Davis, Stuckey
Ill:	Kluczynski, Shipley, Price, Rostenkowski
Ky:	Stubblefield
LA:	Passman
Md:	Byron
Missouri:	Randall, Bolling, Ichord, Burlison
N. Mex:	Runnels
NY:	Pike, Stratton, Rooney (if he wins new primary)
N. C. :	Fountain, Jones, Taylor
Ohio:	Ashley, Hays
Okla:	Steed, Jarman
Ore:	Green
Pa:	Flood, Morgan
S. C. :	Dorn, Davis, Mann, Gettys
Tenn:	Evins, Jones
Tex:	Roberts, Cabell, Teague, Brooks, Fisher, Casey
Va:	Downing
W. Va:	Slack, Staggers
Wash:	Foley
Wis:	Zablocki

These Members have supported the President on Vietnam and most have good voting records on domestic issues. Of the 57, 8 are officially "targets" by the Congressional Campaign Committee and the committee judges only 4 of the 8 as realistic possibilities. These four are seats held by Monagan (Conn), Shipley (Ill), Davis (SC) and Cabell (Tex).

I support a standard endorsement letter to other Republican challengers in Part II.

PART III - INCUMBENT REPUBLICAN SENATORS

I concur in Presidential endorsements for all incumbents seeking re-election. However, they should be tailored to suit the candidate with less enthusiastic letters for Stevens, Percy, Pearson, Brooke and Case.

PART IV - GOP HOUSE MEMBERS SEEKING SENATE

Recommend good letters for Thompson and McClure but a tailored endorsement for Sco

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PART V - REPUBLICAN SENATE CHALLENGERS

I recommend no endorsement letters for GOP challengers to these Democrats:

1. John Sparkman (Alabama)
2. John McClellan (Ark)
3. James Eastland (Miss)
4. Jennings Randolph (W. Va)

PART VI - INCUMBENT REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS

I concur in letters to all.

PART VII - REPUBLICAN GUBERNATORIAL CHALLENGERS

Recommend against endorsements for:

1. Len Blaylock (Ark)
2. Henry Grover (Texas)

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 15, 1972

\* BT does  
seem  
center  
\* CM does  
not

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Congressional Campaigns

This memorandum outlines several problems that have arisen while compiling data on Congressional races. You would probably have to discuss personally with MacGregor the recommended solution.

In Congressional campaigns since 1966, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee has attempted to formulate a list of key races through a process of checking with Congressional leaders like Ford and Wilson, reviewing outside data such as AmPac and BiPac (Business and Industry Political Action Committee), and analyzing reports received from various field sources. Their current list of target districts is 115. The process in the past has been very complex and resistant to changes during the campaign. The process has not been effective.

In the 1701 strategy meeting last week, Clark MacGregor indicated a strong desire to rely heavily on the opinions of Ford, Wilson and the Congressional Campaign Committee because they badly want a Republican House. Last night Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson, who is assigned the task at 1701 of pulling together data on the House and Senate races, argued strongly that it didn't make sense to rely entirely on these Hill sources. They proposed instead an internal committee which would analyze all available sources, but would be independent and flexible and be in a position to make judgements on various races on the basis of what is best for the President. Attached at Tab A are several examples of how the polling data and field reports compiled by Anderson differ widely from information available to the Congressional Campaign Committee.

Teeter and Anderson recommend forming a small working committee at 1701 to undertake the basic analysis of House races. They recommend that Bill Timmons be the senior member of this committee and be the liaison at the White House. His role would not be a visible one. This group would rely heavily on available polling data and on detailed field reports from 1701, then analyze the individual races and make recommendations on each race as to Presidential, White House and campaign involvement.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Discuss  
\_\_\_\_\_

Attached at Tab B is a listing of Congressional seats which, if won by the GOP, would result in a net gain.

GS/jb

Race	GOP Candidate	Democrat Candidate	Polling Results	Field Survey	Congressional Campaign Committee
Calif. 11th	Chase	Ryan	-25	1 in 20	target
Calif. 34th	Ratterree	Hanna	-25	no chance	target
Conn. 1st	Rittenband	Cotter	-	little chance	target
Ind. 4th	Bloom	Roush	-28	poor	target
Kans. 2nd	McAtee	Roy	-35	poor	target
Mich. 18th	Huber (Anti-Nixon Rep.)	Montgomery	-15	poor	target
Wyom. AL	Kidd	Roncalio	-13	-	target



September 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. STEPHEN B. BULL  
MR. DAVID N. PARKER

FROM: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

Halderman has advanced the idea that perhaps we can help men in key Senate races by having them come in to meet with the President in his office. The idea would be to set up a day for a Senate candidate. For example, Fominick, a candidate in New Mexico could come in, have a briefing by meeting with Ehrlichman or Cole, a meeting with Faig, perhaps meet with someone who would be knowledgeable on some of the various problems concerning New Mexico -- maybe Indian affairs or whatever -- and then have the candidate go in and meet with the President for thirty or forty minutes. The idea would be to give the man a great deal of exposure within the White House and to send them back to their Districts so that they are tied to the President, get them on the attack against McGovern, and hopefully get them enough publicity that it will help with their races.

Will you please develop a plan for bringing these key Senate candidates in? You should get a list of the candidates from Tector. We should put together a memorandum to go in to Halderman on Wednesday of this coming week listing who the key Senatorial candidates are, as well as what our scenario would be when they come in. Once we get approval on the plan, then we can move off with scheduling the time for them.

*Get list  
for Bull*

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

1972 U.S. Senate Races

The attached chart summarizes the 14 marginal Senate races. Block caps indicate net gain above the current 45 Republican seats. The polling data, when available, has Republican first. Anticipated date of receipt of post-Labor Day polling is indicated.

GS/jb

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>POLLS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Mich.	Griffin (R) Kelley (D)	8/30- 42-39-19;9/18	Close. Detroit - Metro Key Area. Needs P visit, grants, money. Busing issue, may die.
Texas	Tower (R) Sanders (D)	8/15- 45-32-24;9/18	Close, but Tower pulling away. Needs P and VP visit.
Ky.	Nunn (R) Huddleston (D)	Poll avail - 10/7	Jan poll - Nunn behind. Field reports Nunn up. Needs \$. AMPAC active.
NEW MEXICO	Domenici (R) Daniels (D)	Jul- 37-53-10;10/1	Domenici's org. weak; Napolitan on Daniels; needs \$, campaign management and P visit.
RHODE ISLAND	Chaffee (R) Pell (D)	Poll avail - 9/22 (Becker)	Pell gaining; needs \$ and surrogate visits.
S.D.	Hirsch (R) Abourezk (D)	8/15 H -6 ;10/7 <u>N</u> <u>M</u> <u>U</u> 56      28      16	No P or VP visit; Needs \$ & Butz; Gov & 2 close Cong.
Id.	McClure (R) Davis (D)	Poll avail - 10/10 Central Surveys	Field reports slightly ahead; needs \$ & help healing primary split.
GEORGIA	Thompson (R) Nunn (D)	8/3- 43-16-41; 9/31 (misleading)	Needs issue help. P or VP visit helpful.
OKLAHOMA	Bartlett (R) Edmondson (D)	Jul- 36-54-10;10/5	Field reports close behind. <u>Needs P visit</u> , strategy help Gov.
NORTH CAROLINA	Helms (R) Galifanikas (D)	Aug- Helms behind; Poll avail-?	Needs \$ & org. help; Field reports moving up.
ALABAMA	Blount (R) Sparkman (D)	Jun 30- 24-64-4-8; Poll avail- 9/19	Field reports 15 down; no overt help.
MONTANA	Hibbard (R) Metcalf (D)	Poll avail - 9/30	Needs \$ & Mansfield in D.C.
LOUISIANA	Toledano (R) Johnston (D) McKeithen	?	Needs \$ & org. & poll.
VIRGINIA	Scott (R) Spong (D)	Behind; Poll avail- ?	Needs P ident. & landslide; poor candidate.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

1972 U.S. Senate Races

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GS/jb

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VIRGINIA	Scott (R) Spong (D)	Behind; Poll avail- ?	Needs P ident. & landslide; poor candidate.

Hold

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR :

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM :

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT :

1972 U.S. Senate Races

This memorandum briefly describes the status of the 33 U.S. Senate races. The attachment describes each race with the current estimation of the chances for victory by Clark MacGregor (CM), Harry Dent (D), Fred Malek (FM), Bill Timmons (BT), and Robert Marik (RM), along with Bob Teeter (T). The comments by MacGregor, Dent, Timmons, Teeter, and Malek's Field Operation are given below for the 18 swing states:

Alabama

Dent believes Blount could win because of the straight party ticket voting. Also, a black is entering the race. This will pull votes from Sparkman.

Teeter says Blount is moving up in the polls and is now within 10-15%, up substantially from the Wave II polls.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists Alabama as 5th in its 6 priority races (Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama, and Montana). In each of these races they will give the Republican candidate \$70 - 75,000. Dent says they are asking 1701 for an additional \$500,000 to distribute between September 15 and 30.

Georgia

Dent says Fletcher Thompson is coming up but would have had a better chance against Gambrell. Maddox's blast at McGovern helped the President and Thompson. The President's coattails and personal identification with Thompson would be very helpful.

Teeter indicates there are no polls available. He knows Thompson personally and characterizes him as an "opportunist" and "free spirit".

MacGregor and Malek concur in this assessment of Thompson (opportunist). They urge money and organizational support for Thompson.

Timmons says Thompson is a long shot but possible.

#### Idaho

Dent says the race is closer than previously believed. The President could really help with personal identification.

MacGregor and Malek say there are still party wounds from the tough primary. Teeter concurs. All indicate McClure needs money and organizational help.

Timmons believes McClure should win.

#### Kentucky

Dent urges more Presidential identification with Nunn, who should win.

Teeter reports Nunn is moving up in recent polls.

MacGregor says the field organization is good, but Malek says Nunn needs money. There is some question about a possible commitment of money made by Mitchell to get Nunn to run.

Timmons says Nunn is a winner.

#### Louisiana

Dent reports that the Republican candidate, Ben Toledano, could have a chance in the three-and possibly four-way race. Bennett Johnson is the conservative Democratic candidate. Ex-Governor McKeithan, who is running as an Independent will split the Democratic vote. McKeithan is also urging a black to run to pull votes from Johnston.

Maine

Teeter urges a non-political trip by the President to show his support of Smith as a national figure. She needs no money.

Michigan

Dent believes this is very close though he sees Griffin with a slight edge.

Teeter says the polls have had Griffin ahead and behind twice in the last year. Busing may fade some by November. Teeter urges Administration assistance in the form of grants or projects, especially in the Detroit tri-county area.

MacGregor says Griffin needs money and Administration assistance.

Malek indicates that all telephone and door-to-door canvassing is done jointly by the President and Griffin's campaign organizations.

Montana

Dent says Hibbard has a better chance than previously thought. The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Montana listed 6th. A Presidential sweep could pull Hibbard in.

Teeter says there are no polls available. Metcalf is well liked in Montana.

Malek says Hibbard is a poor candidate with a poor organization.

New Mexico

Dent gives Domenici a 50/50 chance.

Teeter says Domenici needs money.

Malek reports that neither the President's nor Domenici's organizations are very strong. Domenici needs money and organizational support.

Timmons says Domenici has a good chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists New Mexico 2nd in its list of 6 top priority seats.

### North Carolina

Dent says Helms has a 50/50 chance but badly needs identification with the President.

Teeter's month old data indicates Helms is behind in spite of the President's huge lead.

MacGregor and Malek indicate Helms needs money but organizational help more.

Timmons believes Helms is a good possibility.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has North Carolina fourth.

### Oklahoma

Dent says Bartlett really needs identification with the President. Bellmon's gratuitous slap at Bartlett recently didn't help.

Teeter urges a Presidential visit because Bartlett needs the identification and the President is so far ahead there is little risk.

Malek reports Bartlett has real organizational problems.

Timmons says Bartlett has a fighting chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Oklahoma 3rd.

### Oregon

Dent says Hatfield should win because McCall is still staying out.

Teeter says the race is very close because Hatfield's approval rating is so low (35% by Republicans). McCall is very popular (65% by Republicans) and should be encouraged to help Hatfield.

Malek says Hatfield has no money problems but the 1701 and Hatfield organizations are not helping each other to the degree that they should.

Timmons says Hatfield will win.

Rhode Island

Dent says this is our best chance for a Democratic seat, but he wonders whether Chafee will vote with the President.

Teeter says the race is closer than most believe, and Chafee's lead is the "softest" in the country.

Malek says money is not a problem but needs organizational help. Chafee has been "playing anti-Nixon games" so far.

Timmons says Chafee is a winner.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Rhode Island at the top of their list of six.

South Dakota

Dent believes this should be our #1 defensive battle. Hirsch is coming on strong and would totally support the President. Abourezk is identified too closely with McGovern.

Teeter says Hirsch was way behind but since Abourezk is so close to McGovern, Hirsch has a chance.

Malek urges money for Hirsch but no Presidential visit.

Timmons says Hirsch is a sure loser.

Texas

Dent says this should be our #2 defensive battle.

Teeter believes Tower will win, because the President is so strong.

Malek says money is no problem and the organizational problems are resolving themselves. 1701 and Tower are working their telephone campaigns together.

Virginia

Dent says Scott could only win if the President won by a landslide. Even Harry Byrd doesn't like Scott. Scott would vote with the President if elected.

Malek urges some money for organizational help but suggests that Scott be kept off the road and that there be no Presidential visit. The possibility of sending Cliff White into Virginia was raised.

Timmons says Virginia is a long shot.

To summarize, the President should visit Texas and Oklahoma. In the other states, money and behind the scenes organizational help should be given.

State	Candidates	Republicans		Democrats		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Alabama	D ✓ Blount (R) Sparkman (D)			D	RM, FM CM, T	
Alaska	R ✓ Stevens (R) Guess (D)	RM, CM, T	D, FM			
Arkansas	D ✓ Babbitt (R) McClellan (D)					T, D, F FM, CM
Colorado	R ✓ Allott (R) (Democrat Primary 9/12)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
Delaware	R ✓ Boggs (R) Biden (D)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
? Georgia	D Thompson (R) Nunn (D) <i>vs Cambell</i>				RM, CM, FM, D, T	
? Idaho	D McClure (R) Davis (D) <i>Jordan</i>		D, BT		RM, CM, FM, T	
Illinois	R ✓ Percy (R) Pucinski (D)	RM, CM, FM, T		D		
Iowa	R ✓ Miller (R) Clark (D)	T, RM, CM, FM, D				

State	Candidates	Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Kansas	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Pearson (R)</u> Tetzlaff (D)	T, CM, FM D	RM			
? Kentucky	<i>R</i> Nunn (R) <i>Cooper</i> Huddleston (D)	BT	RM, D	CM, FM	T	
? Louisiana	<i>D</i> Toledano (R) Johnston (D) <i>Ellender</i> McKeithan (I)			D	RM, CM FM	T
Maine	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Smith (R)</u> Hathaway (D)	FM, BT, D	T, RM, CM			
Mass.	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Brooke (R)</u> (Democratic Primary 9/19)	T, CM, FM RM, D, BT				
? Michigan	<i>R</i> <u>Griffin (R)</u> Kelley (D)			T, RM, CM, FM D		
Minnesota	<i>D</i> ✓ <u>Hansen (R)</u> <u>Mondale (D)</u>				D	T, CM, FM, RM BT
Mississippi	<i>D</i> ✓ <u>Carmichael (R)</u> <u>Eastland (D)</u>					RM, FM, CM, T, D
? Montana	<i>D</i> Hibbard (R) <u>Metcalf (D)</u>			D	T, RM, CM, FM	
Nebraska	<i>R</i> ✓ <u>Curtis (R)</u> Carpenter (D)	T, RM, CM D	FM			

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
N.H. <i>D</i>	(Republican Primary 9/12) <u>McIntyre (D)</u>			FM	T, RM, CM	D
N.J. <i>R✓</i>	<u>Case (R)</u> Krebs (D)	T, CM, FM, RM, D, BT				
? New Mexico <i>D</i>	Domenici (R) Daniels (D) <i>Anderson</i>			RM, D, BT	T, CM, FM	
? N. C. <i>D</i>	Helms (R) Galifianakis (D) <i>Jordan</i>			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
? Oklahoma <i>D</i>	Bartlett (R) Edmondson (D) <i>Harris</i>			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
Oregon <i>R✓</i>	<u>Hatfield (R)</u> Morse (D)	BT	RM, CM, FM	T, D		
< Rhode Island <i>D</i>	Chafee (R) <u>Pell (D)</u>	BT	T, RM, CM, FM, D			
S. Carolina <i>R✓</i>	<u>Thurmond (R)</u> Ziegler (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				
? S. Dakota <i>R</i>	Hirsch (R) <i>Munst</i> Abourezk (D)			T, CM, FM	RM, D	
Tennessee <i>R✓</i>	<u>Baker (R)</u> Blanton (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Texas <i>RV</i>	<u>Tower (R)</u> Sanders (D)		T	CM, FM, RM, D		
Virginia <i>DV</i>	Scott (R) <u>Spong (D)</u>				T, RM, CM, FM D, BT	
W. Virginia <i>DV</i>	Leonard (R) <u>Randolph (D)</u>					T, CM, D
Wyoming <i>RV</i>	<u>Hansen (R)</u> Vinich (D)	T, FM, CM, D	RM			

Hold

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN S

SUBJECT:

1972 U.S. Congressional Races

Dent has prepared a factual analysis of the Congressional races, indicating that the Republicans must hold all current incumbent seats and win 39 new seats to reach the 218 needed to organize the House. Ford's Southern Democrats switchover project will not become important unless the Republicans are close to 218. Dent's Tab A picks the top 30 requiring attention.

Timmons independently reviewed the September 5 Congressional Campaign Committee analysis. Timmons' picks are double underscored while Dent's are single underscored. Where Dent and Timmons agree three underlines appear.

Malek's field organization can provide assessments of 50 important individual races by September 13. Malek's input would be conjecture before then.

MacGregor's views will be checked September 7.

Teeter talked with an AMPAC representative on September 5 regarding access to their polls. Teeter received a commitment to obtain the 25 completed polls on September 8.

This analysis of the Congressional races will be resubmitted when the additional information is acquired.

The only people involved in this project are Bill Timmons, Clark MacGregor, Fred Malek, Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson. Harry Flemming has done an independent analysis for Clark MacGregor but has not reviewed it with Mitchell or MacGregor.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

HARRY DENT 

SUBJECT:

1972 U. S. Congressional  
Races

The GOP Congressional election picture is brighter today than on July 10 when I submitted the last memorandum, primarily because the President is stronger. The Congressional Campaign Committee is privately predicting a minimum pickup of 20-25 seats, recognizing we could win more if the tide is strong enough. Jerry Ford is still working on the prospect of Southern Democrat switchovers after the election if we are close enough to the magic number of 218 seats required to organize the House. The present lineup is 178 GOP (plus Brad Morse vacancy) and 255 Democrats (plus Governor Edwards of Louisiana vacancy). In order to win 218 we must keep everything we have, including the Brad Morse vacancy, and pick up 39.

Attachment A contains a listing in state alphabetical order of the top 10 incumbent seats which need defending (most vulnerable on our side); our best 10 possible pickups; and then our second best 10 possible pickups.

Attachment B contains a listing of congressional seats targeted by the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, defensively and offensively. The ones underscored in red need priority attention to win.

TOP 10 THAT NEED DEFENDING

1. California 6	Mailliard
2. Colorado 1	McKevitt
3. Iowa 1	Schwengel
4. Iowa 4	Kyl
5. Indiana 10	Dennis
6. Michigan 2	Esch
7. Minnesota 6	Zwach
8. Tennessee 8	Kuykendall
9. Utah 2	Lloyd
10. Wisconsin 3	Thomson

TOP POSSIBLE PICKUPS (TOP 10)

1. California 36	Ketchum (new seat)
2. California 42 (safe)	Burgener (new seat)
3. Illinois 17	O'Brien (new seat)
4. Indiana 11	Hudnut (Jacobs)
5. Maine 2	Cohen (Dem. open)
6. New York 26	Gilman (Dow)
7. North Carolina 4	Hawke (Dem. open)
8. Pennsylvania 9	Shuster (Rep. open)
9. South Dakota 2	Abdnor (Dem. open)
10. Washington 4	Bledsoe (McCormac) primary 9/19

POSSIBLE PICKUPS (SECOND 10)

1. Illinois 3	Hanrahan (new seat)
2. Illinois 10	Young (Mikva)
3. Illinois 11	Hoellen (Annunzio)
4. Illinois 22	Lamkin (Shipley)
5. Indiana 4	Bloom (Roush)
6. Kentucky 6	Jackson (Dem. open)
7. Maryland 4	Holt (new seat)
8. Massachusetts 12	Weeks (Rep. open)
9. Mississippi 5	Lott (Dem. open)
10. New Jersey 12	Rinaldo (Rep. open)

CODE: ND - NEW DISTRICT  
 RO - REPUBLICAN OPEN  
 DO - DEMOCRAT OPEN  
 PAIR - TWO INCUMBENTS  
 \* - INCUMBENT

AS OF 9-5-72

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	ALABAMA	2	* <u>Dickinson</u>	Reeves	
	ALASKA	AL	<u>Young</u>	* Begich	
ND	ARIZONA	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	CALIFORNIA	6	* <u>Mailliard</u>	Boas	
	CALIFORNIA	7	Hannaford	* Dellums	
ND	CALIFORNIA	11	Chase	Ryan	
	CALIFORNIA	18	* <u>Mathias</u>	Lavery	
RO	CALIFORNIA	20	<u>Moorhead</u>	Binkley	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CALIFORNIA	31	<u>Valentine</u>	* C. Wilson	
	CALIFORNIA	34	Ratterree	* Hanna	
	CALIFORNIA	35	Brown	* Anderson	
ND	CALIFORNIA	36	<u>Ketchum</u>	Lemucchi	
ND	CALIFORNIA	38	<u>Snider</u>	Brown	
RO	CALIFORNIA	39	<u>Hinshaw</u>	Black	
ND	CALIFORNIA	42	<u>Burgener</u>	Lowe	
	COLORADO	1	* <u>McKevitt</u>	Primary 9/12	
	COLORADO	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	* Aspinall	
ND	COLORADO	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CONNECTICUT	1	Rittenband	* Cotter	
	CONNECTICUT	2	* Steele <u>          </u> <u>          </u>	Hilsman	
	CONNECTICUT	5	Sarasin <u>          </u> <u>          </u>	* Monagan	
ND	FLORIDA	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	FLORIDA	8	Thompson	* Haley	
ND	FLORIDA	10	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
ND	FLORIDA	13	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
RO	GEORGIA	5	Cook <u>          </u> <u>          </u>	Young	
RO	IDAHO	1	<u>Symms</u>	Williams	
ND	ILLINOIS	3	<u>Hanrahan</u> <u>          </u> <u>          </u>	Coman	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	ILLINOIS	10	Young ██████	* Mikva	
	ILLINOIS	11	Hoellen ██████	* Annunzio	
ND	ILLINOIS	17	O'Brien ██████	Houlihan	
RO	ILLINOIS	21	Madigan ██████	Johnson	
	ILLINOIS	22	Lamkin ██████	* Shipley	
	INDIANA	2	* Landgrebe ██████	Fithian	
	INDIANA	3	Newman	* Brademas	
	INDIANA	4	Bloom ██████	* Roush	
	INDIANA	8	* Zion ██████	Deen	
	INDIANA	10	* Dennis ██████	Sharp	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	INDIANA	11	<u>Hudnutt</u>	* Jacobs	
	IOWA	1	* <u>Schwengel</u>	Mezvinsky	
	IOWA	2	Ellsworth	* Culver	
PAIR	IOWA	4	* <u>Kyl</u>	* Smith	
	KANSAS	2	<u>McAtee</u>	* Roy	
	KANSAS	3	* <u>Winn</u>	Barsotti	
	KENTUCKY	3	<u>Kaelin</u>	* Mazzoli	
DO	KENTUCKY	6	<u>Jackson</u>	Breckinridge	
	LOUISIANA	3	<u>Treen</u>	Run-Off 9-30	
	MAINE	1	Porteous	* Kyros	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
DO	MAINE	2	<u>Cohen</u>	Violette	
	MARYLAND	1	* <u>Mills</u>	Hargreaves	
ND	MARYLAND	4	<u>Holt</u>	Fornos	
	MARYLAND	6	Mason	* Byron	
	MASSACHUSETTS	4	Primary 9/19	Drinan	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	5	Primary 9/19	Primary 9/19	
	MASSACHUSETTS	6	<u>Moseley</u>	* Harrington	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	12	<u>Weeks</u>	Studds	
	MICHIGAN	2	* <u>Esch</u>	Stempien	
	MICHIGAN	12	<u>Serotkin</u>	* O'Hara	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	MICHIGAN	18	* <del>Broomfield</del> <u>Huber</u>	Montgomery	
	MINNESOTA	6	* <del>Zwach</del>	Nolan	
	MINNESOTA	7	<del>Haaven</del>	* Bergland	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	2	<del>Butler</del>	Bowen	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	4	<del>Cochran</del>	Bodron	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	5	<del>Lott</del>	Stone	
DO	MISSOURI	6	<del>Sloan</del>	Litton	
RO	MISSOURI	7	<del>Taylor</del>	Thomas	
	MONTANA	1	* <del>Shoup</del>	Olsen	
	NEW JERSEY	3	<del>Dowd</del>	* Howard	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW JERSEY	6	* <u>Forsythe</u>	Brennan	
	NEW JERSEY	9	Schiaffo	* Helstoski	
RO	NEW JERSEY	12	<u>Rinaldo</u>	English	
ND	NEW JERSEY	13	<u>Maraziti</u>	Meyner	
	NEW MEXICO	2	<u>Presson</u>	Runnels	
	NEW YORK	1	Boyd	* Pike	
ND	NEW YORK	3	<u>Roncallo</u>	Bales	
	NEW YORK	6	<u>Gallagher</u>	* Wolff	
	NEW YORK	23	* <u>Peyser</u>	Ottinger	
	NEW YORK	24	<u>Vergari</u>	* Reid	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW YORK	26	Gilman =====	* Dow	
RO	NEW YORK	31	Mitchell =====	Castle	
	NEW YORK	32	Koldin =====	* Hanley	
RO	NEW YORK	33	Walsh =====	Kadys	
	NEW YORK	36	* Smith =====	McCarthy	
DO	NORTH CAROLINA	4	Hawke =====	Andrews	
RO	NORTH CAROLINA	9	Martin =====	Beatty	
RO	OHIO	4	Guyer =====	Nicholas	
	OHIO	8	* Powell =====	Ruppert	
RO	OHIO	16	Regula =====	Musser	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	OHIO	19	<u>Parr</u>	* Carney	
RO	OKLAHOMA	1	<u>Run-Off 9-19</u>	Jones	
DO	OKLAHOMA	2	Toliver	McSpadden	
	PENNSYLVANIA	5	* <u>Ware</u>	Franco	
RO	PENNSYLVANIA	9	<u>Shuster</u>	Collins	
		20	<u>Frank</u>	* <u>Goydos</u>	
	PENNSYLVANIA	14	Catarinella	* Moorehead	
	SOUTH CAROLINA	1	<u>Limehouse</u>	* Davis	
	SOUTH DAKOTA	1	<u>Vickerman</u>	* Denholm	
DO	SOUTH DAKOTA	2	<u>Abdnor</u>	McKeever	
	TENNESSEE	3	* <u>Baker</u>	Sompayrac	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	TENNESSEE	6	<u>Beard</u>	* Anderson	
	TENNESSEE	8	* <u>Kuykendall</u>	Patterson	
	TEXAS	5	<u>Steelman</u>	* Cabell ?	
PAIR	TEXAS	13	* <u>Price</u>	* Purcell	
	UTAH	1	Primary 9/12	McKay	
	UTAH	2	* <u>Lloyd</u>	Primary 9/12	
	VIRGINIA	4	<u>Daniel</u>	Gibson	
RO	VIRGINIA	6	<u>Butler</u>	Anderson	
RO	VIRGINIA	8	<u>Parris</u>	Horan	
RO	WASHINGTON	1	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	Primary 9/19	
	WASHINGTON	4	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	* McCormack	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	WISCONSIN	1	Primary 9/12	* Aspin	
	WISCONSIN	3	* <u>Thomson</u>	Primary 9/12	
PAIR	WISCONSIN	7	* <u>O'Konski</u>	* Obey	
	WISCONSIN	8	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	WYOMING	AL	<u>Kidd</u>	* Roncalio	

HARRIS SURVEY

For Release: Monday AM, September 18th, 1972

Not Before

By Louis Harris

Although President Nixon has been leading Sen. McGovern by a substantial margin in the Harris Survey, Democrats are ahead in nationwide races for Congress, 46-41 percent. At the comparable stage of the 1968 campaign, Democratic candidates for Congress held a 49-40 percent lead. Except for the Midwest, where the GOP holds a 5-point lead, Democrats running for House seats in other parts of the country average out 9 to 13 points ahead of their Republican opponents.

While both the contests for the White House and for control of Congress can change considerably in the seven remaining weeks of the campaign, voters at this moment are expressing intentions to split their tickets this fall more than at any time in our political history. The total spread between party votes for President and party votes for Congress now runs a full 39 percentage points nationwide and even higher among specific blocs of voters.

( more )

Between August 30th and September 1st, a cross section of 1,640 likely voters was asked:

"If the election were being held today and you had to decide right now, in this Congressional District, would you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congress?"

## VOTE FOR CONGRESS

	Congress:		Pres		Spread
	Dem	Rep	Nix.	McC.	
<u>Nationwide</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>39</u>
<u>By Region</u>					
East	49	36	60	34	39
Midwest	43	48	64	29	30
South	47	38	70	19	60
West	50	39	58	34	35
<u>By Age</u>					
18-29	53	32	52	42	31
30-49	45	41	68	25	47
50 and over	45	46	65	26	38
<u>By Party</u>					
Republican	10	80	93	5	18
Democratic	74	17	43	47	53
Independent	33	47	68	22	32
<u>By Religion</u>					
WASP	37	51	74	20	40
Catholic	49	35	62	27	49
Jewish	72	24	47	44	51
<u>By Union Members</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>48</u>
<u>By Income</u>					
Under \$5,000	48	38	56	36	30
\$5,000-9,999	52	36	58	32	42
\$10,000-14,999	42	45	70	23	44
\$15,000 and over	43	45	71	24	45
<u>By Education</u>					
Under 8th grade	53	38	56	36	35
High school	45	41	66	26	44
College	46	41	63	31	37

A number of key implications emerge from these results:

--- It is highly unlikely that such a wide disparity will finally take place in the actual balloting on November 7th, for it is much easier for people to indicate a desire to split their tickets in a public opinion survey than to do it in fact in the voting booth. This might normally be viewed as an advantage for the Republicans, since the Presidential line will be at the head of the ballot in each state.

--- However, some of the groups who express the most sizable desire to split their tickets are from the most articulate segments of the electorate: voters under 30, the college-educated, those with incomes of \$15,000 and over, and Jewish voters. These groups might very well take the time and trouble to split tickets on Election Day.

--- Union members and those who are Catholic are among the most prolific intended ticket-splitters. Their early defections in this election from the Democratic line for President have been taken by some political analysts to indicate that a major realignment of parties is about to take place in this country. It is entirely possible, on the other hand, that the Democratic ties they show on the Congressional line might well temper their potential defections to the Republicans at the head of the ticket.

--- The Democratic showing in the East and the West is roughly similar to the vote the Democrats cast in the off-year elections of 1970 for Congress, when they retained control of the House and Senate. However, the Republican vote in the South is well above previous years' showings and could presage gains there for the GOP. In the Midwest, the Republicans generally do better than in other regions for Congress, but they still might score some gains there.

--- These results indicate that, at least early in the campaign, President Nixon's coattails can be helpful to other Republicans running this fall, but might not be sufficient to change the longstanding Democratic rule in the House of Representatives. In fact, if Mr. Nixon, were to press his luck and go all out to ask for a Republican Congress to be elected with him, the Democratic undertow that is evident might cost him votes rather than win votes for Republican candidates running with him.

--- These results point up the fact that the electorate in 1972 is in a highly volatile state of mind, as indeed it has been all year long. When as many as one in four voters is prepared to switch his vote between the Presidential and Congressional lines on the same ballot, it means that selectivity rather than down-the-line uniformity is likely to be the rule in this year's election.

--- Intended ticket-splitting is lowest among Republicans and independents. The present inclination of independents to vote a straight GOP ticket in this election could cast some previously relatively safe Democratic seats into the doubtful column.

From these initial results, it is evident that pro-Democratic tugs are still strong on enrolled Democrats, at least as far as the Congressional elections are concerned. And, if voter attention becomes focused on the Congressional balloting, it could have a significant impact on President Nixon's early lead in head-to-head pairings against Senator McGovern.

# # #

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SENATE RACES

\_\_\_\_\_ incumbents

<u>STATE</u>	<u>SAFE</u>	<u>PROBABLE</u>	<u>MARGINAL</u>	<u>LONG SHOT</u>
ALABAMA			Blount/ <u>Sparkman</u>	
ALASKA	<u>Stevens/Guess</u>			
ARKANSAS				Babbitt/ <u>McClellan</u>
COLORADO	<u>Allott/primary 9/12</u>			
DELAWARE	<u>Boggs/Biden</u>			
GEORGIA			Thompson/ Nunn	
IDAHO		McClure/Davis		
ILLINOIS	<u>Percy/Pucinski</u>			
INDIANA	<u>Miller/Clark</u>			
KANSAS	<u>Pearson/Tetzlaff</u>			
KENTUCKY		Nunn/Huddleston		
LOUISIANA			Toledano/Bennett/McKeithan	
MAINE		<u>Smith/Hathaway</u>		
MASSACHUSETTS	<u>Brooke/primary 9/19</u>			
MICHIGAN			<u>Griffin/Kelley</u>	
MINNESOTA				Hansen/ <u>Mondale</u>
MISSISSIPPI				Carmichael/ <u>Eastland</u>
MONTANA			Hibbard/ <u>Metcalf</u>	
NEBRASKA		<u>Curtis/Carpenter</u>		
NEW HAMPSHIRE				primary 9/12
NEW JERSEY	<u>Case/Krebs</u>			
NEW MEXICO			Domenici/Daniels	
NORTH CAROLINA			Helms/Galifianakis	
OKLAHOMA			Bartlett/Edmondson	
OREGON		<u>Hatfield/Morse</u>		
RHODE ISLAND			Chaffee/ <u>Pell</u>	
SOUTH CAROLINA	<u>Thurmond/Ziegler</u>			
SOUTH DAKOTA			Hirsch/Abourezk	
TENNESSEE	<u>Baker/Blanton</u>			
TEXAS			<u>Tower/Sanders</u>	
VIRGINIA				Scott/ <u>Spong</u>
WEST VIRGINIA				Leonard/ <u>Randolph</u>
WYOMING	<u>Hansen/Vincent</u>			

September 7, 1972

Memorandum

To: Bob Haldeman  
From: Charlie McWhorter

Re Senate Campaign - 1972

At the present time there is general agreement that the greatest threat to current Republican Senate seats is in South Dakota and Idaho. The best prospects for a pickup are in Rhode Island, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Oklahoma and New Mexico. It should be noted that there is every reason to think that the President should be able to defeat McGovern in all of these states with the possible exceptions of South Dakota and Rhode Island.

It is my strong recommendation that the media campaign on behalf of the President in all of these states be kept flexible enough so that during the last four weeks of the campaign a major effort can be made on behalf of our Senate candidates. This would require an ability to add the name of our Senate candidates to billboards, literature and commercials. In my opinion, it is more important to make every effort to obtain the election of Republican Senators in these states than it is to squeeze out a few extra percentage points to add to the President's plurality. I don't think we can count on the President's coattails to be the decisive factor for our Senate candidates. Rather, we will have to make a deliberate effort to mobilize resources from the President's effort on their behalf. The results should pay off in the election of additional Senators plus increased political goodwill.

It should be noted that similar opportunities are available with regard to many contests for the House of Representatives, but these would require careful evaluation of all relevant factors before there was a diversion of emphasis from the Presidential campaign.

**ACTION MEMO - POLITICAL**

**We need to review the question of supplying, or directing financing, to key Senate races. The two most likely in this regard are New Mexico and South Dakota, according to Senator Scott.**

**HRH:pm**

**9/12/72**

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

H  
FUG/12

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

1972 U.S. Congressional Races

Dent has prepared a factual analysis of the Congressional races, indicating that the Republicans must hold all current incumbent seats and win 39 new seats to reach the 218 needed to organize the House. Ford's Southern Democrats switchover project will not become important unless the Republicans are close to 218. Dent's Tab A picks the top 30 requiring attention.

Timmons independently reviewed the September 5 Congressional Campaign Committee analysis. Timmons' picks are double underscored while Dent's are single underscored.

Malek's field organization can provide assessments of 50 important individual races by September 13. Malek's input would be conjecture before then.

MacGregor's views will be checked September 7.

Teeter talked with an AMPAC representative on September 5 regarding access to their polls. Teeter received a commitment to obtain the 25 completed polls on September 8.

This analysis of the Congressional races will be resubmitted when the additional information is acquired.

The only people involved in this project are Bill Timmons, Clark MacGregor, Fred Malek, Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson. Harry Fleming has done an independent analysis for Clark MacGregor but has not reviewed it with Mitchell or MacGregor.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

*Hru  
9/12*

*To Bill Timmons  
BT L*

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS  
SUBJECT: '72 Campaign

I would like to have primary White House responsibility for keeping tabs on Senate and House races (incumbents and challengers) during the campaign with Stan Anderson at 1701 as the principal staffman on the assignment.

Working with the Re-Elect Committee's resources as well as my congressional staff and their contacts I feel I am the best central source for accumulating pertinent campaign information -- with a low profile, of course -- and making any recommendations necessary.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER \_\_\_\_\_

*work out of MacGregor*

LATE NEWS/MISCELLANY

NBC noted Harris Poll gives RN's bombing policy approval by 55-32. New Republic presents analysis of Hoffman, director of Dem Senatorial Campaign Comm., on the Senate races. He doesn't feel GOP can take control. He concedes 5 Dem seats are in trouble. -- New Mex, Okla, Georgia, N. Car., R.I., and in all 5 the RN margin could make the difference. He doesn't feel Sparkman, Spong, Metcalf, or McIntyre are in much trouble, nor that La. will be lost to Dems due to split by McKeithen. And he sees 50-50 chance that Dems can pick up Mich., Ky., S.Dak., Oregon, and Idaho. And Hoffman has hopes for Texas, Iowa, and Delaware. But he's pessimistic on S. Carolina, Maine, or Tenn. But article notes the Dem official is "scrounging for the money his comm. needs."

Hodgson says Admin has cut the rate of inflation in half. It is still around 3%, "and we have to work on it," he said at a San Diego news conference reported here by AP.

Albert denied he was drunk in a "small traffic" accident, which the Post says ended w/a policeman driving Albert home. Albert said damage was minor and "we settled it" at the scene.

A world fortune-tellers conference predicted RN will be re-elected and Taiwan annexed to the PRC in 5-6 years. They also predicted no WW-III, but said cold wars could occur.

AP leads from Minneapolis: "The largest crowd of McG's post-convention campaign turned out to hear EMK appeal for the same support for McG as Minnesotans gave JFK."

AP also reports on the NET-chosen "average American" who'd back EMK if he could but is unsure of whom he'll vote for after a rare, close-up week on the road w/McG. His opinion of McG is improved, but he's concerned about McG's "indecision", lack of dynamism, and he acknowledges RN's successes.

OLYMPICS

CBS film from Olympics where the closing day's mood was in such sharp contrast to the opener. Athletes on film saying politics must be kept out, indicating interest in less nationalistically oriented

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

*MS  
Do we have?  
part yet?*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

1972 U.S. Congressional Races

Dent has prepared a factual analysis of the Congressional races, indicating that the Republicans must hold all current incumbent seats and win 39 new seats to reach the 218 needed to organize the House. Ford's Southern Democrats switchover project will not become important unless the Republicans are close to 218. Dent's Tab A picks the top 30 requiring attention.

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This analysis of the Congressional races will be resubmitted when the additional information is acquired.

The only people involved in this project are Bill Timmons, Clark MacGregor, Fred Malek, Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson. Harry Flemming has done an independent analysis for Clark MacGregor but has not reviewed it with Mitchell or MacGregor.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

HARRY DENT 

SUBJECT:

1972 U. S. Congressional Races

The GOP Congressional election picture is brighter today than on July 10 when I submitted the last memorandum, primarily because the President is stronger. The Congressional Campaign Committee is privately predicting a minimum pickup of 20-25 seats, recognizing we could win more if the tide is strong enough. Jerry Ford is still working on the prospect of Southern Democrat switchovers after the election if we are close enough to the magic number of 218 seats required to organize the House. The present lineup is 178 GOP (plus Brad Morse vacancy) and 255 Democrats (plus Governor Edwards of Louisiana vacancy). In order to win 218 we must keep everything we have, including the Brad Morse vacancy, and pick up 39.

Attachment A contains a listing in state alphabetical order of the top 10 incumbent seats which need defending (most vulnerable on our side); our best 10 possible pickups; and then our second best 10 possible pickups.

Attachment B contains a listing of congressional seats targeted by the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, defensively and offensively. The ones underscored in red need priority attention to win.

TOP 10 THAT NEED DEFENDING

1. California 6	Mailliard
2. Colorado 1	McKevitt
3. Iowa 1	Schwengel
4. Iowa 4	Kyl
5. Indiana 10	Dennis
6. Michigan 2	Esch
7. Minnesota 6	Zwach
8. Tennessee 8	Kuykendall
9. Utah 2	Lloyd
10. Wisconsin 3	Thomson

TOP POSSIBLE PICKUPS (TOP 10)

1. California 36	Ketchum (new seat)
2. California 42 (safe)	Burgener (new seat)
3. Illinois 17	O'Brien (new seat)
4. Indiana 11	Hudnut (Jacobs)
5. Maine 2	Cohen (Dem. open)
6. New York 26	Gilman (Dow)
7. North Carolina 4	Hawke (Dem. open)
8. Pennsylvania 9	Shuster (Rep. open)
9. South Dakota 2	Abdnor (Dem. open)
10. Washington 4	Bledsoe (McCormac) primary 9/19

POSSIBLE PICKUPS (SECOND 10)

1. Illinois 3	Hanrahan (new seat)
2. Illinois 10	Young (Mikva)
3. Illinois 11	Hoellen (Annunzio)
4. Illinois 22	Lamkin (Shipley)
5. Indiana 4	Bloom (Roush)
6. Kentucky 6	Jackson (Dem. open)
7. Maryland 4	Holt (new seat)
8. Massachusetts 12	Weeks (Rep. open)
9. Mississippi 5	Lott (Dem. open)
10. New Jersey 12	Rinaldo (Rep. open)

CODE: ND - NEW DISTRICT  
 RO - REPUBLICAN OPEN  
 DO - DEMOCRAT OPEN  
 PAIR - TWO INCUMBENTS  
 \* - INCUMBENT

AS OF 9-5-72

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	ALABAMA	2	* <u>Dickinson</u>	Reeves	
	ALASKA	AL	<u>Young</u>	* Begich	
ND	ARIZONA	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	CALIFORNIA	6	* <u>Mailliard</u>	Boas	
	CALIFORNIA	7	Hannaford	* Dellums	
ND	CALIFORNIA	11	Chase	Ryan	
	CALIFORNIA	18	* <u>Mathias</u>	Lavery	
RO	CALIFORNIA	20	<u>Moorhead</u>	Binkley	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CALIFORNIA	31	Valentine	* C. Wilson	
	CALIFORNIA	34	Ratterree	* Hanna	
	CALIFORNIA	35	Brown	* Anderson	
ND	CALIFORNIA	36	<u>Ketchum</u>	Lemucchi	
ND	CALIFORNIA	38	<u>Snider</u>	Brown	
RO	CALIFORNIA	39	<u>Hinshaw</u>	Black	
ND	CALIFORNIA	42	<u>Burgener</u>	Lowe	
	COLORADO	1	* <u>McKevitt</u>	Primary 9/12	
	COLORADO	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	* Aspinall	
ND	COLORADO	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	

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<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CONNECTICUT	1	Rittenband	* Cotter	
	CONNECTICUT	2	* <u>Steele</u>	Hilsman	
	CONNECTICUT	5	<u>Sarasin</u>	* Monagan	
ND	FLORIDA	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	FLORIDA	8	Thompson	* Haley	
ND	FLORIDA	10	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
ND	FLORIDA	13	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
RO	GEORGIA	5	<u>Cook</u>	Young	
RO	IDAHO	1	<u>Symms</u>	Williams	
ND	ILLINOIS	3	<u>Hanrahan</u>	Coman	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	ILLINOIS	10	<u>Young</u>	* Mikva	
	ILLINOIS	11	<u>Hoellen</u>	* Annunzio	
ND	ILLINOIS	17	<u>O'Brien</u>	Houlihan	
RO	ILLINOIS	21	<u>Madigan</u>	Johnson	
	ILLINOIS	22	<u>Lamkin</u>	* Shipley	
	INDIANA	2	* <u>Landgrebe</u>	Fithian	
	INDIANA	3	Newman	* Brademas	
	INDIANA	4	<u>Bloom</u>	* Roush	
	INDIANA	8	* <u>Zion</u>	Deen	
	INDIANA	10	* <u>Dennis</u>	Sharp	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	INDIANA	11	<u>Hudnutt</u>	* Jacobs	
	IOWA	1	* <u>Schwengel</u>	Mezvinsky	
	IOWA	2	Ellsworth	* Culver	
PAIR	IOWA	4	* <u>Kyl</u>	* Smith	
	KANSAS	2	<u>McAtee</u>	* Roy	
	KANSAS	3	* <u>Winn</u>	Barsotti	
	KENTUCKY	3	<u>Kaelin</u>	* Mazzoli	
DO	KENTUCKY	6	<u>Jackson</u>	Breckinridge	
	LOUISIANA	3	<u>Treen</u>	Run-Off 9-30	
	MAINE	1	Porteous	* Kyros	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
DO	MAINE	2	<u>Cohen</u>	Violette	
	MARYLAND	1	* <u>Mills</u>	Hargreaves	
ND	MARYLAND	4	<u>Holt</u>	Fornos	
	MARYLAND	6	Mason	* Byron	
	MASSACHUSETTS	4	Primary 9/19	Drinan	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	5	Primary 9/19	Primary 9/19	
	MASSACHUSETTS	6	<u>Moseley</u>	* Harrington	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	12	<u>Weeks</u>	Studds	
	MICHIGAN	2	* <u>Esch</u>	Stempien	
	MICHIGAN	12	<u>Serotkin</u>	* O'Hara	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	MICHIGAN	18	* <u>Huber</u> <u>Broomfield</u>	Montgomery	
	MINNESOTA	6	* <u>Zwach</u>	Nolan	
	MINNESOTA	7	<u>Haaven</u>	* Bergland	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	2	<u>Butler</u>	Bowen	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	4	<u>Cochran</u>	Bodron	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	5	<u>Lott</u>	Stone	
DO	MISSOURI	6	<u>Sloan</u>	Litton	
RO	MISSOURI	7	<u>Taylor</u>	Thomas	
	MONTANA	1	* <u>Shoup</u>	Olsen	
	NEW JERSEY	3	<u>Dowd</u>	* Howard	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW JERSEY	6	* <u>Forsythe</u>	Brennan	
	NEW JERSEY	9	Schiaffo	* Helstoski	
RO	NEW JERSEY	12	<u>Rinaldo</u>	English	
ND	NEW JERSEY	13	<u>Maraziti</u>	Meyner	
.	NEW MEXICO	2	<u>Presson</u>	Runnels	
	NEW YORK	1	Boyd	* Pike	
ND	NEW YORK	3	<u>Roncallo</u>	Bales	
	NEW YORK	6	<u>Gallagher</u>	* Wolff	
	NEW YORK	23	* <u>Peysen</u>	Ottinger	
	NEW YORK	24	<u>Vergari</u>	* Reid	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW YORK	26	<u>Gilman</u>	* Dow	
RO	NEW YORK	31	<u>Mitchell</u>	Castle	
	NEW YORK	32	<u>Koldin</u>	* Hanley	
RO	NEW YORK	33	<u>Walsh</u>	Kadys	
	NEW YORK	36	* <u>Smith</u>	McCarthy	
DO	NORTH CAROLINA	4	<u>Hawke</u>	Andrews	
RO	NORTH CAROLINA	9	<u>Martin</u>	Beatty	
RO	OHIO	4	<u>Guyer</u>	Nicholas	
	OHIO	8	* <u>Powell</u>	Ruppert	
RO	OHIO	16	<u>Regula</u>	Musser	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	OHIO	19	<u>Parr</u>	* Carney	
RO	OKLAHOMA	1	<u>Run-Off 9-19</u>	Jones	
DO	OKLAHOMA	2	Toliver	McSpadden	
	PENNSYLVANIA	5	* <u>Ware</u>	Franco	
RO	PENNSYLVANIA	9	Shuster	Collins	
		20	<u>Huhner</u>	* Gaydos	
	PENNSYLVANIA	14	Catarinella	* Moorehead	
	SOUTH CAROLINA	1	<u>Limehouse</u>	* Davis	
	SOUTH DAKOTA	1	<u>Vickerman</u>	* Denholm	
DO	SOUTH DAKOTA	2	<u>Abdnor</u>	McKeever	
	TENNESSEE	3	* <u>Baker</u>	Sompayrac	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	TENNESSEE	6	<u>Beard</u>	* Anderson	
	TENNESSEE	8	* <u>Kuykendall</u>	Patterson	
	TEXAS	5	<u>Steelman</u>	* Cabell ?	
PAIR	TEXAS	13	* <u>Price</u>	* Purcell	
	UTAH	1	Primary 9/12	McKay	
	UTAH	2	* <u>Lloyd</u>	Primary 9/12	
	VIRGINIA	4	<u>Daniel</u>	Gibson	
RO	VIRGINIA	6	<u>Butler</u>	Anderson	
RO	VIRGINIA	8	<u>Parris</u>	Horan	
RO	WASHINGTON	1	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	Primary 9/19	
	WASHINGTON	4	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	* McCormack	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	WISCONSIN	1	Primary 9/12	* Aspin	
	WISCONSIN	3	* <u>Thomson</u>	Primary 9/12	
PAIR	WISCONSIN	7	* <u>O'Konski</u>	* Obey	
	WISCONSIN	8	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	WYOMING	AL	<u>Kidd</u>	* Roncalio	

H  
9/11

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 9/6/72

TO: WILLIAM TIMMONS

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

Before deciding on this issue, a complete plan for all possible endorsement requests (incumbents and challengers in gubernatorial races, House races, Senate races, etc.) has been requested. It is being put together for your review by the end of the week by Mary Ann Allin.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*  
SUBJECT: Endorsement of Incumbents

Attached is a memo from Mary Anne Allin proposing Presidential letters to GOP incumbents seeking re-election to the House. While I favor the letters, there are problems connected with this approach such as Bob Price (R) and Graham Purcell (D) running against each other in a new Texas district. Purcell is one of our Vietnam supporters. Also once released there will be great pressure from GOP challengers for similar endorsements and this could get into problems with other loyal southern Democrats. Would Don Riegle get one?

Guidance please.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Bill Timmons  
VIA: Roland Elliott *RE*  
FROM: Mary Ann Allin *MAA*  
SUBJECT: Endorsement of Congressional Candidates,  
PART I: Incumbent Republicans in the House

In view of the President's remarks at the Convention and his directions since then to the writing staff, we have changed the language of our endorsement letter and are now ready to send out Presidential letters to all incumbent Republican Members of the House except those who have already been endorsed (list attached), those who still face primary opposition (list attached) and those troublesome people whom you might identify who ought not to receive the President's blessing (eg, Pete McCloskey and John Ashbrook). With your approval the letters will be prepared and dated for September 7.

Unless it seems advisable at a later date, we do not intend to send any other "mass mailing" from the President to our candidates, but I hope your staff will encourage Members to ask for Presidential messages tied to political events between now and the election. We will do everything possible to assist their re-election.

September 1, 1972

Incumbent Republican Members of the House Who Have Been Endorsed  
by the President to date:

Harold Collier, Ill. 6th

Elwood Hillis, Ind. 5th

Peter Peyser, N. Y. 23rd

Carleton King, N. Y. 29th

William Keating, Ohio 1st

Herman Schneebeli, Pa. 17th

September 1, 1972

Incumbent Republican Members of the House Who Face September  
Primary Challenges:

John Rhodes, Ariz. 1st

Bill Frenzel, Minn. 5th

Sherman Lloyd, Utah 2nd

Alvin O'Konski, Wis. 7th

Glenn Davis, Wis. 9th

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 7, 1972

Dear ~~Phil~~///:

As you begin your 1972 campaign for re-election to House of Representatives, you have my very best wishes for well-earned and deserved success. I also want to convey my heartfelt appreciation for the ability you have unfailingly demonstrated in your distinguished service to the American people. Your leadership in advancing the programs and policies of this Administration has been vital, and we will be counting on your help in the days and years ahead to form what I have called a "new majority." To accomplish this, we need able men and women in the Congress who share my conviction that Americans are bound together by our common ideals, and that with a renewed spirit of confidence and cooperation we can make our nation and the world a better, safer place in which to live.

It is my earnest hope that all citizens of ~~Alaska's 5th~~ District will join our New Majority by registering, voting, and actively supporting ~~Phil~~, for he is a man deeply committed to bringing positive change to our country.

Sincerely,

9/6

Recent + E + N

House  
Office

Watergate - CWC in - Clausen  
Conn.  
JSM v. CWC.

Bark this Gen

- 1 H on each, incop  
poll data, sit in each  
set
- at end summary of  
each guy
- he out definitely can't  
win + can't lose
- note "dream" not  
running
- Chat on 1 p.
- 10-14 crunch "races"

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

Several people have talked to me about the need for us to help House and Senate candidates in their races. I talked to Bob Finch about this and also, as you recall, we talked about it on the phone.

There is one problem that has occurred to me which must be borne in mind in any decision we make in this area. We have to remember that Connally's organization and our major labor supporters are supporting only the President for re-election and are making a great point of the fact that they are supporting Democratic candidates for the House and Senate.

*∴ We do nothing at this pt. -*

We also have to have in mind that a number of Democratic Governors and party leaders at the State and local level are sitting on their hands as far as the Presidential election is concerned and even quietly are giving us some support. On the other hand, they are strongly for the Democratic candidates for the House and Senate.

What this adds up to is that anything we do in behalf of House and Senate candidates must be very low profile. Also, I am convinced that we should not do anything which is too overt in this area until approximately three weeks before the election.

If for example we began a national campaign at this time aimed at helping Republican candidates for the House and Senate, many Democratic Party loyalists across the country who are cool on McGovern would become terrified at the thought of losing their House and Senate seats and might join up with McGovern in order to avoid a debacle. Incidentally, this also means that MacGregor, Mitchell, Finch, Dole and others who talk to the Press should go very light on any linkage between the Presidential campaign and the campaigns for the House and Senate at this time. We must ~~not~~ have no a lot of national news stories two months before the election that the Nixon operation is going all out to elect Republicans to the House and Senate.

*do this page  
Senate - House tomorrow*

*also  
ensure  
to make*

*PS  
10:55  
H:1*

What can be done at this time is to lay out a very well planned PR operation in special Senate races and a few House races to begin a few weeks before the election. If we begin it then, it will be too late for the Democratic pro's to do very much with regard to turning their organization for McGovern in order to save House and Senate seats. On reflection, I believe that the most effective way to help them is to use direct mail and radio. Television tends to be too high profile and of course the same goes for billboards. I know I mentioned the possibility of billboards to you in our telephone conversation, but on reflection I think this is a bad idea. As far as billboards are concerned generally, incidentally, I do not believe we should use them for the Presidential campaign. There is no kind of activity which tends to be a target for those who claim we have too much money than the use of billboards. Having in mind the fact that they have only marginal effect in any event, I want you to see that the PR group knocks off billboard advertising wherever they can across the country. For us to have great numbers of flashy billboards and McGovern to have none would give the opposition a ready-made issue.

On the other hand, I am disappointed that on my trip out here I have yet to see a Nixon bumper strip except for the one on Presley's car. There may be some conscious PR decision not to use bumper strips, and if so I understand. If, on the other hand, we are going to use them, I would think that a concerted campaign could now be begun to get out the President Nixon bumper strips -- don't use the Reelect the President one for the reason I have mentioned previously. I would think this would be an excellent project for our younger people to hit parking lots on a certain day, perhaps the 15th of September. As we have learned from experience, don't hand them out at rallies because people will not put them on. They will only take them home and put them on their mirrors.

The new Bachrach pictures were very satisfactory as far as everybody was concerned. I want you personally to follow up to see that they are distributed as broadly as possible and as soon as possible, particularly the ones of the family, of Pat and myself, and the new smiling ones of me should be used to replace the ones that are currently distributed to our campaign people and to the Press. Give me a report on what progress you make in this respect.

It is important to get our surrogates out immediately this next week on an all out attack on McGovern's more extreme positions. ~~I noted~~ *Thou are*  
~~in the Washington Post a story~~ *spine* indicating that McGovern during the past week subtly was changing his line and was sounding more and more like a Democratic candidate in the old Democratic tradition. We must not let him get away with this. It is vital to keep him on the defensive on his most vulnerable issues. ~~I am inclined to think that~~  
~~the issue that is most difficult for him to finesse is Vietnam and defense.~~ *AM* He cannot move too far off of his extreme position here or he will lose his whole left-wing support. For example, the quote from Fortune with regard to his belief that the Communists would not test him because they would not want to lose his friendship would be very effective in carrying out George Meany's line that he just doesn't understand the Communist threat. ~~It is very important here to see that this kind of material is used only by highly sophisticated people in a way that McGovern will not be able to respond that his loyalty or patriotism is being questioned. Every statement should be prefaced with the idea that he is naive and lacks judgment on appraising the Communist threat. But when you have such a collection of statements--that the Russians were rearmed after World War II only because we did, that he would throw Thieu out and have a Communist government come into power in South Vietnam, the statement in Fortune to which I have referred, the quote from the Newsweek interview which Henry says he has given to Colson and which I doubt Newsweek will use--these and others provide ammunition that could be used for over the next two months in a devastating way.~~

Obviously every effort should also be made to keep reminding people of his extreme welfare plans and his high budget which would result in an increase in taxes. It is vitally important to keep the ball on his side of the court--in other words, have the debate be about his plans and not about our tax reform plan which may come later on in the campaign.

Finally, in view of the Harris poll results, our positive speakers should hammer courage, integrity, world leader, and of course the hard line in Vietnam knowing that we find a very receptive audience to begin with on these points. All speakers should now start taking the line of calling upon people to join the new majority, give the President the chance to finish the job that he has begun at home and abroad.

~~THE PRESIDENT~~

Colson ✓  
 MFB  
 CC  
 G+L

Copy 2  
of 3

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H.R. HALDEMAN  
 FROM : GORDON STRACHAN  
 SUBJECT : 1972 U.S. Senate Races

This memorandum briefly describes the status of the 33 U.S. Senate races. The attachment describes each race with the current estimation of the chances for victory by Clark MacGregor (CM), Harry Dent (D), Fred Malek (FM), Bill Timmons (BT), and Robert Marik (RM), along with Bob Teeter (T). The comments by MacGregor, Dent, Timmons, Teeter, and Malek's Field Operation are given below for the 18 swing states:

✓ Alabama

? Dent believes Blount could win because of the straight party ticket voting. Also, a black is entering the race. This will pull votes from Sparkman.

Teeter says Blount is moving up in the polls and is now within 10-15%, up substantially from the Wave II polls.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists Alabama as 5th in its 6 priority races (Rhode Island, New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama, and Montana). In each of these races they will give the Republican candidate \$70 - 75,000. Dent says they are asking 1701 for an additional \$500,000 to distribute between September 15 and 30.

← Georgia

Dent says Fletcher Thompson is coming up but would have had a better chance against Gambrell. Maddox's blast at McGovern helped the President and Thompson. The President's coattails and personal identification with Thompson would be very helpful.

Teeter indicates there are no polls available. He knows Thompson personally and characterizes him as an "opportunist" and "free spirit".

MacGregor and Malek concur in this assessment of Thompson (opportunist). They urge money and organizational support for Thompson.

Timmons says Thompson is a long shot but possible.

#### ✓ Idaho

Dent says the race is closer than previously believed. The President could really help with personal identification.

MacGregor and Malek say there are still party wounds from the tough primary. Teeter concurs. All indicate McClure needs money and organizational help.

Timmons believes McClure should win.

#### ✓ Kentucky

Dent urges more Presidential identification with Nunn, who should win.

Teeter reports Nunn is moving up in recent polls.

MacGregor says the field organization is good, but Malek says Nunn needs money. There is some question about a possible commitment of money made by Mitchell to get Nunn to run.

Timmons says Nunn is a winner.

#### ✓ Louisiana

Dent reports that the Republican candidate, Ben Toledano, could have a chance in the three-and possibly four-way race. Bennett Johnson is the conservative Democratic candidate. Ex-Governor McKeithan, who is running as an Independent will split the Democratic vote. McKeithan is also urging a black to run to pull votes from Johnston.

↳ Maine

Teeter urges a non-political trip by the President to show his support of Smith as a national figure. She needs no money.

↳ Michigan

Dent believes this is very close though he sees Griffin with a slight edge.

Teeter says the polls have had Griffin ahead and behind twice in the last year. Busing may fade some by November. Teeter urges Administration assistance in the form of grants or projects, especially in the Detroit tri-county area.

MacGregor says Griffin needs money and Administration assistance.

Malek indicates that all telephone and door-to-door canvassing is done jointly by the President and Griffin's campaign organization.

↳ Montana

Dent says Hibbard has a better chance than previously thought. The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Montana listed 6th. A Presidential sweep could pull Hibbard in.

Teeter says there are no polls available. Mitchell is well liked in Montana.

Malek says Hibbard is a poor candidate with a poor organization.

↳ New Mexico

Dent gives Domenici a 50/50 chance.

Teeter says Domenici needs money.

Malek reports that neither the President's nor Domenici's organizations are very strong. Domenici needs money and organizational support.

Timmons says Domenici has a good chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee lists New Mexico 2nd in its list of 6 top priority seats.

### North Carolina

Dent says Helms has a 50/50 chance but badly needs identification with the President.

Teeter's month old data indicates Helms is behind in spite of the President's huge lead.

MacGregor and Malek indicate Helms needs money but organizational help more.

Timmons believes Helms is a good possibility.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has North Carolina fourth.

### Oklahoma

Dent says Bartlett really needs identification with the President. Bellmon's gratuitous slap at Bartlett recently didn't help.

Teeter urges a Presidential visit because Bartlett needs the identification and the President is so far ahead there is little risk.

Malek reports Bartlett has real organizational problems.

Timmons says Bartlett has a fighting chance.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Oklahoma 3rd.

### Oregon

Dent says Hatfield should win because McCall is still staying out.

Teeter says the race is very close because Hatfield's approval rating is so low (35% by Republicans). McCall is very popular (65% by Republicans) and should be encouraged to help Hatfield.

Malek says Hatfield has no money problems but the 1701 and Hatfield organizations are not helping each other to the degree that they should.

Timmons says Hatfield will win.

Dent says this is our best chance for a Democratic seat, but he wonders whether Chafee will vote with the President.

Teeter says the race is closer than most believe, and Chafee's lead is the "softest" in the country.

Malek says money is not a problem but needs organizational help. Chafee has been "playing anti-Nixon games" so far.

Timmons says Chafee is a winner.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee has Rhode Island at the top of their list of six.

? South Dakota

Dent believes this should be our #1 defensive battle. Hirsch is coming on strong and would totally support the President. Abourezk is identified so closely with McGovern.

Teeter says Hirsch was way behind but since Abourezk is so close to McGovern, Hirsch has a chance.

Malek urges money for Hirsch but no Presidential visit.

Timmons says Hirsch is a sure loser.

Texas

Dent says this should be our #2 defensive battle.

Teeter believes Tower will win, because the President is so strong.

Malek says money is no problem and the organizational problems are resolving themselves. 1701 and Tower are working their telephone campaigns together.

Virginia

Dent says Scott could only win if the President won by a landslide. Even Harry Byrd doesn't like Scott. Scott would vote with the President if elected.

Malek urges some money for organizational help but suggests that Scott be kept off the road and that there be no Presidential visit. The possibility of sending Cliff White into Virginia was raised.

Timmons says Virginia is a long shot.

To summarize, the President should visit Texas and Oklahoma. In the other states, money and behind the scenes organizational help should be given.

GS:pm

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Alabama	Blount (R) Sparkman (D)			D	RM, FM CM, T	
Alaska	Stevens (R) Guess (D)	RM, CM, T	D, FM			
Arkansas	Babbitt (R) McClellan (D)					T, D, RM FM, CM
Colorado	Allott (R) (Democrat Primary 9/12)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
Delaware	Boggs (R) Biden (D)	RM, CM, FM, D, T				
Georgia	Thompson (R) Nunn (D)				RM, CM, FM, D, T	
Idaho	McClure (R) Davis (D)		D, BT		RM, CM, FM, T	
Illinois	Percy (R) Pucinski (D)	RM, CM, FM, T	D			
Iowa	Miller (R) Clark (D)	T, RM, CM, FM, D				

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>
Kansas	Pearson (R) Tetzlaff (D)	T, CM, FM D	RM			
Kentucky	Nunn (R) Huddleston (D)	BT	RM, D	CM, FM	T	
Louisiana	Toledano (R) Johnston (D) McKeithan (I)			D	RM, CM FM	T
Maine	Smith (R) Hathaway (D)	FM, BT, D	T, RM, CM			
Mass.	Brooke (R) (Democratic Primary 9/19)	T, CM, FM RM, D, BT				
Michigan	Griffin (R) Kelley (D)			T, RM, CM, FM D		
Minnesota	Hansen (R) Mondale (D)				D	T, CM, FM, RM BT
Mississippi	Carmichael (R) Eastland (D)					RM, FM, CM, T,
Montana	Hibbard (R) Metcalf (D)			D	T, RM, CM, FM	
Nebraska	Curtis (R) Carpenter (D)	T, RM, CM D	FM			

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
N. H.	(Republican Primary 9/12) McIntyre (D)			FM	T, RM, CM	D
N. J.	Case (R) Krebs (D)	T, CM, FM, RM, D, BT				
New Mexico	Domenici (R) Daniels (D)			RM, D, BT	T, CM, FM	
N. C.	Helms (R) Galifianakis (D)			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
Oklahoma	Bartlett (R) Edmondson (D)			RM, CM, FM, D, BT	T	
Oregon	Hatfield (R) Morse (D)	BT	RM, CM, FM	T, D		
Rhode Island	Chafee (R) Pell (D)	BT	T, RM, CM, FM, D			
S. Carolina	Thurmond (R) Ziegler (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				
S. Dakota	Hirsch (R) Abourezk (D)			T, CM, FM	RM, D	
Tennessee	Baker (R) Blanton (D)	T, RM, CM, FM D, BT				

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Republicans</u>		<u>Democrats</u>		
		Win	Favored	Close	Favored	Win
Texas	Tower (R) Sanders (D)		T	CM, FM, RM, D		
Virginia	Scott (R) Spong (D)				T, RM, CM, FM D, BT	
W. Virginia	Leonard (R) Randolph (D)					T, RM, CM, FM D
Wyoming	Hansen (R) Vinich (D)	T, FM, CM, D	RM			

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN  
 FROM: ROBERT MARIK  
 SUBJECT: Senate Races

Listed below are the candidates for the United States Senate in every state where a seat is up for election:

(Incumbents are denoted by an asterisk (\*), and the winning percentage is shown in parentheses.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Alaska	Stevens (R)* (59.9%)	App't by Gov. Hickel at death of Sen. E.L. Bartlett
	Guess (D)	Speaker, Alaska House of Representatives
Alabama	Sparkman (D)* (61.0%)	Dean of the Alabama Congressional Delegation
	Blount (R)	Former Postmaster General
	Baines (Comm)	
Arkansas	McClellan (D)* (unopposed)	Seeking Sixth Term; Chairman Senate Appropriations Comm.
	Babbitt (R)	Veterinarian
Colorado	Allott (R)* (58.0%)	Seeking fourth term
	Vollack (D)	State Senator
	Haskell (D)	Former State Legislator

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>		<u>Comments</u>
Delaware	Boggs	(R)* (59.1%)	Seeking third term
	Biden	(D)	Lawyer:New Castle County Council Rep.; 29 yrs. old
	Mijka	(Amer)	
Georgia	Nunn	(D)	Defeated incumbent Gov. Carter appointee DAVID GAMBRELL in runoff election 8/29/72.
	Thompson	(R)	Incumbent fifth District Congressman
Idaho	Davis	(D)	President, Idaho State U.
	McClure	(R)	First District Congressman (GOP incumbent retiring)
Illinois	Percy	(R)* (54.9%)	Seeking second term
	Pucinski	(D)	Congressman-11th District
	Gross	(Soc.Labor)	
	Halstead	(Soc.Workers)	
Iowa	Miller	(R)* (62.2%)	Seeking third term
	Clark	(D)	AA to 2nd District Congressman John Culver
	Rocap	(AIP)	
Kansas	Pearson	(R)* (52.1%)	Seeking third full term
	Tetzlaff	(D)	Anesthesiologist
	Miller	(Con.)	
	Hadin	(Pro.)	

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Kentucky	Huddleston (D)	Broadcasting Executive
	Nunn (R)	Former Governor (GOP incumbent retiring)
	Moffett (Peo)	
	Embry (Amer.)	
Louisiana	Johnston (D)	State Senator (Incumbent Dem. Ellender recently deceased. Wife of Dem.Gov. Edwin Edwards app't to fill rest of Ellender term.)
	McLean (R)	Geologist
	Lyons (Amer.)	
Maine	Smith (R)* (58.9%)	Seeking fifth term
	Hathaway (D)	Second Dist. Congressman
Massachusetts	Brooke (R)* (60.7%)	Seeking second term
	O'Leary (D)	Boston City Councilman
	Droney (D)	District attorney
	Lynch (D)	
	Gurewitz (Soc.Work.)	
Michigan	Griffin (R)* (55.0%)	Seeking second full term; Senate Minority Whip
	Kelley (D)	Michigan Attorney General

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Minnesota	Mondale (DFL)* (54.9%)	Seeking election to Second Full Term
	Hansen (R)	Lutheran Minister
	Franklin (DFL)	
	Griffin (DFL)	
	Leaf (DFL)	
	Heck (Indust. Gov't.)	
Mississippi	Eastland (D)* (73.3%)	Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee
	Carmichael (R)	Automobile Dealer
Montana	Metcalf (D)* (53.2%)	Seeking third term
	Hibbard (R)	State Senator
Nebraska	Curtis (R)* (61.0%)	Seeking reelection to fourth term.
	Carpenter (D)	State Senator
New Hampshire	McIntyre (D)* (54.1%)	First elected Nov. 1962
	Powell (R)	Former Two Term Governor
	Cobleigh (R)	State House Speaker
	Brock (R)	Former U.S. Attorney
	Booras (R)	
New Jersey	Case (R)* (61.6%)	Seeking fourth term
	Krebs (D)	Former U. S. Rep.
	Freund (Amer.)	

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
	Levin (Soc.Labor)	
	Wiley (Concerned Voter's Voice)	
New Mexico	Domenici (R)	Unsuccessful GOP Candidate for Governor in 1970.
	Daniels (D)	Former State Rep. (Dem. Incumbent retiring)
N. Carolina	Galifianakis (D)	4th Dist. Cong.; defeated inc. in run-off primary
	Helms (R)	
Oklahoma	Edmondson (D)	Inc. Congressman; 2nd Dist. (Dem. inc. retiring)
	Bartlett (R)	Former Governor
Oregon	Hatfield (R)* (51.7%)	Seeking second term
	Morse (D)	Former U.S. Senator
Rhode Island	Pell (D)* (67.7%)	Seeking third term
	Chafee (R)	Former Gov.; Former Sec. of the Navy
South Carolina	Thurmond (R)* (62.2%)	Seeking reelection to fourth term
	Ziegler (D)	
S. Dakota	Abourezk (D)	U.S. Rep; 2nd District
	Hirschi (R)	Former State Senator (GOP incumbent retiring)
Tennessee	Baker (R)* (55.7%)	Seeking Second Term
	Blanton (D)	Inc. 7th Dist; Congressman

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>			<u>Comments</u>
Texas	Tower	(R)*	(56.4%)	Seeking reelection to second full term
	Sanders	(D)		
Virginia	Spong	(D)*	(58.5%)	Seeking second term
	Scott	(R)		Inc. old 8th District
	Henderson	(Indep.)		
W. Virginia	Randolph	(D)*	(59.5%)	Seeking reelection to third full term
	Leonard	(R)		State Senator
Wyoming	Hansen	(R)*	(51.8%)	Seeking second term
	Vinich	(D)		Former AA to Democrat Congressman Roncalio

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS*

SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Senate Races

Attachment A contains a brief rundown on the 33 U. S. Senate races. Calculating conservatively and without a Presidential sweep, we should win 14, are favored in 4 more, and are close in 6. The Democrats should win 5 and are favored in 4. If we win all those where we are sure winners, favored, and close (which is possible with a Presidential sweep and monetary assistance) the new lineup would be 50 - 50, with Byrd of Virginia as a Democrat. If he switched, we would prevail 51 - 49.

Races where money could have the best impact are: Georgia, Kentucky, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma and South Dakota. Secondary money states are: Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Rhode Island and Virginia.

Kevin Phillips and Evans-Novak rate the South as the biggest potential pickup area: Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and saving the Kentucky seat. Also, they rate New Mexico and Oklahoma as possibilities in border areas, with Rhode Island as the best pickup bet in the Northeast. The southern potential depends on the Nixon coattails', no Wallace candidacy and Democrat problems. Unfortunately, most southern ballots are arranged to encourage split ticket voting.

Here is how I rate these races at present:

<u>Republican</u>			<u>Democrat</u>		
<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>	
✓ Colo. (R)	Alas. (R)	Ga. (D)	Ala. (D)	Ark. (D)	
✓ Del. (R)	Mich. (R)	Ky. (R)	Mont. (D)	La. (D)	
Idaho (R)	R. I. (D)	N. M. (D)	N. H. (D)	Minn. (D)	
✓ Ill. (R)	Texas (R)	N. C. (D)	Va. (D)	Miss. (D)	
✓ Iowa (R)		Okla. (D)		W. Va. (D)	
✓ Kan. (R)		S. D. (R)			
Maine (R)					
Mass. (R)					
Neb. (R)					
N. J. (R)					
Ore. (R)					
S. C. (R)					
Tenn. (R)					
Wyo. (R)					
<hr/>			<hr/>		
14	4	6	4	5	

ATTACHMENT A

1972 Senate Races

Alabama: Sen. John Sparkman (D) is favored. Republican Winton Blount has a chance with a heavy Presidential vote. The National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) has a candidate who will split Sparkman's black vote.

Alaska: Sen. Ted Stevens (R) is favored. This will be a tough fight against Democrat Gene Gess, but Stevens should win.

Arkansas: Sen. John McClellan (D) should win. McClellan won his run-off against David Prior, and should win against Republican Wayne Babbitt. Win Rockefeller is pushing Babbitt with some hope.

S Colorado: Sen. Gordon Allott (R) should win. The Democrat nominee will be either Floyd Haskell or Tony Vollack. Neither is a credible candidate.

S Delaware: Sen. J. Caleb Boggs (R) should win. Democrat challenger is 27-year-old Joseph Biden, who is well-financed and aggressive.

Georgia: Sen. David Gambrell (D) will have close fight with GOP Rep. Fletcher Thompson. Democrat primary not over and Gambrell could be upset there. Very close

Idaho: Sen. Len Jordan is not seeking re-election. Republican should win. The Republicans have a real horse race between ex-Governor Bob Smylie, Glen Wegner, ex-Congressman George Hansen, and Congressman Jim McClure, who should get the bid. Democrats are Rose Bowman (Woman's Lib); Byron Johnson, a close ally of Frank Church; William Dows, President of Idaho State University; and State Attorney General Tony Park who will get the nomination.

*can't be beat*

*OK*

*little party prod, but OK*

*P. w/ Dem could overcome*

*coming up; letter off ag/ Gambrell  
not at Ballot L. Maddox - strong ag/ 11/29/71  
more diffi*

*a closer race than expected but should win again  
Purdell really help*

Illinois: Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) should win, but is unpopular with many Republicans because of his criticism of the President's Vietnam policy. The Democrat is Congressman Roman Pucinski.

*OK*

*OK, sure bet*

Iowa: Sen. Jack Miller (R) should win. The Democrat is Dick Clark, a political unknown.

*sure win*

Kansas: Sen. James B. Pearson (R) should win after a nuisance primary. The Democrat is A. O. Tetzlaff, a political unknown.

*shld win, ident up in My very accept, but not for granted*

Kentucky: Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R) is not seeking re-election. Republican Louie Nunn made a good showing in the primary. The Democrat is Dee Huddleston, and is supported by the state administration. Very close.

Louisiana: Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D) favored, but faces tough primary with Bennett Johnston, who lost close primary race for Governor. Would support RN. Republicans have C. M. McClean filed, but probably will not run. Dave Treen may go for the House where poll shows should win vacant seat. Can't afford another state race.

*Ben Toledano  
4/24/72  
ex-Gov  
McKeithen  
denounced  
McG as  
and busy  
to get ahead in  
as 4th Party*

*with us reping our own poll, but if a change, shld pass*

*conserv Dem cand*

*totally changed brief a 3 man race win*

Maine: Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R) should win after a very successful primary race against Robert Monks. Democrat is Congressman William Hathaway.

*same*

Massachusetts: Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R) should win. Democrat is John Droney, a district attorney from Middlesex County.

*OK sure*

*but close, a slight edge*

Michigan: Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R) favored. Democrat is Attorney General Frank Kelley, who will feel the brunt of the busing issue.

Minnesota: Sen. Walter P. Mondale (D) should win. The endorsed Republican, Phillip Hansen, is a hard-working and dynamic Lutheran minister.

*Lo long shot, Sen Camp Comm & a dark horse in a gamble*

Mississippi: Sen. James O. Eastland (D) should win. The Republicans have an attractive candidate in Gil Carmichael.

*Leary win*

Montana: Sen. Lee Metcalf (D) is favored. Republican State Senator Henry Hibbard received the nomination, and has a chance. There is some disaffection among Montanans over Metcalf's temper and other habits. *Proven could do job*

*Better pool now, Sen Camp Comm in top 5 possible*

Nebraska: Sen. Carl Curtis (R) <sup>OK</sup> should win. Curtis' age could have been an issue, but the Democrats nominated Terry Carpenter, age 72.

*can't beat him*

New Hampshire: Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D) is favored. Filing deadline is July 13. Likely GOP candidates are Bob Hill, Wesley Powell, Peter Boras, Dave Brock, and Speaker of the House Marshall Cobleigh. Cobleigh has a strong base of support in the State House of Representatives.

*9/12*

New Jersey: Sen. Clifford P. Case (R) <sup>OK</sup> should win. The Democrat is Paul Krebs, who headed the state Consumer Protection agency until the Governor let him go.

New Mexico: Sen. Clinton Anderson (D) is retiring. Republican Pete Dominici, 1970 governor candidate, has an excellent organization and is doing the ground work. The Democrat is Jack Daniels, who was defeated in the 1970 Gubernatorial primary. A heavy Presidential vote will help. Close.

*Even eleven 50/50 vote w/ P.*

*needs ID w/P  
50/50 - P coattails  
shld pull over*

North Carolina: Sen. Everett Jordan (D) was upset for re-election by Rep. Nick Galifianakis who will be a fairly good candidate. The Republican is conservative TV station owner Jesse Helms. He is getting many Democrat endorsements. This will be close. RN coattails will help.

Oklahoma: Sen. Fred Harris (D) is not seeking re-election. Republican Dewey Bartlett has a hard fight, but with a good Presidential vote, he could make it. There are nine Democrats in the primary (Aug. 22) but Congressman Ed Edmondson will probably prevail. Close.

Oregon: Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R) should win. He has an excellent organization, and he has mended many fences. Rumor persists that Governor Tom McCall might try to run as an independent, but the logistics of doing that before the filing deadline (Aug. 29) are extremely difficult. He is chairman of the delegation to the national convention, which would seem to call for unity. The Democrat is Wayne Morse, who has age against him.

Rhode Island: Sen. Claiborne Pell (D). Republican John Chafee is favored. A May poll showed him with a two-to-one edge. Pell's war record is becoming a major issue. The Presidential vote will be a help to Chafee.

South Carolina: Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) should win. The Democrats are John Bolt Culbertson and Nick Zeigler, who will get the nomination.

South Dakota: Sen. Karl Mundt retiring. This will be close. The Democrat, Congressman James Abourez, is a slight favorite - more so if McGovern is the Presidential nominee. He has been announcing all of the federal grants resulting from the flood - this has hurt. The Republican is ex-state senate leader Bob Hirsch. Informal media polls have shown a close race.

*# for 6  
Really needs  
ID w/P - a  
tape*

*Pell men  
hurt him*

*same*

*McCall  
still  
saying  
out*

*#1 or 2 out?  
how Chafee  
will vote*

*DK*

Tennessee: Sen. Howard H. Baker (R) <sup>OK</sup> should win. The most likely Democrat is Rep. Ray Blanton. The primary is August 3. The Presidential vote will help Baker.

Texas: Sen. John Tower (R) favored. Tower would have had an easier race against Yarborough; Barefoot Sanders has no record to score and he appears less liberal than he is. A big Presidential vote will help Tower.

Virginia: Sen. William B. Spong, Jr. (D) is favored, but Republican Rep. William Scott has a chance with the expected heavy Presidential vote. Scott's organization is beginning to take shape and campaign finance activities are beginning.

West Virginia: Sen. Jennings Randolph (D) should win. The Republican is State Senator Louise Leonard, whose campaign shows little strength.

Wyoming: Sen. Clifford P. Hansen (R) should win. Hansen is well-financed, and a late spring poll indicates he is very popular. The Democrat is Mike Vinich, who will not be able to hold the Democrats in line.

*Tower a real  
determination  
some trouble  
potential*

*effect of loss  
and now*

*Can only  
be won  
w/ a solid  
vote  
at least  
has pyred  
doesn't  
like him*

*can't  
win*

*OK - sure*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 10, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. Haldeman  
FROM: Harry S. Dent *V.S.D.*  
SUBJECT: 1972 Governor Races

The Democrats should continue to keep the lead in Governorships (29-21 now, excluding ours in Puerto Rico, Samoa, and the Virgin Islands), but we have the potential for closing the gap by one or two seats. Of the 18 Governorships up this year, we should win three, are favored in two, and are close in five. The Democrats should win four and are favored in four.

The tough fights will be in Illinois (R), New Hampshire (R), West Virginia (R), Missouri (D), and North Dakota (D). We are favored to pick up Rhode Island (D), and are expected to lose our seat in Indiana (R).

States where money would have the best impact are the five close states listed above, with N. C. (D) and S. D. (D) worth watching, depending on the Presidential race.

These judgments are based on conservative evaluation from our side, and not predicated on a Presidential sweep.

Here are the evaluations:

<u>Republican</u>			<u>Democrat</u>	
<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>
Del. (R)	Vt. (R)	Ill. (R)	Ind. (R)	Ark. (D)
Iowa (R)	R.I. (D)	N.H. (R)	Mont. (D)	Kan. (D)
Wash. (R)		W.Va. (R)	N.C. (D)	Texas (D)
		Mo. (D)	S.D. (D)	Utah (D)
		N.D. (D)		
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
3	2	5	4	4

Page Two  
The President  
July 10, 1972

Gov. Luis Ferre should keep his GOP seat in Puerto Rico.  
Attachment "A" has more information on each race.

Attachment

ATTACHMENT A

1972 GOVERNOR RACES

1. Arkansas: Gov. Dale Bumpers (D) should win. The hope is to keep him under 60%. The Republican is Len Blaylock.
2. Delaware: Gov. Russell W. Peterson (R) is the endorsed candidate, but could be forced into divisive primary at July 17 convention with Buckson. The strongest and most likely Democrat is State Treasurer Mrs. Emily Womack. Other Democrats are Earl McGinness, Sherman Tribbett, Ed Sandstrom, and William Quillen. Republican should win.
3. Illinois: Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie (R) won the primary easily. His chances continue to improve. The Democrat is Daniel Walker, who was the surprise primary winner over a Daley candidate. Walker led Ogilvie by two-to-one right after the primary, but this was probably anti-Daley sentiment. Walker's victory probably helps Ogilvie. Very close race here.
4. Indiana: Otis (Doc) Bowen is the Republican nominee. GOP Gov. Ed Whitcomb is barred from re-election. The Democrat is ex-Governor Matthew Welsh. Democrat favored.
5. Iowa: Gov. Robert D. Ray (R) should win. Lt. Gov. Jepson has dropped out of the primary, leaving the field to Ray. Democrats are John Tapscott, James Lynch, and Paul Franzenburg, who will probably get the nomination.
6. Kansas: Gov. Robert Docking (D) is very popular throughout the state and is favored. Republicans are Morris Kay, Reynolds Shultz, John Anderson, and Ray Frisbie. Anderson is leading, but Frisbie is President of the Kansas Farm Bureau, which gives him a strong constituency.
7. Missouri: Gov. Warren E. Hearnes (D) is barred from re-election. Democrats are Edward Dowd, William Morris, Earl Blackwell, and Joseph Teasdale. Morris and Teasdale are the leading contenders. Republicans are R. J. King, Steve Burns, Harvey Engie, Gene McNary, and Kit Bond, who should get the nomination. Close, with GOP chance.

8. Montana: Gov. Forrest Anderson (D) is not seeking re-election. Democrat is Lt. Gov. Thomas L. Judge. Republican is Ed Smith. Democrat is favored.
9. New Hampshire: Gov. Walter Peterson, Jr. (R) will have close race. GOP primary opposition is from Bob Hill and Meldrin Thompson. Peterson should win the primary. Hill's campaign is unimpressive and Thompson was the 1970 AIP candidate. If Peterson loses, the top three offices could go Democrat, especially if Cotton's seat should become vacant. The Democrat is Roger Crowley, who lost to Peterson in 1970. Close race since Peterson hurt on tax proposal. (Hill looking at Gov. and Senate races).
10. North Carolina: Gov. Robert W. Scott (D) is barred from re-election. The Democrat is Skipper Bowles, a fresh face who beat the establishment. Republican is Jim Holshouser, who has a chance, but must reunite the GOP after a divisive primary. It would take an RN sweep to win. Democrat favored.
11. North Dakota: Gov. William Guy (D) is not seeking re-election. Democrat is Congressman Arthur Link. The endorsed Republican is Lt. Gov. Richard Larsen. Robert McCarney, a maverick Republican, is expected to insist on a primary. This could keep the GOP from uniting until September. Race will be close.
12. Rhode Island: Gov. Frank Licht (D) is not seeking re-election. Democrat is Phillip Noel. Republican is Herbert DeSimone, (DOT Assistant Secretary). Late April newspaper poll shows DeSimone two-to-one over Noel. Republican favored.
13. South Dakota: Gov. Richard Kneip (D) is hurt by his income tax proposal, which was defeated by the Legislature. Republican is Carve Thompson, a druggist with four years' experience in the State House of Representatives. Democrat favored.
14. Texas: Gov. Preston Smith (D) was defeated. Democrat is Dolphe Briscoe. Republican is right-wing State Sen. Henry Grover. Democrat should win.

15. Utah: Calvin L. Rampton (D) is seeking an unprecedented third term. Republican is Nicholas Strike. Democrat favored.
16. Vermont: Gov. Deane C. Davis (R) is not seeking re-election. Republicans are Jim Jeffords, Richard Snelling, John Burgess, and Luther Hackett, who will probably get the nomination. Democrats are John Downs and Leo O'Brien. Close, but Republican favored.
17. Washington: Gov. Daniel J. Evans (R) will face either Albert Rosellini, who is leading, or Martin Durkan. Evans defeated Rosellini in 1964. Republican should win.
18. West Virginia: Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr. (R) has compiled an excellent record. The Democrat is Jay Rockefeller with a big primary win and plenty of money. Close.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS*  
SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Congressional Races

The GOP Congressional campaign committee expects a pickup of 12 to 25 House seats in 1972, with an outside chance that a Presidential sweep and several southern switch overs could provide the magic number of 40 needed to organize the House. Predicting is tough, however, considering past results, as in 1956 when we lost 2 in the Eisenhower victory and LBJ's gain of 37 in 1964. In 1970 we lost 9, in 1968 we gained 2 and in 1966 we jumped 47.

Reapportionment will help us pick up several seats, and we should score on some weak Democrats, especially where we lost in 1970.

The present lineup is 178 GOP (plus the Brad Morse vacancy) and 255 Democrats (plus the Gov. Edwards' Louisiana vacancy). It takes 218 to organize.

One reason we have a problem winning 218 is because we will be letting 30 to 35 seats go uncontested; whereas, the Democrats will have 3 to 5 uncontested (Harsha and Brown of Ohio and Spence of South Carolina for certain).

Attachment A shows my evaluation of the 435 House races for 1972. This is based on checks with our leaders in the states and the campaign committee. It works out as follows:

<u>Republican</u>			<u>Democrat</u>	
<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>
137	41	29	61	167

We may want to consider channeling some fund help to some key congressional races. These can better be evaluated within the next two months.

## ATTACHMENT A

1972 U. S. Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Alabama	2	1		1	3
1. J. Edwards-R	X				
2. Dickinson-R		X			
3. Nichols-D					X
4. Bevill-D					X
5. R. Jones-D				X	
6. Buchanan-R	X				
7. Flowers-D					X
Alaska	1				
1. Begich	X				
Arizona	2	1		1	
1. Rhodes-R	X				
2. Udall-D				X	
3. Steiger-R	X				
4. Primary-Sept. 12		X			
Arkansas	1			3	
1. Alexander-D				X	
2. Hills-D				X	
3. Hammerschmidt-R	X				
4. Primary-Aug. 29				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
California	14	4	1	15	9
1. Clausen-R	X				
2. Johnson-D					X
3. Moss-D				X	
4. Leggett-D				X	
5. Burton-D				X	
6. Mailliard-R			X		
7. Dellums-D					X
8. No incumbent					X
9. Edwards-D				X	
10. Gubser-R	X				
11. No incumbent					X
12. Talcott-R	X				
13. Teague-R		X			
14. Waldie-D				X	
15. McFall-D/R				X	
16. Sisk-D				X	
17. McCloskey-R		X			
18. Mathias-R	X				
19. Holifield-D				X	
20. No incumbent	X				
21. Hawkins-D				X	
22. Corman-D				X	
23. Clawson-R	X				
24. Rousselot-R	X				
25. Wiggins-R	X				
26. Rees-D				X	
27. Goldwater-R		X			
28. Bell-R	X				
29. Danielson-D				X	
30. Royball-D					X
31. Wilson-D					X
32. Mosner-R	X				
33. Pettis-R	X				
34. Hanna-D				X	
35. G. Anderson-D					X

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
California (con't)					
36. No incumbent		X			
37. No incumbent				X	
38. No incumbent					X
39. No incumbent					X
40. B. Wilson-R	X				
41. Van Deerlin-D				X	
42. No incumbent	X				
43. Veysey-R	X				
Colorado	1	2	1	1	
1. McKeivitt-R		X			
2. Brotzman-R		X			
3. Evans-D				X	
4. Aspinall-D			X		
5. No incumbent	X				
Connecticut	2			1	3
1. Cotter-D				X	
2. Steele-R	X				
3. Giamo-D					X
4. McKinney-R	X				
5. Monagan-D					X
6. Grasso-D					X
Delaware	1				
1. duPont-R	X				

Page Four  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Florida	5			7	3
1. Sikes-D				X	
2. Fuqua-D				X	
3. Bennett-D				X	
4. Chapell-D					X
5. No incumbent	X				
6. Young-R	X				
7. Gibbons-D				X	
8. Haley-D				X	
9. Frey-R	X				
10. No incumbent	X				
11. Rogers-D					X
12. Burke-R	X				
13. Pepper-D				X	
14. Fascell-D				X	
15. No incumbent					X
Georgia	1		2	7	
1. Hagan-D				X	
2. Mathis-D				X	
3. Brinkley-D				X	
4. Blackburn-R	X				
5. No incumbent			X		
6. Flynt-D				X	
7. Davis-D				X	
8. Stuckey-D			X		
9. Landrum-D				X	
10. Stephens-D				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Hawaii				1	1
1. Matsunaga-D					X
2. Mink-D				X	
Idaho		2			
1. No incumbent		X			
2. Hansen-R		X			
Illinois	11	1	3	9	
1. Metcalfe-D				X	
2. Murphy-D				X	
3. No incumbent		X			
4. Derwinski-R	X				
5. Klueczynski-D				X	
6. Collier-R	X				
7. Collins-D				X	
8. Rostenkowski-D				X	
9. Yates-D				X	
10. Mikva-D			X		
11. Annunzio-D				X	
12. Crane-R	X				
13. McClory-R	X				
14. Erlinborn-R	X				
15. Arends-R	X				
16. Anderson-R	X				
17. No incumbent	X				
18. Michel-R	X				
19. Railsback-R	X				
20. Findley-R	X				
21. No incumbent			X		
22. Shipley-D			X		
23. Price-D				X	
24. Gray-D				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Indiana	5	2	1	3	
1. Madden-D				X	
2. Landgrebe-R	X				
3. Brademas-D				X	
4. Roush-D			X		
5. Hillis-R	X				
6. Bray-R	X				
7. Meyers-R	X				
8. Zion-R	X				
9. Hamilton-D				X	
10. Dennis-R		X			
11. Jacobs-D		X			
Iowa	2	2		1	1
1. Schwengel-R		X			
2. Culver-D				X	
3. Gross-R	X				
4. Kyl-R					X
5. Scherle-R	X				
6. Mayne-R		X			
Kansas	3	1			1
1. Sobelius-R	X				
2. Roy-D					X
3. Winn-R		X			
4. Shriver-R	X				
5. Skubitz-R	X				

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Kentucky	2			3	2
1. Stubblefield-D				X	
2. Natcher-D				X	
3. Mazzoli-D					X
4. Snyder-R	X				
5. Carter-R	X				
6. No incumbent					X
7. Perkins-D				X	
Louisiana		1		6	1
1. Herbert-D				X	
2. Boggs-D				X	
3. No incumbent (Treen)		X			
4. Waggoner-D				X	
5. Passman-D				X	
6. Rarick-D				X	
7. No incumbent				X	
8. No incumbent					X
Maine		1		1	
1. Kyros-D				X	
2. No incumbent		X			
Maryland	3			2	3
1. Mills-R	X				
2. Long-D				X	
3. Sarbanes-D					X
4. No incumbent					X

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Maryland (con't)					
5. Hogan-R	X				
6. Byron-D					X
7. Mitchell-D				X	
8. Gude-R	X				
Massachusetts	2	1	2	5	2
1. Conte-R	X				
2. Boland-D				X	
3. Drinan-D			X		
4. Donohue-D					X
5. Morse-R			X		
6. Harrington-D				X	
7. MacDonald-D				X	
8. O'Neil-D				X	
9. Hicks-D					X
10. Heckler-R	X				
11. Burke-D				X	
12. Keith-R		X			
Michigan	11			5	3
1. Conyers-D				X	
2. Esch-R	X				
3. Brown-R	X				
4. Hutchinson-R	X				
5. G. Ford-R	X				
6. Chamberlain-R	X				
7. Riegle-R	X				
8. Harvey-R	X				
9. VanderJagt-R	X				
10. Cederberg-R	X				
11. Ruppe-R	X				

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Michigan (con't)					
12. O'Hara-D					X
13. Diggs-D				X	
14. Nedzi-D				X	
15. W. Ford-D				X	
16. Dingell-D				X	
17. Griffiths-D					X
18. No incumbent					X
19. Broomfield-R or McDonald-R	X				
Minnesota	2	3		3	
1. Quie-R	X				
2. Nelsen-R	X				
3. Frenzel-R		X			
4. Karth-D				X	
5. Fraser-D				X	
6. Zwach-R		X			
7. Bergland		X			
8. Blatnik-D				X	
Mississippi			2	2	1
1. Abernethy-D				X	
2. No incumbent			X		
3. No incumbent					X
4. Montgomery-D				X	
5. No incumbent			X		

Page Ten  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Missouri		1		3	6
1. Clay-D				X	
2. Symington-D					X
3. Sullivan-D				X	
4. Randall-D					X
5. Bolling-D					X
6. No incumbent					X
7. No incumbent		X			
8. Ichord-D					X
9. Hungate-D					X
10. Burlison-D				X	
Montana		1		1	
1. Shoup-R		X			
2. Melcher-D				X	
Nebraska	2	1			
1. Thone-R	X				
2. McCollister-R		X			
3. Martin-R	X				
Nevada					1
1. Baring-D					X
New Hampshire	2				
1. Wyman-R	X				
2. Cleveland-R	X				

1

Republican

Democrat

	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
New Jersey	4	2	1	6	2
1. Hunt-R	X				
2. Sandman-R		X			
3. Howard-D				X	
4. Thompson-D				X	
5. Frelinghuysen-R	X				
6. Forsythe-R		X			
7. Widhall-R	X				
8. Roe-D				X	
9. Helstoski-D					X
10. Rodino-D				X	
11. Minish-D					X
12. No incumbent			X		
13. No incumbent	X				
14. Daniels-D				X	
15. Patten-D				X	
New Mexico	1				1
1. Lujan-R	X				
2. Runnels-D					X
New York	11	3	8	14	3
1. Pike-D			X		
2. Grover-R	X				
3. No incumbent			X		
4. Kent-R		X			
5. Wydler-R	X				
6. Wolff-D-L				X	
7. Addabbo-D-L				X	
8. Rosenthal-D-L				X	
9. Delaney-D-R-C				X	
10. Biaggi-D-C				X	
11. Brasco-D			X		
12. Chisholm-D-L				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
New York (con't)					
13. No incumbent					X
14. No incumbent					X
15. Carey-D				X	
16. Celler-L			X		
17. Murphy-D					X
18. Koch-D				X	
19. Rangel-D-R-L				X	
20. Ryan-D-L				X	
21. Badillo-D-L				X	
22. Bingham-D-L				X	
23. Peyser-R-C	X				
24. Reid-D-L				X	
25. Fish-R-C	X				
26. Dow-D			X		
27. Robison-R	X				
28. Stratton-D				X	
29. King-R-C	X				
30. McEwen-R-C		X			
31. No incumbent			X		
32. Hanley-D			X		
33. No incumbent		X			
34. Horton-R	X				
35. Conable-R	X				
36. Smith-R-C	X				
37. Dulski-D-J,			X		
38. Kemp-R-C	X				
39. Hastings-R-C	X				
North Carolina	3		2	6	
1. Jones-D				X	
2. Fountain-D				X	
3. Henderson-D				X	
4. No incumbent			X		

Republican

Democrat

State	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
North Carolina					
5. Mizell-R	X				
6. Preyer-D				X	
7. No incumbent				X	
8. Ruth-R	X				
9. No incumbent			X		
10. Broyhill-R	X				
11. Taylor-D				X	
North Dakota	1				
1. Andrews-R	X				
Ohio	14	2		6	1
1. Keating-R	X				
2. Clancy-R	X				
3. Whalen-R	X				
4. No incumbent	X				
5. Latta-R	X				
6. Harsha-R	X				
7. Brown-R	X				
8. Powell-R		X			
9. Ashley-D				X	
10. Miller-R	X				
11. V. Stanton-R	X				
12. Devine-R	X				
13. Mosher-R	X				
14. Seiberling-D				X	
15. Wylie-R	X				
16. No incumbent		X			
17. Ashbrook-R	X				

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Ohio (con't)					
18. Hays-D				X	
19. Carney-D					X
20. J. W. Stanton-D				X	
21. Stokes-D				X	
22. Vanik-D				X	
23. Minshall-R	X				
Oklahoma	1	1		3	1
1. No incumbent		X			
2. No incumbent					X
3. Albert-D				X	
4. Steed-D				X	
5. Jarman-D				X	
6. Camp-R	X				
Oregon	1	1		2	
1. Wyatt-R	X				
2. Ullman-D				X	
3. Green-D				X	
4. Dellenback-R		X			
Pennsylvania	11	1		12	1
1. Barrett-D				X	
2. Nix-D				X	
3. Green-D				X	
4. Eilberg-D				X	
5. Ware-R	X				
6. Yatron-D				X	

Page Fifteen  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Pennsylvania (con't)					
7. Williams-R	X				
8. Biester-R	X				
9. No incumbent		X			
10. McDade-R	X				
11. Flood-D				X	
12. Saylor-R	X				
13. Coughlin-R	X				
14. Moorhead-D				X	
15. Rooney-D				X	
16. Bshleman-R	X				
17. Schneebeli-R	X				
18. Heinz-R	X				
19. Goodling-R	X				
20. Gaydos-D				X	
21. Dent-D				X	
22. Morgan-D				X	
23. Johnson-R	X				
24. Vigorito-D					X
25. Clark-D				X	
Rhode Island					
1. Stigermain-D				2	
2. Tiernan-D				X	
South Carolina					
1. Davis-D	1		1	4	
2. Spence-R	X		X		
3. Dorn-D				X	
4. Mann-D				X	
5. Gettys-D				X	
6. McMillan-D				X	

	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
South Dakota	1				1
1. Denholm-D					X
2. No incumbent	X				
Tennessee	2	2	1	2	1
1. Quillen-R	X				
2. Duncan-R	X				
3. Baker-R		X			
4. Evins-D				X	
5. Fulton-D					X
6. Anderson-D			X		
7. Jones-D				X	
8. Kuykendall-R		X			
Texas	2		1	18	3
1. Patman-D				X	
2. No incumbent				X	
3. Collins-R	X				
4. Roberts-D				X	
5. Cabell-D				X	
6. Teague-D				X	
7. Archer-R	X				
8. Eckhardt-D					X
9. Brooks-D				X	
10. Pickle-D				X	
11. Pcrage-D				X	
12. Wright-D				X	
13. Purcell-D			X		
14. Young-D				X	
15. de La Garza-D				X	
16. White-D				X	

Page Seventeen  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Texas (con't)					
17. Burleson-D				X	
18. No incumbent					X
19. Mahon-D				X	
20. Gonzales-D				X	
21. Fisher-D				X	
22. Casey-D				X	
23. Kazen-D				X	
24. No incumbent					X
Utah		1			1
1. McKay-D					X
2. Lloyd-R		X			
Vermont	1				
1. Mallary-R	X				
Virginia	5	1	1	2	1
1. Downing-D					X
2. Whitthurst-R	X				
3. Satterfield-D				X	
4. No incumbent			X		
5. Daniel-D				X	
6. No incumbent		X			
7. Robinson-R	X				
8. No incumbent	X				
9. Wampler-R	X				
10. Broyhill-R	X				

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Washington	1		1	2	3
1. No incumbent	X				X
2. Meeds-D				X	
3. Hansen-D					X
4. McCormack-D			X		
5. Foley-D					X
6. Hicks-D				X	
7. Adams-D					X
West Virginia				4	
1. Mollohan-D				X	
2. Staggers-D				X	
3. Slack-D				X	
4. Hechler-D				X	
Wisconsin	2	2	1	3	1
1. Aspin-D					X
2. Kastenmeier-D				X	
3. Thomson-R		X			
4. Zablocki-D				X	
5. Reuss-D				X	
6. Steiger-R	X				
7. O'Ronski-R			X		
8. No incumbent		X			
9. Davis-R	X				
Wyoming					1
1. Roncalio-D					X
Totals	137	41	29	167	61

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN  
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK  
SUBJECT: Status of Senate Races

The following analysis of the 33 Senate races of 1972 represents the comments of Arthur Finkelstein, Cliff White, Ed Failor and myself.

Safe Republican Seats - no help necessary (10): Brooke (Mass.), Case (N.J.), Boggs (Del.), Percy (Ill.), Baker (Tenn.), Thurmond (S.C.), Miller (Iowa), Curtis (Neb.), Allott (Colo.), Stevens (Alaska). (Note: It might be appropriate to show some support for Senator Baker, since Senator Brock is receiving much public exposure in the context of the Presidential Youth Campaign.)

Safe Democratic Seats - no help could change the outcome (4): Eastland (Miss.), McClelland (Ark.), Mondale (Minn.), Randolph (W. Va.)

States Where Help Could Be a Factor: (19) (The races where help would be the most critical are denoted by asterisk.)

Alabama: Consensus is that Blount has a chance, although he seems to be far behind Sparkman in early readings. Assistance in forms other than money may be what is needed.

Georgia\*: Fletcher Thompson's chances have dimmed with the nomination of Nunn over Gambrell. Still a good opportunity for for Republicans to gain a seat, but money is needed.

Idaho: McClure is probably ahead of his Democratic opponent, Davis. However, race is not certain, and he is thought to be limited in financial resources.

Kansas: Pearson, the Republican incumbent should win. However, he won only 52.1% of the vote in 1966, and Democratic Governor Docking, seeking re-election, will be a strong factor on the other side of the ticket.

Kentucky: Former Governor Nunn is thought to be ahead, but not a sure winner. If he was persuaded to run in part by 1701, then financial and other campaign support may be appropriate.

Louisiana: The death of Senator Ellender creates an entirely new situation. Little is known of the strength of the candidates or the attitude of the voters. Overall trends in the South make a strong Republican showing possible. A thorough analysis should be performed of that race, with the intent of providing help if the race is winnable.

Maine: There are some rumors that Senator Smith is in trouble. Generally, these are discounted because of her perennial strength in the state, and the anticipation of a strong Nixon showing there. More information should be obtained, and if help could be decisive, we should provide it.

Michigan\*: Senator Griffin is in a tight race, and has limited funds. We are already working closely with him in door-to-door canvassing and telephone centers to identify both Nixon and Griffin voters. Griffin was unable to provide funds for his planned share of the telephone centers. If the President is substantially ahead in Michigan, as Yankelovich claims, Griffin may also have moved up. The latest Teeter polls will tell.

Montana\*: Metcalf should be beatable. His 1966 percentage was only 53.2%. The President has huge leads in polls of nearby states, and could provide a coattail effect for the Republican candidate, Hibbard. The important thing would be to avoid, if possible, active participation by Mansfield. Money may not be a problem in Hibbard's race.

New Hampshire: The President should run well in New Hampshire. McIntyre may be beatable. Judgment should be withheld until the Republican nominee is determined on September 12th. Little hard data now seems to be available on McIntyre's prospects.

New Mexico\*: This contest represents one of our best chances to pick up a seat. Domenici, the Republican is thought to be ahead now. Daniels, the Democrat, has a lot of money, and could buy the election if our man runs out of funds.

North Carolina\*: Another prime target to pick up a seat. At the moment, the contest seems to be fairly even. We should provide whatever help is needed for Jesse Helms to win.

Oklahoma: The race looks even today. A big Nixon victory should pull Dewey Bartlett in. He seems to have no money problems.

Oregon: Wayne Morse may give Hatfield a hard race. We should determine whether he needs additional resources.

Rhode Island\*: Chafee said to be comfortably out in front. Recent direct attacks by Democrats on his hawk-dove stands on Vietnam have hurt somewhat. This looks like the most vulnerable of the seats where we now have apparent large leads. We should assure that Chafee does not lose for lack of resources.

South Dakota\*: The Democrat is now thought to be ahead in this race for Mundt's seat. If the President has the large lead reported in the Dakota Poll, then the Senate seat should be winnable. A Senate campaign here is inexpensive, and we should go all-out to try to preserve this seat in the Republican column. The McGovern "coat-tails" may work for us in South Dakota.

Texas\*: Tower needs lots of help. We are working with him on telephone canvassing. Any other form of help that would be useful should also be offered where possible.

Virginia: The political shifts in this election year should make Spong vulnerable. However, our candidate, Scott, is thought to be weak. He should be offered total campaign assistance even up to having someone like Cliff White assigned to the campaign.

Wyoming: Hansen won in 1966 by only 51.8%. He should be in better shape in 1972, and the President should do well there. Modest financial backing may make all the difference in Wyoming.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN  
 FROM: ROBERT MARIK  
 SUBJECT: Senate Races

Listed below are the candidates for the United States Senate in every state where a seat is up for election:

(Incumbents are denoted by an asterisk (\*), and the winning percentage is shown in parentheses.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Alaska	Stevens (R)* (59.9%)	App't by Gov. Hickel at death of Sen. E.L. Bartlett
	Guess (D)	Speaker, Alaska House of Representatives
Alabama	Sparkman (D)* (61.0%)	Dean of the Alabama Congressional Delegation
	Blount (R)	Former Postmaster General
	Baines (Comm)	
Arkansas	McClellan (D)* (unopposed)	Seeking Sixth Term; Chairman Senate Appropriations Comm.
	Babbitt (R)	Veterinarian
Colorado	Allott (R)* (58.0%)	Seeking fourth term
	Vollack (D)	State Senator
	Haskell (D)	Former State Legislator

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Delaware	Boggs (R)* (59.1%)	Seeking third term
	Biden (D)	Lawyer:New Castle County Council Rep.; 29 yrs. old
	Mijka (Amer)	
Georgia	Nunn (D)	Defeated incumbent Gov. Carter appointee DAVID GAMBRELL in runoff election 8/29/72.
	Thompson (R)	Incumbent fifth District Congressman
Idaho	Davis (D)	President, Idaho State U.
	McClure (R)	First District Congressman (GOP incumbent retiring)
Illinois	Percy (R)* (54.9%)	Seeking second term
	Pucinski (D)	Congressman-11th District
	Gross (Soc.Labor)	
	Halstead (Soc.Workers)	
Iowa	Miller (R)* (62.2%)	Seeking third term
	Clark (D)	AA to 2nd District Congressman John Culver
	Rocap (AIP)	
Kansas	Pearson (R)* (52.1%)	Seeking third full term
	Tetzlaff (D)	Anesthesiologist
	Miller (Con.)	
	Hadin (Pro.)	

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Kentucky	Huddleston (D)	Broadcasting Executive
	Nunn (R)	Former Governor (GOP incumbent retiring)
	Moffett (Peo)	
	Embry (Amer.)	
Louisiana	Johnston (D)	State Senator (Incumbent Dem. Ellender recently deceased. Wife of Dem.Gov. Edwin Edwards app't to fill rest of Ellender term.)
	McLean (R)	Geologist
	Lyons (Amer.)	
Maine	Smith (R)* (58.9%)	Seeking fifth term
	Hathaway (D)	Second Dist. Congressman
✓ Massachusetts	Brooke (R)* (60.7%)	Seeking second term
	O'Leary (D)	Boston City Councilman
	Droney (D)	District attorney
	Lynch (D)	
	Gurewitz (Soc.Work.)	
Michigan	Griffin (R)* (55.0%)	Seeking second full term; Senate Minority Whip
	Kelley (D)	Michigan Attorney General

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
✓ Minnesota	Mondale (DFL)* (54.9%)	Seeking election to Second Full Term
	Hansen (R)	Lutheran Minister
	Franklin (DFL)	
	Griffin (DFL)	
	Leaf (DFL)	
	Heck (Indust. Gov't.)	
Mississippi	Eastland (D)* (73.3%)	Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee
	Carmichael (R)	Automobile Dealer
Montana	Metcalf (D)* (53.2%)	Seeking third term
	Hibbard (R)	State Senator
Nebraska	Curtis (R)* (61.0%)	Seeking reelection to fourth term.
	Carpenter (D)	State Senator
✓ New Hampshire	McIntyre (D)* (54.1%)	First elected Nov. 1962
	Powell (R)	Former Two Term Governor
	Cobleigh (R)	State House Speaker
	Brock (R)	Former U.S. Attorney
	Booras (R)	
New Jersey	Case (R)* (61.6%)	Seeking fourth term
	Krebs (D)	Former U. S. Rep.
	Freund (Amer.)	

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
	Levin (Soc.Labor)	
	Wiley (Concerned Voter's Voice)	
New Mexico	Domenici (R)	Unsuccessful GOP Candidate for Governor in 1970.
	Daniels (D)	Former State Rep. (Dem. Incumbent retiring)
N. Carolina	Galifianakis(D)	4th Dist. Cong.;defeated inc. in run-off primary
	Helms (R)	
Oklahoma	Edmondson (D)	Inc. Congressman;2nd Dist. (Dem. inc. retiring)
	Bartlett (R)	Former Governor
Oregon	Hatfield (R)* (51.7%)	Seeking second term
	Morse (D)	Former U.S. Senator
Rhode Island	Pell (D)* (67.7%)	Seeking third term
	Chafee (R)	Former Gov.; Former Sec. of the Navy
South Carolina	Thurmond (R)* (62.2%)	Seeking reelection to fourth term
	Ziegler (D)	
S. Dakota	Abourezk (D)	U.S. Rep; 2nd District
	Hirsch (R)	Former State Senator (GOP incumbent retiring)
Tennessee	Baker (R)* (55.7%)	Seeking Second Term
	Blanton (D)	Inc. 7th Dist; Congressman

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>			<u>Comments</u>
Texas	Tower	(R)*	(56.4%)	Seeking reelection to second full term
	Sanders	(D)		
Virginia	Spong	(D)*	(58.5%)	Seeking second term
	Scott	(R)		Inc. old 8th District
	Henderson	(Indep.)		
W. Virginia	Randolph	(D)*	(59.5%)	Seeking reelection to third full term
	Leonard	(R)		State Senator
Wyoming	Hansen	(R)*	(51.8%)	Seeking second term
	Vinich	(D)		Former AA to Democrat Congressman Roncalio

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT   
SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Senate Races

Attachment A contains a brief rundown on the 33 U. S. Senate races. Calculating conservatively and without a Presidential sweep, we should win 14, are favored in 4 more, and are close in 6. The Democrats should win 5 and are favored in 4. If we win all those where we are sure winners, favored, and close (which is possible with a Presidential sweep and monetary assistance) the new lineup would be 50 - 50, with Byrd of Virginia as a Democrat. If he switched, we would prevail 51 - 49.

Races where money could have the best impact are: Georgia, Kentucky, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma and South Dakota. Secondary money states are: Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Rhode Island and Virginia.

Kevin Phillips and Evans-Novak rate the South as the biggest potential pickup area: Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and saving the Kentucky seat. Also, they rate New Mexico and Oklahoma as possibilities in border areas, with Rhode Island as the best pickup bet in the Northeast. The southern potential depends on the Nixon coattails', no Wallace candidacy and Democrat problems. Unfortunately, most southern ballots are arranged to encourage split ticket voting.

Here is how I rate these races at present:

<u>Republican</u>		<u>Democrat</u>		
<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>
Colo. (R)	Alas. (R)	Ga. (D)	Ala. (D)	Ark. (D)
Del. (R)	Mich. (R)	Ky. (R)	Mont. (D)	La. (D)
Idaho (R)	R. I. (D)	N. M. (D)	N. H. (D)	Minn. (D)
Ill. (R)	Texas (R)	N. C. (D)	Va. (D)	Miss. (D)
Iowa (R)		Okla. (D)		W. Va. (D)
Kan. (R)		S. D. (R)		
Maine (R)				
Mass. (R)				
Neb. (R)				
N. J. (R)				
Ore. (R)				
S. C. (R)				
Tenn. (R)				
Wyo. (R)				
<hr/>				
14	4	6	4	5

ATTACHMENT A

1972 Senate Races

Alabama: Sen. John Sparkman (D) is favored. Republican Winton Blount has a chance with a heavy Presidential vote. The National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) has a candidate who will split Sparkman's black vote.

Alaska: Sen. Ted Stevens (R) is favored. This will be a tough fight against Democrat Gene Gess, but Stevens should win.

Arkansas: Sen. John McClellan (D) should win. McClellan won his run-off against David Prior, and should win against Republican Wayne Babbitt. Win Rockefeller is pushing Babbitt with some hope.

Colorado: Sen. Gordon Allott (R) should win. The Democrat nominee will be either Floyd Haskell or Tony Vollack. Neither is a credible candidate.

Delaware: Sen. J. Caleb Boggs (R) should win. Democrat challenger is 27-year-old Joseph Biden, who is well-financed and aggressive.

Georgia: Sen. David Gambrell (D) will have close fight with GOP Rep. Fletcher Thompson. Democrat primary not over, and Gambrell could be upset there. Very close.

Idaho: Sen. Len Jordan is not seeking re-election. Republican should win. The Republicans have a real horse race between ex-Governor Bob Smylie, Glen Wegner, ex-Congressman George Hansen, and Congressman Jim McClure, who should get the bid. Democrats are Rose Bowman (Woman's Lib); Byron Johnson, a close ally of Frank Church; William Dows, President of Idaho State University; and State Attorney General Tony Park who will get the nomination.

Illinois: Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) should win, but is unpopular with many Republicans because of his criticism of the President's Vietnam policy. The Democrat is Congressman Roman Pucinski.

Iowa: Sen. Jack Miller (R) should win. The Democrat is Dick Clark, a political unknown.

Kansas: Sen. James B. Pearson (R) should win after a nuisance primary. The Democrat is A. O. Tetzlaff, a political unknown.

Kentucky: Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R) is not seeking re-election. Republican Louie Nunn made a good showing in the primary. The Democrat is Dee Huddleston, and is supported by the state administration. Very close.

Louisiana: Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D) favored, but faces tough primary with Bennett Johnston, who lost close primary race for Governor. Would support RN. Republicans have C. M. McClean filed, but probably will not run. Dave Treen may go for the House where poll shows should win vacant seat. Can't afford another state race.

Maine: Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R) should win after a very successful primary race against Robert Monks. Democrat is Congressman William Hathaway.

Massachusetts: Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R) should win. Democrat is John Droney, a district attorney from Middlesex County.

Michigan: Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R) favored. Democrat is Attorney General Frank Kelley, who will feel the brunt of the busing issue.

Page Three  
Attachment A  
1972 Senate Races

Minnesota: Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D) should win. The endorsed Republican, Phillip Hansen, is a hard-working and dynamic Lutheran minister.

Mississippi: Sen. James O. Eastland (D) should win. The Republicans have an attractive candidate in Gil Carmichael.

Montana: Sen. Lee Metcalf (D) is favored. Republican State Senator Henry Hibbard received the nomination, and has a chance. There is some disaffection among Montanans over Metcalf's temper and other habits.

Nebraska: Sen. Carl Curtis (R) should win. Curtis' age could have been an issue, but the Democrats nominated Terry Carpenter, age 72.

New Hampshire: Sen. Thomas McIntyre (D) is favored. Filing deadline is July 13. Likely GOP candidates are Bob Hill, Wesley Powell, Peter Boras, Dave Brock, and Speaker of the House Marshall Cobleigh. Cobleigh has a strong base of support in the State House of Representatives.

New Jersey: Sen. Clifford P. Case (R) should win. The Democrat is Paul Krebs, who headed the state Consumer Protection agency until the Governor let him go.

New Mexico: Sen. Clinton Anderson (D) is retiring. Republican Pete Dominici, 1970 governor candidate, has an excellent organization and is doing the ground work. The Democrat is Jack Daniels, who was defeated in the 1970 Gubernatorial primary. A heavy Presidential vote will help. Close.

North Carolina: Sen. Everett Jordan (D) was upset for re-election by Rep. Nick Galifianakis who will be a fairly good candidate. The Republican is conservative TV station owner Jesse Helms. He is getting many Democrat endorsements. This will be close. RN coattails will help.

Oklahoma: Sen. Fred Harris (D) is not seeking re-election. Republican Dewey Bartlett has a hard fight, but with a good Presidential vote, he could make it. There are nine Democrats in the primary (Aug. 22) but Congressman Ed Edmondson will probably prevail. Close.

Oregon: Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R) should win. He has an excellent organization, and he has mended many fences. Rumor persists that Governor Tom McCall might try to run as an independent, but the logistics of doing that before the filing deadline (Aug. 29) are extremely difficult. He is chairman of the delegation to the national convention, which would seem to call for unity. The Democrat is Wayne Morse, who has age against him.

Rhode Island: Sen. Claiborne Pell (D). Republican John Chafee is favored. A May poll showed him with a two-to-one edge. Pell's war record is becoming a major issue. The Presidential vote will be a help to Chafee.

South Carolina: Sen. Strom Thurmond (R) should win. The Democrats are John Bolt Culbertson and Nick Zeigler, who will get the nomination.

South Dakota: Sen. Karl Mundt retiring. This will be close. The Democrat, Congressman James Abourez, is a slight favorite - more so if McGovern is the Presidential nominee. He has been announcing all of the federal grants resulting from the flood - this has hurt. The Republican is ex-state senate leader Bob Hirsch. Informal media polls have shown a close race.

Tennessee: Sen. Howard H. Baker (R) should win. The most likely Democrat is Rep. Ray Blanton. The primary is August 3. The Presidential vote will help Baker.

Texas: Sen. John Tower (R) favored. Tower would have had an easier race against Yarborough; Barefoot Sanders has no record to score and he appears less liberal than he is. A big Presidential vote will help Tower.

Virginia: Sen. William B. Spong, Jr. (D) is favored, but Republican Rep. William Scott has a chance with the expected heavy Presidential vote. Scott's organization is beginning to take shape and campaign finance activities are beginning.

West Virginia: Sen. Jennings Randolph (D) should win. The Republican is State Senator Louise Leonard, whose campaign shows little strength.

Wyoming: Sen. Clifford P. Hansen (R) should win. Hansen is well-financed, and a late spring poll indicates he is very popular. The Democrat is Mike Vinich, who will not be able to hold the Democrats in line.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM : GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT : 1972 U.S. Senate Races

*Tab. B. Scissibles*

This memorandum briefly describes the status of the 33 U.S. Senate races. ~~The~~ ~~attached~~ ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~factual~~ ~~description~~ ~~of~~ ~~each~~ ~~race.~~ Information from Clark MacGregor (RM), Harry Dent (D), Fred Malek (FM), Bill Timmons (BT), and Bob Marik is consolidated in the following summary.

*(FM)*

*(BT)*

*Robert*

*(RM)*

*Bob Teeter (T)*

Republicans

Democrats

Win Favored Close Favored Win

Alaska  
Stevens (R)

*The attachment describes each race with the current estimation of the chances for victory by*

*The comments by Mac Gregor, Dent, Timmons, ~~and~~ Teeter, and Malek's Field Operation ~~is~~ are given below for the 18 swing states:*



Rep

Dem

~~Rep~~ Win Fall

Loss

Fall

Win

Mass Broderick (Dem) <sup>T, CM,</sup>  
primary 9/19 F M Ph

Michl Gifford (D) Kelly (D)

T, R M,  
CM FM

Miss Hansen (R) Ambrose (D)

T, CM,  
FM, RM

Miss Easton (D) v. Carmichael (R)

RM, FM,  
CM, T

Mont. Hubbard (R) v. Metcalf (D)

T, RM,  
CM, FM.

Neb. Curtis (R) v. Carpenter (D) | FM  
T, RM, CM | ~~FM~~

T, R M,  
CM

N.H. ~~Proctor (R)~~  
McIntyre (D) v. Rep Kurian  
9/12

FM

N.J. ~~Proctor (R)~~ v. Krebs  
Coble T, CM, FM,  
RM

Dem

Fae Win

Rep

De

Win 'Fae

New M Domenici, V. Denies (D)	RM, *	T, CM, FM
N.C. Helms (R) V. California	RM, CM, FM	T.
Olla Bartlett (R) V. Edmondson (D)	RM, CM, FM	T
Ong Hathfield (R) V. Morse	RM, CM, FM	T, <del>RM</del> , <del>CM</del> , <del>FM</del>
R. J. Craffee (R) V. Pelle	T, RM, CM, FM	

So Carolina T, RM,  
Thurmond (R) V. C, M, FM  
Zeigler (D)

Phillips

Not scientific, just pick up info.

Tim

Ed Mc Cleve - sd - gd sh

RT Gaffney - a winner

Key Mann - winner

Ind Smith - gd sh

Broode<sup>news</sup>, Case<sup>AS</sup>, Hatfield<sup>pre</sup> - win

- Alta + Bartlett - fighting chance

- nm - Bornia - gd possil

- Helms - nc " "

Long shots but poss  
no s

Thompson - Ga.

Scott - ga.

Baker - Tenn - very gd sh

→ lose Mendt seat

"Real Welly - Net 3"

BT - better info Tues

Sen + Hse Camp Comm's - polling info

BT - AMPAC

Buell - Sen.

BT to meet ~~Bill~~ Rerensen +  
Use fellows  
- This week

Rep

Win

Favored

Close

Den

SD  
Henschel  
address

Tenn  
Parker (R) v. F.M., F.N  
Blanton

TX Town (R) v.  
Saunders

Va. State (R) v.  
Sperry (C) v.  
Henderson (C)

W. Va. Leonard (R) v.  
Randolph (C)

Wyo. Hansen (R) v.  
Vine

T, R, M,

T

T, R, M,  
C, M,  
F, M

T  
R, M, C, M, F, M

R, M

T, F, M,  
C, M,

Favored

T, C, M,  
F, M

C, M, F, M  
R, M

MF  
E  
S

H  
S  
1972 U.S. Senate Races

~~Attachment~~

briefly

This memorandum describes

the status of the 33 U.S. Senate races

~~Included is~~

Information from Clark MacGregor,

Harry Dent, Fred Malek, Bill

Timmons, and Bob Teeter, <sup>and Bob Mark</sup> ~~in~~ The

attachment is a factual description of

each race. <sup>is consolidated in</sup> The summary below

~~consolidates their assessment of~~

~~the races now:~~

Dent

Ala - letter, Blount coming on,  
a black card who will take  
votes w/ Sparkman  
- P coattails, more helpful  
level of st party voting.  
Ballot

Alas - Stevens favored

Sen Camp Com

Rating - <sup>4/15 in</sup> (70-15,000 to top 6  
each) <sup>But want another  
500,000 to distill</sup>

~~RT~~  
~~nm~~  
~~Ala~~  
~~N.C.~~  
~~Ala~~  
Mont.

Top 6

Dent designs  
a little, less  
N.C higher than  
OKee

Can we  
mundt  
seat

- Expect to hold everything including  
S.D. the hardest, Herish coming  
on strong + will still w/P.

- Use 2 McG's (Alvarez)
- Keep a Rep voice in Wash.

S.D - 1<sup>st</sup> defense battle  
FX - 2<sup>nd</sup>

McG - a cool receipt in So  
Gov conf - smell w/ head down

①

Ala - Comments

T - Blovent moving up, w/in 10-15%  
D - straight voting, better chance

---

②

~~Ala~~  
Ga

Findelstein being poll

T - No polling avail, opinions all over map; Thompson - an opportunist a free spirit  
D - more difficult than ag/Gcm, P could really help.  
FM - gd chance, needs \$ +  
cm - org asis; urge \$  
RM - needs \$

---

③

Id T - Party weekends, could help -- needs money  
CM SUM - Needs money AND ORGANIZATION  
RM - Needs money

---

④

Kent.

T - Nunn - moving up  
FM - needs \$ + hard to raise  
cm - Field org OK  
~~RM -~~  
Confusion re J Mit commitments

⑤ ha - nothing else  
Dent only

---

⑥ me. -  
T - could have tough  
~~RM~~ race; P could really  
help - a P visit - great  
nat'l figure  
RM, CM, FM - spends no \$

---

⑦ mich.  
T - as close as you can get,  
behind + ahead twice  
Busing by Nov. may  
hade  
RM, CM, FM - needs \$  
Admin could help  
w/ postal grants  
FM - Griffin needs eggs  
someplace beside busing  
RM - P + Griffin campaign  
close w/ telephone & door  
to door

---

⑧ Mont  
FM Hubbard - a good cond, peer org  
RM - P wattails could pull in  
T - no polling, but <sup>might</sup> liked in Mont

⑨ ~~AA~~  
NH

FM - Powell will wear  
primary + have poorer  
chance of / me July  
T - wait til after primary

---

⑩ NM

T - Domenici - needs \$,  
gd camp, gd org,  
RM - Daniels has lot of \$  
EM - neither P or Domenici  
is poor - so add  
org staff, need \$!

---

⑪ N.E.

T - data - 1 mo old, much  
ticket splitting w/ Helms  
devised; P huge lead  
RM - Galifianlos - hi visil  
primary + Helms needs  
name recognition  
CM/FM - needs \$ + org help

---

⑫ OOLA

T - P could really help, P has  
big leads; little work

(13)

Allen

FM - real org probs  
but no \$ probs  
- 1701 org not in  
~~CAA~~

(14)

One

T - very close, Hatfield's  
up at level<sup>35%</sup> - only 2-3%  
ahead <sup>65%</sup>  
- me all were popular  
get him to help Hatfield's  
P should push me all  
FM - Hat - no \$ probs  
org close to us but we  
rate Hat + our org  
not helping

(15)

RI

T - close, we can't help.  
FM - Chaffee needs no \$ but  
needs org help to get next to P  
RM - Chaffee - softest Rep  
lead in country

(16)

SD.

T - Hersch way behind at 1<sup>st</sup> lead  
above very close to me G

(17)

SD - Hersch - solid, but not too deep  
- get \$, no P visit

FM - give Hersch \$, no P visit  
RM - real change but " "  
extra RN \$ in \$t

(18)

TX

T - Tower will win, but  
prob is Sanders is a  
conservative  
- P very strong so help  
Tower

FM - Tower's prob is Tower,  
\$ OK, org working tactical  
- Tower not receptive to advice

RM - 170 - Telephone only  
w/ Tower + RN

(19)

~~Ho~~  
Va

T - a poll in field now,  
FM - some \$ for org, get  
faces in, P gd lead,  
Deep scott off road  
P - no visit w/ scott  
RM - send Cliff White in to help

T-

P could campaign + help in:

Tx + Ohio

Overt - as little outside  
camp, but use of +  
bel scenes organes  
support

now,  
change  
later

FM

---

Need Me G voting record  
to our lands - thru  
Sen Camp Comm.

all info  
what's the latest  
Democrat

Alas - Ted Stevens (R) - Gene Guess (D)  
Alab. - Sparkman v. Red Blount v.

Jim Baines  
Ark - Mc Clellan v. Wayne Babbitt (R)

\* 9/12  
primary  
Volwell  
Dem Haskell

Colo - Allott (R) v. Dem Primes

Del - Boggs v. Joseph Baden (D) v.  
Henry Myka (AIP)

Ga - Sam Nunn (D) v. Fletcher Thompson R

Id - Bud Davis (D) v. James McClure R

Ill - Charles Percy v. Pucinski v.  
Ed Gross (soc-labor) +  
Fred Halsted (soc con)

Iowa - Jack Miller (R) v. Bill Clark (D)  
v. William Rucat (AIP)

Kan. - James Pearson (R) v. Ark Tedzloff (D)  
v. Gene Miller (con)  
v. Howard Hayden (pro)

Key - Walter Huddleston (D) v.  
Louie Nunn (R) v.  
Charles Moffett (Peoples P)  
Wil Embury (AIP)

La - Bennett Johnston (D) v. C M  
McLean (R) v.  
Hall Lyons (AIP)

Rep's looking  
for sleeper  
enemy

Me - M. C. Smith R v. W Hathaway (D)

- 9/19 \*Mass - Brooke (R) v. O'Leary (D),  
 Doney (D), Lynch (D)  
 Gurewitz (SoC Dems)
- 9/12 \*Maine - Griffin (R) v. Frank J. Kelley (D)  
 - Hansen (R) v. Walter Mondale (DFL)  
 Franklin, Griffin,  
 Leaf (DFL)  
 - Ind Gov Party - Heek
- Miss  
 Mont  
 Del  
 9/12 \*N H - Curtis (R) v. Carpenter (D)  
 - McIntyre (D) v. Powell (R),  
 Cobligh (R), Brock (R),  
 Booras (R).
- N J - Cl Case R v. Krebs  
 AP - Freund v.  
 Levin (SoC Lab) v. <sup>Senes</sup>  
 → Concerned Voters Voice Wiley
- N M - Pete Domenici (R) v. J Daniels (D)
- N.C. - Nick Galifianakis (D) v. Jesse Helms (R)
- Okla. - Bartlett (R) v. Edmondson (D)
- Ore - Hatfield (R) v. Morse (D)
- R I - Pell (D) v. Chaffee (R)
- S C - Thurmond (R) v. Ziegler (D)
- S D - Alouezek (D) v. Hirsch (R)
- Tenn - Baker (R) Blanton (D)
- TX - Tower (R) v. Sanders (D)

Va - Spang (D) v. Scott (R) v  
Henderson (Ind)

W Va - Randolph (D) v. House Leonard R

Wyo - Hansen (R) v. Vinick (D)

# Where St Ticket + Where Not

33 -

Me - Mc Sm

NH - ag/ Mc Intire - 9/12 Repkin

Mass - Brooke

RI - Pell v. Ochoa

NJ - Case

Ill - Percy

Mich - Griffin

S.D. - Mundt's seat

Id -

NM - Andersen's seat

Tx - Tower

La - Ellender's seat

Ala - Spark v Blunt

Ga - Fletcher Thompson v ? Neenn

Tenn - Baller

Key - Neenn

DC - Galafanikas v. (Kent)

---

Wa Va - Jen Ran

Va - Spory

So Cal - Thurmond

Ken - Pearson

Ore - Hatfield seat

Mont - Metcalf

? Colo - Dominick?

Alas - Stevens?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WT*

SUBJECT: '72 Campaign

I would like to have primary White House responsibility for keeping tabs on Senate and House races (incumbents and challengers) during the campaign with Stan Anderson at 1701 as the principal staffman on the assignment.

Working with the Re-Elect Committee's resources as well as my congressional staff and their contacts I feel I am the best central source for accumulating pertinent campaign information -- with a low profile, of course -- and making any recommendations necessary.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

OTHER \_\_\_\_\_

---

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MACGREGOR  
FROM: HARRY FLEMMING  
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Preface

It has been suggested by many political pundits that the large lead the President currently enjoys will have a broad coattail effect on other Republican races this year. The more optimistic of these suggests that the President will have a Republican Congress to work with during his second term and will register significant gains in the State Houses.

A glance back in history, though, does not support that belief. The last landslide year for the Republicans was in 1956 when President Eisenhower won a second term by a 9-1/2 million vote majority. However, we had no gain in the Senate and a net loss of two House seats and two State Houses. A careful analysis of our prospects in 1972 indicates that potential exists for a repeat of that election. We have an opportunity, due to reapportionment and an unusual number of retirements, to register a net gain in the area of 20 seats in the House. With luck the organization of the Senate is within our grasp. However, with a high number of incumbent Republican Governors seeking re-election, it will be difficult to hold our present alignment.

The opportunity in the above stated areas is there, but it is foolish to think that it will all happen by accident. The organizational nature of the President's re-election campaign should be of significant help to other candidates. The proposals that follow are designed to be of further assistance in harvesting a bumper crop of new Republican officeholders in 1972.

Attachments

The following are major areas where this campaign can be of assistance to other Republican races. For purposes of organization and decision making, I am breaking it into five major areas: Organizational, Financial, Presidential Assistance, Scheduling and Miscellaneous.

Organizational

A. There are certain areas such as registration that should, while benefiting the President, at the same time assist other races. This needs no direction as the simple act of performing the task will accomplish the same effect for all candidates. Other activities vary state by state, depending upon the Party tradition, degree of organization and strength of the local candidate. Recruiting volunteers, canvassing and get-out-the-vote operations depend on the above factors. In a state like Ohio where the central party structure is strong, there will be a natural melding of those efforts. In other states where the candidate organization is strong such as Kentucky with Governor Nunn, it is in both of our interests to work together. There are other states, including many southern and border states where neither the state party organization nor the candidate organization are all that is desired. In these states a degree of close cooperation should be dependent on several factors, including whether or not working with state or local candidates could cost the President a substantial number of votes, whether or not there is a basic compatibility between the President's position and that of the local candidate, and whether or not a joint effort has any real chance of making a significant difference.

On the above points I would recommend that in marginal races, where we cannot hurt the President's efforts to carry that state, we direct our field personnel to work closely with the other campaigns.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

B. In certain areas we are using paid telephone centers to assist in canvassing and the get-out-the-vote effort. Using the same criterion as above, I would recommend the joint use of these centers to assist other candidates. For example, in Illinois we have several pick-up opportunities in Congressional areas where paid telephone centers are operating.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

Financial

A. Perhaps the greatest single need of any candidate is adequate financial help to fund his organizational efforts and to provide the media support needed. My premise in this area would be the President's money must be collected in adequate sums to ensure financial solvency of this campaign first. After this is achieved, assistance to other candidates should be considered.

I recommend that a budget item be included in the overall campaign budget to directly assist other candidates.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

B. Because of the disclosure laws, certain large contributors, after making their contribution to the Presidential campaign, may desire to contribute additional amounts to help in the election of other Republican office seekers. I would recommend that Maurice Stans' organization be provided a list of those races that are considered to be marginal and where additional financial assistance could make a difference. He in turn could divert these contributors to other races.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

C. We have accumulated a substantial list of contributors who have come in as a result of our direct mail efforts. I would recommend that at about September 15, copies of these lists be made available to selected candidates who are in marginal races.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

Presidential Assistance

A popular incumbent President with the vast resources of the federal government at his command can be of great assistance to candidates. In 1970 we ran a rather extensive program to help these office seekers. The basis of that program has been shifted to assisting the President's race. Again, this must remain the primary target. However, presuming the President maintains his lead, we should consider extending it to target races.

A. There exists under Bill Gifford at OMB, a grantmanship program to assist target areas for the Presidential campaign. I would recommend that this be extended to include target Senatorial, Gubernatorial and Congressional races.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

B. There is in existence and is being used to some degree, a program which solicits telegrams, letters and the like for campaigns. I would recommend that we make this service known to our target candidates.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

C. Fully recognizing that the President's schedule is incredibly tight, if a certain period of time could be set aside so that candidates in key races could come in for a picture taking session with the resultant publicity back home, it would be of immeasurable assistance.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

D. The President will be making a limited number of campaign appearances, therefore, key races should be a factor in determining which stops the President should make.

I therefore recommend that Dwight Chapin be provided a list of the key and target races for possible use in scheduling the President.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

E. After the President's schedule is set, opportunities will arise for Congressional, Senatorial and Gubernatorial candidates to greet the President at airports, ride in motorcades, sit on the podium, etc. I would recommend that we work closely with the Presidential advance teams to include these candidates on those appearances.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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#### Scheduling

The current target scheduling plan calls for a saturation of speakers in a selected number of states that are important to the re-election of the President. This same plan virtually excludes appearances by the Vice President, surrogates and celebrities in all other areas. Unfortunately, a number of our key Senate and Gubernatorial races are outside the range of the attack program. Therefore, I would recommend that a limited number of dates be freed up on the schedules of the Vice President, surrogates and celebrities so that they may be able to assist in these other campaigns.

Vice President    Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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Surrogates        Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

Celebrities    Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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Miscellaneous

There are a number of other areas where our existing campaign organization could be put to use to assist other candidates. They are as follows:

A. Advertising - The election reform law limits the amount of money that can be spent on behalf of the Presidential candidate. In order to work these limitations, certificates must be provided before placement for print and the electronic media. If it appears that we are not going to fully utilize our ceiling for media, I would suggest that we open up the opportunity for joint ads with candidates in target areas. I would recommend that I be directed to work up a contingency plan with the November Group for use in the above described manner.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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B. An effective way of taking advantage of Presidential popularity in the electronic media would be a tag line by the President which could be added at the end of a candidate's commercial. I would recommend that the November Group attempt to develop a universal tag line, the text of which could be sent to candidates in target areas.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

---

C. A considerable amount of our resources has gone into polling and obtaining basic demographic data. The results of the polling, specifically on issues, could be very helpful to candidates in selected areas. I would therefore recommend that this polling information be made available.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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D. Likewise, certain demographic information has been put together which could be of use to other candidates. I would similarly recommend that this be provided to our target list.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comments \_\_\_\_\_

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I am including in this report a current list of the target races. They are:  
Tab A    Senatorial Races    Tab B    Congressional Races    Tab C    Gubernatorial Races  
Tab D    A breakout of State legislative seats that are up in 1972.

SENATE RACES

Incumbents

<u>STATE</u>	<u>SAFE</u>	<u>PROBABLE</u>	<u>MARGINAL</u>	<u>LONG SHOT</u>
ALABAMA			Blount/Sparkman	
ALASKA	Stevens/Guess			
ARKANSAS				Babbit/McClellan
COLORADO	Allott/primary 9/12			
DELAWARE	Boggs/Biden			
GEORGIA			Thompson/Nunn	
IDAHO		McClure/Davis		
ILLINOIS	Percy/Pucinski			
IOWA	Miller/Clark			
KANSAS	Pearson/Tetzlaff			
KENTUCKY		Nunn/Huddleston		
LOUISIANA			Toledano/Bennett/McKeithan	
MAINE		Smith/Hathaway		
MASSACHUSETTS	Brooke/primary 9/19			
MICHIGAN			Griffin/Kelley	
MINNESOTA				Hansen/Mondale
MISSISSIPPI				Carmichael/Eastland
MONTANA			Hibbard/Metcalf	
NEBRASKA		Curtis/Carpenter		
NEW HAMPSHIRE				primary 9/12
NEW JERSEY	Case/Krebs			
NEW MEXICO			Domenici/Daniels	
NORTH CAROLINA			Helms/Galifianakis	
OKLAHOMA			Bartlett/Edmondson	
OREGON		Hatfield/Morse		
RHODE ISLAND			Chaffee/Pell	
SOUTH CAROLINA	Thurmond/Ziegler			
SOUTH DAKOTA			Hirsch/Abourezk	
TENNESSEE	Baker/Blanton			
TEXAS			Tower/Sanders	
VIRGINIA				Scott/Spong
WEST VIRGINIA				Scott/Spong
WYOMING	Hansen/Vinich			

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

\_\_\_\_\_Incumbent

STATE

SAFE

PROBABLE

MARGINAL

LONG SHOT

ARKANSAS

Blaylock/Bumpers

DELAWARE

Peterson/Tribitt

ILLINOIS

Ogilvie/Walker

INDIANA

Bowen/Welsh

IOWA

Ray/Franzenburg

KANSAS

Kay/Docking

MISSOURI

Bond/Dowd

MONTANA

Smith/Judge

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Peterson/primary 9/12

NORTH CAROLINA

Holshouser/Bowles

NORTH DAKOTA

Larsen/primary 9/5

RHODE ISLAND

DeSimone/primary 9/12

SOUTH DAKOTA

Thompson/Kneip

TEXAS

Grover/Briscoe

UTAH

Strike/Rampton

VERMONT

primary 9/12

WASHINGTON

Evans/primary 9/19

WEST VIRGINIA

...ore/rockefeller

CODE: ND - NEW DISTRICT  
 RO - REPUBLICAN OPEN  
 DO - DEMOCRAT OPEN  
 PAIR - TWO INCUMBENTS  
 \* - INCUMBENT

KEY HOUSE RACES  
 AS/OF 8-16-72

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	ALABAMA	2	* Dickinson	Reeves	
	ALASKA	AL	Young (subj. to Primary)	* Begich	
ND	ARIZONA	4	Primary 9/12	Primary 9/12	
	CALIFORNIA	6	* Mailliard	Boas	
	CALIFORNIA	7	Hannaford	* Dellums	
ND	CALIFORNIA	11	Chase	Ryan	
	CALIFORNIA	18	* Mathias	Lavery	
RO	CALIFORNIA	20	Moorhead	Binkley	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CALIFORNIA	31	Valentine	* C. Wilson	
	CALIFORNIA	34	Ratterree	* Hanna	
	CALIFORNIA	35	Brown	* Anderson	
ND	CALIFORNIA	36	Ketchum	Lemucchi	
ND	CALIFORNIA	38	Snider	Brown	
RO	CALIFORNIA	39	Hinshaw	Black	
ND	CALIFORNIA	42	Burgener	Lowe	
	COLORADO	1	* McKevitt	Primary 9/12	
	COLORADO	4	Primary 9/12	* Aspinall	
ND	COLORADO	5	Primary 9/12	Primary 9/12	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CONNECTICUT	1	Rittenband	* Cotter	
	CONNECTICUT	2	* Steele	Hilsman	
	CONNECTICUT	5	Sarasin	* Monagan	
ND	FLORIDA	5	Primary 9/12	Primary 9/12	
	FLORIDA	8	Thompson	* Haley	
ND	FLORIDA	10	Primary 9/12	Primary 9/12	
ND	FLORIDA	13	Primary 9/12	Primary 9/12	
RO	GEORGIA	5	Cook	Young	
RO	IDAHO	1	Symms	Williams	
ND	ILLINOIS	3	Hanrahan	Coman	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	ILLINOIS	10	Young	* Mikva	
	ILLINOIS	11	Hoellen	* Annunzio	
ND	ILLINOIS	17	O'Brien	Houlihan	
RO	ILLINOIS	21	Madigan	Johnson	
	ILLINOIS	22	Lamkin	* Shipley	
	INDIANA	2	* Landgrebe	Fithian	
	INDIANA	3	Newman	* Brademas	
	INDIANA	4	Bloom	* Roush	
	INDIANA	8	* Zion	Deen	
	INDIANA	10	* Dennis	Sharp	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	INDIANA	11	Hudnutt	* Jacobs	
	IOWA	1	* Schwengel	Mezvinsky	
	IOWA	2	Ellsworth	* Culver	
PAIR	IOWA	4	* Kyl	* Smith	
	KANSAS	2	McAtee	* Roy	
	KANSAS	3	* Winn	Barsotti	
	KENTUCKY	3	Kaelin	* Mazzoli	
DO	KENTUCKY	6	Jackson	Breckinridge	
	LOUISIANA	3	Treen	Primary 8/19	
	MAINE	1	Porteous	* Kyros	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
DO	MAINE	2	Cohen	Violette	
	MARYLAND	1	* Mills	Hargreaves	
ND	MARYLAND	4	Holt	Fornos	
	MARYLAND	6	Mason	* Byron	
	MASSACHUSETTS	4	Primary 9/19	Drinan	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	5	Primary 9/19	Primary 9/19	
	MASSACHUSETTS	6	Moseley	* Harrington	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	12	Weeks	Studds	
	MICHIGAN	2	* Esch	Stempien	
	MICHIGAN	12	Serotkin	* O'Hara	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	MICHIGAN	18	* Broomfield	Montgomery	
	MINNESOTA	6	* Zwach	Nolan	
	MINNESOTA	7	Haaven	* Bergland	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	2	Butler	Bowen	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	4	Cochran	Bodron	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	5	Lott	Stone	
DO	MISSOURI	6	Sloan	Litton	
RO	MISSOURI	7	Taylor	Thomas	
	MONTANA	1	* Shoup	Olsen	
	NEW JERSEY	3	Dowd	* Howard	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW JERSEY	6	* Forsythe	Brennan	
	NEW JERSEY	9	Schiaffo	* Helstoski	
RO	NEW JERSEY	12	Rinaldo	English	
ND	NEW JERSEY	13	Maraziti	Meyner	
	NEW MEXICO	2	Presson	Runnels	
	NEW YORK	1	Boyd	* Pike	
ND	NEW YORK	3	Roncallo	Bales	
	NEW YORK	6	Gallagher	* Wolff	
	NEW YORK	23	* Peyser	Ottinger	
	NEW YORK	24	Vergari	* Reid	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW YORK	26	Gilman	* Dow	
RO	NEW YORK	31	Mitchell	Castle	
	NEW YORK	32	Koldin	* Hanley	
RO	NEW YORK	33	Walsh	Kadys	
	NEW YORK	36	* Smith	McCarthy	
DO	NORTH CAROLINA	4	Hawke	Andrews	
RO	NORTH CAROLINA	9	Martin	Beatty	
RO	OHIO	4	Guyer	Nicholas	
	OHIO	8	* Powell	Ruppert	
RO	OHIO	16	Regula	Musser	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	OHIO	19	Parr	* Carney	
RO	OKLAHOMA	1	Primary 8/22	Primary 8/22	
DO	OKLAHOMA	2	Toliver	Primary 8/22	
	PENNSYLVANIA	5	* Ware	Franco	
RO	PENNSYLVANIA	9	Shuster	Collins	
	PENNSYLVANIA	14	Catarinella	* Moorehead	
	SOUTH CAROLINA	1	Limehouse	* Davis	
	SOUTH DAKOTA	1	Vickerman	* Denholm	
DO	SOUTH DAKOTA	2	Abdnor	McKeever	
	TENNESSEE	3	* Baker	Sompayrac	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	TENNESSEE	6	Beard	* Anderson	
	TENNESSEE	8	* Kuykendall	Patterson	
	TEXAS	5	Steelman	* Cabell	
PAIR	TEXAS	13	* Price	* Purcell	
	UTAH	1	Primary 9/12	McKay	
	UTAH	2	Lloyd	Primary 9/12	
	VIRGINIA	4	Daniel	Gibson	
RO	VIRGINIA	6	Butler	Anderson	
RO	VIRGINIA	8	Parris	Horan	
RO	WASHINGTON	1	Primary 9/19	Primary 9/19	
	WASHINGTON	4	Primary 9/19	* McCormack	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	WISCONSIN	1	Primary 9/12	* Aspin	
	WISCONSIN	3	* Thomson	Primary 9/12	
PAIR	WISCONSIN	7	* O'Konski	* Obey	
	WISCONSIN	8	Primary 9/12	Primary 9/12	
	WYOMING	AL	Primary 8/22	* Roncalio	

1972 STATE LEGISLATIVE SEATS

STATE	SENATE			HOUSE				
	Total No. Seats Up	GOP	DEM	Comments	Total No. Seats Up	GOP	DEM	Comments
ALABAMA	None-elected to 4 year terms in 1970							
ALASKA (1/2 Senate)	10	5	5		40	<del>37</del> <sup>9</sup>	<del>9</del> <sup>31</sup>	
ARIZONA	30	18	12		60	34	26	
ARKANSAS	35	1	34		100	2	98	
CALIFORNIA (1/2 Senate)	20	11	9		80	37	43	
COLORADO (1/2 Senate)	18	11	5	2 new lean GOP	65	38	37	
CONNECTICUT	Reapportionment as yet undecided--Court hearing set for Aug. 5							
DELAWARE	21	13	6	Gained 2	41	23	16	Gained 2
FLORIDA	40	15	33	Lost 8	120	38	81	Gained 1
GEORGIA	56	6	50		180	22	173	Lost 15
HAWAII	Senate elected in 1970 to 4 year terms				51	17	34	
IDAHO	35	19	16		70	41	29	
ILLINOIS	59	29	29	Gained 1	177	90	87	
INDIANA (1/2 Senate)	26	15	5	6 new due to reappt.	100	53	46	One vacancy
IOWA	50	38	12		100	63	37	
KANSAS	40	32	8		125	84	41	
KENTUCKY	None-elected to four year terms in 1970							
LOUISIANA	None-elected to four year terms February 1, 1972							
MAINE	33	18	14	Gained 1	151	79	71	One vacancy
MARYLAND	None-elected to 4 yr. terms in 1970							
MASSACHUSETTS	40	10	30		240	62	178	
MICHIGAN	None-elected to 4 year terms in 1970				110	52	57	One vacancy
MINNESOTA	67			Non-Parti- san	134			Non-Partisan Lost one
MISSISSIPPI	None-elected to four year terms in 1971							
MISSOURI (1/2 Senate)	17	3	14		163	51	112	

1972 STATE LEGISLATIVE SEATS

STATE	SENATE				HOUSE			
	Total No. Seats Up	GOP	DEM	COMMENTS	Total No. Seats Up	GOP	DEM	COMMENTS
MONTANA (2/3 Senate)	35	13	17	lost 5	100	55	49	lost 4
NEBRASKA (1/2 Leg.)	24 seats unicameral Legislature--non partisan election							
NEVADA	18	5	13	2 GOP Seats are holdovers	40	22	18	
NEW HAMPSHIRE	24	15	9		400	248	144	8 vacancies
NEW JERSEY	None-elected in 1971 to 2-year terms							
NEW MEXICO	34	10	15	9 vacant due to reappoint.	70	18	38	14 vacant due to reappoint.
NEW YORK	60	32	25	Gained 3	150	79	71	
NORTH CAROLINA	50	7	43		120	24	96	
NORTH DAKOTA (1/2 Senate)	25	21	2	2 new lean GOP	102	58	40	Gained 4
OHIO (1/2 Senate)	16	7	4		99	54	45	
OKLAHOMA	27	9	18		101	78	21	Gained 2
OREGON	15	7	8		60	34	26	
PENNSYLVANIA (1/2 Senate)	25	12	13		203	90	113	
RHODE ISLAND	50	9	41		100	24	75	1 Independent
SOUTH CAROLINA	46	2	44		124	11	113	
SOUTH DAKOTA	35	24	11		70	46	29	Lost 5
TENNESSEE (1/2 Senate)	16	6	10		99	43	56	
TEXAS	31	2	29		150	10	140	
UTAH	29	16	12	Gained 1	75	31	38	Gained 6
VERMONT	30	22	8		150	94	48	R & D-eight
VIRGINIA	None-elected in 1971--Senate 4yr. terms, House 2yr. terms							
WASHINGTON	26	6	14	6 vacant due to reappoint.	98	51	48	Lost 1
WEST VIRGINIA	17	4	13		100	32	68	
WISCONSIN (1/2 Senate)	17	13	4		99	33	66	
WYOMING (1/2 Senate)	18	11	7		62	40	20	Gained 1; 1 Independent

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS*  
SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Congressional Races

The GOP Congressional campaign committee expects a pickup of 12 to 25 House seats in 1972, with an outside chance that a Presidential sweep and several southern switch overs could provide the magic number of 40 needed to organize the House. Predicting is tough, however, considering past results, as in 1956 when we lost 2 in the Eisenhower victory and LBJ's gain of 37 in 1964. In 1970 we lost 9, in 1968 we gained 2 and in 1966 we jumped 47.

Reapportionment will help us pick up several seats, and we should score on some weak Democrats, especially where we lost in 1970.

The present lineup is 178 GOP (plus the Brad Morse vacancy) and 255 Democrats (plus the Gov. Edwards' Louisiana vacancy). It takes 218 to organize.

One reason we have a problem winning 218 is because we will be letting 30 to 35 seats go uncontested; whereas, the Democrats will have 3 to 5 uncontested (Harsha and Brown of Ohio and Spence of South Carolina for certain).

Attachment A shows my evaluation of the 435 House races for 1972. This is based on checks with our leaders in the states and the campaign committee. It works out as follows:

<u>Republican</u>		<u>Close</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	
<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>		<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>
137	41	29	61	167

We may want to consider channeling some fund help to some key congressional races. These can better be evaluated within the next two months.

## ATTACHMENT A

1972 U. S. Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Alabama	2	1		1	3
1. J. Edwards-R	X				
2. Dickinson-R		X			
3. Nichols-D					X
4. Bevill-D					X
5. R. Jones-D				X	
6. Buchanan-R	X				
7. Flowers-D					X
Alaska	1				
1. Begich	X				
Arizona	2	1		1	
1. Rhodes-R	X				
2. Udall-D				X	
3. Steiger-R	X				
4. Primary-Sept. 12		X			
Arkansas	1			3	
1. Alexander-D				X	
2. Hills-D				X	
3. Hammerschmidt-R	X				
4. Primary-Aug. 29				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
California	14	4	1	15	9
1. Clausen-R	X				
2. Johnson-D					X
3. Moss-D				X	
4. Leggett-D				X	
5. Burton-D				X	
6. Mailliard-R			X		
7. Dellums-D					X
8. No incumbent					X
9. Edwards-D				X	
10. Gubser-R	X				
11. No incumbent					X
12. Talcott-R	X				
13. Teague-R		X			
14. Waldie-D				X	
15. McFall-D/R				X	
16. Sisk-D				X	
17. McCloskey-R		X			
18. Mathias-R	X				
19. Holifield-D				X	
20. No incumbent	X				
21. Hawkins-D				X	
22. Corman-D				X	
23. Clawson-R	X				
24. Rousselot-R	X				
25. Wiggins-R	X				
26. Rees-D				X	
27. Goldwater-R		X			
28. Bell-R	X				
29. Danielson-D				X	
30. Royball-D					X
31. Wilson-D					X
32. Hosmer-R	X				
33. Pettis-R	X				
34. Hanna-D				X	
35. G. Anderson-D					X

Page Three  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
California (con't)					
36. No incumbent		X			
37. No incumbent				X	
38. No incumbent					X
39. No incumbent					X
40. B. Wilson-R	X				
41. Van Deerlin-D				X	
42. No incumbent	X				
43. Veysey-R	X				
Colorado	1	2	1	1	
1. McKeivitt-R		X			
2. Brotzman-R		X			
3. Evans-D				X	
4. Aspinall-D			X		
5. No incumbent	X				
Connecticut	2			1	3
1. Cotter-D				X	
2. Steele-R	X				
3. Giamo-D					X
4. McKinney-R	X				
5. Monagan-D					X
6. Grasso-D					X
Delaware	1				
1. duPont-R	X				

Page Four  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Florida	5			7	3
1. Sikes-D				X	
2. Fuqua-D				X	
3. Bennett-D				X	
4. Chapell-D					X
5. No incumbent	X				
6. Young-R	X				
7. Gibbons-D				X	
8. Haley-D				X	
9. Frey-R	X				
10. No incumbent	X				
11. Rogers-D					X
12. Burke-R	X				
13. Pepper-D				X	
14. Fascell-D				X	
15. No incumbent					X
Georgia	1		2	7	
1. Hagan-D				X	
2. Mathis-D				X	
3. Brinkley-D				X	
4. Blackburn-R	X				
5. No incumbent			X		
6. Flynt-D				X	
7. Davis-D				X	
8. Stuckey-D			X		
9. Landrum-D				X	
10. Stephens-D				X	

Page Five  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Hawaii				1	1
1. Matsunaga-D					X
2. Mink-D				X	
Idaho		2			
1. No incumbent		X			
2. Hansen-R		X			
Illinois	11	1	3	9	
1. Metcalfe-D				X	
2. Murphy-D				X	
3. No incumbent		X			
4. Derwinski-R	X				
5. Kluezynski-D				X	
6. Collier-R	X				
7. Collins-D				X	
8. Rostenkowski-D				X	
9. Yates-D				X	
10. Mikva-D			X		
11. Annunzio-D				X	
12. Crane-R	X				
13. McClory-R	X				
14. Erlinborn-R	X				
15. Arends-R	X				
16. Anderson-R	X				
17. No incumbent	X				
18. Michel-R	X				
19. Railsback-R	X				
20. Findley-R	X				
21. No incumbent			X		
22. Shipley-D			X		
23. Price-D				X	
24. Gray-D				X	

Page Six  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Indiana	5	2	1	3	
1. Madden-D				X	
2. Landgrebe-R	X				
3. Brademas-D				X	
4. Roush-D			X		
5. Hillis-R	X				
6. Bray-R	X				
7. Meyers-R	X				
8. Zion-R	X				
9. Hamilton-D				X	
10. Dennis-R		X			
11. Jacobs-D		X			
Iowa	2	2		1	1
1. Schwengel-R		X			
2. Culver-D				X	
3. Gross-R	X				
4. Kyl-R					X
5. Scherle-R	X				
6. Mayne-R		X			
Kansas	3	1			1
1. Sebelius-R	X				
2. Roy-D					X
3. Winn-R		X			
4. Shriver-R	X				
5. Skubitz-R	X				

Page Seven  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Kentucky	2			3	2
1. Stubblefield-D				X	
2. Natcher-D				X	
3. Mazzoli-D					X
4. Snyder-R	X				
5. Carter-R	X				
6. No incumbent					X
7. Perkins-D				X	
Louisiana		1		6	1
1. Herbert-D				X	
2. Boggs-D				X	
3. No incumbent (Treen)		X			
4. Waggoner-D				X	
5. Passman-D				X	
6. Rarick-D				X	
7. No incumbent				X	
8. No incumbent					X
Maine		1		1	
1. Kyros-D				X	
2. No incumbent		X			
Maryland	3			2	3
1. Mills-R	X				
2. Long-D				X	
3. Sarbanes-D					X
4. No incumbent					X

Page Eight  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Maryland (con't)					
5. Hogan-R	X				
6. Byron-D					X
7. Mitchell-D				X	
8. Gude-R	X				
Massachusetts	2	1	2	5	2
1. Conte-R	X				
2. Boland-D				X	
3. Drinan-D			X		
4. Donohue-D					X
5. Morse-R			X		
6. Harrington-D				X	
7. MacDonald-D				X	
8. O'Neil-D				X	
9. Hicks-D					X
10. Heckler-R	X				
11. Burke-D				X	
12. Keith-R		X			
Michigan	11			5	3
1. Conyers-D				X	
2. Esch-R	X				
3. Brown-R	X				
4. Hutchinson-R	X				
5. G. Ford-R	X				
6. Chamberlain-R	X				
7. Riegle-R	X				
8. Harvey-R	X				
9. VanderJagt-R	X				
10. Cederberg-R	X				
11. Ruppe-R	X				

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Michigan (con't)					
12. O'Hara-D					X
13. Diggs-D				X	
14. Nedzi-D				X	
15. W. Ford-D				X	
16. Dingell-D				X	
17. Griffiths-D					X
18. No incumbent					X
19. Broomfield-R or McDonald-R	X				
Minnesota	2	3		3	
1. Quie-R	X				
2. Nelsen-R	X				
3. Frenzel-R		X			
4. Karth-D				X	
5. Fraser-D				X	
6. Zwach-R		X			
7. Bergland		X			
8. Blatnik-D				X	
Mississippi			2	2	1
1. Abernethy-D				X	
2. No incumbent			X		
3. No incumbent					X
4. Montgomery-D				X	
5. No incumbent			X		

Page Ten  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

State	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Missouri		1		3	6
1. Clay-D				X	
2. Symington-D					X
3. Sullivan-D				X	
4. Randall-D					X
5. Bolling-D					X
6. No incumbent					X
7. No incumbent		X			
8. Ichord-D					X
9. Hungate-D					X
10. Burlison-D				X	
Montana		1		1	
1. Shoup-R		X			
2. Melcher-D				X	
Nebraska	2	1			
1. Thone-R	X				
2. McCollister-R		X			
3. Martin-R	X				
Nevada					1
1. Baring-D					X
New Hampshire	2				
1. Wyman-R	X				
2. Cleveland-R	X				

Page Eleven  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

Republican

Democrat

	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
New Jersey	4	2	1	6	2
1. Hunt-R	X				
2. Sandman-R		X			
3. Howard-D				X	
4. Thompson-D				X	
5. Frelinghuysen-R	X				
6. Forsythe-R		X			
7. Widnall-R	X				
8. Roe-D				X	
9. Helstoski-D					X
10. Rodino-D				X	
11. Minish-D					X
12. No incumbent			X		
13. No incumbent	X				
14. Daniels-D				X	
15. Patten-D				X	
New Mexico	1				1
1. Lujan-R	X				
2. Runnels-D					X
New York	11	3	8	14	3
1. Pike-D			X		
2. Grover-R	X				
3. No incumbent			X		
4. Kent-R		X			
5. Wydler-R	X				
6. Wolff-D-L				X	
7. Addabbo-D-L				X	
8. Rosenthal-D-L				X	
9. Delaney-D-R-C				X	
10. Biaggi-D-C				X	
11. Brasco-D			X		
12. Chisholm-D-L				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
New York (con't)					
13. No incumbent					X
14. No incumbent					X
15. Carey-D				X	
16. Celler-L			X		
17. Murphy-D					X
18. Koch-D				X	
19. Rangel-D-R-L				X	
20. Ryan-D-L				X	
21. Badillo-D-L				X	
22. Bingham-D-L				X	
23. Peyser-R-C	X				
24. Reid-D-L				X	
25. Fish-R-C	X				
26. Dow-D			X		
27. Robison-R	X				
28. Stratton-D				X	
29. King-R-C	X				
30. McEwen-R-C		X			
31. No incumbent			X		
32. Hanley-D			X		
33. No incumbent		X			
34. Horton-R	X				
35. Conable-R	X				
36. Smith-R-C	X				
37. Dulski-D-L			X		
38. Kemp-R-C	X				
39. Hastings-R-C	X				
North Carolina	3		2	6	
1. Jones-D				X	
2. Fountain-D				X	
3. Henderson-D				X	
4. No incumbent			X		

Republican

Democrat

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
North Carolina					
5. Mizell-R	X				
6. Preyer-D				X	
7. No incumbent				X	
8. Ruth-R	X				
9. No incumbent			X		
10. Broyhill-R	X				
11. Taylor-D				X	
North Dakota	1				
1. Andrews-R	X				
Ohio	14	2		6	1
1. Keating-R	X				
2. Clancy-R	X				
3. Whalen-R	X				
4. No incumbent	X				
5. Latta-R	X				
6. Harsha-R	X				
7. Brown-R	X				
8. Powell-R		X			
9. Ashley-D				X	
10. Miller-R	X				
11. V. Stanton-R	X				
12. Devine-R	X				
13. Mosher-R	X				
14. Seiberling-D				X	
15. Wylie-R	X				
16. No incumbent		X			
17. Ashbrook-R	X				

Page Fourteen  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Ohio (con't)					
18. Hays-D				X	
19. Carney-D					X
20. J. W. Stanton-D				X	
21. Stokes-D				X	
22. Vanik-D				X	
23. Minshall-R	X				
Oklahoma	1	1		3	1
1. No incumbent		X			
2. No incumbent					X
3. Albert-D				X	
4. Steed-D				X	
5. Jarman-D				X	
6. Camp-R	X				
Oregon	1	1		2	
1. Wyatt-R	X				
2. Ullman-D				X	
3. Green-D				X	
4. Dellenback-R		X			
Pennsylvania	11	1		12	1
1. Barrett-D				X	
2. Nix-D				X	
3. Green-D				X	
4. Eilberg-D				X	
5. Ware-R	X				
6. Yatron-D				X	

Republican

Democrat

State	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Pennsylvania (con't)					
7. Williams-R	X				
8. Biester-R	X				
9. No incumbent		X			
10. McDade-R	X				
11. Flood-D				X	
12. Saylor-R	X				
13. Coughlin-R	X				
14. Moorhead-D				X	
15. Rooney-D				X	
16. Eshleman-R	X				
17. Schneebeli-R	X				
18. Heinz-R	X				
19. Goodling-R	X				
20. Gaydos-D				X	
21. Dent-D				X	
22. Morgan-D				X	
23. Johnson-R	X				
24. Vigorito-D					X
25. Clark-D				X	
Rhode Island					
1. Stigermain-D				2	
2. Tiernan-D				X	
South Carolina					
1. Davis-D	1		1	4	
2. Spence-R	X		X		
3. Dorn-D				X	
4. Mann-D				X	
5. Gettys-D				X	
6. McMillan-D				X	

	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
South Dakota	1				1
1. Denholm-D					X
2. No incumbent	X				
Tennessee	2	2	1	2	1
1. Quillen-R	X				
2. Duncan-R	X				
3. Baker-R		X			
4. Evins-D				X	
5. Fulton-D					X
6. Anderson-D			X		
7. Jones-D				X	
8. Kuykendall-R		X			
Texas	2		1	18	3
1. Patman-D				X	
2. No incumbent				X	
3. Collins-R	X				
4. Roberts-D				X	
5. Cabell-D				X	
6. Teague-D				X	
7. Archer-R	X				
8. Eckhardt-D					X
9. Brooks-D				X	
10. Pickle-D				X	
11. Pcrage-D				X	
12. Wright-D				X	
13. Purcell-D			X		
14. Young-D				X	
15. de La Garza-D				X	
16. White-D				X	

Page Seventeen  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Texas (con't)					
17. Burleson-D				X	
18. No incumbent					X
19. Mahon-D				X	
20. Gonzales-D				X	
21. Fisher-D				X	
22. Casey-D				X	
23. Kazen-D				X	
24. No incumbent					X
Utah		1			1
1. McKay-D					X
2. Lloyd-R		X			
Vermont	1				
1. Mallary-R	X				
Virginia	5	1	1	2	1
1. Downing-D					X
2. Whitehurst-R	X				
3. Satterfield-D				X	
4. No incumbent			X		
5. Daniel-D				X	
6. No incumbent		X			
7. Robinson-R	X				
8. No incumbent	X				
9. Wampler-R	X				
10. Broyhill-R	X				

Page Eighteen  
 Attachment A  
 1972 Congressional Races

State	Republican			Democrat	
	Should Win	Favored	Close	Should Win	Favored
Washington	1		1	2	3
1. No incumbent	X				
2. Meeds-D					X
3. Hansen-D				X	
4. McCormack-D			X		
5. Foley-D					X
6. Hicks-D				X	
7. Adams-D					X
West Virginia				4	
1. Mollohan-D				X	
2. Staggers-D				X	
3. Slack-D				X	
4. Hechler-D				X	
Wisconsin	2	2	1	3	1
1. Aspin-D					X
2. Kastenmeier-D				X	
3. Thomson-R		X			
4. Zablocki-D				X	
5. Reuss-D				X	
6. Steiger-R	X				
7. O'Konski-R			X		
8. No incumbent		X			
9. Davis-R	X				
Wyoming					1
1. Roncalio-D					X
Totals	137	41	29	167	61

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT   
SUBJECT: Maximizing the Coattails

The latest Gallup Poll underscores the importance of making the most of the President's coattails to win more seats in Congress and the State Houses. This will be good for the President for these reasons:

1) We need more help on Capitol Hill and in the State Houses; 2) depending on coattails alone may not prove successful, as past history shows; 3) GOP leaders and newsmen are now questioning whether we're just doing our own thing; 4) aiding the key candidates and scoring previously unexpected gains will boost the President's stock with the party and increase his grip on their 1976 actions (polls show the GOP and Demo parties have been going downhill, like under Ike, who is remembered by the GOP as not caring and helping).

Here are suggestions for maximizing our coattail possibilities:

1) Let's execute the John Rollins proposal for raising and disbursing candidate assistance funds. If not this, then let's get set up a special outside group to do this without our direct involvement. Some of these candidates are hurting for funds, in part because we're tying up money with our use of surrogates (the best speakers) only for our fund raisers, etc. Also, Meany & Co. are zeroing in on Capitol Hill races and will thus blunt some of our coattail effects with money and manpower diverted from McGovern's effort.

(2) Schedule right away another picture session with all challengers. This means expanding the list I sent you this week by about double. I sent only the vital ones. The guys making the most noise are the less vital challengers who just might make it in a landslide with RN identification, like the governor candidate in Indiana. They want some TV film shots as well.

(3) Work in the key candidates in regional or state appearances by the President, especially where we are a cinch to win, like N. C. These candidates want the RN blessing like never before.

(4) Radio tapes done quickly for key races, like Bartlett of Oklahoma, will be most helpful and can be used with the picture for TV as well as radio. We have strong requests for this.

(5) Visits to key candidate headquarters by top RN spokesmen can be used as a substitute for RN in some cases to leave the impression RN cares and we are helping. This is needed particularly if the President isn't going to be seen with these candidates much at all in the campaign.

Most of what I am suggesting can be done with minimal Presidential involvement and time and without harming our overall thrust for a new majority of all Americans. In fact, in pushing for the new majority we need to do something minimal like this to satisfy the candidate appetites and GOP leader morale.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President  
FROM: Harry S. Dent *HSD*  
SUBJECT: 1972 Governor Races

The Democrats should continue to keep the lead in Governorships (29-21 now, excluding ours in Puerto Rico, Samoa, and the Virgin Islands), but we have the potential for closing the gap by one or two seats. Of the 18 Governorships up this year, we should win three, are favored in two, and are close in five. The Democrats should win four and are favored in four.

The tough fights will be in Illinois (R), New Hampshire (R), West Virginia (R), Missouri (D), and North Dakota (D). We are favored to pick up Rhode Island (D), and are expected to lose our seat in Indiana (R).

States where money would have the best impact are the five close states listed above, with N. C. (D) and S. D. (D) worth watching, depending on the Presidential race.

These judgments are based on conservative evaluation from our side, and not predicated on a Presidential sweep.

Here are the evaluations:

<u>Republican</u>			<u>Democrat</u>	
<u>Win</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Favored</u>	<u>Win</u>
Del. (R)	Vt. (R)	Ill. (R)	Ind. (R)	Ark. (D)
Iowa (R)	R.I. (D)	N.H. (R)	Mont. (D)	Kan. (D)
Wash. (R)		W.Va. (R)	N.C. (D)	Texas (D)
		Mo. (D)	S.D. (D)	Utah (D)
		N.D. (D)		
<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
3	2	5	4	4

Page Two  
The President  
July 10, 1972

Gov. Luis Ferre should keep his GOP seat in Puerto Rico.

Attachment "A" has more information on each race.

Attachment

ATTACHMENT A

1972 GOVERNOR RACES

1. Arkansas: Gov. Dale Bumpers (D) should win. The hope is to keep him under 60%. The Republican is Len Blaylock.
2. Delaware: Gov. Russell W. Peterson (R) is the endorsed candidate, but could be forced into divisive primary at July 17 convention with Buckson. The strongest and most likely Democrat is State Treasurer Mrs. Emily Womack. Other Democrats are Earl McGinness, Sherman Tribbett, Ed Sandstrom, and William Quillen. Republican should win.
3. Illinois: Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie (R) won the primary easily. His chances continue to improve. The Democrat is Daniel Walker, who was the surprise primary winner over a Daley candidate. Walker led Ogilvie by two-to-one right after the primary, but this was probably anti-Daley sentiment. Walker's victory probably helps Ogilvie. Very close race here.
4. Indiana: Otis (Doc) Bowen is the Republican nominee. GOP Gov. Ed Whitcomb is barred from re-election. The Democrat is ex-Governor Matthew Welsh. Democrat favored.
5. Iowa: Gov. Robert D. Ray (R) should win. Lt. Gov. Jepson has dropped out of the primary, leaving the field to Ray. Democrats are John Tapscott, James Lynch, and Paul Franzenburg, who will probably get the nomination.
6. Kansas: Gov. Robert Docking (D) is very popular throughout the state and is favored. Republicans are Morris Kay, Reynolds Shultz, John Anderson, and Ray Frisbie. Anderson is leading, but Frisbie is President of the Kansas Farm Bureau, which gives him a strong constituency.
7. Missouri: Gov. Warren E. Hearnes (D) is barred from re-election. Democrats are Edward Dowd, William Morris, Earl Blackwell, and Joseph Teasdale. Morris and Teasdale are the leading contenders. Republicans are R. J. King, Steve Burns, Harvey Engie, Gene McNary, and Kit Bond, who should get the nomination. Close, with GOP chance.

8. Montana: Gov. Forrest Anderson (D) is not seeking re-election. Democrat is Lt. Gov. Thomas L. Judge. Republican is Ed Smith. Democrat is favored.
9. New Hampshire: Gov. Walter Peterson, Jr. (R) will have close race. GOP primary opposition is from Bob Hill and Meldrin Thompson. Peterson should win the primary. Hill's campaign is unimpressive and Thompson was the 1970 AIP candidate. If Peterson loses, the top three offices could go Democrat, especially if Cotton's seat should become vacant. The Democrat is Roger Crowley, who lost to Peterson in 1970. Close race since Peterson hurt on tax proposal. (Hill looking at Gov. and Senate races).
10. North Carolina: Gov. Robert W. Scott (D) is barred from re-election. The Democrat is Skipper Bowles, a fresh face who beat the establishment. Republican is Jim Holshouser, who has a chance, but must reunite the GOP after a divisive primary. It would take an RN sweep to win. Democrat favored.
11. North Dakota: Gov. William Guy (D) is not seeking re-election. Democrat is Congressman Arthur Link. The endorsed Republican is Lt. Gov. Richard Larsen. Robert McCarney, a maverick Republican, is expected to insist on a primary. This could keep the GOP from uniting until September. Race will be close.
12. Rhode Island: Gov. Frank Licht (D) is not seeking re-election. Democrat is Phillip Noel. Republican is Herbert DeSimone, (DOT Assistant Secretary). Late April newspaper poll shows DeSimone two-to-one over Noel. Republican favored.
13. South Dakota: Gov. Richard Kneip (D) is hurt by his income tax proposal, which was defeated by the Legislature. Republican is Carve Thompson, a druggist with four years' experience in the State House of Representatives. Democrat favored.
14. Texas: Gov. Preston Smith (D) was defeated. Democrat is Dolphe Briscoe. Republican is right-wing State Sen. Henry Grover. Democrat should win.

15. Utah: Calvin L. Rampton (D) is seeking an unprecedented third term. Republican is Nicholas Strike. Democrat favored.
16. Vermont: Gov. Deane C. Davis (R) is not seeking re-election. Republicans are Jim Jeffords, Richard Snelling, John Burgess, and Luther Hackett, who will probably get the nomination. Democrats are John Downs and Leo O'Brien. Close, but Republican favored.
17. Washington: Gov. Daniel J. Evans (R) will face either Albert Rosellini, who is leading, or Martin Durkan. Evans defeated Rosellini in 1964. Republican should win.
18. West Virginia: Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr. (R) has compiled an excellent record. The Democrat is Jay Rockefeller with a big primary win and plenty of money. Close.

9/3

L/D

- Mon 9/11 - 1st mtg

Fri 9/8

- D show all

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Conf Call

Teeter - Merrill - Cong Races  
Rent separately?

All Senate Races + all Gov Races  
all St Wide Races in Wave III

L

In light of sizeable lead  
P wants out late Mon,  
analysis on Gen side,  
possib where help out  
w/appearance + \$/

- close + identify - put  
McG w/oppon

T - 50% tomorrow

- Telephone Polling memo,  
(as soon as Wave III in,  
then 9/15 review Sts  
9/4 - 9/11 - T to collect all  
polls in Sts.

T - recommends "just feel" +  
do 1st look 9/4 - eval  
of Gen including incumb's

Mont - Metcal - close w/ Oppen  
Theme of what seats up, guess,  
any polling, type of guy.  
S - total list of Sen races up  
to Teeter

L - any info on Cony - in  
SL - concentrate on Sen.

T - this will collect all polling info  
P - to review on Tues morning

Dent / Merrill / Mallet - Fidel people  
Mac G  
Timmons

L - Poll Data  
Reel  
Our guy  
- doc w/ us - a Perry  
What Oppos - table or tell to Mac G

Flammery

DeBolt - RNC - wh/ Sts vote St U. dipled

Gifford's OMB - Sen, Gov, Cong - adv  
said if 1 thing to break out  
bet. - new + now.

May Ann Allin re Teleg's, etc  
to Cand's.

Sen Comp Comm - 50% under  
Budget

Bailey

Comm 3p 9/6

- To see H re OFN, newspt  
TV before - tomorrow

Timmons - Me G Teleg re debate  
answered by Mae G; but  
E unaware

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: 1972 U.S. Congressional Races

Dent has prepared a factual analysis of the Congressional races, indicating that the Republicans must hold all current incumbent seats and win 39 new seats to reach the 218 needed to organize the House. Ford's Southern Democrats switchover project will not become important unless the Republicans are close to 218. Dent's Tab A picks the top 30 requiring attention.

Timmons independently reviewed the September 5 Congressional Campaign Committee analysis. Timmons' picks are double underscored while Dent's are single underscored. Where Dent and Timmons agree three underlines appear.

Malek's field organization can provide assessments of 50 important individual races by September 13. Malek's input would be conjecture before then.

MacGregor's views will be checked September 7.

Teeter talked with an AMPAC representative on September 5 regarding access to their polls. Teeter received a commitment to obtain the 25 completed polls on September 8.

This analysis of the Congressional races will be resubmitted when the additional information is acquired.

The only people involved in this project are Bill Timmons, Clark MacGregor, Fred Malek, Bob Teeter and Stan Anderson. Harry Flemming has done an independent analysis for Clark MacGregor but has not reviewed it with Mitchell or MacGregor.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT 

SUBJECT: 1972 U. S. Congressional Races

The GOP Congressional election picture is brighter today than on July 10 when I submitted the last memorandum, primarily because the President is stronger. The Congressional Campaign Committee is privately predicting a minimum pickup of 20-25 seats, recognizing we could win more if the tide is strong enough. Jerry Ford is still working on the prospect of Southern Democrat switchovers after the election if we are close enough to the magic number of 218 seats required to organize the House. The present lineup is 178 GOP (plus Brad Morse vacancy) and 255 Democrats (plus Governor Edwards of Louisiana vacancy). In order to win 218 we must keep everything we have, including the Brad Morse vacancy, and pick up 39.

Attachment A contains a listing in state alphabetical order of the top 10 incumbent seats which need defending (most vulnerable on our side); our best 10 possible pickups; and then our second best 10 possible pickups.

Attachment B contains a listing of congressional seats targeted by the GOP Congressional Campaign Committee, defensively and offensively. The ones underscored in red need priority attention to win.



TOP 10 THAT NEED DEFENDING

1. California 6	Mailliard
2. Colorado 1	McKevitt
3. Iowa 1	Schwengel
4. Iowa 4	Kyl
5. Indiana 10	Dennis
6. Michigan 2	Esch
7. Minnesota 6	Zwach
8. Tennessee 8	Kuykendall
9. Utah 2	Lloyd
10. Wisconsin 3	Thomson

TOP POSSIBLE PICKUPS (TOP 10)

1. California 36	Ketchum (new seat)
2. California 42 (safe)	Burgener (new seat)
3. Illinois 17	O'Brien (new seat)
4. Indiana 11	Hudnut (Jacobs)
5. Maine 2	Cohen (Dem. open)
6. New York 26	Gilman (Dow)
7. North Carolina 4	Hawke (Dem. open)
8. Pennsylvania 9	Shuster (Rep. open)
9. South Dakota 2	Abdnor (Dem. open)
10. Washington 4	Bledsoe (McCormac) primary 9/19

POSSIBLE PICKUPS (SECOND 10)

1. Illinois 3	Hanrahan (new seat)
2. Illinois 10	Young (Mikva)
3. Illinois 11	Hoellen (Annunzio)
4. Illinois 22	Lamkin (Shipley)
5. Indiana 4	Bloom (Roush)
6. Kentucky 6	Jackson (Dem. open)
7. Maryland 4	Holt (new seat)
8. Massachusetts 12	Weeks (Rep. open)
9. Mississippi 5	Lott (Dem. open)
10. New Jersey 12	Rinaldo (Rep. open)



CODE: ND - NEW DISTRICT  
 RO - REPUBLICAN OPEN  
 DO - DEMOCRAT OPEN  
 PAIR - TWO INCUMBENTS  
 \* - INCUMBENT

AS OF 9-5-72

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	ALABAMA	2	* Dickinson _____ _____	Reeves	
	ALASKA	AL	Young _____ _____	* Begich	
ND	ARIZONA	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	CALIFORNIA	6	* Mailliard _____ _____	Boas	
	CALIFORNIA	7	Hannaford	* Dellums	
ND	CALIFORNIA	11	Chase	Ryan	
	CALIFORNIA	18	* Mathias _____ _____	Lavery	
RO	CALIFORNIA	20	Moorhead _____ _____	Binkley	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CALIFORNIA	31	<u>Valentine</u>	* C. Wilson	
	CALIFORNIA	34	Ratterree	* Hanna	
	CALIFORNIA	35	Brown	* Anderson	
ND	CALIFORNIA	36	<u>Ketchum</u>	Lemucchi	
ND	CALIFORNIA	38	<u>Snider</u>	Brown	
RO	CALIFORNIA	39	<u>Hinshaw</u>	Black	
ND	CALIFORNIA	42	<u>Burgener</u>	Lowe	
	COLORADO	1	* <u>McKevitt</u>	Primary 9/12	
	COLORADO	4	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	* Aspinall	
ND	COLORADO	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	CONNECTICUT	1	Rittenband	* Cotter	
	CONNECTICUT	2	* Steele <del>_____</del>	Hilsman	
	CONNECTICUT	5	Sarasin <del>_____</del>	* Monagan	
ND	FLORIDA	5	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	FLORIDA	8	Thompson	* Haley	
ND	FLORIDA	10	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
ND	FLORIDA	13	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
RO	GEORGIA	5	Cook <del>_____</del>	Young	
RO	IDAHO	1	Symms <del>_____</del>	Williams	
ND	ILLINOIS	3	Hanrahan <del>_____</del>	Coman	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	ILLINOIS	10	<u>Young</u>	* Mikva	
	ILLINOIS	11	<u>Hoellen</u>	* Annunzio	
ND	ILLINOIS	17	<u>O'Brien</u>	Houlihan	
RO	ILLINOIS	21	<u>Madigan</u>	Johnson	
	ILLINOIS	22	<u>Lamkin</u>	* Shipley	
	INDIANA	2	* <u>Landgrebe</u>	Fithian	
	INDIANA	3	Newman	* Brademas	
	INDIANA	4	<u>Bloom</u>	* Roush	
	INDIANA	8	* <u>Zion</u>	Deen	
	INDIANA	10	* <u>Dennis</u>	Sharp	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	INDIANA	11	<u>Hudnutt</u>	* Jacobs	
	IOWA	1	* <u>Schwengel</u>	Mezvinsky	
	IOWA	2	Ellsworth	* Culver	
PAIR	IOWA	4	* <u>Kyl</u>	* Smith	
	KANSAS	2	<u>McAtee</u>	* Roy	
	KANSAS	3	* <u>Winn</u>	Barsotti	
	KENTUCKY	3	<u>Kaelin</u>	* Mazzoli	
DO	KENTUCKY	6	<u>Jackson</u>	Breckinridge	
	LOUISIANA	3	<u>Treen</u>	Run-Off 9-30	
	MAINE	1	Porteous	* Kyros	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
DO	MAINE	2	<u>Cohen</u>	Violette	
	MARYLAND	1	* <u>Mills</u>	Hargreaves	
ND	MARYLAND	4	<u>Holt</u>	Fornos	
	MARYLAND	6	Mason	* Byron	
	MASSACHUSETTS	4	Primary 9/19	Drinan	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	5	Primary 9/19	Primary 9/19	
	MASSACHUSETTS	6	<u>Moseley</u>	* Harrington	
RO	MASSACHUSETTS	12	<u>Weeks</u>	Studds	
	MICHIGAN	2	* <u>Esch</u>	Stempien	
	MICHIGAN	12	<u>Serotkin</u>	* O'Hara	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
ND	MICHIGAN	18	* <del>Broomfield</del> <b>Huber</b>	Montgomery	
	MINNESOTA	6	* <del>Zwach</del>	Nolan	
	MINNESOTA	7	<del>Haaven</del>	* Bergland	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	2	<del>Butler</del>	Bowen	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	4	<del>Cochran</del>	Bodron	
DO	MISSISSIPPI	5	<del>Lott</del>	Stone	
DO	MISSOURI	6	<del>Sloan</del>	Litton	
RO	MISSOURI	7	<del>Taylor</del>	Thomas	
	MONTANA	1	* <del>Shoup</del>	Olsen	
	NEW JERSEY	3	<del>Dowd</del>	* Howard	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW JERSEY	6	* <u>Forsythe</u>	Brennan	
	NEW JERSEY	9	Schiaffo	* Helstoski	
RO	NEW JERSEY	12	<u>Rinaldo</u>	English	
ND	NEW JERSEY	13	<u>Maraziti</u>	Meyner	
	NEW MEXICO	2	<u>Presson</u>	Runnels	
	NEW YORK	1	Boyd	* Pike	
ND	NEW YORK	3	<u>Roncallo</u>	Bales	
	NEW YORK	6	<u>Gallagher</u>	* Wolff	
	NEW YORK	23	* <u>Peyser</u>	Ottinger	
	NEW YORK	24	<u>Vergari</u>	* Reid	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	NEW YORK	26	<u>Gilman</u>	* Dow	
RO	NEW YORK	31	<u>Mitchell</u>	Castle	
	NEW YORK	32	<u>Koldin</u>	* Hanley	
RO	NEW YORK	33	<u>Walsh</u>	Kadys	
	NEW YORK	36	* <u>Smith</u>	McCarthy	
DO	NORTH CAROLINA	4	<u>Hawke</u>	Andrews	
RO	NORTH CAROLINA	9	<u>Martin</u>	Beatty	
RO	OHIO	4	<u>Guyer</u>	Nicholas	
	OHIO	8	* <u>Powell</u>	Ruppert	
RO	OHIO	16	<u>Regula</u>	Musser	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	OHIO	19	<u>Parr</u>	* Carney	
RO	OKLAHOMA	1	<u>Run-Off 9-19</u>	Jones	
DO	OKLAHOMA	2	Toliver	McSpadden	
	PENNSYLVANIA	5	* <u>Ware</u>	Franco	
RO	PENNSYLVANIA	9	Shuster	Collins	
	<i>Pa</i>	<i>20</i>	<del>Shuster</del> <i>Hunt</i>	<i>*Gaydos</i>	
	PENNSYLVANIA	14	Catarinella	* Moorehead	
	SOUTH CAROLINA	1	<u>Limehouse</u>	* Davis	
	SOUTH DAKOTA	1	<u>Vickerman</u>	* Denholm	
DO	SOUTH DAKOTA	2	<u>Abdnor</u>	McKeever	
	TENNESSEE	3	* <u>Baker</u>	Sompayrac	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	TENNESSEE	6	<u>Beard</u>	* Anderson	
	TENNESSEE	8	* <u>Kuykendall</u>	Patterson	
	TEXAS	5	<u>Steelman</u>	* Cabell	
PAIR	TEXAS	13	* <u>Price</u>	* Purcell	
	UTAH	1	Primary 9/12	McKay	
	UTAH	2	* <u>Lloyd</u>	Primary 9/12	
	VIRGINIA	4	<u>Daniel</u>	Gibson	
RO	VIRGINIA	6	<u>Butler</u>	Anderson	
RO	VIRGINIA	8	<u>Parris</u>	Horan	
RO	WASHINGTON	1	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	Primary 9/19	
	WASHINGTON	4	<u>Primary 9/19</u>	* McCormack	

<u>CODE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>GOP CANDIDATE</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE</u>	<u>COMMENT</u>
	WISCONSIN	1	Primary 9/12	* Aspin	
	WISCONSIN	3	* <u>Thomson</u>	Primary 9/12	
PAIR	WISCONSIN	7	* <u>O'Konski</u>	* Obey	
	WISCONSIN	8	<u>Primary 9/12</u>	Primary 9/12	
	WYOMING	AL	<u>Kidd</u>	* Roncalio	

# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT ✓

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

September 6, 1972 - No. 144

TO : Our Subscribers

FROM: Evans-Novak

President Richard M. Nixon and top White House politicians are far more worried than they are willing to admit by over-confidence resulting from the impact of the huge Nixon lead over Sen. George McGovern for the Presidency in all the public opinion polls. This extraordinary lead has so far masked the inefficiencies and factional disputes inside the Nixon camp. We believe that the White House vs. the Committee to Re-elect the President dispute could have potentially dangerous results. The way in which the Watergate Scandal has been handled is certainly no cause for GOP confidence. Worst of all, there is no clear plan for Mr. Nixon's own activities this fall, which leads us to this prediction: despite all the talk about the President running his campaign from the Oval Office, Mr. Nixon will hit the hustings far more vigorously than seemed likely before the Republican National Convention, with no holds barred. Conclusion: Great danger for the President and the GOP if he really lets himself go a la 1970.

The Republican's problems, however, are nothing compared to George McGovern's misfortunes. Since our last Report, we have been unable to locate any discernible rise in McGovern's and the Democratic Party's low state. The only change we have found is a new loss of confidence in McGovern within his own camp from politicians and aides who have been sorely disappointed and disillusioned by his failure to take hold and resolve organizational problems. As of today, we can report that our state-by-state checks show Nixon winning all 50 states, with McGovern capturing only the District of Columbia. All the breaks are going against him -- including the Munich tragedy which now will dominate the media just as McGovern's campaign is at last starting to move.

The real fight this year is for control of Congress. If President Nixon maintains his present lead, he could bring in a GOP House, but this is unlikely. Although it is still too early for a race-by-race analysis of the House, we can now analyze the Senate, where there is a slightly better prospect for Democratic retention of control than we last reported on the Senate three weeks ago.

## ELECTORAL VOTE ANALYSIS

Our incredible report that RMN would win 50 states today surely marks the low point of McGovern's slide, and almost certainly he will do better on November 7th. It should be remembered that in our first state-by-state analysis, provided on June 7th, we gave McGovern 3 Probable states and 4 Leaning to him, and many experts thought we were exaggerating his difficulties.

Our present 50 state analysis is based on private and public polls in all but one state, Massachusetts. The last available survey there, a private one, showed McGovern leading Nixon by 3 points, but this was taken before the Eagleton Affair and the disastrous McGovern campaigning during the week of the GOP convention. Since then, his drop has been at least 3 points just about everywhere (and more like 7-10 points in most places), so we must assume that McGovern now trails in Massachusetts. Politicians of both parties, however, tell us that they expect McGovern to carry Massachusetts, and we suspect this is his best state.

## REPUBLICANS

Our feeling that the President will not be contained in his Oval Office this fall was reinforced by his first campaign trip to Chicago and the Detroit suburbs after the Republican Convention. He attacked McGovern with full force on two issues: amnesty and busing. This could be dangerous for Nixon on two counts: it could revive Democratic partisanship and a rallying-around-the-flag for Democrats who have been deserting McGovern in droves; and it could whet Nixon's appetite for a full-fledged old-style Nixon campaign, which all experience has shown costs him votes wherever he goes.

Organization: On a more genteel, Republican note, it's a little reminiscent of the Democratic shambles (although with RMN's huge lead, it really doesn't matter all that much). The basic power struggle is between Clark MacGregor's Re-election Committee staff (though there are internal battles there) and Chuck Colson at the White House. There's a lot of back-biting and back-stabbing going on, but there's no question who's the real boss: H. R. (Bob) Haldeman at the White House.

Tactics: The biggest issue in the background of all this is the question whether Nixon will go off into orbit again, particularly if McGovern begins to make up some ground. That's why it is a matter of some worry that there is no definite scenario for the President's conduct during the campaign, giving him the opening to try for a '70-style free-wheeling campaign for which the McGovern people are desperately hoping. Also there is some fear that Colson's own hard-line tactics will reinforce Mr. Nixon's well-known proclivities, considering Colson's present degree of influence at the White House.

Issues: RMN looks good to us as of today on the issues, even if -- as appears more and more to be the case -- the Vietnam War doesn't end before the election. On the war, we see a washout at worst for Nixon, a plus of some magnitude at best. On the economy, Nixon looks better every day despite a slight rise in unemployment. Every economic indicator now available seems to assure a rising economy at least through election day. But the President's best issue of all, clearly indicated in almost all the polls, is voter perception of him as a known commodity -- even if a much unloved one -- opposed by an unknown commodity who scares many voters. Evidence: Polls finding that the alienated voter and the union member go to Nixon over McGovern. This makes RMN almost invulnerable, but the one element that could shake him is for the present Nixon to remind the voters too much of the old Nixon.

Watergate Caper: We cannot imagine how the scandal could have been handled worse. We still have yet to see any evidence that its impact extends beyond Washington, but the cover-up here has all the earmarks of guilt. We have yet to talk to a single top aide who privately does not feel that much too much has been concealed. GOP National Committee Chairman Sen. Robert Dole's counter-attack lacks punch and credibility, but we do not believe the voters are going to get turned on by this issue unless indictments reach into high levels of the Party and/or White House apparatus.

Agnew: He seems intent on his new soft line. For the first time, he has no Nixon aides along as governesses. His major aide will be his ex-Baltimore law partner George White. Spiro Agnew must strengthen his political staff to get ready for 1976 now that he has apparently made the decision to make a try for the Presidency.

## DEMOCRATS

Organization: Factional and personal rivalries are to be expected in Presidential campaigns, but we have never seen anything even to approach the McGovern campaign. We are now finding increasing complaints from the battlers for power that McGovern himself is to blame, showing weakness and unPresidential indecision in letting the power struggle drag on so long.

The basic struggle for power right now involves Gary Hart, who is in nominal control, versus DNC Chairman Jean Westwood, who makes no secret of her opinion that McGovern would be in much better shape if she were in supreme command. But it's not nearly that simple. Hart's ally against Westwood is Frank Mankiewicz, who is in charge of the travelling campaign but wants a larger slice. Westwood also has a rival with her Deputy Chairman, Basil Patterson. Hovering over all is old pro Larry O'Brien who is insisting that as "chief spokesman" of the campaign that media -- and all statements made by all campaign aides -- stress one point above all others: that McGovern is the Democratic Party nominee. O'Brien is also trying to: 1) Calm the free-for-all; 2) Coordinate all aspects of the campaign; 3) Get McGovern and everyone else to concentrate on a couple of simple themes: the Party, taxes, the War and Richard Nixon. There are many -- inside and outside the campaign -- who feel that McGovern should have turned supreme command over to O'Brien right after the Convention. Now, they fear, it all may be too late.

We find increasing criticism of the organization on two points:

1) There is no campaign in many states. In Southern California, for example, there has been no visible sign of any activity in Los Angeles county since the June primary. Pennsylvania is another disaster area.

2) Gary Hart is putting together too "heavy" an organization -- too much money and too permanent a structure, trying to do something nationally in three months similar to what was done in Wisconsin over two years.

Strategy: We feel McGovern has lost enthusiasm within his own camp without gaining anything at all by his moves rightward -- the meetings with LBJ and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, the American Legion and VFW speeches, the jettisoning of the \$1,000 for everyone grant, the centrist tone of his speeches. He would have been criticized had he not made these rightward moves, but they have given him the image of just another opportunistic politician, and now, on top of all his other problems, add credibility.

Strategically, these are lining up as McGovern's three big points:

1) Run against Richard Nixon. Hence the emphasis on the Watergate mess.

2) Build up sentiment against RMN's bombing policy in Vietnam. We tend to feel that all those outraged by the bombings are already for McGovern.

3) Show the voters that Nixon is condoning an inequitable tax system. This, we believe, would be McGovern's best issue, if properly exploited as a neo-Wallaceite attack on government, bureaucrats, spending, etc.

Tactics: McGovern is really ploughing new ground in his three major-media-centers-a-day campaigning plan devised by Fred Dutton. The idea is to hit the evening local tv news in three separate areas each day, which is fine if 1) the candidate can take the pace, and 2) the local pols don't get too riled by the short visits.

McGovern's real tactical problems continue to stem from his mistakes: i.e. endorsing the Ramsey Clark-to-Hanoi and Pierre Salinger-to-Paris fiascoes,

and, on a smaller scale, going to the Southern Governors Conference, despite the warnings from aides that the campaign would start off on a flat note.

Registration: Ballyhooed as McGovern's secret weapon, this has turned into the largest battleground and now wasteland of the campaign, a disaster area which has been over-staffed, under-financed and rife with internecine warfare. Present result: much carnage and few new voters registered.

Shriver: Sargent Shriver, as we suspected, is proving troublesome, along with his enthusiastic but amateurish staff. He and they bring real assets to the campaign, energy and the Kennedy glitter among them, but the wild and foolish statements and lack of political judgment is producing credibility and other problems.

#### SENATE

As of today, we read the Senate, now 55-45 Democratic, going 52-48 Democratic. Please bear in mind that nobody has really focused in on the Senate races yet, and that these can change dramatically in the weeks ahead. We see the following seats changing hands if the election were held today:

South Dakota: Rep. James Abourezk (D) leads over Robert Hirsch (R) for the seat being vacated by Sen. Karl Mundt (R), but by only 4 points. Abourezk is running ahead of McGovern today. Democratic Takeover.

North Carolina: All signs continue to point to a win for Jesse Helms (R) against Rep. Nick Galifianakis (D), who toppled Sen. Everett Jordan (D) in the primary. GOP Takeover.

Rhode Island: Ex-Gov. and Navy Sec. John Chafee (R) is still favored to unseat Sen. Claiborne Pell (D) but Pell is now gaining in the polls. Pell had been expected to trail the ticket but is currently running far ahead of McGovern. GOP Takeover.

New Mexico: We still see Peter Domenici (R) over Jack Daniels (D) in the fight for retiring Sen. Clinton Anderson's (D) seat. GOP Takeover.

Oklahoma: One of the closest, but we see Rep. Ed Edmondson (D) losing to ex-Gov. Dewey Bartlett (R) for the struggle for retiring Sen. Fred Harris's (D) seat. Very, very close. GOP Takeover.

To win control of the Senate, the GOP also will have to win these two races, where we now find the Democrats ahead.

Georgia: The defeat of appointive Sen. David Gambrell (D) by State Rep. Sam Nunn (D) in the primary runoff was a Godsend for the Democrats in the race against Rep. Fletcher Thompson (R), who would have been a heavy favorite against Gambrell. Thompson is a slight underdog against Nunn, who is even more liberal than Gambrell. Tentatively a Democratic Retention.

Alabama: Sen. John Sparkman (D) leads ex-Postmaster General Red Blount (R) substantially in the polls but a black Democratic candidate will drain lots of votes from Sparkman. For now, a Democratic Retention.

However, two other races could turn into Democratic Takeovers:

Michigan: Sen. Robert Griffin (R) barely leads State Atty. Gen. Frank Kelley (D) and, considering RMN's present big lead in the state, that may not be good enough. So, hesitantly, a GOP Retention.

Idaho: Everybody feels that Rep. James McClure (R) has a clear but small lead against Bud Davis (D) for the seat being vacated by Sen. Len Jordan (R). This one's far from over. But for now, a GOP Retention.

*Richard Evans  
Robert D. Novak*

G check BT for Pol lead on leadership Mtg.

9/7

45m → Mac G, White, Faylor, Maguder, Maulk,  
Bailey, Joonou, Finkelstein, Anderson, Keiser, Malek  
LaRue, Miller

JRM 50 st possil

CM - hrs mtg - P → Dominick, Scott +  
Allott + Lotter per a st by st  
Sen analysis

Dom - 50/50 chance of 5 seat  
gain - fairly bullish

P. - no comment on Harry  
Byrd

- need help + presence  
in key sts - Olla, Ga,  
NM, SD, Mont, Tx,  
Mich ← must per P ↑  
in these sts

Dom - need 500,000 -

P - will see to it you get it.

- willing to subscribe to Glenn's rule  
that no \$ collected by Glenn for P  
to go to Sen or Cong races
- anticipates a separate Comm  
to be set up
- Gala - now 2 way split
- Bobst + Killis want to talk about  
Sen races

cm - doesn't believe in expanding Key St  
to 50 St Camp  
- doubt alive of \$

Teeter - LA/Orange Cnty - 7-8 pts  
ahead - much harder in Cal to  
get the increase enjoyed natively

Bailey  
Stans → Bailey 3-7 mil under  
what Bailey wants (10 mil)  
Opposed to any P'tial campaigning  
But don't kill goose that laid golden egg - 43% <sup>disaffected</sup> Dems.

campaign

Teeter  
10 pts ahead in Wash  
Mo - P now ahead - new poll  
Pet News Poll - 17-18 pts ahead  
all agree ~~for~~ P appearances + campaign

Most changeable - Suris + VP's

cm - <sup>assumes</sup> 10/15 - still sleeping P camp  
separate fr/Sen + Cong camp.  
- Help Sen + Cong rules to sleep Rep  
Party voters happy.

Boston  
Herald  
Traveler  
Poll

NE - 6 pts  
Release R1-3 to 2 Mon.  
Me G - 57 / 33 - Voters 18-24  
Prop Mass - Me G - 4 pt lead  
53-36 Con 47 40 / UC 47 4

Ford or Wilson's list - Best Cong' info  
↳ cm's view he wants to be ~~Sp~~ ~~so~~ ~~bad~~

Letter of Endorse - cm to raise  
w/ H on 9/8 or w/ P on 9/12  
Tues night

Who pic's of P. - Dent list  
Who BT cleared Cong'men

---

Neighbor to Neighbor Fundraising

Oct 10 - Night for Nixon  
FM - Sullivan  
Bailey - why not on 9/26,  
Paulie - Change to Pres Suite  
Take only \$10 per person.  
Proposal - ~~end of~~ 9/7

---

States 9/16 - Concess

Nelson Roe - not doing it -

↳ Knowl on Door

↳ ha Rue to get JM to get ter R

All Ceb's separate spots

Work in their own precincts

White to get Buckley

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP  
Meeting of September 7, 1972

AGENDA

1. Should we consider a moderate reallocation of resources (without compromising our key-state strategy) to seek a 50-state win for the President?

2. Congressional races--

\*Under what circumstances, if any, should we consider offering campaign assistance to selected Senate and House candidates?

\*If the decision is made to assist Congressional candidates, what form should that assistance take?

-- Money

-- Campaign planning/management

-- Presidential involvement

\* letter of endorsement

\* photographs

\* campaign visit

\* joint advertising

\* issue material

Pre-Nixon

Anti-McGovern

## TALKING PAPER

CURRENT CAMPAIGN SITUATION: The wide lead attributed to the President in the Gallup and Harris polls is well beyond what had been expected for this stage of the campaign. It is generally expected that the margin will decrease before Election Day. There is the very real possibility, however, of a landslide vote for the President. In that context, it is appropriate that the Strategy Group review the existing plans for the campaign.

50-STATE CAMPAIGN: Published and private polls indicate that the President is even with or well ahead of McGovern in every state except the District of Columbia. It is plausible that with a modest reallocation of resources, not endangering our target state strategy, a 50-state win is within the reach of the President. Such an accomplishment could increase his political strength in the second term.

CONGRESSIONAL RACES: The present make-up of the Senate is 55 Democrats and 45 Republicans. The present make-up of the House is 177 Republicans, 255 Democrats and 3 vacancies. If the President does approach a landslide victory, there is the possibility that the Republicans could win one or both of the Houses of Congress. That possibility would be greatly enhanced by careful planning of which House and Senate races should receive attention, and what kind of help, if any, would be meaningful to the Republican candidates. The candidates for each of the 33 Senate races are listed in Tab I. One analysis of the current status of those races

is given in Tab II, although other political observers might disagree with the conclusions in specific races. A compilation of House races is given in Tab III. Much additional analysis must be done of individual House races of interest, particularly because redistricting has substantially changed the constituencies of many Congressional districts.

One factor in the Presidential coattail effect is whether it is possible to vote a straight party ticket with one pull of the voting lever, or one "X" on a paper ballot. Tab IV, provided by the RNC, lists those 31 states where straight ticket voting is possible. In the remaining 19 states, each office must be voted for separately.

The decision of whether or not the Re-election Committee should concern itself at all with Congressional races should not be made until the results of the 3rd wave of polling has been analyzed. In preparation for that decision, however, the Strategy Group should develop some thoughts on what forms of assistance it might be in a position to provide to Congressional candidates, and on what basis the selection should be made of which candidates to assist.

## Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1972

SUBJECT: Senate Races

Listed below are the candidates for the United States Senate in every state where a seat is up for election:

(Incumbents are denoted by an asterisk (\*), and the winning percentage is shown in parentheses.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Alaska	Stevens (R)* (59.9%)	App't by Gov. Hickel at death of Sen. L.L. Bartlett
	Guess (D)	Speaker, Alaska House of Representatives
Alabama	Sparkman (D)* (61.0%)	Dean of the Alabama Congressional Delegation
	Blount (R)	Former Postmaster General
	Baines (Comm)	
Arkansas	McClellan (D)* (unopposed)	Seeking Sixth Term; Chairman Senate Appropriations Comm.
	Labbitt (R)	Veterinarian
Colorado	Allott (R)* (58.0%)	Seeking fourth term
	Vollack (D)	State Senator
	Haskell (D)	Former State Legislator

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Delaware	Boggs (R)* (59.1%)	Seeking third term
	Biden (D)	Lawyer; New Castle County Council Rep.; 29 yrs. old
	Mijka (Amer)	
Georgia	Nunn (D)	Defeated incumbent Gov. Carter appointee DAVID GAMBRELL in runoff election 8/29/72.
	Thompson (R)	Incumbent fifth District Congressman
Idaho	Davis (D)	President, Idaho State U.
	McClure (R)	First District Congressman (GOP incumbent retiring)
Illinois	Percy (R)* (54.9%)	Seeking second term
	Pucinski (D)	Congressman-11th District
	Gross (Soc.Labor)	
	Halstead (Soc.Workers)	
Iowa	Miller (R)* (62.2%)	Seeking third term
	Clark (D)	AA to 2nd District Congressman John Culver
	Rocap (AIP)	
Kansas	Pearson (R)* (52.1%)	Seeking third full term
	Tetzlaff (D)	Anesthesiologist
	Miller (Con.)	
	Hadin (Pro.)	

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Kentucky	Huddleston (D)	Broadcasting Executive
	Nunn (R)	Former Governor (GOP incumbent retiring)
	Moffett (Pro)	
	Embry (Amer.)	
Louisiana	Johnston (D)	State Senator (Incumbent Dem. Ellender recently deceased. Wife of Dem. Gov. Edwin Edwards app't to fill rest of Ellender term.)
	Toledano, Ben C. (R)	Ran for Mayor of N.O.-43% of vote.
	McKiethen (Ind)	Former Demo. Governor.
Maine	Smith (R)* (58.9%)	Seeking fifth term
	Hathaway (D)	Second Dist. Congressman
Massachusetts	Brooke (R)* (60.7%)	Seeking second term
	O'Leary (D)	Boston City Councilman
	Dronney (D)	District attorney
	Lynch (D)	
	Gurewitz (Soc. Work.)	
Michigan	Griffin (R)* (55.0%)	Seeking second full term; Senate Minority Whip
	Kelley (D)	Michigan Attorney General

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Minnesota	Mondale (DFL)* (54.9%)	Seeking election to Second Full Term
	Hansen (R)	Lutheran Minister
	Franklin (DFL)	
	Griffin (DFL)	
	Leaf (DFL)	
	Heck (Indust. Gov't.)	
Mississippi	Eastland (D)* (73.3%)	Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee
	Carmichael (R)	Automobile Dealer
Montana	Metcalf (D)* (53.2%)	Seeking third term
	Hibbard (R)	State Senator
Nebraska	Curtis (R)* (61.0%)	Seeking reelection to fourth term.
	Carpenter (D)	State Senator
New Hampshire	McIntyre (D)* (54.1%)	First elected Nov. 1962
	Powell (R)	Former Two Term Governor
	Cobleigh (R)	State House Speaker
	Brock (R)	Former U.S. Attorney
	Booras (R)	
New Jersey	Case (R)* (61.6%)	Seeking fourth term
	Krebs (D)	Former U. S. Rep.
	Freund (Amer.)	

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
	Levin (Soc.Labor)	
	Wiley (Concerned Voter's Voice)	
New Mexico	Domenici (R)	Unsuccessful GOP Candidate for Governor in 1970.
	Daniels (D)	Former State Rep. (Dem. Incumbent retiring)
N. Carolina	Galifianakis (D)	4th Dist. Cong.; defeated inc. in run-off primary
	Helms (R)	
Oklahoma	Edmondson (D)	Inc. Congressman; 2nd Dist. (Dem. inc. retiring)
	Bartlett (R)	Former Governor
Oregon	Hatfield (R)* (51.7%)	Seeking second term
	Monse (D)	Former U.S. Senator
Rhode Island	Feil (D)* (67.7%)	Seeking third term
	Chafee (R)	Former Gov.; Former Sec. of the Navy
South Carolina	Thurmond (R)* (62.2%)	Seeking reelection to fourth term
	Ziegler (D)	
S. Dakota	Abourezk (D)	U.S. Rep; 2nd District
	Hirschi (R)	Former State Senator (GOP incumbent retiring)
Tennessee	Baker (R)* (55.7%)	Seeking Second Term
	Blanton (D)	Inc. 7th Dist; Congressman

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidates</u>			<u>Comments</u>
Texas	Tower	(R)*	(56.4%)	Seeking reelection to second full term
	Sanders	(D)		
Virginia	Spong	(D)*	(58.5%)	Seeking second term
	Scott	(R)		Inc. old 8th District
	Henderson	(Indep.)		
W. Virginia	Randolph	(D)*	(59.5%)	Seeking reelection to third full term
	Leonard	(R)		State Senator
Wyoming	Hansen	(R)*	(51.8%)	Seeking second term
	Vinich	(D)		Former AA to Democrat Congressman Roncalio

## Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 4, 1972

The following analysis of the 33 Senate races of 1972 represents the comments of Arthur Finkelstein, Cliff White, Ed Faylor and Bob Marik

Safe Republican Seats - no help necessary (10): Brooke (Mass.), Case (N.J.), Boggs (Del.), Percy (Ill.), Baker (Tenn.), Thurmond (S.C.), Miller (Iowa), Curtis (Neb.), Allott (Colo.), Steyens (Alaska). (Note: It might be appropriate to show some support for Senator Baker, since Senator Brock is receiving much public exposure in the context of the Presidential Youth Campaign.)

Safe Democratic Seats - no help could change the outcome (4): Eastland (Miss.), McClelland (Ark.), Mondale (Minn.), Randolph (W. Va.)

States Where Help Could Be a Factor: (19) (The races where help would be the most critical are denoted by asterisk.)

Alabama: Consensus is that Blount has a chance, although he seems to be far behind Sparkman in early readings. Assistance in forms other than money may be what is needed.

Georgia\*: Fletcher Thompson's chances have dimmed with the nomination of Nunn over Gambrell. Still a good opportunity for for Republicans to gain a seat, but money is needed.

Idaho: McClure is probably ahead of his Democratic opponent, Davis. However, race is not certain, and he is thought to be limited in financial resources.

Kansas: Pearson, the Republican incumbent should win. However, he won only 52.1% of the vote in 1966, and Democratic Governor Docking, seeking re-election, will be a strong factor on the other side of the ticket.

Kentucky: Former Governor Nunn is thought to be ahead, but not a sure winner. If he was persuaded to run in part by 1701, then financial and other campaign support may be appropriate.

Louisiana: The death of Senator Ellender creates an entirely new situation. Little is known of the strength of the candidates or the attitude of the voters. Overall trends in the South make a strong Republican showing possible. A thorough analysis should be performed of that race, with the intent of providing help if the race is winnable.

Maine: There are some rumors that Senator Smith is in trouble. Generally, these are discounted because of her perennial strength in the state, and the anticipation of a strong Nixon showing there. More information should be obtained, and if help could be decisive, we should provide it.

Michigan\*: Senator Griffin is in a tight race, and has limited funds. We are already working closely with him in door-to-door canvassing and telephone centers to identify both Nixon and Griffin voters. Griffin was unable to provide funds for his planned share of the telephone centers. If the President is substantially ahead in Michigan, as Yankelevich claims, Griffin may also have moved up. The latest Tuxter polls will tell.

Montana\*: Metcalf should be beatable. His 1966 percentage was only 53.2%. The President has huge leads in polls of nearby states, and could provide a coattail effect for the Republican candidate, Hibbard. The important thing would be to avoid, if possible, active participation by Mansfield. Money may not be a problem in Hibbard's race.

New Hampshire: The President should run well in New Hampshire. McIntyre may be beatable. Judgment should be withheld until the Republican nominee is determined on September 12th. Little hard data now seems to be available on McIntyre's prospects.

New Mexico\*: This contest represents one of our best chances to pick up a seat. Domenici, the Republican is thought to be ahead now. Daniels, the Democrat, has a lot of money, and could buy the election if our man runs out of funds.

North Carolina\*: Another prime target to pick up a seat. At the moment, the contest seems to be fairly even. We should provide whatever help is needed for Jesse Helms to win.

Oklahoma: The race looks even today. A big Nixon victory should pull Dewey Bartlett in. He seems to have no money problems.

Oregon: Wayne Morse may give Hatfield a hard race. We should determine whether he needs additional resources.

Rhode Island\*: Chafee said to be comfortably out in front. Recent direct attacks by Democrats on his hawk-dove stands on Vietnam have hurt somewhat. This looks like the most vulnerable of the seats where we now have apparent large leads. We should assure that Chafee does not lose for lack of resources.

South Dakota\*: The Democrat is now thought to be ahead in this race for Mundt's seat. If the President has the large lead reported in the Dakota Poll, then the Senate seat should be winnable. A Senate campaign here is inexpensive, and we should go all-out to try to preserve this seat in the Republican column. The McGovern "coat-tails" may work for us in South Dakota.

Texas\*: Tower needs lots of help. We are working with him on telephone canvassing. Any other form of help that would be useful should also be offered where possible.

Virginia: The political shifts in this election year should make Spong vulnerable. However, our candidate, Scott, is thought to be weak. He should be offered total campaign assistance even up to having someone like Cliff White assigned to the campaign.

Wyoming: Hansen won in 1966 by only 51.8%. He should be in better shape in 1972, and the President should do well there. Modest financial backing may make all the difference in Wyoming.

## Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

September 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIALSUBJECT: Congressional Races

As a part of our ongoing analysis of the total 1972 campaign, the attached summary of Congressional races has been prepared. (See Tab A.) It shows the margin by which each district was won in 1970 by the present incumbent. Also noted are races where the incumbent is not running in 1972.

Marginal districts are taken to be those in which the winner had 55% or less of the total vote. In Tab B, the candidates are shown for each of the marginal races. In Tab C, the candidates are shown for the districts in which no incumbent is running. These include newly-formed districts based on the 1970 Census.

This summary represents only the initial overview of the Congressional races. Its purpose is to enable us to set aside those races where no real contest is likely to occur, and to focus on those that warrant closer analysis. The criterion of margin of victory in 1970 must be viewed with some care, because in many states, redistricting has substantially altered the constituencies of the individual Congressional districts. The races of interest must be evaluated through political intelligence acquired from the field and through qualified observers in Washington and elsewhere in the country.

CONFIDENTIAL

## SUMMARY OF CONGRESSIONAL RACES BY STATE FOR 1972

(Figures are Congressional District numbers, tabulated according to the 1970 margin of victory by the incumbent now running.)

State	REPUBLICAN		MARGINAL			DEMOCRATIC		No Incumbent Running
	Over 60 %	56%-60%	53%-55%	48%-52%	53%-55%	56%-60%	Over 60 %	
ALASKA					1,			
ALABAMA	1,2,	6,					3,4,5,7,	
ARIZONA	1,3						2,	4*,
ARKANSAS	3,						1,2,4 <sup>+</sup>	
CALIF.	1,10,12,13,17,18,23,24,25,27,28,32,33,40	13,	6,	43,	34,	7,22	2,3,4,5,9,14,15,16,19,21,26,29,30,31,35,41	8,11*,20,36*,37*,38*,39,42*
COLORADO	2,			1,	4,		3,	5*
CONN.			2,4,	1,6,	5,	3,		
DELAWARE				1,				
FLORIDA	6,9,		12,	8,		4,	1,2,3,7,11,14,15,	5*,10*,13*
GEORGIA	4,						2,3,6,7,8,9,10,	1,5.
HAWAII							1,2,	
IDAHO							2,	1,
ILLINOIS	4,6,13,14,15,16,18,19,20	12,			22,		1,2,5,7,8,9,10,11,23,24	3,17,21
INDIANA	6,	5,7,		2,4,8,10,		3,11	1,9,	
IOWA	5,	3,6,	4,	1,		2,		
KANSAS	4,5,	1,	3,	2,				
KENTUCKY	4,5,			3,			1,2,7,	6,
LOUISIANA						2,	1,4,5,6,	3,7,8,
MAINE						1,		2,
MARYLAND	5,8,			1,6,		7,	2,3,	4*
MASS.	1,			4,	3,	9,10,	2,6,7,8,11	5,12
MICHIGAN	2,4,5,6,7,8,9,11	3,10,					1,12,13,14,15,16,17,	18*,19,
MINNESOTA	1,2,			3,6,	7,	5,	4,8,	
MISS.							1,3,	2,4,5,

State	REPUBLICAN		MARGINAL			DEMOCRATIC		No Incumbent Running
	Over 60%	56%-60%	53%-55%	48%-52%	53%-55%	56%-60%	Over 60%	
MO.						2,10	1,3,4,5,8,9,	6,7,
MONTANA				1,			2,	
NEB.		3,		1,2,				
NEVADA							1,	
N.H.							1,2,	
N.J.	5,	7,	6,	2,		3,4,8,9,	1,10,11,14,15,	12,13
N.MEX.			1,	2,				
N. YORK	2,25,27,30,34,35,36,39.	5,25	6,38	1,4,17,26,32,23,	14,		7,8,9,10,11,12,13,15,16,18,19,20,21,22,24,28,37	3,31,33
NO. CAR.		5,8,10,					1,2,3,6,11	4,7,9,
NO. DAK.	1,							
OHIO	1,3,5,6,7,10,11,13,15,17,23	2,12,		8,		14,19,	9,18,20,21,22,	4,16
OKLA.	6,						3,4,5,	1,2,
OREGON	1,	4,					2,3,	
PENN.	10,16,18	5,7,8,12,13,17,23,	19,			4,	1,2,3,6,11,14,15,20,21,22,24,25	9*
RH. IS.							1,2,	
S. CAR.			2,	1,			3,4,5,6,	
S. DAK.							1,	2,
TENN.	1,2,8,			3,			4,5,6,7,	
TEXAS	3,7,13					5,6,	1,4,8,9,10,11,12,14,15,16,17,19,20,21,22,23,	2,18*,24*,
UTAH				1,2,				
VERMONT		1,						
VA.	2,7,9,		10,				1,3,5,	4,6,8,
WASH.				4,		3,	2,5,6,7,	1,
W. VA.							1,2,3,4,	
WISC.	6,		3,	9,			1,2,4,5,7,	8,
WYO.				1,				
DIST. of COL.							1,	
TOTAL:	86	23	14	37	8	25	182	56

\* New District

† No Incumbent-No Republican candidates

CANDIDATES IN MARGINAL RACES(A) DISTRICTS WHERE INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 52% OR LESS OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
CALIF.	43	Victor Veysey (R) 50.1% Ernest Robles (D)	Educator
COLO.	1	J. D. McKeivitt (R) 51.3% Clarence Decker (D) Patricia Shroeder (D)	
CONN.	1	William Cotter (D) 48.6% Richard Rittenband (R) Charlie Burke (George Wallace Party)	Attorney
	6	Ella Grasso (D) 50.7% John F. Walsh (R)	Attorney
DELAWARE	1	Pierre Dupont (R) 51% Norma Handloff (D) Robert LoPresti (Amer.)	Mayor of Newark
FLORIDA	8	James Haley (D) 52.8% Robert Carter (R)	Incumbent old 7th Dist.
INDIANA	2	Earl Landgrebe (R) 50.4% Floyd Fithian (D)	
	4	Edward Roush (D) 51.9% Allen Bloom (R)	
	8	Roger Zion (R) 52.6% Richard Deen (D)	
	10	David Dennis (R) 50.8% Philip Sharp (D)	
IOWA	1	Fred Schwengel (R) 49.9% Edward Mezvinsky (D) Lee Foster (AIP)	Seeking ninth (non- consecutive) term Narrowly lost to Schwengel in 1970

CANDIDATES IN MARGINAL RACES

(A) DISTRICTS WHERE INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 52% OR LESS OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
KANSAS	2	William Roy (D) 52.8% Charles McAtee (R) Bert Falley (Con.) David Scoggin (Pro.)	Medical Doctor
KENTUCKY	3	Romano Mazzoli (D) 50.1% Phil Kaelin (R)	Jefferson Cty. Property Valuation Deputy
MARYLAND	1	William Mills (R) 52.6% John Hargreaves (D)	Specially-elected in 1971
	6	Goodloe Byron (D) 50.7% Edward Mason (R)	State Senator
MASS.	4	Robert Drinan (D) 37.7% (3-way race) Robert Belmonte (R) Lawrence Curtis (R) Martin Linsky (R) Avi Nelson (R) John Collins (Ind/Con)	Incumbent old 3rd Dist. Mass. House Republican Whip Former 5 term Congressman State Representative
MINN.	3	William Frenzel (R) 52% William Schnase (R) Jim Bell (DFL) Donald Wright (M.T.)	
	6	John Zwach (R) 51.9% Richard Nolan (DFL)	
MONTANA	1	Richard Sheup (R) 50.6% Arnold Olsen (D)	Seeking 2nd term Former U.S. Representative
NEBRASKA	1	Charles Thene (R) 50.6% Darrel E. Berg (D)	Methodist Minister
	2	John McCollister (R) 51.7% Patrick Cooney (D)	

CANDIDATES IN MARGINAL RACES

(A) DISTRICTS WHERE INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 52% OR LESS OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
N. JER.	2	Charles Sandman (R) 51.6% John Rose (D) Charles Yeager (Ind.)	Freeholder
N. MEX.	2	Harold Runnels (D) 50.8% George Presson (R)	Former Aide to Cong. Lujan
N. YORK	1	Otis Pike (D) 52.3% Joseph Boyd (R) Robert Gardiner (Con.) Robert Samek (Lib.)	Aide to Gov. Rockefeller Business Executive Commercial Fisherman
	4	Norman Lent (R) 52.8% Elaine Horowitz (D) Wallace Searle (Con) Aaron Schein (Lib)	Incumbent old 5th Dist. Designer Management Consultant Mathematics Professor
	17	John Murphy (D) 51.6% Mario Belardino (R&Con) Robert A. Hollis (Lib)	Incumbent old 16th Dist. Attorney Data Processing Clerk
	23	Peter Peysar (R) 42.6% Richard Orttinger (D)	Incumbent old 25th Dist. Former Representative
	26	John Dow (D) 52% Benjamin Gilman (R) Yale Rapkin (Con)	Incumbent old 27th Dist. State Representative Attorney
OHIO	32	James Hanley (D) 51.6% Leonard Koldin (R&Con)	Incumbent old 35th Dist. Attorney
	8	Walter Powell (R) 51.5% James Ruppert (D)	Incumbent old 24th Dist.
S. CAR.	1	Mendel Davis (D) 48.3%-1971 Special Election Sidi Limehouse (R)	Specially-elected in 1971 after Mendell Rivers died
TENN.	3	LaMar Baker (R) 52.8% Howard Sampayrac (D)	
UTAH	1	Gunn McKay (D) 51.1% Joe Ferguson (R) Robert Wolthuis (R) L. S. Brown (Ind.)	

CANDIDATES IN MARGINAL RACES

(A) DISTRICTS WHERE INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 52% OR LESS OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
UTAH	2	Sherman Lloyd (R) 52.4% Mark Anderson (R) Wayne Owens (D) William Henderson (D) Joseph Stump (D) Bruce Bangertter (Ind)	Seeking 5th non-consecutive term.
WASH.	4	Mike McCormack (D) 52.9% Stewart Eledsoe (R) Floyd Paxton (R)	
WISC.	9	Glenn Davis (R) 52% Verne Read (R) Robert Baggs (R) Ralph Fine (D)	
WYO.	1	Teno Roncalio (D) 50.3% William Kidd (R)	Seeking 2nd consecutive term--narrowly lost to Senator Hansen in 1966 Stockbroker

(B) DISTRICTS WHERE REPUBLICAN INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 53%-55% OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
CALIF.	6	William Mailliard (R) 53.1% Roger Boas (D)	Member, City & County Board of Supervisors
CONN.	2	Robert Steele (R) 53.6% Roger Hilsman (D) Basil Paquet (Ind)	Former State Dept. Asst. Secretary
	4	Stewart McKinney (R) 55.7% James McLoughlin (D)	

(E) DISTRICTS WHERE REPUBLICAN INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 53%-55% OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
FLORIDA	10	J. Herbert Burke (R) 54.2% James Stephanis (D)	Incumbent old 10th Dist.
IOWA	4	John Kyl (R) 54.6% Neal Smith (D) 64.9%	Incumbent old 5th Dist.
KANSAS	3	Larry Winn (R) 53.6% Charles Barsotti (D) Warren Redding (Con.)	
N. JER.	6	Edwin Forsythe (R) 54.4% Francis Brennan (D) E.S. Doganiero (Sec.Lab.) C.E. St. Martin (Ind) Ida Ebert (Ind/Con)	
N. MEX.	1	Manuel Lujan (R) 55.7% Eugene Gallegos (D)	Attorney
N. YORK	6	Lester Wolff (D/Lib) 54.5% John Gallagher (R/Con)	Incumbent old 3rd Dist. State Representative
	33	Jack Kemp (R/Con) 54.3% Anthony LaRusso (D/Lib)	Incumbent old 34th Dist.
PENN.	19	George Goodling (R) 53.9% Richard Noll (D) Paul H. Lesse (Con)	
S. CAR.	2	Floyd Spence (R) 53.5% No Democratic Candidate	
VIRGINIA	10	Joel Broyhill (R) 54.4% Harold Miller (D)	Seeking 11th Consecutive term. Fairfax County Supervisor
WISC.	3	Vernon Thomson (R) 55.4% Peter Berg (R) Walter Thoresen (D) Edmund Nix (D) Raymond Short (D)	

(C) DISTRICTS WHERE DEMOCRATIC INCUMBENT NOW RUNNING RECEIVED 53%-55% OF THE VOTE IN 1970:

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<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
ALASKA	1	Nick Begich (D) 53.9% Don Young (R)	Seeking second term State Senator
CALIF.	34	Richard Hanna (D) 53.0% John Ratterree (R) Lee Rayburn (ALP)	Businessman Electronic Technician
COLO.	4	Wayne Aspinall (D) 55% Alan Merson (D) Dal Berg (R) James Johnson (R)	Seeking 13th Term Prof. Univ. of Denver
CONN.	5	John Monagan (D) 53.7% Ronald Sarasin (R)	Seeking 8th Term State Representative Asst. Minority Leader
ILLINOIS	22	George Shipley (D) 54.1% Robert Lamkin (R) Cleo Duzan (Ind)	Incumbent old 23rd Dist.
MASS.	3	Harold Donohue (D) 54.2% No Republican Candidate	Incumbent old 4th Dist.
MINN.	7	Bob Bergland (DFL) 54.2% Jon O. Haaven (R)	State Representative
N. YORK	14	John Rooney (D) 53.9% Francis Voyticky (R) Allard Lowenstein (LIB)  Mary Carmen Ballesteros (Con)	Incumbent Congressman defeated in primary on (D) ticket Attorney

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
ARIZ.	4 (NEW)	Bill Baker (R) John Conlan (R) Ernest Garfield (R) Robert Reveles (D) Jack E. Brown (D) Curtis Nordwall (D) Rev. James Brockman (D) Sam Grossman (D)	Former Maricopa County GOP Chairman State Senator State Treasurer  Phoenix Attorney Chippewa Indian  Phoenix shopping center owner; defeated by Sen. Fannin (R) in 1970
CALIF.	8	Fortney Stark (D) Lew Warden (R)	Bank Executive; defeated incumbent in primary. Attorney
	11 (NEW)	Charles Chase (R) Leo Ryan (D) Nicholas Kudrovzeff (AIP)	Attorney State Representative Electrician
	20	Carlos Moorehead (R) John Binkley (D)	State Representative Executive Administrator
	36 (NEW)	William Ketchum (R) Timothy Lemucchi (D) William Armour (AIP)	State Representative Attorney Equipment Rental
	37 (NEW)	Gregg Tria (R) Yvonne Brathwaite (D) John Hagg (PFP)	Business Administrator State Representative Organizer
	38 (NEW)	Howard Snider (R) George Brown, Jr. (D)	Mayor of Ontario Former U.S. Representative
	39	Andrew Hinshaw (R)  John Black (D)	Orange County Assessor; Defeated incumbent in Primary Attorney
	42 (NEW)	Clair Burgener (R) Bob Lowe (D) Armin Moths (AIP)	State Senator American Gov't. Teacher Building Contractor

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
COLO.	5 (NEW)	William Armstrong (R) Byron Johnson (D) George Stapleton (D)	State Senator; Radio Station President Former U.S. Congressman
FLORIDA	5 (NEW)	Jack Insco (R) Chuck Rainey (R)	Pinellas County Committee Chairman
		Jack Martin (R) Mike Snyder (R) Bill Gunter (D) Miller Newton (D)	Advertising Executive State Senator Administrator-University of South Florida
	10 (NEW)	L.A. Bafalis (R) Paul J. Myers (R) Burton Thornal (D) Bruce J. Scott (D) Bill Sikes (D) John A. Darlson (D)	Former State Senator Former Mayor of Ft. Myers Lee Souty Commissioner
	13 (NEW)	Paul Bethel (R) Ralph Milone, Jr. (R) Marvin Mondres (R) George Balmer (D) Johnson Davis (D) Jay Kislak (D) William Leham (D)	Real Estate Broker Former Chairman, Dade County School Board
		Betty Page (D) Lee Weissenborn (D) Louis Wolfson (D)	State Senator State Representative
GEORGIA	1	Ronald Ginn (D) William Gowan (R)	Defeated incumbent Ellicott Hagen in runoff election 8/29/72
	5	Andrew Young (D) Rodney Cook (R)	State Representative
IDAHO	1 (Incumbent running for Senate)	Steven Symms (R) Ed Williams (D)	Sunny Slope Fruit Farmer Former coach, teacher, Legislator and aide to Gov. Cecil Andrus

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
MASS.	5(Previous GOP incumbent appointed to UN.	Paul Cronin (R) George Macheras Armand Morissette (R) Ellen Sampson (R) Glen Cooper (D) John Desmond (D) Anthony DiFruscia (D) Helen Droney (D) Frederick Finnegan (D) Robert Kennedy (D) John Kerry (D)	Former Mass. Rep.          Leader-Vietnam Veterans against the War
	12 (Former GOP incum- bent retir- ing)	William G. Weeks (R) Cerry E. Studds (D)	Former State Senator Defeated by GOP incumbent in 1970
MICHIGAN	18 (NEW)	Robert Huber (R) Daniel Cooper (D)	Heads Mich. Con. Party
	19	William S. Broomfield (R)  George Montgomery (D)	Incumbent old 18th Dist; defeated 19th Dist. incumbent in primary.
MISSISSIPPI	2	Carl Butler (R) David Bowen (D) (Old 1st dist. Democrat incumbent retiring-un- opposed in 1970)	Political Sci. Professor Former Miss. Federal- State Coordinator
	4	Thad Cochran (R) Ellis Bodron (D) (Old 3rd Dist. Demo. in- cumbent retiring-won in 1970 with 63% of the vote.)	Attorney State Senator

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
MISSISSIPPI	5	Trent Lott (R) Ben Stone (D) (Incumbent Colmer (D) retiring-won in 1970 with 90% of the vote.)	Adm. Asst. to U.S. Rep. Wm. Colmer State Senator
MISSOURI	6	Russ Sloan (R) Jerry Litton (D)	Head Coach at Northeast Missouri State College
	7	Gene Taylor (R) William Thomas (D)	GOP Nat'l. Committeeman
N. JERSEY	12	Matthew Rinaldo (R) Jerry English (D) (GOP incumbent retiring- won in 1970 with 66.2% of the vote.)	State Senator Attorney
	13	Joseph Maraziti (R) Helen S. Meyner (D) Samuel Golub (Ind/Con) (Incumbent Dem. retiring win in 1970 with 73% of the vote.)	State Senator Wife of former Governor Robert Meyner
N. YORK	3 (NEW)	Angelo Roncallo (R) Carter Bales (D) Lawrence P. Russo (Con) Lee James (Lib)	Nassau County Controller Business Consultant Sales Mgr. for distillery
	31	Donald Mitchell (R/Con) Robert Castle (D) John Buckley (Lib) (GOP incumbent retiring- won 65.8% of the vote in 1970.)	State Representative Businessman State Rep.
	33	William Walsh (R/Con) Clarence Kadys (D) (GOP incumbent retiring- won in 1970 with 59.5%)	Former Mayor of Syracuse Hardware Store Owner

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
NO. CAR.	4	Ike Andrews (D) Jack Hawke (R) (Demo. incumbent in Senate race)	
	7	Charles Rose (D) Jerry Scott (R) Alvis Ballard (Amer) (Demo. incumbent retiring- won 72% of vote in 1970)	
	9	James Martin (R) James Beatty (D) (GOP incumbent retiring- won 66.6% of vote in 1970.)	
OHIO	4	Tennyson Guyer (R) Dimitri Nicholas (D) (GOP incumbent retiring- won 64.4% of vote in 1970.)	
	16	Ralph Regula (R) Virgil Muser (D) (Cop incumbent retiring- won 56.2% of 1970 vote.)	
OKLAHOMA	1	James Hewgley (R) Robert S. Rizley (Runoff) James Jones (D) (1970-55.8%-Cong. Belcher, R, retiring.)	Oil dealer-former Tulsa Mayor Attorney Attorney businessman
	2	Clem McSpadden (D) Emery Toliver (R) (1970-70.6%, Edmondson [D] running for Senate)	State Senator Retired Army captain
PENNSYLVANIA	9 (NEW)	E. G. Shuster (R) Earl P. Collins (D)	

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
SO. DAK.	2	James Abdner (R) Pat McKeever (D) (Demo. incumbent in Senate race-won 52.3% of 1970 vote.)	
TEXAS	2	Charles O. Brightwell (R) Charles Wilson (D) (Demo. incumbent retiring- won-ran w/o GOP opposition.)	Lumber Salesman State Senator
	18 (NEW)	Barbara Jordan (D) Raul Merritt (R)	State Senator
	24 (NEW)	Dale Milford (D) Courtney Roberts (R)	
VIRGINIA	4	Robert Gibson (D) Robert Daniel (R) Robert Hardy (Ind) John Vontes (Ind) (Demo incumbent retiring- won in 1970 with 61.2%)	State Representative Planter
	6	M. Caldwell Butler (R) Willis Anderson (D) Roy R. White (Ind) (GOP incumbent retiring- won in 1970 with 74.5%)	Former State Rep. Attorney
	8	Stanford Parris (R) Robert Horan (D) William Durland (Ind) Robert Harris (Ind) David Webb (Ind)	Va. Legislator; Former Fairfax Supervisor Fairfax Commonwealth Attorney
WASHINGTON	1	C. Y. Chaing (R) Joel Pritchard (R) John Hempelmann (D) Carl Holman (D)	Former State Senator Atty; Former Sen. Jackson Aide Perennial Candidate

DISTRICTS WHERE NO INCUMBENT IS RUNNING IN 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
WISCONSIN	8	Harold Froehlich (R) James Long Myron Lotto Altee Dodge (R) Rev. Frederick Kile (R) Jon LeDuc (D) Rev. Robert Cornell (1970-55.5%, incumbent Byrnes [R] retiring)	State Representative Outagamie Cty. Dist. Attorney State Senator An Indian  Ran against Cong. Byrnes in 1970

PARTY LEVER STATES

ALABAMA

ARIZONA

CONNECTICUT

GEORGIA

HAWAII

IDAHO

ILLINOIS

INDIANA

IOWA

KENTUCKY

LOUISIANA

MAINE

MASSACHUSETTS

MICHIGAN

MISSISSIPPI

MISSOURI

MONTANA

NEW HAMPSHIRE

NEW MEXICO

NORTH CAROLINA

OKLAHOMA

PENNSYLVANIA

SOUTH CAROLINA

SOUTH DAKOTA

TENNESSEE

TEXAS

UTAH

VERMONT

WEST VIRGINIA

WISCONSIN

WYOMING