

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>
41	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes from Haldeman. 1pg
41	3	9/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon C. Strachan From: Robert C. Odle, Jr. RE: Resume for secretarial position. Resume attached. 3pgs
41	3	12/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H.R. Haldeman From: Gordon Strachan RE: Computer Data Base Assets at CRP. 7pgs
41	3	11/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	To: The President From: Sam Wyly RE: Direct mail campaign tool in the combined data base. 3pgs
41	3	12/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Talking paper for George Bush (author unk). RE: Direct Mail Lists - Transfer to RNC. 1pg
41	3	12/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H.R. Haldeman From: Gordon Strachan RE: Preliminary Election Turnout Analysis. 5pgs
41	3	11/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Fred Malek From: Bob Marik RE: Analysis of the Coattail Effect on the 1972 Election. 3pgs
41	3	11/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Fred Malek From: Rick Fore RE: U.S. Senate Race Losses. 4pgs
41	3	11/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Robert Walters for the Washington, D.C. Evening Star and Daily News titled "Many Voters Skip the Big One." 1pg

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41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H.R. Haldeman From: Harry S. Dent RE: griping in Republican party about election as a personal victory for President but not for the Republican Party. 1pg
41	3	11/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H.R. Haldeman From: Stephen Bull RE: Post-Election Acknowledgments. Acknowledgment letter drafts attached. 16pgs
41	3	11/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: L (?) From: P (?) RE: Memo for Gordon Strachan From: L. Higby about analysis of Republican Party performance in election. 3pgs
41	3	11/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo (author unk) RE: Complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election. 1pg
41	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	1972 Election Results - Key Counties, including State, Total Turnout, Voting Age Population, Total Registered Voters, % Turnout of Registered Voters, % Turnout of Voting Age Population and footnotes. 5pgs.
41	3	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: The President From: Herbert G. Klein RE: the voting pattern in California. 2pgs
41	3	11/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Larry Higby From: Gordon Strachan RE: AP list and RNC table. List and table attached. 6pgs
41	3	11/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Copies of articles posted in National Journal RE: Outlook '73. 11pgs
41	3	11/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	National Journal Vol. 4 Number 46 "Outlook '73" (pages 1727-1761)

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41	3	11/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: L. Higby RE: meeting with analysis-types to completely analyze Republican vote and Republican Party performance in election. 1pg
41	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes from Haldeman RE: Republican turnout. 1pg
41	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes by Haldeman RE: Sample precincts, precinct results, and polling in selected precincts. 1pg
41	3	11/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: L. Higby RE: Calling Secretaries of State to get final wrap-up of states that are still low. 1pg
41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Roger Lane from the Detroit Free Press titled "Dems Boost Margin in Mich. House." 2pgs.
41	3	11/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by James Bassett from the Los Angeles Times titled "The Republicans' Power Drouth in Congress: Past, Present - and Future?" 4pgs.
41	3	12/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: Editorial Reaction. Election Report attached. 8pgs
41	3	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Charles Roos for the Denver Post titled "Colo. Party Bosses Analyze Tuesday's Ticket Splitting." 1pg
41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Remer Tyson for the Detroit Free Press titled "Griffin Won on Bussing Issue; Can GOP Hold onto Voters? - If Bussing Issue Fades, Can GOP Hold Gains in State?" 2pgs

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41	3	11/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Michael Maidenberg for the Detroit Free Press titled "Nixon Has Split Michigan's Dems; What Will GOP Do with Pieces?" 1pg
41	3	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article by Carolyn Barta for the Dallas News titled "GOP Didn't Help Grover: Governor's Race Lacked Party Faithful's Push." 1pg
41	3	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article from Dallas News (author unk) titled "Democrats Lose Ethnic." 1pg
41	3	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Robert E. Ford for the Dallas News titled "Texas Vote Analyzed" RE: President Nixon's landslide victory.
41	3	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article by Bill Billiter from The Courier-Journal titled "Kentucky: Voters cross party lines to elect Huddleston - President's backers split their votes to elect Huddleston to U.S. Senate." 3pgs
41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Jane Ely for the Houston Post titled "Briscoe survives Grover scare - Briscoe struggles to narrow win." 2pgs
41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Michael Maharry for The Detroit News titled "It's Become an Ordeal: Why Many Did Not Cast Votes." 1pg
41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article by Reg Murphy (newspaper unk) titled "The Assortment That Won for Nunn." 1pg
41	3	11/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article by Jack Crellin for The Detroit News titled "Michigan Defeats Blamed on Bussing: Labor Assessing Vote Results." 1pg

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41	3	11/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Robert E. Ford for the Houston Chronicle titled "GOP Showing Best in Texas History." 2pgs
41	3	11/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Daniel Yankelovich for The New York Times/Yankelovich Election Survey in the New York Review of Books titled "Why Nixon Won." 1pg
41	3	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article from the Detroit News (author unk) titled "Voters Retain Griffin's Clout." 1pg
41	3	11/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachen From: Bill Rhatican RE: For Your Information about States Votes for President. Graph attached. 3pgs
41	3	11/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Article written by Ernest Cuneo for the Indiana Star titled "Take It Or Leave It: GOP Divided in Victory." 1pg
41	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	1972 Election Results - Key Counties, including State, Total Turnout, Voting Age Population, Total Registered Voters, % Turnout of Registered Voters, % Turnout of Voting Age Population and footnotes. 13pgs
41	3	12/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Michigan Voter Turnout. Election Report attached. 14pgs
41	3	11/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Voter Turnout Analysis for Wayne County, Michigan. Election Report attached. 4pgs

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41	3	11/20/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	The American Political Report, Vol. II, No. 4, featuring articles titled "Around The White House," "Departmental Reorganization," and "Special Survey," "The Republican National Committee" and "Nov. 7 Turnout" 6pgs
41	3	11/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon From: Jerry RE: Rick Fox's draft of Post Election Political Plan memo. Post-election analysis memo To: Bob Haldeman From: Fred Malek attached. 6pgs
41	3	11/22/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Voter Turnout Analysis of New Castle County, Delaware on November 22, 1972. 7pgs
41	3	12/4/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: The Cities, the latest edition of the Political/Research Divison's series on the 1972 elections in the big cities. 1pg
41	3	12/4/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Election '72 Election Report: The Cities - St. Louis RE: 1972 Election information on St. Louis, Missouri, from the RNC Research Division. 5pgs
41	3	12/5/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: The Cities. "Election '72: Election Report: The Cities - Los Angeles" attached. 6pgs
41	3	11/22/1972	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: Poll Report. "Election '72: Election Report - The Polls" attached. 6pgs

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41	3	11/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: H.R. Haldeman From: Bruce Kehrli RE: Popular Vote incl. % of population over 18 who voted, % of population over 18 who registered, and % of population registered who voted. 1pg

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Reem for any dynamite stuff fr/1701
- Tal Papers! -

Collins - ~~Telephone Man.~~

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Ba to Gene

(F)
New
& File

September 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. *

Attached is a resume of another gal
Friday.

RESUME

Dolores Ulman
1200 North Nash Street
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Telephone: office 333-3940
home 527-6835

OBJECTIVE

To apply extensive working experience to a position of challenge and responsibility, and which requires flexibility and creativity.

BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

Administrative - My recent positions have required a mature judgment of people and situations in order to make correct decisions; resourcefulness to obtain information or material and to solve problems requiring efforts thru out-of-the ordinary channels; initiative to recognize and begin projects where results would be of value; thoroughness to ensure correctness and completeness of assignments, and adaptability.

My teaching experience contributed to a deeper understanding of people and developed my ability to supervise persons and to create enthusiasm in them for their assignments.

Planning and Development - I have developed a keen organizational ability, recognizing priorities in order to be able to effect assignments in a timely fashion. I have demonstrated the ability to develop facets of a job so as to be of increased value to my employer.

Public Relations - I believe I have a discerning perception of human nature which evolved from my experience in placement of female employees at The White House, in which position I also functioned as a counsellor.

In addition, I worked in the Public Relations Department of General Motors Corporation through which I gained knowledge of basic PR functions and the news media.

Political - Through recent involvement in politics I have a much deeper appreciation of the workings of government and its far reaching effects, and I know my way around the departments and agencies of the federal government.

POSITIONS HELD

May 1971 to the present - Administrative Assistant to Mr. Harry Flemming at the Committee for the Re-election of the President, in his function as political head of the campaign (organizing state leadership in all 50 states), serving as campaign liaison with gubernatorial, senatorial and congressional races, and coordinating National Convention efforts. I handled all financial paperwork for the first nine months of the campaign, i.e., formulating a monthly budget, paying the taxes, payroll and all bills.

February 1971 to May 1971 - Personal secretary to Mr. Paul Mellon, philanthropist. I was responsible for delivery and payment of art purchases, mostly from abroad, several checking accounts, in addition to usual duties of such a position. The position required a great deal of discretion and judgment.

January 1969 to February 1971 - Administrative Assistant to Mr. Harry Flemming in his position as Special Assistant to the President, The White House. I planned and coordinated administrative functions of the office, performed liaison work between Mr. Flemming and his staff assistants, handled placement of female personnel at The White House and government departments and agencies where assistance was requested.

Prior to working for Mr. Flemming, I was a member of Mr. John Ehrlichman's staff.

October 1968 to January 1969 - Secretarial Assistant to Mr. John Warner, Office of the President-elect, and prior to that in the campaign to elect Mr. Nixon. In the office of the President-elect, our function was to staff the new administration. As National Director for United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew, Mr. Warner's office was the funneling point for nation-wide campaign problems as well as directing the Washington contingent of the national campaign.

1957 to 1968 - General Motors Corporation in various capacities commencing in Milwaukee, Wisconsin with the Public Relations Department from which I was promoted to run the Special Projects Section which had the responsibility of familiarizing the public, educators, the military and business with GM's missile guidance development through tours, speeches, dinners and convention participation. I handled all aspects of these functions.

General Motors Corporation transferred me to Washington, D. C. in 1960 where I worked as a secretarial assistant in various divisions until 1968.

Previous Positions - Secretary to a Vice President of American Can Company in Wisconsin; teacher in the Business School of an adult education program sponsored by the city for five years.

Education: Completed two years at college level

Skills: Handle varied correspondence, write news releases, operate most business machines, shorthand 120 wpm, typing 90 wpm.

Personal interests: Tennis, skiing, riding, travel and reading.

Personal data: Born September 15, 1930 in Wisconsin, single, height 5'7" - weight 130 lb. health excellent

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

December 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Computer Data Base
Assets at CRP

The CRP collected and used 31 million names for the direct mail programs. The information related to these names -- address, income, make of car, etc., is stored at DCC of which Sam Wyly is Chairman. In addition to Wyly, access to the information is limited to Jeb Magruder, Bob Marik, and Bob Morgan.

After November 7, Magruder asked Bob Morgan to prepare a proposal on the value of maintaining the data base. Morgan's proposal is at Tab A. The proposal makes two essential points. First, the mobility of Americans results in 20% moving each year. To maintain accurate, usable lists they must be mailed and cleaned periodically. Second, no one currently at the RNC has the loyalty or talent to use the lists correctly.

The value of these lists should not be underestimated. Bob Dole's first comments to the press after the election included reference to seeing White House Staff members to get the lists to the RNC. The Democrats use the Minnesota-based firm of Sherman-Valentine, which reportedly has 30 million names which are used at Humphrey's direction. Sam Wyly has written the President urging him to maintain and use this resource for the 1974 Congressional and State races. (Letter at Tab B.) Magruder has been in touch with Wyly to indicate that he will be advised of a decision soon.

Now that it is public information that George Bush will be taking over the RNC on January 19, you should consider

transferring these mailing list assets to him. They will substantially increase his clout and remove one of the last points of dispute between the CRP and the GOP. For the assets to be maintained and used correctly, we need one technical person familiar with the collection and use during the campaign. The candidate recommended by Magruder and Morgan is Jim White, who worked during the campaign for Morgan. The salary recommended is \$30,000, which is too high. He probably could be obtained for \$25,000.

To transfer these assets to Bush at the RNC with appropriate emphasis of who is to direct their use, I recommend that you call George Bush. A talking paper is attached at Tab C.

GS/jb

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By *LM/rua* NARS, Date *5-22-82*

November 20, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: BOB MORGAN *B. Morgan*

SUBJECT: Future of Data Base

This memorandum is designed to give an overview of the Data Base and present viable alternatives for its future maintenance and use.

The Voter Registration Data collected for the 1972 Presidential Election could be used at President Nixon's discretion to support Republican candidates during the next four years. However, since the mobility of the American populace is such that 20% or more move each year, the validity of the lists in 1976 will be minimal unless a thorough Data Base Maintenance Program is developed.

The results of integrating the Voter Identification Program with the Political Direct Mail Program contributed greatly to the higher turnout of voters favorable to President Nixon. This concept will most likely be utilized in future campaigns at the local level, as well as in future Presidential primaries and most certainly in the General Election in 1976. The key states and the volume of voters will remain approximately the same. The costs of recreating the Data Base far exceed the cost of a four-year Data Base Maintenance Program as shown at TAB A. This maintenance program could either be funded through remaining campaign funds or through a self-liquidating process.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a separate non-profit corporation called, "Information Systems, Incorporated" (ISI), be created to control the Data Base and have ownership of the system at President Nixon's discretion. A draft contract between UCC and ISI is attached as TAB B.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That at the first Board of Directors Meeting of ISI, the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President assign ownership of the Data Base, systems, and all other computer files of volunteers and contributors to ISI, including the Finance Committee lists.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

RECOMMENDATION:

That a General Manager be named. The General Manager should be a marketing-oriented systems expert able to sell these services, as well as plan orderly, sophisticated improvements.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

I personally recommend Jim White for the position of General Manager at ISI at a salary of \$30,000 annually, plus expenses. Jim was a Project Manager on the Political Direct Mail staff and as such, was the trouble shooter in the systems area. His background includes both marketing and systems experience so he fits the needs perfectly. The fact that he is knowledgeable about the Data Base makes him uniquely qualified for this assignment. His resume is attached as TAB C. This could be a self-supporting program if --

- Republican Senators and Congressmen utilize the list for monthly segmented franking mail at \$15.00 per thousand.
- The Administration uses the list for polling and other selective mailings through ISI.
- The list is used by commercial mailers through the Direct Mail Standard Rates and Data Book.

RECOMMENDATION:

That services be sold to all approved Republican office-holders and candidates at \$15.00 per thousand as a base price, and that computer services be made available at breakeven costs.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

It seems more logical to expect a loss of \$50,000 to \$100,000 in 1973, however, the loss would be made up in 1974. Breakeven could be expected in 1975, and substantial savings accrued for the 1976 Election. A pro rata Profit and Loss Statement is shown at TAB A. TAB A shows that if only 5,000,000 names were used each year from 1973 through 1975, \$31,750 would be lost versus creating a new Data Base in 1976 for over \$1,000,000. If between 10,000,000 and 30,000,000 names were used each year through the franking privilege, gross profits would be generated that could be put back into the system to develop voter registration lists in other battleground states.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Data Base for eight (8) states be registered in the Direct Mail Standard Rates and Data Book for lease at \$30.00 per thousand.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

In order to determine public reaction and opinion to various domestic and international issues, stratified samples including all voter types, could be retrieved from the Data Base. The sample size should vary with the reliability desired. Selected samples could also be retrieved for opinion to specific programs, i.e., older voters, urban voters, ethnics, youth, etc.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the Administration sources request that polling samples be purchased through ISI. (Just provide the source, not conduct the poll).

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

PRESENT VOTER IDENTIFICATION DATA BASE SUMMARY

The Political Direct Mail Department developed a Voter Registration Data Base of approximately 31,000,000 registered voters in nine (9) key states at a total cost of \$1.1 million without any application of overhead costs. During the first phase, individual vendors were contracted to collect the voter registration lists of specific states and to computerize this information into a standard format. Standard edit programs were supplied to each vendor to validate the data. In the second phase, at University Computing Company in Dallas, the Voter Registration Data Base was expanded with specific demographic information added.

In the nine (9) key states, those non-Republicans who were identified as favorable to President Nixon were indicated on the file. These states are:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NO. OF REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
CALIFORNIA	8,626,372
CONNECTICUT	1,373,465
ILLINOIS	2,682,289
MARYLAND	1,349,118
MICHIGAN	1,688,634
NEW JERSEY	3,196,192
OHIO	3,381,464
PENNSYLVANIA	5,157,088
TEXAS	3,970,274
TOTAL	<u>29,736,262</u>

Additionally, partial lists of registered Republican voters were developed for four (4) states. These are:

<u>STATE</u>
FLORIDA
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
NEW YORK

EXPENDED EFFORT IN DATA BASE DEVELOPMENT

The development of the Voter Identification Data Base initially began in those states which conducted Presidential primaries. The effort for the nine (9) key states took about 3 1/2 months to obtain, convert and edit the voter registration lists. Another month was spent updating the names of favorable non-Republicans.

COMPUTER LISTS DEVELOPED AS BYPRODUCTS

The Committee for the Re-election of the President presently has computer files containing over 56,000 names of contributors and volunteers and 51,000 names of active youth volunteers. These Contributor/Volunteer Lists are presently being converted to the

standard 200-character format. TAB D shows the "Survey of Volunteer and Contributor Files" outlining the title, format and quantity of records for each list.

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTOR/VOLUNTEER LISTS

There are several lists of contributors and volunteers that are potentially available from the 1972 Campaign organizations. These lists are:

- Telephone Program Key Leaders Lists (approximately 2,400 names)
- Telephone Centers' Volunteer Lists (approximately 75,000 names)
- State Chairmen's Volunteer Lists (approximately 170,000 names)
- Finance Committee Contributor Lists (quantity unknown)
- Democrats for Nixon Volunteer Lists (from other than Direct Mail returns)

Another alternative would be to turn the Data Base and systems over to the RNC. This alternative is not suggested for these reasons:

1. President Nixon loses direct control.
2. The Republican National Committee does not really have a professional staff for control of the systems.
3. The Republican National Committee does not get involved until after the candidate is nominated and the President might want to support a candidate early in the primary campaign.
4. The system in 1976 must be developed in January 1976, at the latest or a useful product will not be ready for voter identification after the Republican Convention.

Attachments:

TAB A
TAB B
TAB C
TAB D

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

14
Mr. Fulbright

SAM WYLY
P. O. Box 6226
DALLAS, TEXAS 75222

November 28, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

My family and associates are most grateful for America's overwhelming affirmation of your record of accomplishment and powerful leadership.

While it's fresh in my mind, I want to call to your attention the existence of a very powerful direct mail campaign tool in the combined data base, programs and expertise which exist in the Committee to Re-Elect and in University Computing Company.

This asset was created by work that was done for the sole purpose of your re-election this year (and in retrospect you most certainly would have won without it or most any other specific campaign investment for that matter), but it is an asset that can be used to add Republican Congressional support for your Administration in 1974 and to assist the Republican Presidential nominee in 1976 and in later years.

But unless you make a decision to maintain this resource with a few people and a small budget over the next two years, its value to you will quickly dissipate.

Bob Morgan (under Jeb Magruder) knows those resources in detail.

Sincerely,

Sam Wyly

Sam Wyly

P.S. The obvious answer seems to be to turn it over to the Republican National Committee. But the talent to make good use of this system, and to improve it, simply is not in the Republican National Committee at this time. It is in the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

cc: Mr. John Ehrlichman

SAM WYLY
P. O. Box 6228
DALLAS, TEXAS 75222

To The President

Through Mr. Bob Haldeman

TALKING PAPER FOR GEORGE BUSH

Re: Direct Mail Lists -- Transfer to RNC

1) During the campaign 31 million names were collected and used in the direct mail, get-out-the-vote program. The President sent 9 million telegrams based on these lists.

2) The lists and backup computer information are currently held at UCC (Sam Wyly). Only Jeb Magruder and two technical people have access. These assets must be maintained and used to make them fully effective in 1974 and 1976.

3) The GOP through Bob Dole has expressed a desire for them to be transferred to the RNC. The President has decided to do this, but I must emphasize that in every respect these assets, which cost \$5 million to develop during the campaign, are his personal property to be used as I direct.

4) One person who worked on the collection and use of these assets during the campaign is Jim White. As you re-staff the RNC you should consider hiring him at the approximate salary of \$25,000.

GS
12/14/72

~~ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: E. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Preliminary Election Turnout Analysis

A substantial amount of information has been received concerning voter turnout on November 7, 1972. Some reliable information on turnout in certain demographically interesting political units has been analyzed. Preliminary conclusions by Tom Benham, Bob Teeter, John Davies at Gallup, and Fred Malek are presented below.

A great deal more definitive information will be received during the next four weeks. John Davies has promised me the opportunity to go through the demographic tables of the Gallup post-election survey. Although Davies has not yet delivered on his promise, I plan to insure my access. Bob Teeter's partner, Fred Currier, is supervising part of the Survey Research Center's post-election study. Preliminary results will be available in early January, in spite of the fact that the formal study will not be available until April. Bob Teeter also conducted post-election surveys for unrelated clients in Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In Ohio an additional survey will be conducted only among those who did not vote. The first data will be available the first week of January. Finally, precinct abstracts from most counties are required to be certified by states during December.

To summarize the currently available information and conclusions:

- 1) Tom Benham says the addition of 25 million 18-20 year old voters to the rolls substantially reduced the overall percentage turnout. Under 30 year olds historically

have the lowest turnout percentage and the addition of this low vote turnout group brought the percentage of the entire population down. Only 12 million of the 25 million youth vote went to the polls, confirming the pattern of only 50% turnout by the under 30 year olds. Teeter calculates this only accounted for 2% of the 7% national turnout percentage drop.

2) Benham believes there was a low level of interest in the election. His discussions with the Gallup Organization confirm that there was apparently little enthusiasm for either the President or McGovern. Benham's personal view is that the generally low morale of the regular Democrats and their losses resulted in little effort to turn out their voters.

3) Benham also believes that many dedicated Wallace voters would not vote without their candidate on the ballot. McGovern also lost some of his most ardent supporters because of his post-Democratic Convention activities (zagleton, waffling, etc.).

4) Benham contends that the general trend in turnout percentage since 1960 (1960-64%; 1964-62%; 1968-61%; 1972-54.5%) has been accentuated by the increased mobility of people which disenfranchises them because they do not get re-registered. Benham again relies heavily on the Gallup post-election survey which indicates that 38% of the 45.5% didn't bother to register or were prevented from registering by residence requirements.

5) Bob Teeter has reviewed the demographic information gathered by the RNC on the top 15 SMSAs (statistical units that are basically the large metropolitan areas). The conclusion is clear that in big cities there was a significantly lower turnout. Teeter theorizes that this was attributable to the decline of big city machines, disenchantment of labor losses with McGovern, and apathy among the suburban, upper-middle income ticket splitter.

6) Teeter does not believe that the decrease in turnout was partially attributable to the fewer number of statewide contests. Many states have shifted to electing their Governors in non-Presidential years. Some people argue that the statewide races increase the percentage of turnout for the Presidential contest. Teeter cites Ohio

and Pennsylvania where there were no Gubernatorial nor Senatorial races. In 1968 the Ohio turnout was 63% compared with 56% in 1972. Pennsylvania had 65% in 1968 and 55% in 1972. Yet in Illinois where both Senatorial and Gubernatorial seats were contested the turnout in 1968 was 69% and the turnout in 1972 was 58%, a drop of 11% compared with Pennsylvania's 10% drop and Ohio's 7% drop.

7) Teeter says that states which have historically high turnouts dropped in 1972, while states with historically lower turnouts remained relatively constant. For example, the Minnesota turnout trend is 1960-76%, 1964-76%, 1968-74%, and 1972-64%. New York continued its downward trend: 1960-67%, 1964-65%, 1968-60%, and 1972-57%. Yet the New Mexico trend is 1960-62%, 1964-62%, 1968-61%, and 1972-59.8%. In the South the historically low turnout did not drop precipitously. In Alabama the 1960 percentage was 31%, in 1964-36%, in 1968-53%, and in 1972-44%. So the 1972 deviation from the 1960, 1964, and 1968 averages was not great.

8) Concerning the toughest question of whether the Republican Party, both organizationally and in high Republican precinct areas, delivered their vote, the tentative conclusion is no. The most accurate information available is from Ohio. Malek considered it one of his best states, organizationally. Yet the percentage of total turnout dropped from 63% in 1968 to 56% in 1972. In Teeter-identified core Republican precincts which in 1964 and 1968 turned out 91-93%, in 1972 only 85% turned out. However, in a poorly organized state such as Pennsylvania, the drop was 10% (1968-65% to 1972-55%). Malek argues that the organizational effort kept Ohio from dropping from 7% to 10%. The CRP efforts could also be credited with holding the California turnout drop to 2% (1968-60%, 1972-58%). In those states where a purely Republican organization was responsible, the drop in turnout was even more precipitous. In Idaho, the 1968 turnout was 73% and in 1972 it was 57%. Even in states with statewide races and limited CRP efforts, the drop in Iowa was from 70% in 1968 to 63% in 1972 and in Kansas the drop was from 69% in 1968 to 56% in 1972. Both of these drops are more than the national average of 6.5%.

9) On the more theoretical level, Tester has discussed the reasons at length with Jack Saloma, the MIT political science professor and author of The Parties. Neither can point to any specific factor, but both agree that the intensity of opposition to McGovern convinced many to vote for the President and many not to vote at all. Also, the President held a fairly firm 20% lead which increased the apathy/election sewed-up attitude. Finally, neither can establish that the Watergate and related incidents had any substantial influence on the turnout. Sindlinger of course contends otherwise.

CRP Analysis

Malek received two detailed commentaries on the 1972 election. One was prepared by Rick Fore, who wrote the original analysis of the McGovern California campaign. Fore analyzed the individual Senate races. The other is by Bob Marik who supervised all the research, direct mail, and telephone operations at 1701. Marik's memorandum describes the plans for complete analysis of the 1972 election. Malek approved all aspects except the nationwide post-election survey. Both memoranda are attached. Several of Fore's comments on the Senate races deserve your consideration:

1) Republican Senators lost seats because of poor individual campaigns;

2) Alabama -- The President carried Alabama with 76% while Blount received 34% to Sparkman's 66%. Wallace and major newspapers endorsed Sparkman. Alabamans felt there was no White House support for Blount. Blount's personality and media campaign turned voters off;

3) Maine -- The President received 70% and Smith only 47%. Her age had been an issue in the primary. She would not accept assistance from the Administration or CRP. She campaigned only on weekends while Hathaway campaigned aggressively;

4) Kentucky -- The President received 65% but Nunn received only 48%. GOP infighting in Kentucky became a liability. Nunn's tax increase resulted in him being tagged "Nickle Nunn".

5) Colorado -- The President received 64% and Allott 49%. Allott was over-confident until it was too late. Allott was old and was on the wrong side of the ecology issue and Winter Olympic referendum;

6) Georgia -- The President received 75% and Thompson only 45%. Thompson's poor campaign staff did not tie in with the President's advertising, canvassing, and get-out-the-vote efforts;

7) Iowa -- The President received 59% and Miller 45%. Miller was over-confident and a poor campaigner. Miller did not cooperate with either the CRP or GOP, and had voted against Butts;

8) Delaware -- The President received 60% and Boggs 49%. Biden's aggressive personal campaign was made more effective because of good media. Boggs' age and tie to unpopular Governor Peterson were negatives;

9) Montana -- The President received 66% and Hibbard 49.0%. No one in Washington thought Hibbard had a chance and so no money, surrogates, or effective CRP leadership were sent to help;

10) South Dakota -- The President received 54% and Hirsch 43%. Abouresk was a popular, good campaigner while Hirsch's chances were over-rated because he had poor name identification, no professional management and little money;

11) Rhode Island -- The President received 53% and Chafee ran away from the President to 46%. Chafee had poor management and an ineffective personal campaign.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

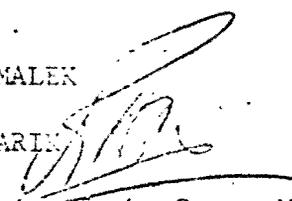
MEMORANDUM

November 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

BOB MARIN 

SUBJECT:

Analysis of the Coattail
Effect on the 1972 Election

This memo outlines recommendations for analyzing why Republican candidates for statewide and local offices did not fare better in the wake of the landslide for President Nixon.

The election of 1972 had several unique aspects:

- A landslide of unprecedented proportions for a Republican President.
- Unexpectedly poor showings by Republican candidates for Senate, Governor, Congress and state legislatures.
- The lowest percent turnout of eligible voters for a Presidential election since 1948.
- The participation of 18-20 year olds for the first time in a Presidential election.
- One of the most concerted person-to-person grass roots effort ever conducted by a national Republican campaign.

Kevin Phillips has suggested that large numbers of Republicans and Republican-leaning Independents stayed home on Election Day, possibly because of Watergate. Others have suggested that the President's overwhelming lead in the polls created apathy on the part of his partisans. Conversely, many candidates for statewide and local races felt that the Committee turned out many Democrats who voted for the President and then voted for Democrats on the rest of the ticket.

The last minority party Presidential landslide took place 16 years ago. Since then, the voters have become much more sophisticated in the splitting of their ticket. In addition, some profound party realignments appear to be in progress. Elements of the Roosevelt coalition, especially blue collar ethnics, Southern whites and Jewish voters are showing increased inclination to vote for the Republican Presidential candidate. At the same time, upper-middle income suburbanites, the "high-end" ticket-splitters, are tending to vote more often on the Democratic line.

For all of the foregoing reasons, the generalizations of the past relating to landslides and coattails may not fit the 1972 voting results. A careful, in-depth analysis of the election returns must be made before any firm conclusions can be drawn about the President's effect on the rest of the ticket.

Proposed Method of Analysis

Three projects are contemplated to analyze the election results.

Post-Election Poll. Bob Teeter has proposed a poll to be conducted on a nationwide sample of registered voters. The purpose is to determine the reasons why support was given to the Presidential candidates, and how that support extended down the ticket. The survey will also examine the reasons why the non-voters stayed home. The questionnaire is projected to go into the field on November 24 or 25. It will require about ten days in the field and another ten days to two weeks for analysis. Early results would be available by mid-December, with the completed analysis by the last week of the month.

In addition, several post-election surveys are being conducted in separate states. Market Opinion Research is conducting polls in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Indiana. California and Colorado are being surveyed by AMPAC. Those results will be available within a short time.

Analysis of Voting Results by County. Dan Evans of Bob Teeter's Re-election Committee staff, is collecting voting results for all counties across the country. He will compare these turnout results with 1968 statistics, and construct maps to graphically display the trends. Although this analysis will be too coarse to discern detailed patterns, it may uncover some of the basic factors which combined to yield the extremely low turnout of 1972. The county analysis is useful because that data is available much earlier than precinct data in most states.

Analysis of Voting Results by Precincts. Precincts will be selected to analyze turnout patterns by voter segment. For example, high Republican precincts will be studied to see whether Republican turnout fell off more than proportionately from 1968. High Democratic precincts which supported the President will show whether those Democrats turned out in high numbers and contributed to the defeat of local Republican candidates. A complete grid of all important voter segments should be constructed, so that the relative turnout and ticket-splitting of each type can be analyzed. Some of the more important characteristics are:

- Party
- Republicans
- Democrats
 - Pro-Nixon
 - Pro-McGovern
 - Pro-Wallace in primaries

Social Group

Young Voters
Older Voters
Blacks
Jewish
Middle-income urban (Peripheral Urban Ethnic-type)
High income
Peripheral urban ethnics (blue collar)
Spanish surname

Location

Urban
Suburban
Rural

Impact of Campaign

Precincts of high telephone/door-to-door canvass/direct mail
Precincts of low campaign activity.

Bob Teeter has already begun some analysis of Ohio precinct results. This work is being coordinated with this overall project to avoid duplication. The RNC is also collecting and analyzing local election data. Their activities should also be brought into the context of one coordinated effort. I am working with Ed DeBolt to accomplish that objective.

Data for many precincts will not be available until after January 1, 1973. Therefore, the analysis will have to extend until mid-January or later. Interim results would be available sooner.

Most of the people now associated with this project will be working at other jobs by January. A project coordinator is needed who can maintain continuity and give professional judgment to the analysis.

Recommendation

That Bob Teeter be engaged, in a consulting role, to oversee the precinct analysis until its completion. Bob is already coordinating the first two parts of the overall post-election evaluation, as well as doing some precinct analysis. The RNC would provide the staff to perform the data collection and tabulation. Bob could spend a few days per month to give the required overall direction.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

Gordon Strachan

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

November 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: RICK FORE
SUBJECT: U. S. Senate Race Losses

In my post-election memo to you, I pointed out that our Senate race defeats were cases of poor individual campaigns rather than a pattern. After checking with our campaign leadership across the country, we found that most of the losing campaigns had negative factors.

Following is a list of Senate races, along with the reasons that we feel each Republican candidate lost.

ALABAMA Nixon 76%

Sparkman 66%
Blount 34%

1. Sparkman ran a strong campaign in a Democratic state.
2. Major newspapers endorsed Sparkman.
3. Wallace endorsed Sparkman more than nominally.
4. Alabamans felt there was no real White House support of the Blount candidacy.
5. Sparkman reminded people that if he lost, Proxmire would be the Banking Committee Chairman. This strategy brought Sparkman a great deal of money for his pre-election TV and newspaper blitzes.
6. Blount was not a good personality for campaigning.
7. Major criticism of TV advertising. The more exposure Blount received, the more he lost.

MAINE Nixon 70%

Hathaway 53%
Smith 47%

1. Smith ran campaign alone. Little if any coordinated effort with GOP or CREP.
2. Refused all type of help from administration -- money, etc.
3. Smith's relationship to her administrative assistant.
4. The greatest negative of the race in Maine was the fact that Senator Smith was 75 years old. This was an issue that carried over from the GOP primary.
5. Smith campaigned very little -- mostly on weekends.
6. Hathaway campaigned aggressively in 482 communities.

KENTUCKY Nixon 65%

Huddleston 52%
Nunn 48%

1. The GOP infighting in Kentucky proved to be a liability.
2. The greatest negative of the Nunn campaign was that he reneged on his promise of no new tax increase during his term as governor. In raising the sales tax from 3¢ to 5¢, the Governor became known as "Nickle Nunn".
3. Another negative from Nunn's term as governor was his use, or misuse, of patronage.
4. Huddleston was a clean candidate with no reasons for Democrats to dislike him.
5. The incumbent administration of Governor Ford used all possible leverage to assist Huddleston.

COLORADO Nixon 64%

Haskell 51%
Allott 49%

1. Senator Allott was over-confident -- did not feel he needed the help until it was too late.
2. Allott upset farmers and ranchers by siding with ecologists on the predator issue.
3. Allott supported a referendum for the Winter Olympics coming to Colorado. This was defeated by the voters overwhelmingly.
4. Like many other races, Senator Allott's age -- 65 years old -- was a negative.

GEORGIA Nixon 75%

Nunn 55%
Thompson 45%

1. Poor campaign leadership and staff.
2. No tie with President in advertising, canvassing and get out the vote.
3. Thompson did not campaign on issues of concern to the voters, but rather engaged in name calling with the opponent. He failed to present himself as a statesman to contrast with Nunn.
4. Got caught abusing Congressional financing privilege.

IOWA Nixon 59%

Clark 55%
Miller 45%

1. Miller was tremendously overconfident.
2. He was not a good campaigner
3. Huge lead in polls, 35% in spring, 20% sixty days before November 7.
4. Operated alone; no cooperation with CREP or GOP.
5. Clark ran an excellent campaign. Walked across the state for P.R.
6. The greatest negative was a Tax Exemption Bill introduced by Miller. Clark used this as a "special favors" issue.
7. Turned off press - Des Moines Register battered Miller, endorsed Nixon, Ray and Clark.
8. Miller voted against Butz.
9. In six months, Miller lost 40 points.
10. Miller is 56 years old.

DELAWARE Nixon 60%

Biden 51%
Boggs 49%

1. Biden was aggressive, youthful and personable. Outspent Boggs. Good media and lots of personal contact with the voters. (\$70,000 supplied Biden from COPE, rumored.)
2. Boggs remained on the Senate floor and did not return to the state often to campaign.
3. Boggs campaign, especially in King County, was tied too closely with the Governor's campaign. This was harmful as Governor Peterson was not popular and was also defeated.
4. Boggs' age -- 63 years old -- was a negative.

MONTANA Nixon 60%

Metcalf 50.2%
Hibbard 49.8%

1. No one in Washington ever thought we would have a chance to win, Senatorial Campaign Committee, etc.
2. Montana CREP leadership was weak. They also did not believe Hibbard had a chance.
3. There was little liaison between the Nixon and Hibbard campaigns.
4. No major surrogates were sent to help.
5. Hibbard was only average as a candidate, his campaign manager was less than average caliber.

SOUTH DAKOTA Nixon 54%

Abourezk 57%
Hirsh 43%

1. We overrated Hirsh's chances originally.
2. Abourezk was popular and a good campaigner.
3. Hirsh did not have money; poor name identification.
4. No professional campaign management.
5. Bitter Primary.

RHODE ISLAND Nixon 53%

Pell 54%
Chafee 46%

1. Pell ran a most effective campaign.
2. Chafee ran away from the President -- misjudged the temper of the electorate.
3. There is a tradition of liking WASPish Newport Set.
4. Pell was non-controversial.
5. Chafee had poor, amateur campaign management.
6. Wouldn't effectively campaign -- wasn't warm.
7. Rhode Island is one of the most Democratic states in the U. S.

cc: Jerry Jones
Gordon Strachan ✓

Many Voters Skip the Big One

By ROBERT WALTERS
Star-News Staff Writer

Voters by the thousands in last week's election refused to make any choice in the contest for the presidency, even after they had entered booths to vote on other races.

The emergence of that voting pattern, evidenced this year in at least 12 states, contrasts with a tradition of voter participation in presidential elections at levels generally far higher than in any other contest on the ballot.

There is no evidence of a similar pattern in the returns for 1960 or 1968, and there were only a few instances in 1964, when voters were faced with a mirror image of this year's presidential race — an outspoken conservative running on the Republican ticket and a middle-of-the-road Democrat opposing him.

In previous years, there has been a drop-off of total votes cast, ranging from 1 percent to 25 percent or more, recorded in races for governor and other statewide offices as well as Senate seats.

Familiarity A Factor

Below the statewide level, the number of voters casting their ballots in House races and in contests for local offices usually falls off even more sharply, a pattern generally attributed to the belief that many voters are neither interested in nor familiar with the candidates and issues involved in the lesser elections.

The decade-old pattern of decreasing participation in presidential elections on the part of those qualified to register and vote — reinforced this year when only about 55 per-

cent of those eligible cast their ballots — has been widely discussed in recent years.

But there has been no mention of the phenomenon which this year produced so many voters who were inside the voting booth and the touch of a fingertip away from a presidential choice, but chose to ignore that race.

Some examples:

- In six states — Kansas, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont and West Virginia — voter participation was higher in the gubernatorial race than in the presidential contest.

- In Alaska, Alabama, Idaho, Maine and South Dakota, thousands of persons cast their ballots in races for Senate seats, but did not vote for any presidential candidate.

- In Alaska, Hawaii and Wyoming, the total number of votes cast in races for House seats exceeds the number of ballots in the presidential contest. (Alaska and Wyoming are allotted only one House seat apiece, so that post is, in effect, a statewide office. Hawaii has two House seats.)

That new voting pattern appears, in large measure, to be a manifestation of growing voter alienation, frustration and apathy, directed particularly toward the federal government.

'Protest' Vote

Another factor may have been the absence on the presidential ballot this year of a popular "protest" figure such as Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who in 1968 received the support of more than 9.7 million voters (13.6 percent of the electorate) after stressing

his belief that there was "not a dime's worth of difference" between the two major party candidates.

Support for that theory comes from an analysis of the votes cast this year for Rep. John G. Schmitz, R-Calif., a highly conservative protest candidate who was in the ballot in more than half of the states as the nominee of the American Independent party.

Although Schmitz' campaign was far less effective than Wallace's effort in attracting publicity and voter support, his presence on the ballot was the only factor which prevented the votes cast for all presidential candidates from dropping below the total votes in some other statewide contest in at least 11 other states — Arizona, Connecticut, Iowa, Louisiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina and Utah.

Dilemma for Some

In addition, there is the widely discussed belief that many persons who in the past followed a rigid pattern of voting only for the straight Democratic ticket were unable to accept Sen. George McGovern as their party's presidential nominee but unwilling to cross over into the Republican column to cast a ballot for President Nixon.

Complete and official election results will not be available in some states for at least several weeks, and the margins of difference in voter participation levels in the presidential race and other contests are so close in some states that the final figures may al-

ter the relationship of the various races.

(Alaska, for example, is the slowest of all the states to complete its official count because of harsh winter weather and the isolation of some communities. The current, incomplete figures show a drop-off of 609 votes from the House contest to the presidential race and 425 votes from the Senate contest to the presidential race.)

But the most current statistics on the election — figures which provide almost complete results in most states in the races for the presidency, House and Senate seats and governorships — show that at least 102,676 voters nationally abstained from indicating any choice in the presidential race though they voted in other contests.

That figure represents only a very small fraction of the total votes cast last week across the country, but it does not take into account the hundreds of thousands of persons who in the past have balloted in the presidential race but not in other contests — and who this year reversed that pattern.

West Virginia

In West Virginia, for example, when Republican Gov. Arch A. Moore sought his first term in 1968, the gubernatorial contest attracted 11,694 fewer voters than the presidential race.

This year, Moore sought re-election in highly contested race against Democrat John D. (Jay) Rockefeller III, and 12,850 West Virginians who refused to participate in the

presidential race voted in the gubernatorial contest.

The only state in which the drop-off at the top of the ticket was greater than West Virginia was Alabama, where 943,501 voters chose between Democratic Sen. John Sparkman and Republican challenger Winton M. Blount, but only 876,615 indicated their preference of Nixon or McGovern — a drop-off of 66,886 votes.

A particularly heated race for a Senate seat appears to have been a factor in Maine, also. There, 6,643 voters saw no reason to side with either presidential candidate but did vote for either Republican Sen. Margaret Chase Smith or Democratic Rep. William Hathaway.

In Vermont, a hard-fought gubernatorial race attracted 3,233 more voters than did the presidential contest. The margins of difference in voter participation in other gubernatorial races and the presidential contest were: Kansas, 1,267 votes; South Dakota, 1,661 votes; North Dakota, 1,237 votes, and Montana, 641 votes.

In Hawaii, 4,902 persons voted for candidates for House seats in two congressional districts but ignored the presidential race. And in Wyoming, the race for the at-large House seat attracted 1,110 voters who indicated a preference for neither presidential candidate.

Marcos Woos Tourists

MANILA (AP) — President Ferdinand E. Marcos decreed all foreign tourists exempt from hotel room taxes, as a means of attracting more visitors.

A
C
M



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT



As you can perceive from news reports, there is some griping in Republican ranks regarding the outcome of the Republican election which is being hailed as a great personal victory for the President but less than that for the Republican Party. In addition, Dole, Evans and others at the RNC were piqued because supposedly the President did not refer to the Republican Party and the RNC in his remarks of gratitude at the Shoreham Hotel Tuesday evening. Some big contributors and other staunch friends came a long distance with the expectations that they would see the President in a private meeting after the President's talk at the Shoreham.

Regardless of the merits of the gripes, I think it would be wise for a Presidential letter to be sent to all members of the RNC, the Finance Committee and top Republican leaders across the country as soon as possible. This way no one can say they were not thanked directly by the President in any way.

P.S. - Told H. R. - He agrees. HSD

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 15, 1972
11:00 a. m.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*
RE: Post-Election Acknowledgments

Last week two separate memoranda were sent to you relating to letters and gifts for campaign workers and principal campaign contributors. This memorandum is an update to my previous one with some new recommendations and some status reports.

Campaign Gifts

On Tuesday, November 14, I spent the better part of the day in New York City working with the company that is developing the campaign gift. Up until now they have been working on the reproduction of the Steuben Star from photographs and descriptions. Only one individual from the Company had actually seen the Star down here. Yesterday I took the Star up with me (and to my great relief returned it to the President's desk undamaged) so that we could compare the reproduction with the actual. Although, understandably, the reproduction will not match the quality of the original, I believe that the concept will work.

As a result of our observations and efforts yesterday, I sent them back to their drawing boards and it will be six days (Tuesday, November 21) before we have samples to present to you. The reason for the delay is that we have found areas for improvement in the Star, which is the focal point of the campaign gifts. Without getting into all the details, some of the improvements involve deepening angles on some of the facets that will result in better optical qualities relating to light, changing the base, replacing an identifying plaque, thickening the center of the Star, and redesigning the box for the expensive gift in a manner that provides more strength, dignity and utility.

It appears that lucite is the material that will be used for the Star. This conclusion was reached for the following reasons:

1. Lucite is considerably lighter than glass and will reduce mailing costs.
2. The lucite star will appear almost as nice as glass, and there is nothing to be gained.
3. To go to glass would require six to eight weeks just for the molds. The mold for lucite can be done in a considerably shorter period of time.
4. The Seal on a lucite star can be silkscreened with retention of good resolution and at a relatively low cost (approx. 25¢) whereas a Seal on glass would have to be etched at a higher price, probably using an acid process.

One disadvantage of lucite is that it is more expensive than glass. In looking at the approximate costs, I am coming to the conclusion that we have two rather than three categories of gifts. What we have lost is the low cost gift that I wanted to come in with at around \$7.00. What remains is the intermediate gift, running approximately \$12.00, and the more expensive gift running somewhere in the neighborhood of \$24.00 or \$25.00. The absence of an inexpensive gift is a disappointment to me since I wanted to have one in order to provide a gift for as many people as possible. In the absence of one, I now think that we should go ahead with that Certificate (Tab A) and distribute it to everyone who will eventually receive a gift, all White House Staff members, and miscellaneous volunteers at 1701/1730 who worked sufficient hours to warrant such a Certificate. Since we will not have an inexpensive gift, this Certificate will be the tangible item of recognition for those individuals such as White House and CREP secretaries who we were previously considering for an inexpensive gift. Also, by getting the Certificate out now, we do pay recognition to everyone, and this provides time for proper development and finalization of the other gifts.

Prepare and distribute Certificate immediately:

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Letters of Recognition

The letters that were submitted to you last week, and which were prepared by Roland Elliott, must now be revised to delete any reference to a gift since there will be a delay on the gift distribution. These letters (attached at Tab B) would be prepared immediately and distributed to the following categories:

1. Major Contributors (\$1,000 and above).
2. Top CREP Staff, Surrogates and Volunteers.
3. Top RNC Staff and Volunteers.
4. State CREP Chairmen.
5. State GOP Chairmen.
6. Top Dems for Nixon Staff and Volunteers.
7. National Committee Men and Women.
8. Key White House Staff.
9. Local CREP and GOP Staff.
10. Selected Lower Level Volunteers.
11. Advancemen.
12. Smaller Contributors.

The Certificates would be enclosed with the letters, although the letters would not refer to them.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Draft letters as proposed by Roland Elliott:

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

cc: G. Strachan

~~(CRP LOGO)
for~~

(SEAL)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Presents This

CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

To

For Outstanding Contributions to the 1972
Presidential Election Campaign, and for
Helping to Build a New American Majority.

November, 1972
The White House

S/
Richard Nixon

Dear

The splendid results of November 7 now give us the opportunity to finish the work we have begun -- to win a lasting peace abroad and to gain a new prosperity and progress here at home.

But this opportunity would not have been possible without your generous support in helping us to bring our message to the American people. For this, I am of course deeply grateful, and I pledge to you that I shall do everything possible to make the next four years the very best in America's history.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN:MBS:RLE:

Dear ////:

The splendid results of November 7 are outstanding tributes to your dedicated work in the 1972 campaign. Such an overwhelming victory confirms my belief that the vast majority of Americans across the land wants us to finish the work we have begun -- to win a lasting peace and to gain a new prosperity and progress here at home.

Our success last week would not have been possible, of course, without your superb help and, needless to say, I am deeply grateful. I look forward to your continued support as we work together to make the next four years the best four years in America's history.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

RN:MBS:RLE:ki

//////////, 1972

EXECUTIVE
PL/NIXON

Dear ///////////:

Thanks in good measure to your dedication and hard work, our election message has been successfully carried to the American people. Now, with the backing of the vast majority of our fellow citizens, we can continue the programs we began four years ago -- to win a lasting peace abroad and gain a new prosperity and progress here at home.

Your personal efforts during this campaign have meant a great deal to me, and I deeply appreciate all you have done. I look forward to your continued support as we work together to make the next four years the best four years in America's history.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

//////////
//////////
//////////

RN:MBS:RLE:

///// //, 1972

Dear ///:

As I said on Election Night, no one knows before the votes are counted how it is going to come out. But we do know for certain that for an election victory as substantial as ours, there had to have been a first-rate campaign organization to bring about such a success.

I want to tell you how deeply grateful I am for the leadership you gave to our campaign efforts in ///////////////. I look forward to your continued support as we work together to make the next four years the best four years in America's history.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

/////

RN:AVH:MBS:RLE:///

////// //, 1972

Dear ////:

Anyone who has been active in political affairs knows it is the State Chairman who carries a major share of the burden in an election year. Your hard work and splendid cooperation did much to assure our success in //////////////, and I am deeply grateful. I look forward to your continued support as we work together to make the next four years the best four years in America's history.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

/////
/////
/////

RN:AVH:MBS:RLE:///

Dear ///////////////:

The impressive results of November 7 are outstanding tributes to your dedicated efforts in the 1972 campaign. Such a victory confirms my belief that the vast majority of Americans across the land wants us to finish the work we have begun -- to win a lasting peace abroad and to gain a new prosperity at home.

Our great margin of success would not have been possible without your splendid contributions and those of so many others who served in the Democrats for Nixon campaign. I am deeply grateful for all you have done, and I look forward to your continuing support as we work together to make the next four years the best four years in America's history.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

Dear

Without your leadership and hard work in //////////////, the November 7 victory would not have been possible. [It was especially encouraging to note that our margin in ////////// exceeded the 1968 results.] The Republican Party is indeed fortunate to have you in one of its key positions, and I want you to know of my deep gratitude for your outstanding efforts which contributed so much to our success in bringing ////////// into the winning column.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN:MAF:MBS:RLE:

P-497

Key White House Staff

Dear ////:

In thanking all those who contributed so much to our victory on November 7, I want you to know how grateful I am for your splendid efforts throughout the entire campaign.

I am well aware of the long hours which the dedicated men and women of the White House Staff spent in the months prior to Election Day, and I am especially grateful to you for ///////////////. I look forward to your continued support as we work together to make the next four years the best four years in America's history.

With warm good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN:MAF:MBS:RLE:

Local CRP and GOP Staff

P-500

Dear // //// :

As anyone who has stood for public office know, the success of his candidacy depends in good measure on the dedication and sheer hard work of his supporters at the local level. Such was certainly the case for this year's Presidential elections, and our success on November 7 was made possible because of your personal contributions to our cause. Needless to say, I am very grateful, and this note comes with my warmest thanks and kindest good wishes.

Sincerely,

RN:DH:MBS:RLE:

, 1972

EXEC
PL/NIXON

Dear ////

Anyone who has stood for public office knows that the success of his candidacy depends in large measure on the dedication of his workers at the grass-roots level. Certainly, this was the case on November 7, and I am deeply grateful for your outstanding volunteer efforts which made my last campaign the very best one of all.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

/////
/////
/////

RN:DH:MBS:RLE:

, 1972

EXEC
PL/NIXON

Dear ////

As it has so many times in the past, the Advance Team did an outstanding job throughout the entire campaign. Our victory on November 7 was in large measure due to their dedicated and effective work, and I am deeply grateful to you for your contributions of energy, time, and talent as a member of that team.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely,

/////
/////
/////

RN:DH:MBS:RLE:

Smaller Contributors

Dear ///////////////:

As anyone who has stood for public office knows, the success of his candidacy depends in good measure on the generosity of his supporters at every level. Certainly, this was the case with our splendid victory on November 7, and this note is just to thank you for your contribution which helped to make Election Day -- and my last campaign -- the very best one of all.

With kindest good wishes,

Sincerely,

RN

RN:MBS:RLE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

L....

This was dex'd to Wash.
at about 1:00 p. m.

P.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO BE DELETED TO WASHINGTON

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

Would you please get together with the CIEP types and any of the other analysis-types. We need a complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election. I realize some of this might be done in the Malek operation, but if we can break out this part and get it together now, it would be helpful.

We lost a net of one Governor and a net of four state legislatures. This shows the total ineffectiveness of the Republican Party, at least at the lower level, since these races were not effected by the Presidential status and it shows the Party was a terrible drag.

We need a check as to whether we really made the effort to get all the Republicans out, or did we rely too much on Dole and the National Committee for this. I know you have some biases here on Malek and that Malek has some biases on the Committee, but I need your totally unbiased objective analysis of this situation.

With only a 55% turnout, we should have won a huge Republican victory and it must have been a weak Republican effort that cut into this. This should be examined ruthlessly, with no excuses, because we need to know where the strengths and weaknesses are.

If it is necessary, get together with whoever you feel would be appropriate in doing this, but let's make sure this is one of the best items we do.

Dex
11/14

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO BE DEX'D TO WASHINGTON

November 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

Would you please get together with the CREP types and any of the other analysis-types. We need a complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election. I realize some of this might be done in the Malek operation, but if we can break out this part and get it together now, it would be helpful.

Mark
Fore
DePote

We lost a net of one Governor and a net of four state legislatures. This shows the total ineffectiveness of the Republican Party, at least at the lower level, since these races were not effected by the Presidential status and it shows the Party was a terrible drag.

Let's
Don of
Copies
10/64-68

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60TU
today -
to whom
RNC
CRPPA

- Bonham
- Harris
- Davies

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If it is necessary, get together with whoever you feel would be appropriate in doing this, but let's make sure this is one of the best items we do.

ACTION MEMO

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We need a check as to whether we really made the effort to get all Republicans out, or did we rely too much on Dole and the National Committee for this.

With only a 55% turn out, we should have won a huge Republican victory. There must have been a weak Republican effort that cut into this. This should be examined ruthlessly with no excuses because we need to know where the strengths and weaknesses are.

HRH :pm

11/13/72

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
* Missouri							
Jackson	129,922	92,836	222,758	459,932			48.3
St. Louis	253,102	154,731	407,833	645,564	485,345	83.3	63.0
St. Louis City	69,744	113,782	183,526	446,358	263,917	65.3	41.1
* Wisconsin							
Waukesha	59,399	34,573	97,620	146,823			65.8
Dane	56,020	79,567	137,177	203,415			67.4
Milwaukee	190,755	209,754	413,813	739,576	491,801	66.4	55.9
Washington							
King	251,055	181,467	447,211	816,713	701,243	63.8	54.8
* Texas							
Dallas	304,850	129,809	434,659	896,934	631,457	68.8	48.5
Harris	365,670	215,916	581,586	1,164,513	847,779	68.6	49.9
Colorado	3,495	1,502	4,997	12,515	8,068	61.9	39.9
Georgia							
Dekalb	102,676	29,727	145,317	280,155	181,000	80.3	51.9
Fulton	92,256	74,329	192,650	432,287			44.6
* Florida							
Dade	256,529	177,693	434,222	920,094	592,659	73.3	47.2
Pinellas	179,541	77,197	256,968	416,764	324,802	79.1	61.7

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Ohio							
Ashtabula	22,769	15,222	39,692	66,541	47,235	84.0	59.7
Athens	9,735	9,977	19,915	42,575	25,500	78.0	46.8
Butler	49,981	21,042	73,081	155,758	98,691	74.0	47.0
Cleveland City					319,825		
Cuyahoga	329,567	316,263	680,077	1,214,412	883,984	76.9	56.0
Franklin	218,472	116,752	343,264	576,075	430,644	79.7	59.6
Greene	25,349	12,736	38,904	83,993	52,099	74.7	46.0
Hamilton	248,013	119,204	373,598	636,801	457,379	81.7	58.7
Cincinnati					208,086		
Montgomery	120,312	81,447	207,138	417,320	268,124	77.3	49.6
Mahoning	63,956	61,395	127,843	214,144	158,487	80.7	59.7
Shelby	9,089	4,721	14,703	24,646	17,768	82.7	59.7
Colorado							
Denver	122,025	97,972	223,373	375,480	301,692	74.0	59.0
* New York							
Bronx	197,441	245,757	443,198	1,053,437	703,902	63.0	42.0
Erie	251,869	203,939	445,808	774,650	596,692	75.0	58.0
Monroe	192,888	118,643	311,531	492,962	356,840	87.0	63.0
Nassau	440,219	253,095	693,314	992,377	828,799	83.0	70.0
New York	179,867	353,847	533,714	1,229,878			43.0
Onondaga	133,521	56,081	189,602	324,134	237,328	80.0	58.0
Queens	423,429	328,462	751,891	1,517,183	1,039,869	72.0	50.0
Suffolk	316,623	131,991	448,614	714,964	526,506	85.0	63.0
Westchester	263,067	148,655	411,722	643,194	471,630	87.0	64.0

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Kentucky							
Jefferson.	140,216	86,692	232,123	474,891	301,769	77.0	49.0
* California							
Yuba	6,433	4,433	12,164	29,134	15,320	79.4	41.8
Fresno	79,049	72,677	163,328	281,343	201,396	81.1	58.1
Mendocino	11,104	9,402	22,492	36,142	26,876	83.7	62.2
San Francisco	127,826	170,702	317,098	573,998	426,338	74.4	55.2
Marin	53,687	46,959	105,494	147,059	126,928	83.1	71.7
San Diego	365,644	203,722	605,470	973,656	725,501	83.5	62.2
Los Angeles	1,516,832	1,163,205	2,835,769	5,017,447	3,597,963	78.8	56.5
Orange	442,587	174,695	648,263	952,515	794,174	81.6	68.1
San Mateo	134,870	109,301	260,920	398,567	310,204	84.1	65.5
Tuolumne	5,894	4,596	11,107	16,500	13,205	84.1	67.3

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Kansas							
Sedgewick	83,949	34,220	122,701	239,103	156,975	78.2	51.3
Shawnee	43,727	20,383	69,249	239,103	83,388	83.0	29.0
Johnson	76,161	24,324	104,136	144,015	120,407	86.5	72.3
Wyandotte	34,112	28,405	64,968	127,480	82,265	79.0	51.0
Minnesota							
Hennepin	227,630	205,062	440,852	671,121	522,650	84.3	65.6
Ramsey	97,138	109,427	212,410	326,993			64.6
* Illinois							
Cook	1,197,818	1,006,793	2,204,611	3,840,387	3,140,500	70.2	57.4
Metro	529,517	708,206	1,237,723		1,990,500	62.1	
Suburban	668,301	298,587	966,888				
DuPage	166,346	64,000	230,346	318,031	290,432	79.3	72.4
Lake	78,332	41,371	119,703	258,885	165,357	72.4	46.2
Marion	10,755	6,968	17,723	27,962	27,740	63.9	63.4
Rock Island	36,684	32,159	68,843	115,441	100,000	68.8	59.6
Mississippi							
Harrison	28,889	4,744	36,640	58,000	91,212	63.0	40.0
Hinds	49,700	12,888	63,964	98,706	143,561	65.0	45.0

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

* Footnotes

CALIFORNIA	The Orange County figures for turnout include only votes cast for Nixon, McGovern, Schmitz and Spock; no other minor candidates are included.
ILLINOIS	Major party vote only - Schmitz not on ballot
WISCONSIN	Registration is mandatory only for communities of 5,000 or more.
MISSOURI	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot
TEXAS	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot
FLORIDA	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot
NEW YORK	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot

✓ R

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HERBERT G. KLEIN *HK*

The voting pattern in California I related to you earlier this morning is pretty much supported in later figures. It now appears that you will carry Los Angeles County by about 350,000; Orange County by about 275,000, and San Diego County by approximately 165,000.

In San Francisco city, it appears you lost by roughly ⁴³35,000 votes, but this was made up by carrying San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties; thus you lead in the overall area.

You lost Contra Costa County by 35,000 votes, but carried Kern County two to one and Fresno by an 8,000-vote margin.

In Sacramento, with all precincts reported and absentee ballots counted, you received 139,921 or 48.9 percent; Senator McGovern, 136,293, or 47.6 percent. One interesting sidelight is that this is the first time that a Republican presidential candidate has carried Sacramento County since Herbert Hoover, in 1928. According to an unofficial reading in the city of Sacramento, Senator McGovern is winning 63,892 to your vote count of 50,600. That, too, is significant.

A preliminary look at the small northern counties indicate the only one you lost was Shasta, and that was by only 1,000 votes.

Unfortunately, this did not translate to the state offices where Republicans took losses based largely on state politics and taxes.

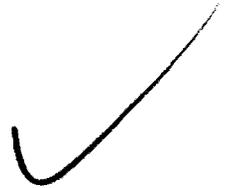
All this adds up to what appears to be a million vote victory in California. Congratulations.

cc: H. R. Haldeman

A later report will include television and radio stations. A majority of the stations which made endorsements also supported your re-election.

Attachments: Tab A - Endorsements for President Nixon
Tab B - Endorsements for Senator McGovern

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



11/13/72

TO: LARRY HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

The AP list is an updated version of what Colson has. Michigan through Nevada are not available due to an AP printing problem. They will be sent to Rhatigan tonight.

The RNC table is based on calls to the Secretaries of State and Republican Party sources. Many Secretaries of State indicated final results would not be available for 3-4 weeks.

Tomorrow more of the breakdown information will be sent.

State	% of Pres.	Nixon Vote	% of Vote	McGovern Vote	% of Vote	Senators	Year
Alabama	95	612,400	76	215,722	29	12,212	
Alaska	76	77,522	57	25,500	37	5,424	
Arizona	700	521,530	65	122,872	22	20,516	3
Arkansas	90	422,014	70	153,579	30		
California	100	4,510,311	56	5,422,518	42	22,212	2
Colorado	78	525,204	62	222,008	36	16,522	1
Connecticut	96	775,316	59	524,240	40	22,222	1
Delaware	100	122,222	60	21,222	32		
Dist. of Columbia	100	25,222	21	12,222	77		
Florida	100	1,222,222	22	622,222	22		
Georgia	23	222,222	75	222,222	25		
Hawaii	100	122,222	62	100,222	37		
Idaho	77	122,222	65	76,222	25	22,222	1
Illinois	97	2,222,222	20	1,222,222	40		
Indiana	100	1,222,222	47	222,222	32		
Iowa	100	222,222	50	222,222	41	21,222	1
Kansas	100	602,222	66	222,222	20	21,222	2
Kentucky	100	672,222	62	322,222	35	21,222	
Louisiana	90	722,222	62	322,222	22	21,222	
Maine	100	222,222	61	122,222	39		
Maryland	100	722,222	22	222,222	37	12,222	1
Massachusetts	100	1,222,222	45	1,222,222	55		
Michigan							
Minnesota							
Mississippi							
Missouri							
Montana							
Nebraska							
Nevada							
New Hampshire	100	212,222	65	115,222	37	2,222	1
New Jersey	97	1,222,222	62	1,222,222	32	21,222	10
New Mexico	99	222,222	61	122,222	39	2,222	10
New York	97	4,222,222	59	2,222,222	41		
North Carolina	100	1,222,222	90	422,222	29	21,222	1
North Dakota	94	122,222	62	22,222	35	5,222	12
Ohio	100	2,222,222	60	1,222,222	32	20,222	10
Oklahoma	100	222,222	27	222,222	24	22,222	2
Oregon	100	422,222	52	322,222	42	46,222	5
Pennsylvania	100	2,222,222	60	1,222,222	39	27,222	1
Rhode Island	100	222,222	57	122,222	46		
South Carolina	97	422,222	71	122,222	22	10,222	
South Dakota	100	122,222	55	122,222	45		
Tennessee	100	212,222	62	222,222	30	20,222	
Texas	97	2,222,222	66	1,222,222	54		

State	% of Dist.	Nixon % of Vote	McGovern % of Vote	Schmitz % of Vote
Utah	100	521,583 65	126,408 26	28,616 6
Vermont	100	116,255 63	69,111 37	
Virginia	100	963,445 64	440,030 30	19,355 1
Washington	94	679,158 57	475,569 39	48,953 4
West Virginia	98	475,043 64	271,955 36	
Wisconsin	100	988,031 54	807,070 44	47,019 2
Wyoming	100	100,630 69	44,388 31	
TOTAL	99	46,260,327 60.85	23,626,007 37.65	1,064,159 1.40

<u>Precincts</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
95%	Alabama	691,259	215,099	916,621	2,274,000	1,763,845	52.0	40.0
76%	Alaska	44,577	25,580	75,891	200,000	150,000	50.0	37.0
100%	Arizona	394,949	194,039	609,396	1,239,000	861,812	70.0	49.0
96%	Arkansas	427,014	190,598	617,612	1,310,000	959,871	64.0	47.1
100%	California	4,546,396	3,433,666	8,210,512	13,945,000	10,466,215	76.0	58.0
98%	Colorado	585,324	325,448	929,309	1,558,000	1,219,591	76.2	59.6
96%	Connecticut	801,143	535,405	1,359,875	2,106,000	1,507,603	90.2	64.5
100%	Delaware	139,796	91,904	234,789	371,000	293,078	80.1	63.2
100%	Dist. Columbia	31,257	115,914	149,089	518,000	305,072	48.9	28.7
100%	Florida	1,752,230	690,546	2,442,776	5,105,000	3,467,468	70.0	47.8
93%	Georgia	794,766	264,864	1,059,630	3,104,000	2,131,188	49.7	34.1
100%	Hawaii	167,414	100,617	268,031	531,000	326,905	82.0	50.4
99%	Idaho	197,589	80,558	307,462	479,000	400,000	76.9	64.1
97%	Illinois	2,745,352	1,861,930	4,607,302	7,542,000	6,215,331	74.1	61.0
100%	Indiana	1,401,947	705,808	2,107,355	3,509,000	2,842,195	74.1	60.0
100%	Iowa	706,578	434,863	1,225,492	1,909,000	739,906+		64.1
100%	Kansas	605,632	265,158	891,810	1,541,000	1,065,730	84.0	57.6
100%	Kentucky	671,198	369,051	1,057,428	2,206,000	1,454,575	72.6	47.9
96%	Louisiana	758,962	377,489	1,194,938	2,339,000	1,784,680	66.9	51.0
100%	Maine	252,351	161,659	414,510	666,000	576,925	71.8	62.2
100%	Maryland	797,295	466,570	1,302,315	2,668,000	1,815,784	72.0	48.4

<u>Products</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout Voting Age Population</u>
100%	Massachusetts	1,105,072	1,324,526	2,429,598	3,955,000	2,775,538	78.4	61.4
95%	Michigan	1,895,233	1,411,175	3,366,338	5,874,000	4,755,423	70.8	57.3
98%	Minnesota	881,326	789,473	1,701,478	2,560,000			66.5
99%	Mississippi	498,680	125,756	636,090	1,403,000	875,000	72.0	45.3
99%	Missouri	1,132,111	682,030	1,814,141	3,266,000			55.5
100%	Montana	183,784	118,661	314,691	460,000	386,867	81.0	66.4
100%	Nebraska	384,571	162,598	547,169	1,022,000	807,267	87.0	53.5
98%	Nevada	114,593	65,258	159,912	348,000	231,037	69.2	46.0
100%	New Hampshire	213,724	116,435	331,055	521,000	423,622	78.1	63.5
97%	New Jersey	1,769,487	1,058,557	2,852,405	5,025,000	3,667,329	77.8	56.8
93%	New Mexico	233,036	138,856	380,515	636,000	605,432	75.3	59.8
93%	New York	4,180,448	2,307,598	7,088,044	12,779,000	9,207,363	77.0	55.5
100%	North Carolina	1,052,165	437,652	1,514,178	3,463,000	2,357,645	64.2	43.7
94%	North Dakota	165,977	94,879	266,211	402,000			66.2
100%	Ohio	2,426,048	1,546,959	4,067,776	7,185,000	4,627,940+		56.6
100%	Oklahoma	745,810	242,957	1,011,634	1,812,000	1,247,157	80.2	55.8
100%	Oregon	483,229	390,867	920,200	1,500,000	1,198,996	76.7	61.3
100%	Pennsylvania	2,703,975	1,788,034	4,559,264	8,161,000	5,433,752	83.9	55.9
100%	Rhode Island	209,166	185,238	394,405	673,000	531,847	74.0	58.8
97%	South Carolina	468,572	189,560	668,188	1,706,000	1,033,688	64.6	39.2

<u>Precincts</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout Of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout Of Voting Age Population</u>
100%	South Dakota	163,614	137,569	301,383	434,000	391,727	76.3	69.4
100%	Tennessee	812,465	355,812	1,198,533	2,713,000	1,990,026	60.2	44.2
99%	Texas	8,272,656	1,146,470	3,419,126	7,681,000	5,100,000	67.0	44.3
100%	Utah	321,595	126,008	476,219	689,000	543,364	67.6	69.1
100%	Vermont	116,702	68,616	185,318	309,000	250,000	74.0	60.0
100%	Virginia	986,445	440,031	1,445,772	3,197,000	1,902,062	76.0	45.2
94%	Washington	679,156	475,553	1,175,597	2,371,000	1,973,895	59.6	49.6
98%	West Virginia	472,063	271,950	744,013	1,182,000	1,072,519	69.4	62.9
100%	Wisconsin	986,521	807,070	1,843,110	2,935,000	1,850,000	99.6	62.4
100%	Wyoming	100,630	44,348	144,986	225,000	138,936	104.3	65.4

KEY:

Total Turnout: Based on the unofficial total Nixon-McGovern-Schmidt vote and does not include other minor parties

Voting Age Population: U.S. Census Estimate for November, 1972

Total Registered Voters: Most recent statistics available from Secretaries of State offices

+ Partial Registration

Outlook '73/Nixon sees victory as mandate to pursue goals; White House faces fiscal struggle with Democratic Congress

The White House: President to make changes in personnel and programs

By Dom Bonafede

Buoyed by an unprecedented victory in his bid for reelection, President Nixon turns to the task of remodeling his Administration as a vehicle to sell his policies and programs to the nation and the Congress.

To the White House, the only off-note in the President's triumph over Sen. George S. McGovern, D-S.D., is the fact he once again will have to deal with a Congress dominated by the opposition party.

But in contrast to his first term, when he governed as a minority President, Mr. Nixon now has 61 per cent of the electorate on his side.

Consequently, in a showdown with Congress, he can take his case to the people and be assured of a sympathetic hearing.

Broad picture: It is within this setting that a picture emerges of the broad outlines of Mr. Nixon's second term:

- There will be fewer innovative proposals on the domestic front in favor of attempts to refine and repair earlier measures.

- Less emphasis will be made on making the grand gesture in the field of foreign policy and more movement in the area of international trade and commerce.

- There will be a face-lifting of the White House staff with many loyalists leaving the Administration or being shifted to other positions.

- Now that the experimental period has run its course, there will be a reshaping of some agencies within the executive branch, such as the Domestic Council and Office of Management and Budget.

Prospective shakeup: Wasting little time to savor his victory, Mr. Nixon announced through the White House press office the day after the Nov. 7 election that there would be an imminent shakeup at the top levels of the executive branch.

"You can guess by that, that the old man means to get cracking this second term," commented a White House aide.

"But, don't look for a lot of dramas around here. There will be some new action but mostly it's going to be a time of hearing down on programs earlier laid out."

(Continued on p. 1729.)

1972 Election Results At a Glance

Popular Vote

Richard M. Nixon
45,861,690

George S. McGovern
28,402,465

Electoral Vote

Nixon 521
(49 states)

McGovern 17
(2 states)

Senate

	92nd	93rd
Dems	55	57
Reps	45	43

House

	92nd	93rd
Dems	255	242
Reps	177	192
Vacancies	3	—
Undecided	—	1

Governors

	Old	New
Dems	30	31
Reps	20	19

The Congress: Senate and House leaders to fashion own priorities

By Andrew J. Glass

Democratic leaders are discounting President Nixon's triumph at the polls while relying on solid Democratic majorities in the new 93rd Congress to help fashion their own legislative programs.

The Nov. 7 election returns did nothing to narrow the wide political breach between the White House and Capitol Hill.

Democratic gains, losses: The Senate—where much of Mr. Nixon's legislative troubles were concentrated during his first term in office—is apt to be even less friendly to his Administration than heretofore.

The Democrats posted a net gain of two seats but their ideological gains, as reflected in future voting tallies, may be even wider than that because some conservative Republicans who were elected are taking seats vacated by conservative Democrats, while some defeated conservatives are being replaced by liberal Democrats.

The outlook for the President's programs in the House appears more uncertain, although the Democrats, by limiting their losses to an estimated 12 seats, remain firmly in control of the legislative machinery.

Rebuke to McGovern: In the aftermath of the election, Democratic congressional leaders concurred for once with Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., the Republican national chairman, when he said that the outcome was a personal victory for Mr. Nixon and not a party victory for the GOP.

In a series of interviews, these Democrats said privately that perhaps the voters were even more eager to rebuke the candidacy of Sen. George S. McGovern of South Dakota, the Democratic challenger, than to reward Mr. Nixon with a refurbished political mandate. Moreover, they said, with the next Presidential election now four years away, pressures among Democrats to maneuver for the nomination will, for the time being, remain relatively muted.

In all probability, this means that the Democrats will spend more energy focusing on broad legislative battles with the Nixon Administration and pay comparatively less attention to the intra-party political struggle.

(Continued on p. 1738.)

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Outlook '73: White House

President's goals during second term parallel demands of 'the new majority'

(Continued from p. 1727.)

Policy and philosophy

In his first inaugural address on Jan. 20, 1969, Mr. Nixon asked Americans to join him in "a high adventure" and envisioned his role as that of a healer to a people "ragged in spirit."

Four years later, as reflected by one of the most bitter campaigns in Presidential history, the country continues divided between conflicting interests. With his dream as a unifier unfulfilled, Mr. Nixon talks of the birth of a "new American majority," which he has defined as "a majority of Americans from all parts of the country who agree on certain fundamental values and principles that are basic to America's ideals."

Mutual aims: It is as the leader of the "new American majority" that Mr. Nixon will serve his second term. Thus, in a radio address Oct. 21, Mr. Nixon said, "Fortunately, what the new majority wants for America and what I

want for this nation basically are the same."

To a large extent, in Mr. Nixon's view this means: a brake on new taxes, opposition to forced busing of school children, a holddown on federal-spending "extravagance," no amnesty for draft dodgers, maintenance of a defense posture "second to none," aid to nonpublic schools, and resistance to job quotas and income redistribution.

"I shall not hesitate to take the action I think necessary to protect and defend this nation's best interests, whether or not those actions meet with wide approval," the President said. "At the same time you can be certain of this: on matters affecting basic human values—on the way Americans live their lives and bring up their children—I am going to respect and reflect the opinion of the people themselves. That is what democracy is all about."

Public approval: Hence, Mr. Nixon's victory can reasonably be interpreted at the White House as public endorsement of his political philosophy and encouragement to pursue his programs.

On Oct. 28, in another radio address, one of several delivered by the President on major issues during the campaign, Mr. Nixon said:

"There is no reason to feel guilty about wanting to enjoy what you get and get what you earn; about wanting your children in good schools close to home; or wanting to be judged fairly on your ability. Those are not values to be ashamed of; those are values to be proud of; those are values that I shall always stand up for when they come under attack. . . . On these basic concerns, the majority view must prevail, and leadership in a democracy is required to respond to that view. That is what 'majority rule' and 'the consent of the governed' really means—and we would all do well to take these ideas seriously."

Guiding principles: In essence, Mr. Nixon was citing the principles that would guide his decisions over the next four years.

As the crowning glory of a long and turbulent political career, he at last enjoys a comfortable cushion of majority support. He can now set the compass of his Administration, fully aware

that he has a reservoir of strength among the voters. Should he fail to receive approval of his programs from a Democratic-controlled Congress, the President, relieved of the political pressures of seeking reelection, can appeal to the electorate.

As he observed, "That is what democracy is all about."

Ehrlichman: John D. Ehrlichman, assistant to the President for domestic affairs, said in an interview that there is likely to be little philosophical difference in Mr. Nixon's approach from one term to another.

"The President's philosophy really hasn't changed," Ehrlichman said.

However, he indicated that Mr. Nixon's programs and policies will be redefined and given new impetus.

Sketching a blueprint for the second Nixon Administration, Ehrlichman said:

"If you had to draw a course line and you needed two points of reference, one point of reference would be the State of the Union address in which the President stated his six great goals, and the other point of reference might very well be the radio speeches he has given, basically on policy matters. If you draw a line between those two points and projected that into the second term, it would give you a pretty true sense of direction."

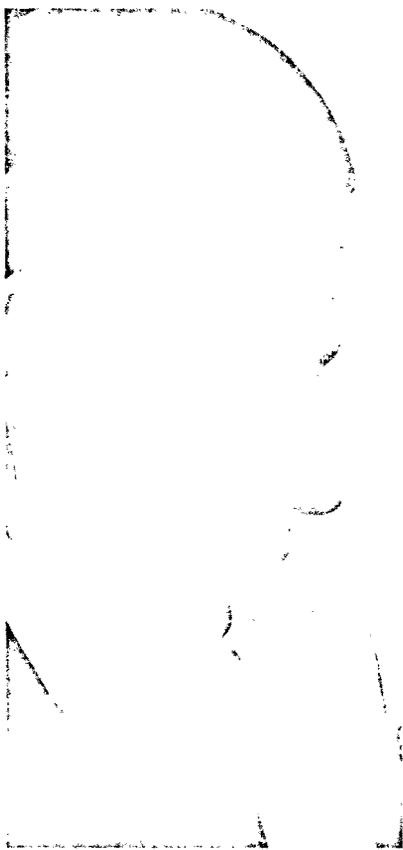
(The six great goals, alluded to by Ehrlichman, were listed in Mr. Nixon's 1971 State of the Union message and included welfare reform, economic stimulants, environmental measures, health-care programs, revenue sharing and government reorganization.)

Focus: Ehrlichman said that while there would be "new initiatives" taken, such as those in the area of tax reform, the focus would be on previous proposals. "We have a lot of projects that are not yet completed that relate to health and education, housing, economic development and a whole wide range of issues," he said. "That's not the exclusive list by any means, but I would think that a number of those study projects will result in legislative proposals."

He said the New Federalism espoused by Mr. Nixon to decentralize the federal governmental structure would be pushed and that "the scene of a major battleground in the second term" would involve special revenue sharing, whereby more than 110 categorical program grants would be converted to block grants, providing state and local governments greater discretionary spending privileges.

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Richard Nixon

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Presidential Election Results

Listed below are the unofficial results of the 1972 election for President in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Returns were compiled by the News Election

Service and transmitted by United Press International. Percentages do not always total 100 because of votes for minor-party candidates.

	Poplar Vote		Plurality	Percentages		Electoral Vote	
	Nixon	McGovern		Nixon	McGovern	Nixon	McGovern
Ala.	692,480	215,792	476,688	76	23	9	0
Alaska	41,809	24,362	17,447	59	34	3	0
Ariz.	381,532	188,892	192,640	65	32	6	0
Ark.	427,014	190,598	236,416	70	30	6	0
Calif.	4,546,396	3,433,568	1,112,828	56	42	45	0
Colo.	572,540	320,462	252,078	63	36	7	0
Conn.	798,266	534,116	264,150	59	40	8	0
Del.	139,796	91,907	47,889	60	39	3	0
D.C.	29,697	109,974	80,277	21	79	0	3
Fla.	1,752,230	690,546	1,061,684	72	28	17	0
Ga.	794,333	264,751	529,582	76	24	12	0
Hawaii	167,414	100,617	66,797	63	37	4	0
Idaho	186,432	79,199	107,233	65	26	4	0
Ill.	2,748,252	1,863,731	884,521	60	40	26	0
Ind.	1,401,547	705,808	695,739	67	33	13	0
Iowa	702,398	492,642	209,756	58	41	8	0
Kan.	605,632	265,158	340,474	68	30	7	0
Ky.	671,198	369,051	302,147	64	35	9	0
La.	701,455	314,309	387,146	66	30	10	0
Maine	251,327	160,845	90,482	61	39	4	0
Md.	795,358	486,195	309,163	62	37	10	0
Mass.	1,104,310	1,323,843	219,533	45	55	0	14
Mich.	1,895,071	1,411,132	483,939	57	42	21	0
Minn.	881,326	789,473	91,853	52	47	10	0
Miss.	498,680	125,756	372,924	79	20	7	0
Mo.	1,125,256	678,660	446,596	63	37	12	0
Mont.	177,892	116,486	61,406	58	38	4	0
Neb.	384,157	162,600	221,557	71	29	5	0
Nev.	114,593	65,258	49,335	64	36	3	0
N.H.	212,232	115,474	96,758	65	34	4	0
N.J.	1,769,458	1,058,451	711,007	62	38	17	0
N.M.	233,036	138,756	94,280	62	36	4	0
N.Y.	4,149,761	2,884,949	1,264,812	58	41	41	0
N.C.	1,051,583	437,299	614,284	70	29	13	0
N.D.	166,131	94,927	71,204	63	35	3	0
Ohio	2,361,238	1,524,118	837,120	60	39	25	0
Okla.	745,810	242,957	502,853	74	24	8	0
Ore.	483,229	390,867	92,362	53	42	6	0
Pa.	2,703,975	1,788,034	915,941	60	39	27	0
R.I.	209,166	185,239	23,927	54	46	4	0
S.C.	463,333	186,244	277,089	71	28	8	0
S.D.	163,746	137,432	26,314	55	45	4	0
Tenn.	812,484	355,817	456,667	68	30	10	0
Tex.	2,096,676	1,062,250	1,034,426	67	33	26	0
Utah	315,195	122,466	192,729	68	26	4	0
Vt.	115,453	67,508	47,945	63	37	3	0
Va.	982,792	439,546	543,246	69	30	12	0
Wash.	679,156	475,553	203,603	57	39	9	0
W. Va.	471,838	271,856	199,982	64	36	6	0
Wis.	986,751	805,726	181,025	54	44	11	0
Wyo.	100,222	44,261	55,961	70	30	3	0
Total	45,861,690	28,402,465	17,459,225	61	38	521	17

John Schmitz, American Independent Party candidate, polled 1,047,030 votes, 1.38 per cent of the total votes cast.
Benjamin Spock, Peoples Party candidate, polled 73,678 votes, .09 per cent of the total votes cast.

Budget ceiling: Mr. Nixon's insistence on a \$250-billion budget ceiling, Ehrlichman said, would not seriously affect the Administration's legislative priorities.

"The federal budget was actually less than that this fiscal year," he said. "There have been some add-ons because of the Agnes (hurricane) disaster and because of the unexpected high level of the black-lung legislation. But beyond that, we are going to fulfill our budget expectations."

He acknowledged, however, there would be some tightening of social programs "because of the overage we are now experiencing. As I understand it, there is between \$6 billion and \$7 billion of overage that will have to be trimmed back. But this would be expected to affect only growth programs, rather than whole programs themselves."

No programs would be completely washed out, Ehrlichman said.

Modest agenda: Another White House aide said of Mr. Nixon's second-term legislative agenda:

"We'll ask for a lot of stuff we didn't get. It won't be an ambitious program; there will be some trimming of sails. Look for a modest State of the Union message. We can't ask for a big program and come down hard on holding spending."

"Much of our focus will be on making programs work. And we'll go all-out on reform and reorganization and other non-cost associated programs."

He said the Administration may request a new welfare reform plan, "but if we do it will be done with the full knowledge that we won't get a hearing on it; there is no chance."

The Administration, he said, will place special emphasis on its health-care plan and a comprehensive international trade bill.

"There will be a fight on the trade bill from organized labor and protectionists, you can bet on that," the White House aide said.

He also foresaw an expanded federal anti-drug program and "maybe gun controls, but these will all be low-cost programs."

Relations with Congress

The White House view is that the first year or so of President Nixon's second term will be crucial in getting his legislative program through Congress. According to a practical assessment by White House aides, the membership realignment in both chambers

and the fall of many of the old guard are unlikely to work to the benefit of the Administration.

"We're sailing uncharted waters," said Tom C. Korologos, special assistant to the President. "Our relations with Congress will depend greatly on the leadership and the new committee chairmen."

Korologos, who serves as White House lobbyist on the Senate side, said he believed that in the early weeks of the 93rd Congress the Senate would devote most of its time in organizational disputes involving seniority rights and control over key committees.

Departure of 'heavyweights': Another White House aide said, "The House is bound to be less responsive because it's losing a lot of heavyweights."

Among these, he said, were Reps. Frank T. Bow, R-Ohio, ranking minority member of the Appropriations Committee; Richard H. Poff, R-Va., respected Judiciary Committee member once under serious consideration by Mr. Nixon for a Supreme Court appointment; William L. Springer, R-Ill., ranking minority member on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee; and John W. Byrnes, R-Wis., ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee. (*For a report on major changes in congressional committees, see p. 1750.*)

"These people are not likely to be replaced right away," said the White House aide. "The younger House members are somewhat more independent. And the leadership is up in the air. Who, for instance, is going to replace Hale Boggs?"

Boggs, D-La., the majority leader, has been missing for several weeks

after his plane disappeared during a campaign flight in Alaska.

The Presidential assistant saw little improvement in White House relations with pivotal committees, such as Education and Labor, headed by Rep. Carl D. Perkins, D-Ky., and Banking and Currency, headed by Rep. Wright Patman, D-Tex.

Threat to the record: "Our floor average in the House, which has been pretty good, could be undermined by these factors and it could be a bit tricky," he said.

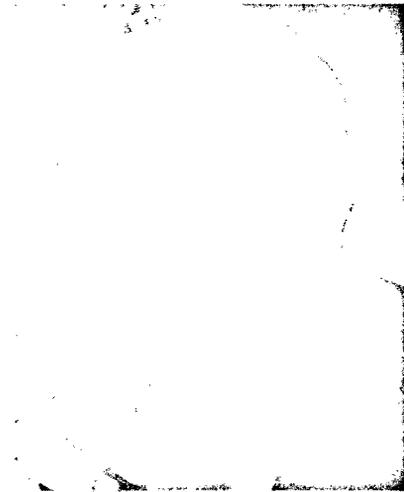
In this connection, Richard K. Cook, special assistant to the President who handles House action for the White House, reported that during the 92nd Congress the Administration compiled an 85-per cent average in getting its proposals approved. "If it goes down to 70 per cent, it would be a serious loss," he said.

Senate side: "In the beginning of the new session," said a Presidential aide, "the Senate will be flopping around, trying to get itself organized. I don't see anything of substance happening until May or June."

He said that relations between the Senate and the White House could become increasingly strained during the 93rd Congress.

"There will be hard feelings over the President's vetoes from the last session," he said. "We spent a lot of time during Mr. Nixon's first term beating back noxious amendments and got virtually nothing but revenue sharing."

"Also, I expect the Senate to be more isolationist and go into its cocoon. There will be a dispute over foreign aid. (The continuing resolution on the foreign aid program expires Feb. 28).



John D. Ehrlichman



Tom C. Korologos

Building the 'New Majority' Bloc by Bloc

The "new Republican majority" that President Nixon's strategists had dreamed of sprang to life in the Nov. 7 election, as the President cut deeply into the old New Deal coalition in his landslide victory over Sen. George S. McGovern, D-S.D.

The President's victory stretched from the once-solidly Democratic South, which gave him an overwhelming 70 per cent of its vote, to Catholic, blue-collar and Italian-American groups which had never voted Republican in modern times. The lion's share of voters who backed Gov. George C. Wallace, D-Ala., in 1968 were in the Nixon camp. The only holdouts were blacks, whose opposition to Mr. Nixon remained almost as strong as it had been in 1968, plus Jews and Spanish-speaking voters, who increased their support of the President but still cast a clear majority against him.

Analysis methods: Probably the "purest" profile of how the electorate voted was provided by an innovative technique used by CBS News: a survey of more than 17,000 voters leaving the polls in 143 randomly selected precincts across the U.S. (Theoretically, an election day survey should avoid the bias built into respondents' answers in post-election surveys when they know the election outcome.)

Survey results: The principal results of the CBS voter survey are shown in the accompanying chart. Compared to the Gallup Poll's 1968 post-election survey, the most dramatic increases for Mr. Nixon were among Catholics (up from 33 to 53 per cent), Democrats (up from 12 to 36 per cent), and blue-collar workers (up from 35 to 54 per cent). Members of labor union households, who gave Mr. Nixon 39 per cent of their 1968 vote in a study by the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Research, voted 48 per cent for Mr. Nixon in the Nov. 7 CBS survey.

McGovern won among first-time voters, but by a narrow six-point edge, and the predicted split between students and non-students was much narrower (three percentage points) than had been generally predicted.

Of McGovern's total vote, 21 per cent came from first-time voters, compared to Mr. Nixon's 12 per cent from that source. Blacks provided

22 per cent of McGovern's total vote, but only 3 per cent of Mr. Nixon's. Protestants provided 58 per cent of Mr. Nixon's vote, and 39 per cent of McGovern's. Catholics, on the other hand, gave McGovern 30 per cent of his total vote, but Mr. Nixon only 23 per cent. Voters from union member households accounted for 38 per cent of McGovern's and 24 per cent of Nixon's vote.

Precinct analysis: The only group of cities which McGovern won, according to the CBS precinct analysis, were those with more than 500,000 population. They voted 55 per cent for McGovern, only one point off Hubert H. Humphrey's 1968 showing. Every other category of city, suburb and rural area went for the President, however. His biggest wins were in upper income suburbs (68 per cent) and rural-small town areas (67 per cent). McGovern may have been able to hold on to the very largest cities by virtue of the increasing black population share within them.

In the context of the Nixon landslide, there was a remarkable convergence of the vote of various income groups. From low to upper income precinct groups, the range was only 12 percentage points. The 1972 Nixon vote (with 1968 figures for comparison) were: low income precincts 54 per cent (38 per cent in 1968), middle income 62 per cent (46 per cent), high income 66 per cent (55 per cent).

Geographically, the President won by 58 per cent in the eastern states, 60 per cent in the Midwest, 59 per cent in the West, and 70 per cent in the South. The most remarkable shift was in the South, where the President's gain (36 percentage points over his 1968 showing) was almost identical to the 35 per cent of the vote which George Wallace received there. The CBS voter survey indicated that about three-quarters of the southern Wallace vote went to Nixon, and about one quarter to McGovern. Nationally 60 per cent of the Wallace vote went to Nixon and 33 per cent to McGovern.

The President won big margins in every type of area in the South, with the suburbs and small city-rural areas registering the biggest ma-

ajorities for him and the large cities the weakest support (53 per cent). The Deep South states, most of which were carried by Sen. Strom Thurmond, D-S.C., in 1948 and Wallace in 1968, gave 74 per cent of their aggregate vote to Mr. Nixon. **'Megastate' returns:** In New York, Illinois, Texas and California, Nixon managers succeeded in meeting almost all their goals. (For reports on these states see Vol. 4, No. 41, p. 1575; No. 42, p. 1607; No. 43, p. 1633; and No. 44, p. 1672.)

New York—McGovern was held to narrow leads in New York City and Buffalo, while the President swept the New York suburbs with 68 per cent of the vote, and won 65 per cent of the upstate vote. McGovern's 81,920-vote plurality in New York City was based on 66.3 per cent of the Manhattan vote, 55.4 per cent in the Bronx, 50.7 per cent in Brooklyn—and only 43.6 per cent in Queens.

The CBS News survey showed the President actually won 66 per cent of the vote of Catholics in New York. He got 29 per cent of the Jewish vote, substantially above his 1968 showing but below expectations of his managers. The Puerto Rican vote went 76-to-24 per cent for McGovern. Members of labor union households, another prime Nixon target in New York, split evenly between the Presidential candidates. NBC News reported that heavily Italian-American precincts voted 68 per cent for Nixon in New York State, and 57 per cent nationally.

Illinois—The strong efforts of Mayor Richard J. Daley's organization in the latter stages of the campaign helped McGovern carry the city by a narrow 178,689-vote margin (57 per cent). But the Cook County suburbs registered a big 70-per cent margin for the President. Democrat Daniel Walker ran 11 percentage points ahead of McGovern to win election, the biggest ticket split gap in the state's history.

Voters in black ghetto areas showed for the first time that they really know how to split tickets. They cast 10 per cent of their vote for Nixon, 21 per cent for Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie, R., and 56 per cent for Sen. Charles H. Percy, R. They

also played a major role in the defeat of Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, D, who lost to Bernard Carey, R. Investigations and possible prosecutions by Carey's office promise deep trouble for the Daley organization.

Carey has already promised a probe of the Daley-controlled Board of Election Commissioners, which has been accused of responsibility for widespread voter fraud in Chicago. Officials of honest-ballot groups said the general election was one of the cleanest in decades—an apparent reaction of Daley's organization to the 75 indictments of election officials based on irregularities in the spring primary. Thousands of normally Republican, and some middle-class black voters complained, however, that their names had mysteriously disappeared from precinct voter lists on election day, and that they were barred from voting.

Texas—President Nixon's massive 67-per cent win was based on big majorities in the large cities and their suburbs the west and Panhandle counties, and a startling 40 percentage point gain over his 1968 showing in East Texas, an area that went for Wallace last time. Low-income Mexican-American precincts gave only a fifth of their vote to Mr. Nixon, but he ran very strongly in more affluent Latin areas.

Nixon coattails played a major role in Sen. John G. Tower's reelection, and were almost long enough to make Henry C. Grover the first Texas GOP Governor of the century. But a surge of brass collar Democratic votes in rural areas enabled Dolph Briscoe, D, to win with 48 per cent. If Briscoe had lost, credit would have been claimed by La Raza Unida, whose gubernatorial candidate, Ramsey Muniz, got 6.2 per cent.

California—Although Mr. Nixon won 56 per cent of the California vote, his showing there was five percentage points off his national average, thus undermining California's reputation as a barometric state in Presidential elections. The President won with 55 per cent of the vote in Los Angeles and 65 per cent in the remainder of southern California, and battled McGovern to a near stand-off in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Neal R. Peirce

CBS Election Day Survey

Voters leaving the polls in 143 U.S. precincts—selected at random—were asked by CBS News to fill in secret ballots on how they had voted and other significant demographic information. Responses were received from 17,405 persons. The results are shown below. The "size of place" category is based on reported returns from 2,050 CBS key precincts. Percentages of votes do not add to 100 because of minor-party candidates.

	% of respondents	% Voted for Nixon	% Voted for McGovern
Sex			
Male	51	60	38
Female	49	58	40
Race			
White	88	64	33
Black	11	17	82
Spanish-speaking	1	31	68
Age			
18-24	15	46	52
25-29	11	54	44
30-44	25	61	37
45-59	26	62	37
60 and over	16	67	31
18-24 voters			
Students	4	45	54
Non-students	11	48	51
Employment			
Blue collar	20	54	44
White collar	30	62	36
Housewife	21	62	36
Full-time student	5	45	53
Unemployed	3	45	53
Retired	9	67	31
Union member in house			
Yes	30	48	50
No	61	65	34
Religion			
Protestant	50	68	30
Catholic	26	53	46
Jewish	4	32	66
Voted in 1968 for:			
Nixon	42	89	10
Humphrey	22	20	78
Wallace	6	60	33
Considers self:			
Republican	31	91	8
Democrat	44	36	62
Independent	15	59	38
Size of place			
Cities 500,000+	13	45	55
Cities 250,000-500,000	5	58	42
Cities 50,000-250,000	13	58	42
Middle-income suburbs	21	63	37
Upper-income suburbs	7	68	32
Cities 10,000-50,000	9	61	39
Rural/small town	33	67	33

Gubernatorial Election Results

Listed below are unofficial results of the 1972 elections for Governor in 18 states. Returns were compiled by the News Election Service and transmitted by United

Press International. Percentages do not always total 100 because of the votes cast for minor-party candidates. Democrats will now hold 30 statehouses, a gain of one.

	Vote	Per Cent		Vote	Per Cent
Arkansas			North Carolina		
Dale Bumpers, D* ✓	455,538	76	Hargrove Bowles Jr., D	721,881	48
Len E. Blaylock, R	145,774	24	James A. Holshouser, R ✓	762,681	52
Delaware			North Dakota		
Russell W. Peterson, R*	109,348	48	Arthur A. Link, D ✓	136,532	52
Sherman W. Tribbitt, D ✓	116,689	52	Richard F. Larsen, R	131,121	48
Illinois			Rhode Island		
Richard B. Ogilvie, R*	2,261,309	49	Phillip W. Noel, D ✓	208,598	53
Daniel Walker, D ✓	2,322,056	51	Herbert F. DeSimone, R	185,683	47
Indiana			South Dakota		
Otis R. Bowen R ✓	1,193,631	57	Richard F. Kneip, D* ✓	181,631	60
Matthew E. Welsh, D	893,348	43	Carveth Thompson, R	121,208	40
Iowa			Texas		
Robert D. Ray, R* ✓	702,347	59	Dolph Briscoe, D ✓	1,495,381	48
Paul Franzenburg, D	485,117	40	Henry C. Grover, R	1,414,613	46
Kansas			Ramsey Muniz, LRU	192,893	6
Robert B. Docking, D* ✓	558,788	63	Utah		
Morris Kay, R	332,357	37	Calvin L. Rampton, D* ✓	323,692	70
Missouri			Nicholas L. Strike, R	141,416	30
Edward L. Dowd, D	814,773	44	Vermont		
Christopher (Kit) Bond, R ✓	1,003,031	56	Thomas P. Salmon, D-IVP ✓	103,129	56
Montana			Luther F. Hackett, R	81,062	43
Thomas L. Judge, D ✓	166,872	55	Washington		
Ed Smith, R	141,402	45	Daniel J. Evans, R* ✓	601,419	54
New Hampshire			Albert D. Rosellini, D	529,248	46
Roger J. Crowley Jr., D	125,140	39	West Virginia		
Meidrim Thomson Jr., R ✓	133,990	42	Arch A. Moore Jr., R* ✓	413,865	55
Malcolm McLane, Ind	62,946	19	John D. Rockefeller IV, D	342,699	45

✓ winner
* incumbent
incomplete returns
- election in doubt

D—Democratic
IND—Independent
IVP—Independent Vermonters Party
LRU—La Raza Unida
R—Republican

There will be a move to cut the defense budget. And there will be a fight over reparations—if any—to South Vietnam."

Nixon program: The White House aide predicted that the bulk of President Nixon's legislative program will not be submitted until late in the session, probably in late spring or summer. One of the most important measures offered, he said, will be the Administration's health plan.

"But what I expect will happen is that there will be a jurisdictional dispute between Kennedy's Labor and Public Welfare subcommittee and Long's Finance Committee. Long hates Kennedy because of the leadership fight in the last session."

(Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., is chairman of the Finance Committee and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., is chairman of the Subcommittee on Health.)

Atmospheric conditions: "Remember," said the White House aide, "the Senate leadership has never before

dealt with a lame-duck President. What do they do? Ignore him? Embarrass him? Or cooperate with him?"

"Chances are even they don't know at this point. Time goes awfully fast on the Hill. After they get through jockeying around, all of a sudden it's Christmas."

Another Presidential assistant maintained that, as a lame-duck President, Mr. Nixon "will have greater leverage in employing his veto strategy. He can do it earlier because he won't be under heavy political pressure. Also, there is less chance of Congress stuffing things down our throat."

The aide said the White House expects more efforts by Congress to oversee executive branch operations during the 93rd Congress.

"The Democrats will try to undermine public confidence in our stewardship," he said.

"But the real power will continue to reside in the White House. The major policy calls will come from here. There will be no change in that."

Programs

A popular notion frequently cited in the national press is that Mr. Nixon will concentrate on domestic matters in his second term and that his victory will present him with a "blank-check" mandate to carry out his proposals.

White House aides, however, privately scoff at the suggestions.

Korologos and Cook note that the proposed foreign trade bill will be one of the most controversial issues of the 93rd Congress.

Peter M. Flanagan, executive director of the Council on International Economic Policy, reports that multilateral trade negotiations, legislation to ease tariff barriers, international monetary reform and increased commerce with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are high on the Administration's list of priorities.

"There will be no spectaculars this second term like the visits to Moscow and Peking; after all, what could Nix-

on do to top that?" said a White House aide. "But it is unrealistic to think that he will reduce the time and attention paid to foreign policy, an area he loves and in which he has been so successful. Sure, he is going to place considerable emphasis on domestic policy but he also wants to move ahead in the foreign field and consolidate the gains he has made. He has opened doors to the Soviet Union and China; now, he has to see that they stay open."

Accordingly, as the nation's foremost political impresario, Mr. Nixon will present a double bill of foreign and domestic attractions.

Economic position: A vital decision facing President Nixon in his second term will be whether to retain wage and price controls, which he instituted in August 1971. As the rate of inflation ebbs, as profits move forward and unemployment eases off, the demand to end controls will mount, particularly from organized labor.

Mr. Nixon, however, has shown no inclination to dismantle controls in the near future and has refused to set a date for their termination, since it might set off a new inflationary spiral.

Similarly, say his aides, the President is determined to enforce a budget ceiling—with or without the sanction of Congress. If necessary, he can impound money authorized by Congress and further transfer funds from one legislative area to another.

He is also committed to withholding any federal tax increase, within certain conditions. "I have pledged to hold the line on taxes in 1973 and throughout my second term as President, assuming cooperation from the Congress," Mr. Nixon said in a statement in Saginaw, Mich., during the campaign.

During a campaign swing through Westchester County, N.Y., in October, Mr. Nixon reaffirmed his position, stating, "I am going to use every weapon at my command to hold spending in this fiscal year as close as possible to \$250 billion so that we will not have a new wave of crippling inflation and there will be no need for higher taxes."

And in his Oct. 28 radio address, the President clarified his "work-ethic" concept. "America is a land of opportunity, not a land of handouts," he said. "Each of us deserves a fair chance to get ahead. But none of us has the right to expect a free ride—to remain idle, to take advantage of other men's labor."

Defense posture: In one area—that of national defense—Mr. Nixon aban-



Richard K. Cook

doned his position of economic austerity, based on the premise that the country's security should be "second to none in the world."

In an Oct. 29 radio speech on defense policy, he claimed that proposals by Sen. McGovern to substantially cut military spending would "leave America with the second-strongest Army, the second-strongest Navy, and the second-strongest Air Force in the world."

"Now some might ask, 'What is wrong with being second? Isn't it jingoistic and nationalistic for the United States always to have to be Number One?'"

"The answer to that question is that the day the United States becomes the second strongest nation in the world, peace and freedom will be in deadly jeopardy everywhere in the world."

He added, "The time has come to stand up and answer those of our own countrymen who complain that American power is an evil force in the world; those who say that our foreign policy is selfish and bad . . . For the United States to abdicate its leadership role in the world, or to attempt to meet its responsibilities through good intentions alone, without the backing of a strong defense, would be one of the greatest tragedies in history."

Trade bill: Next year, the Administration will submit a comprehensive foreign trade bill, which conceivably could include a clause giving the President authority to negotiate tariff cuts. The Administration previously had been apprehensive about offering trade legislation of this type, since it might have paved the way for action on protectionist legislation, such as the labor-supported Burke-Hartke bill. (*For a*

report on the Burke-Hartke bill, see Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 108. For a report on trade laws, see Vol. 4, No. 39, p. 1496.)

The Administration-sponsored bill is expected to include provisions allaying protectionist concerns. One could be a broader trade adjustment assistance program to help industries and employees hurt economically by increased imports resulting from reduced tariff barriers.

Also under consideration is a plan that would allow the President to impose temporary import quotas while more permanent solutions are developed to assist aggrieved industries and workers.

Legislation to implement the new U.S.-Soviet trade agreement by extending most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union is scheduled to be introduced early in the next session. Whether similar status will be extended to other eastern European countries still has to be worked out.

Commenting on the grain and corn sales to the Republic of China, Mr. Nixon said they "only scratch the surface of an immense trade potential between our two countries."

Action areas: Other salient issues due to confront the President during his second term include those of school busing, drug abuse, amnesty for draft evaders, aid for nonpublic schools and tax relief for the aged.

School busing—Mr. Nixon has forcefully stated his opposition to court-ordered busing of school children. In a speech at Charlotte, N.C., on Oct. 25, Vice President Agnew said Mr. Nixon would make outlawing of school busing "a matter of first priority" when Congress returns in January. During a radio speech the same day, Mr. Nixon said, "No one profits by the confusion and resentment that is generated when whole school systems are disrupted by the forced busing of school children away from their neighborhoods."

Drugs—Having already established a special anti-drug agency, Mr. Nixon announced on Oct. 28 that he was planning to step up the fight against drug trafficking and its criminal elements. He reported he would ask for increased funds for enforcement of anti-drug laws and the establishment of clinics to treat addicts and tougher penalties for heroin dealers.

Amnesty—On Veterans Day, the President pledged not to "make a mockery" of the sacrifices of U.S.

servicemen by granting amnesty to deserters and draft dodgers. "The two and one-half million who chose to serve America in Vietnam have paid a price for their choice," Mr. Nixon said. "The few hundred who chose to desert America must pay a price for their choice."

Aid to nonpublic schools—Mr. Nixon said he was "irrevocably committed" to seeking legislation to provide tax credits for parents who send their children to church-related and other private schools. Most of the schools falling in this category are operated by the Catholic Church and the issue could be one of the most emotional of Mr. Nixon's second term. Commenting on the issue in an Oct. 25 speech, he said, "Were these nonpublic schools to fail, the loss of diversity, the elimination of freedom of choice for millions of parents, and the new burden on the already crowded public school system would be but part of the cost. Lost, as well, would be an irreplaceable and precious national asset—schools that have provided millions of American children with a moral code and religious principles by which to live."

Aid for the aged—Mr. Nixon has promised to help the nation's older citizens by seeking adoption of property tax relief for them. So far, however, the Administration has not come up with a tax relief plan.

Personnel

Inevitably, the White House personnel structure will change over the next four years. Familiar figures will fade and new ones will replace them in a changing montage of names and faces.

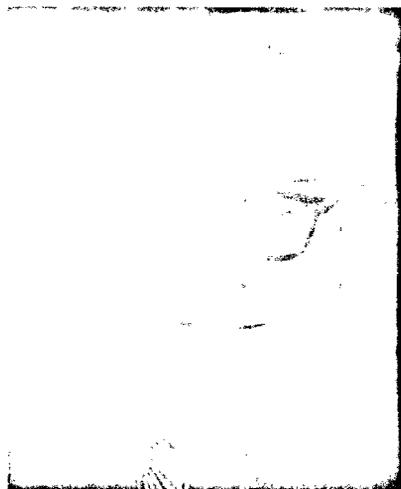
Following established custom, all Presidential appointees offer their resignation at the end of the term, thereby allowing the President to start afresh with a revised lineup, if he so desires.

"I think it is a good thing," said White House aide Cook. "A second-term President should have a fair turnover. It's a healthy thing since it revitalizes the staff. The President is not best served if the same crew hangs on. We all tend to get stale. Also, people of sufficient talent move on to other fields of endeavor."

No decisions: According to Ehrlichman, Mr. Nixon has not made any decisions yet as to personnel changes. But some appointees have indicated they will be leaving voluntarily.



Harry S. Dent



Clark MacGregor

Harry S. Dent, special counsel to the President for political affairs and one of the originators of the "southern strategy," will soon leave to return to Columbia, S.C., and go into private law, and possibly a political career.

HUD Secretary George W. Romney has said he planned to leave the Administration. Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe also has said as much, with the caveat that he would take another high Administration position if the President asked him.

Other Cabinet members expected to depart before long include Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst and Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson. HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson may leave his present position for a new one.

White House exit: White House officials who reportedly will move on include Robert H. Finch, counselor to

the President, and Herbert G. Klein, director of communications for the executive branch. Clark MacGregor, former counsel to the President for congressional relations and campaign director for Mr. Nixon, will join the Washington office of United Aircraft Corp. Rumors persist that Ehrlichman and Ronald L. Ziegler, White House press secretary, may also quit.

When asked if he intended to stay on, Ehrlichman declined to state flatly that he would. He said, "When people ask me, I always say I haven't been asked, which is true. I think it is good form for all of us to give the President our resignation and for him to have a totally free hand in the selection of his Cabinet, the White House people and the sub-Cabinet."

Asked if he would remain if asked by the President, he replied, "Well, that gets me over in the area of speculation, which I would rather not indulge in."

One Presidential assistant almost certain to remain at the White House is H. R. Haldeman, assistant to the President. As White House major-domo and Mr. Nixon's closest adviser, Haldeman presides over the executive branch staff.

Mr. Nixon and the Presidency

As a lame-duck President, Mr. Nixon will be free to govern without the specter of another reelection campaign crossing his path. Political considerations will carry less weight in his decision-making.

Hence, there is little likelihood that Mr. Nixon, who has been criticized for his remoteness, will increase his contacts with the public and the press. He probably will attend more ceremonial events and increase his trips to Camp David, Key Biscayne, and San Clemente.

Unlike the start of his first term, when it took him one and a half years to fully staff his Administration and get a grip on the federal apparatus, Mr. Nixon can now move promptly on matters of high policy with an experienced staff behind him.

However, like all Presidents nearing the climactic end of their careers, he will be concerned with his place in history. This will tend to discipline his actions. For once a President leaves office, he is at the mercy of history as he can no longer influence the course of events. Mr. Nixon, who likes to read history and often quotes from it in his speeches, knows this above all.

U.S. Senate Election Results

Listed below are the unofficial 1972 election results in the 33 contests for the United States Senate. Returns, compiled by the News Election Service and transmitted by United Press International, were supplemented by *National Journal* reporters and correspondents. Returns are complete unless otherwise indicated. Percentages do not always total 100 because of votes cast for minor-party candidates.

	Vote	Per Cent		Vote	Per cent
Alabama			Montana		
John Sparkman, D* ✓	660,327	64	Lee Metcalf, D* ✓	158,050	52
Winton M. Blount, R	336,780	33	Henry S. Hibbard, R	146,460	48
John I. LeFlore, Natl. Dem	28,912	3	Nebraska		
Alaska #			Carl T. Curtis, R* ✓	282,911	53
Ted Stevens, R* ✓	55,700	78	Terry Carpenter, D	255,702	47
W. Eugene Guess, D	16,326	22	New Hampshire		
Arkansas			Thomas J. McIntyre, D* ✓	183,316	57
John L. McClellan, D* ✓	368,782	61	Wesley Powell, R	138,703	43
Wayne H. Babbitt, R	236,569	39	New Jersey		
Colorado			Clifford P. Case, R* ✓	1,645,910	63
Gordon Allott, R*	440,084	49	Paul J. Krebs, D	936,164	36
Floyd K. Haskell, D ✓	449,438	50	New Mexico		
Delaware			Jack Daniels, D	171,568	45
J. Caleb Boggs, R*	112,542	49	Peter Domenici, R ✓	202,207	55
Joseph Biden Jr., D ✓	115,528	51	North Carolina		
Georgia			Nick Galifianakis, D	671,872	45
Sam Nunn, D ✓	571,278	55	Jesse Helms, R ✓	792,553	55
Fletcher Thompson, R	481,095	45	Oklahoma		
Idaho			Ed Edmondson, D	470,948	48
William E. Davis, D	140,523	45	Dewey F. Bartlett, R ✓	505,530	52
James A. McClure, R ✓	161,211	53	Oregon		
Illinois			Mark Hatfield, R* ✓	491,393	54
Charles H. Percy, R* ✓	2,825,772	63	Wayne Morse, D	423,564	46
Roman C. Pucinski, D	1,678,784	37	Rhode Island		
Iowa			Claiborne Pell, D* ✓	212,338	55
Jack R. Miller, R*	524,209	45	John H. Chafee, R	180,015	45
Richard C. Clark, D ✓	640,076	55	South Carolina		
Kansas			Strom Thurmond, R* ✓	418,411	64
James B. Pearson, R* ✓	600,544	73	Eugene N. Zeigler, D	238,631	36
Arch O. Tetzlaff, D	195,065	23	South Dakota		
Kentucky			James Abourezk, D ✓	171,910	58
Walter Huddleston, D ✓	525,990	51	Robert W. Hirsch, R	129,442	42
Louie B. Nunn, R	491,498	48	Tennessee		
Louisiana			Howard H. Baker Jr., R* ✓	714,274	62
J. Bennett Johnston Jr., D ✓	588,162	56	Ray Blanton, D	441,309	38
Benjamin C. Toledano, R	203,607	19	Texas		
John J. McKeithen, Ind.	247,414	23	John G. Tower, R* ✓	1,669,673	54
Maine			Harold Barefoot Sanders, D	1,388,792	45
Margaret Chase Smith, R*	195,536	46	Flores Amaya, LRU	60,024	1
William D. Hathaway, D ✓	223,279	54	Virginia		
Massachusetts			William B. Spong Jr., D*	643,116	46
Edward W. Brooke, R* ✓	1,496,312	65	William Lloyd Scott, R ✓	725,067	52
John J. Droney, D	820,375	35	West Virginia		
Michigan			Jennings Randolph, D* ✓	472,948	67
Robert P. Griffin, R* ✓	1,713,190	53	Louise Leonard, R	240,784	33
Frank J. Keiley, D	1,519,122	47	Wyoming		
Minnesota			Clifford P. Hansen, R* ✓	100,604	72
Walter F. Mondale, D* ✓	959,325	57	Mike Vinich, D	40,695	28
Phil Hansen, R	724,513	43	✓winner		
Mississippi			*incumbent		
James O. Eastland, D* ✓	366,479	58	#incomplete returns		
Gil Carmichael, R	246,552	39	-election in doubt		
Prentiss Walker, Ind.	14,862	3			

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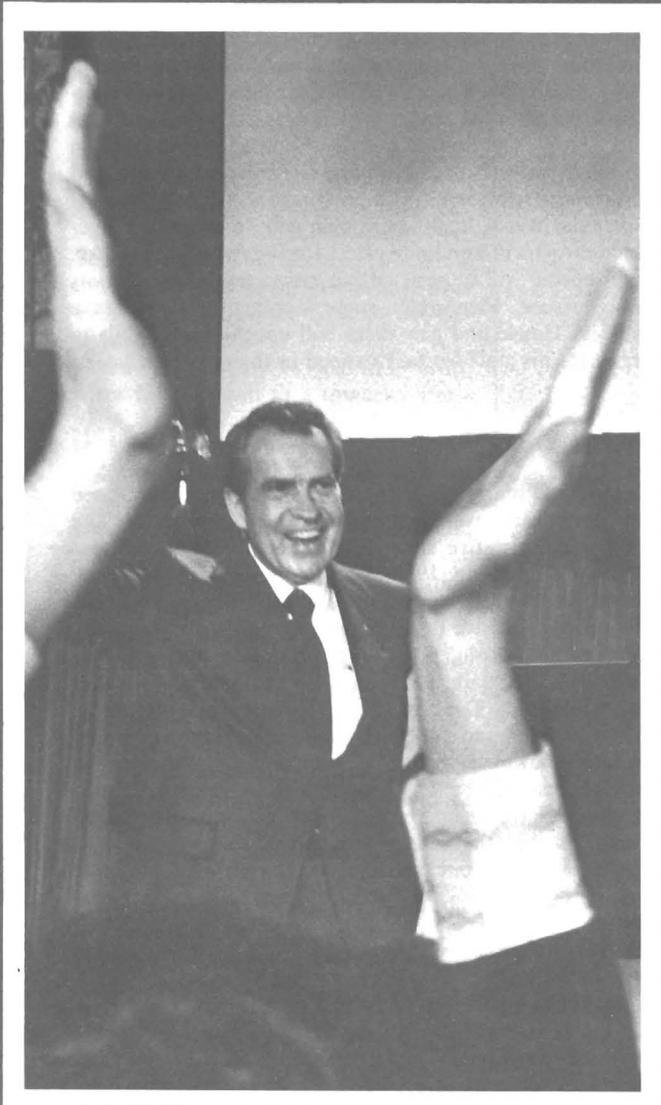
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(2)
TO BE DEX'D TO WASHINGTON

November 14, 1972
Hyer
11/17

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN
FROM : L. HIGBY

Would you please get together with the CIEP types and any of the other analysis-types. We need a complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election. I realize some of this might be done in the Malek operation, but if we can break out this part and get it together now, it would be helpful.

We lost a net of one Governor and a net of four state legislatures. This shows the total ineffectiveness of the Republican Party, at least at the lower level, since these races were not effected by the Presidential status and it shows the Party was a terrible drag.

We need a check as to whether we really made the effort to get all the Republicans out, or did we rely too much on Dole and the National Committee for this. I know you have some biases here on Malek and that Malek has some biases on the Committee, but I need your totally unbiased objective analysis of this situation.

With only a 55% turnout, we should have won a huge Republican victory and it must have been a weak Republican effort that cut into this. This should be examined ruthlessly, with no excuses, because we need to know where the strengths and weaknesses are.

If it is necessary, get together with whoever you feel would be appropriate in doing this, but let's make sure this is one of the best items we do.

LH:pm

Rep Turnout

- Can't tell until go thru Regis + purge
- Precinct roster -
- strike rolls of those who didn't vote -
 - wh/ Rep + wh/ Rep's voted
- Col - new Roster dec'd in Jan

Gov + Sen - must try repres areas in selected areas + precincts

- 5 days on st wide.

21 sts - no party Regis

Va, Ill, TX, Ala, Ark, Fla, Ga,

Haw, Id, Il, Ind, Mich, Minn, Miss, Mo, Ohio (parts) Tenn, Tx, Utah?

vt, Va, Wash?

Wise

But by certain precinct analysis

S. D - no Regis.

Some counties have option of Regis by party.

Belmont - Rep strength - historically

Rep Turnout

- Can't tell until go thru Regis + purge
- Precinct roster -
- strike rolls of those who didn't vote -
 - wh/ Rep + wh/ Rep's voted
- Col - new Roster devel in Jan

Gov + Sen - must try repres areas in selected areas + precincts

- 5 days on St wide.

21 Sts - no party Regis

Va, Ill, TX, Ala, Ark, Fla, Ga,

Haw, Id, Il, Ind, Mich, Minn, Miss, Mo, Ohio (parts) Tenn, Tx, Utah?
vt, Va, Wash?
Wise

But by certain precinct analysis

S. D - no Regis.

Some counties have option of Regis by party.

Bedrock - Rep strength - historically

30 sample precincts

Procept - GOTV walked
McG v. P.
Malik has it

CBS profile - get the 143 precincts
of his Rep Precincts | of
his Dem Precincts | Raw Data

Precinct Results - requested by FM
by 12/27 - sts responded
can't have until after Jan 1

Only way would be to poll
in selected precincts.
Kevin Phillips gets Stullinger data

S Post Elec Analysis of papers
Tx, Mich, Colo, Me, Del, Iowa,
Ky, Ga
↓
nothing

Debolt

H
CU
~~11/15~~
~~11/16~~
11/17

November 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN
FROM : L. HIGBY

We should proceed today in getting a final wrap-up of any states that are still low that we don't have fairly high figures on. This should be handled by you placing a call directly to the Secretary of State for that state. I want the latest figures available for each state sent up to Camp David today please.

LH:pm

Dem's Boost Margin in Mich. House

BY ROGER LANE
Free Press Lansing Staff

Democrats tightened a shaky grip on the Michigan House and extended it for another two years, nearly complete election returns showed Wednesday.

An otherwise stout resistance to the Republican Nixon tide was marred, however, by the defeat of the second-ranking House Democrat, Speaker Protem Stanley J. Davis, former mayor of Grand Rapids.

Davis was one of five incumbents defeated in a tightly contested struggle for House control that gave Democrats an apparent 61-49 margin over the GOP for the 1977-78 Legislature.

WITH THE NIXON bandwagon rolling, House Speaker William A. Ryan's forces went all out to roll back a strong Republican challenge threatening their 58-52 existing majority.

A Democrat-directed realignment of the 110 House district boundaries last spring contributed mightily to the Democratic cause despite pre-election worries and GOP hopes that it might backfire.

Democratic reapportionment enabled the Democrats to pick up seats in Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, East Lansing, Jackson, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti and Saginaw.

The gains more than offset the loss of Davis, whose Democratic strength deliberately was diluted by the reapportioners.

Patterson Is Oakland Prosecutor

After a hard fought election campaign, L. Brooks Patterson a former anti-busing group attorney, has been elected as the new Oakland County prosecutor.

Former Detroit Police Commissioner Johannes F. Spreen, a Democrat, has won a new job as Oakland County sheriff after vote-splitting gave him a close victory in the heavy Republican county voting.

Patterson, 33, a Republican, won over incumbent Thomas G. Plunkett, 31, a Democrat, his former boss and the man who fired him for "incompetence" in 1971.

PATTERSON became somewhat well known when he worked as an attorney for the anti-busing National Action Group last year in the group's attempts to stop court ordered busing for the purposes of desegregation in Detroit and elsewhere.

Plunkett campaigned on a record of innovative law enforcement programs since taking office in 1969.

But that was apparently not enough to outweigh the popularity of Patterson, a former

Davis, an eight-year veteran and champion of urban causes, was upset by Republican Richard D. Buth of Belmont, a schoolteacher, Plainfield Township trustee and cousin of Rep. Martin Buth, dairy farmer of neighboring Comstock Park.

So tight were several contests that winners in three districts were determined in unofficial returns by less than 100 votes out of totals in the 30,000 to 35,000 range, raising the possibility of recounts in January when the new Legislature convenes.

Unlike other disputed election results, recounts in legislative races are conducted by the legislative body itself which reserves the right to seat its own members.

In possibly the hardest fought battle of all, Democrat Jack L. Gingrass of Iron Mountain, waging a comeback try, led Republican Charles Donaldson 17,203 to 17,160, a margin of 43 votes, with 80 of 84 precincts reporting.

Rep. Frederick Stackable, R-Lansing, apparently defeated Democrat Thomas M. Holcomb, a schoolteacher, by 61 votes, and Charlie J. Harrison, D-Pontiac, bested James W. Briney, a former GOP legislative aide, by 49 votes in complete unofficial returns.

THE ONLY Democratic incumbent beaten, besides Davis, was Flint freshman Theodore Mansour, a loser to Republican Rep. E. Robert Edwards. Mansour and Edwards were thrown by reapportionment into the same

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SATURDAY
LAST DAY
NOVEMBER 11

Sears

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All These C
Including
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1990

assistant prosecutor and now a private lawyer in Troy.

Patterson was fired by Plunkett in January, 1971, for criticizing a judge who ruled against Patterson in a case he was prosecuting. Patterson maintained that the firing occurred because Plunkett saw him as a potential challenger.

IN THE SHERIFF'S race, Spreen beat the present undersheriff, Leo Hazen, who was endorsed by the retiring sheriff, Frank Irons.

Hazen, 47, campaigned on his 24-year experience with the department. But Spreen, 52, matched that with his 26 years on the New York Police Department and his service as Detroit police commissioner.

Harvey Beaten by Fired Aide

Special to the Free Press

ANN ARBOR--Douglas Harvey has lost his re-election bid as Washtenaw County sheriff to a former deputy he had fired twice.

Harvey, a controversial law-and-order sheriff in a county that includes Ann Arbor and the University of Michigan, finished third in Tuesday's election behind Frederick J. Postill, the winner, and Harvey's present undersheriff, Harold J. Owings.

Postill, 30, who kept a comfortable lead throughout the balloting, claimed he was fired twice in 1967 for helping to organize a deputies' union in the sheriff's department.

POSTILL RAN on the Democratic ticket after Harvey switched his affiliation from Democratic to the conservative American Independent Party (AIP). Owings was the Republican challenger.

Owings ran a calm campaign in the hopes of inheriting Harvey's job. But Postill accused Harvey of incompetence in running the jail and the sheriff's department and with criminality in selling and lending recovered stolen property to his relatives.

Near the end of the campaign, Postill supporters resurrected rumors of a 10-year-old statutory-rape charge against Harvey.

Harvey's supporters unearthed old pistol-whipping charges thrown at Postill by Mrs. Postill's first husband.

Flint district.

Three Republican incumbents were jumped in the wave of Democratic triumphs in reapportioned outstate urban districts.

Knocked off in this fashion were Reps. Roy Smith, a three-term veteran from Ypsilanti; Gustave J. Groat Sr., a former Battle Creek city detective and also a three-term House member, and freshman Robert D. Young of Saginaw.

The five upsets, coupled with 23 turnovers assured earlier by retirements, primary election defeats and decisions to run for new offices, meant there will be 23 new faces in the House next January, 14 Republican and 14 Democratic.

More significant, Detroit's legislative voice will be weakened in another consequence of reapportionment. The city's population loss in the 1970 census will cut its representation in the lower House at Lansing from the present 25 lawmakers to 20.

On strictly urban issues, this loss will be somewhat offset by representation gains of outstate cities.

If the early tally holds up, the Democratic House margin will be the largest — and most workable — since the middle 1950s except for the 1965-66 period when Democrats ruled 73 to 37.

Neither Republicans nor Democrats since 1966 have been able to count more than 58 caucus votes, or two beyond the bare majority required to pass a bill.

OF 22 WOMEN seeking House seats, only the six female incumbents, all Detroit or Detroit-area Democrats won.

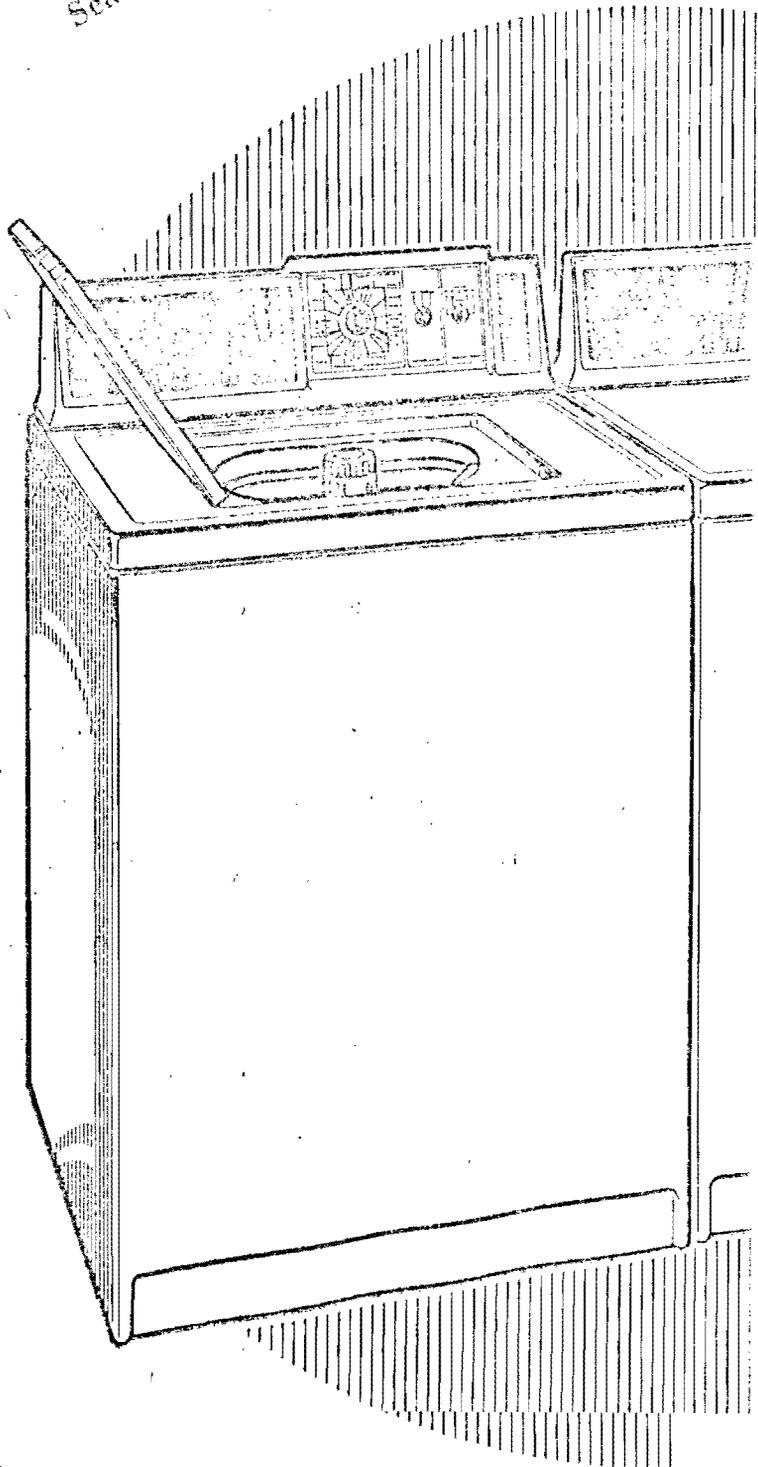
Tuesday's results gave the Legislature a father-son combination to go along with the McCollough mother-son team when Detroit Democrat Thaddeus Stopczynski won in the 11th district to join his dad, four-term Steve Stopczynski, re-elected in the new 19th district.

Mrs. Lucille McCollough, D-Dearborn, won a 10th term to keep in tandem with her freshman senator son, Patrick McCollough, D-Dearborn, who is midway in a four-year term.

The new legislative alignment will take shape Jan. 10 when the 77th Legislature convenes.

As presently constituted, the state's lawmaking body will reconvene on Nov. 27 to work off unfinished 1972 business, including major housing, transportation and gambling measures.

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FF/Hon. J. H. ...

The Republicans' Power Drouth in Co

BY JAMES BASSETT
Times Associate Editor

That long drouth of power in Congress for Republicans is now 18 years old, with considerable likelihood that it will last at least until the end of President Nixon's second Administration.

Curiously, the GOP slipped from majority to minority status during the first off-year election of one of the nation's most loved Chief Executives—Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The charismatic Ike had brought into office with him in 1952 a narrow Republican margin, after a four-year Democratic sway that followed Harry S Truman's "give-'em-hell" win over Thomas E. Dewey in 1948. (Those with long memories will recall HST's condemnation of the GOP-led "no-account, do-nothing 80th Congress" in that remarkable year.)

When Gen. Eisenhower was inaugurated in January, 1953, he had an 83rd Congress that numbered 49 GOP senators to the Democrats' 46, plus Oregon's maverick Wayne Morse, who had bolted the Republican Party during the campaign. There were 219 GOP House members, 215 Democrats.

Moreover, congressional leadership lay in the capable hands of "Mr. Republican" himself, Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

Unlike Mr. Truman, Ike enjoyed consistently high legislative "box scores" for accomplishment of administrative mandates; about three-fourths of his bills were passed.

For his part, HST's victory over

Dewey (who "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory," as one cynic put it) came at a time when the record showed him at less than 50% in achievement. Yet the Democrats gave him a Congress. Ironically, THAT Congress' box score, where the White House wishes were concerned, dropped under 35%.

Then came 1954. With Vice President Nixon carrying the off-year campaign, Mr. Eisenhower stayed close to home base.

Why?

One cogent reason might well be the advice he received from U.N. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, whose judgment was highly regarded by the President.

Lodge had spearheaded the Draft-Ike movement in 1951, by visiting the then-NATO commander in Paris, learning that he was technically a Republican and convincing him that he should run.

I personally recall a conversation with Lodge in New York in late July of that year. Having been shown a presentation for a closed-circuit TV presentation aimed toward a GOP Congress, in which Mr. Eisenhower would star, Lodge declared:

"I'm not at all sure the President should become too identified with the Republican Party. I told him two years ago that he could make out just as well with a Democratic Congress. I still think so, and I repeated it to him recently."

Lodge was also fearful that losing Congress would be construed as a personal Eisenhower rebuff by the electorate.

He added: "There's moss on our party six inches thick. Maybe it'd be best for us to lose, as a lesson." While senator from Massachusetts until John F. Kennedy took away his seat in 1952, Lodge averred that he'd never "even said the word 'Republican' in 13 years."

Although the President could "get along" with an opposition Congress, Lodge acknowledged that Ike would "have to operate a lot differently to bring them to heel, whipcracking when he vetoes loose-money legislation, for example."

Lodge, it was obvious, felt there should be three parties: Republican, Democratic and White House.

Mr. Eisenhower accepted his counsel. When the votes were counted, the 84th Congress consisted of 48 Democrats (plus Morse) and 47 Republicans in the Senate, and 232 Democrats to 203 Republicans in the House.

Nonetheless, the President—who had sparred with his new Senate majority leader, William F. Knowland of California, over the Bricker amendment (watering down the presidential treaty-making powers), took the loss philosophically. But with a few reservations.

In his assessment of his 1952-54 record, Ike was especially proud of having led the nation from a wartime to a peacetime economy without a depression, and for "effective checks on profligate spending."

He wondered whether a divided government could continue along this course.

But the President took heart when

Losing Candidate's Lament: 'I Got Murdered in



Congress: Past, Present --- and Future?

considered his close friendship with House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate leader Lyndon B. Johnson, both Texans, both pragmatists. Rayburn represented a district in which Mr. Eisenhower had once served, and still addressed him as "Capt. Ike."

His personality played a tremendous role in the ensuing six years when the White House confronted an increasingly Democratic legislature. The broad-smiling Eisenhower managed without too much difficulty to maintain cordial relations with The Hill.

In 1955-56, the 84th Congress operated substantially with the President in foreign affairs. But he failed to gain more than half of his sired domestic goals. The 85th and 86th Congresses did better for him, opting his middle-of-the-road program to a fairly large degree and agreeing with him in foreign policy. Yet, as the years passed, even Ike was unable to maintain his previous momentum, as the Democratic Congress began to gird for the 1960 presidential election.

For eight years thereafter, two Democratic Presidents, Kennedy and Johnson, had majorities on The Hill. Result: a spate of domestic "liberal" legislation that rivaled, in any ways, FDR's "100 days" in 1933.

Now the question is: Can President Nixon, in his second term, approach the Eisenhower record? Or, perhaps more cogently, can he find a way to work with a possibly hostile Congress with its eyes on 1976?



Distributed by I.A. Times Syndicate

in Torrance'



Black Hijackers Tip Unfair Criticism Against Their Race

BY ROY WILKINS

In the precarious balance being maintained between white and black Americans, the spectacular black hijackers of airplanes, although actuated by personal problems with which many persons can sympathize, are tipping popular opinion against the whole race.

It is not usual, in the intensity of committing an offense, that it occurs to a lawbreaker that his actions may hurt other struggling members of his race. He is prepared, he thinks, to accept the consequences of his action.

If he is a hijacker, playing for high stakes with the lives of passengers

and crew, and the attempt to extort money. All these persons and the company had no connection with the trouble in Detroit, except that as whites they did have a tenuous tie to the system.

The hijackers, as is so often the case, did much more than vent their spleen upon whites. By the nature of their operations, they focused a spotlight on their own people.

It is not fair that it should be so, but it was "race" that screamed out that Sunday morning. Few people bothered to separate the black perpetrators from the black race.

Negro Americans need to give more than a fleeting thought to public relations. They had before them



On the campaign trail... in an office

... in Redondo

Dear Campaign Workers:

BY CATHY O'NEILL

Grass-roots campaigns are tough. They are tough to pull together, but they are much more difficult to unwind. Having been through one, I can appreciate why legislators are loath to change campaign financing laws.

After all, it doesn't rip your soul apart to say to a corporation, "Thank you for your help. I'm sorry I lost." However, it is a tough experience to thank people like you for investing hours, days, weeks of your time, talent and energies, not to say your personal financial efforts, and then to say, "I'm sorry we lost."

There are a few consolations. Ours turned out to be the closest legislative race in Southern California. My opponent, Sen. Robert S. Stevens, went back to Sacramento as the only legislator in the state with more than half his constituents having voted against him. The Peace and Freedom candidate, with 1.9% of the tally, made the difference between his election and mine—and most of those voters were probably defecting Democrats.

All the same, writing this is ripping me apart. How do I thank all of you who worked so hard for me because you felt I would work to see that public schools are a place you want to send your children, and so that

all of us can continue to enjoy beaches, parks and open spaces?

Is it enough to say that all you volunteers have performed a real public service and that such a close outcome will probably cause the other guy—the winner—to be a much more responsive legislator? It will have to be enough.

No, it wouldn't matter so much if it were just a matter of dashing off a thank-you note to a hired P.R. firm. In my case, though, that wouldn't work. My campaign was waged by people—lots of people—and all of you deserve a thank-you note. You also deserve to know, in detail, exactly what the results were.

Despite everything, there is much good news. Santa Monica, for example, was carried by a local Democrat for the first time in recent memory. Beyond that, Malibu, Pacific Palisades (where I live), Westwood (where my opponent lives), West Los Angeles, Venice—they voted overwhelmingly for me.

I also won in Marina Del Rey, Redondo Beach, and Hermosa Beach (thanks to a hugely energetic bipartisan effort), and even in El Segundo, which President Nixon carried 4 to 1, I didn't do too badly. Manhattan Beach was a tossup, and even with the usually conservative voters in Westchester, I held my own.

Then why did I lose? Well, I exceeded the Democratic registration on the Palos Verdes Peninsula, but didn't cut into the Republican vote on the environmental issue as much as we all had hoped there—and I got murdered in Torrance.

Torrance, where so many of us had worked so hard, where the most popular city councilmen wrote a letter on my behalf to all residents, where I had spent countless hours visiting bowling



... in Santa

Photos, clockwise from left, by Heila Ham

alleys, shopping centers, movie lines, PTA festivals and high schools; Torrance, where we had walked every precinct, where our South Bay headquarters had a fabulously hard-working staff of volunteers; Torrance, where I hoped for a large labor vote because I had every union local's endorsement, where I had the support of educators, many community leaders and bipartisan citizen groups concerned with good government — Torrance voted against me by 6,000 votes!

Why did I carry Democrats for 70 miles and lose them here? The answer may lie with being a woman—a mother.

Once during the campaign a friend and I passed out brochures in a Torrance shopping center. Some people looked at the picture and then at me, and they seemed surprised. One man said, "It's not easy being Jackie Robinson, is it?" I'm afraid my husband, an Irish lawyer, would have been a better candidate in Torrance.

But that's just guesswork—I still don't know for sure why I lost in Torrance. A vote analysis

Cathy O'Neill ran this month as Democratic candidate for state senator in the 25th District. She holds a master's degree in social welfare, and before the campaign worked in Santa Monica helping senior citizen VISTA volunteers develop programs for the elderly. Mrs. O'Neill, who will remain active in community affairs, has these immediate plans: "To wrap a lot of Christmas packages and think about finding a job in January."



Beach



lonica
d, Nina Zacuto, Maxine Somberg

hows that I got more support than any Democrat on the ballot in Torrance—1972 just wasn't a good year for Democrats there, as it wasn't in most middle-class communities where voters are realizing material aspirations. But I want our Torrance workers to know that all those hours of dedication weren't wasted.

Nothing was really wasted. We did better than we originally had any right to hope. We brought out a lot of important issues. We put the incumbent on his guard. We built the nucleus of a new political organization in our area made up of the young, working people, environmentalists, women, professionals and retired people. We waged a real grass-roots campaign without major corporate financing. That's the way American politics should be, and that's why I've had to keep so many of you in mind.

So thank you, everyone, for pitching in. I've tried to put down everything I really feel, but as I reread these notes, here's one thing I've left out, considering how close I came:

God damn it—I wish I'd won.

and with the international value of airplanes, he attracts international attention.

Whites hijack planes with less declared reason than blacks, but, as usual, the color of the culprit influences public opinion. When black hijackers stage a spectacular bit of air piracy, they get spectacular attention, the more so if violence is involved.

★

The taking of a Southern Airways jet, after not one but two trips to Cuba and with the copilot wounded by gunfire, aroused the nation. Pictures of the three hijackers adorned the front pages of newspapers everywhere. The odyssey of the stolen craft went from edition to edition.

Finally, the harrowing tale ended with the taking into custody of the hijackers by Cuban officials and appropriation of the ransom money.

Failure to receive justice in the courts was the reason reported for the hijackers' action. There was probably a good deal of truth in their charge. They are black and the chances are that their color influenced their treatment. There are so many points at which Negroes can "get the finger" that it is almost useless to try to make whites understand.

But this excuse, valid as it might be, does not justify the stealing of an airplane, the terrorizing of the pas-

on now. (A superbly executed example of attention to every public relations detail paying off in the huge landslide in the election.)

★

At present, communities are moving to keep black families out of the suburbs. Blacks are being denied even a chance at equal education by the mounting antibusing hysteria and the glib adherence to the neighborhood school—good, bad or indifferent. Blacks are being shut out of jobs by administrative hocus-pocus and by some unions. The proposed cuts in rent for welfare clients is aimed at blacks.

For protection against these and other onslaughts, black Americans have only the moral argument, plus the gamble of lawsuits and uncertain legislative action.

They can, however, exercise the self-discipline that all minorities must use against a majority that possesses massive political power (except in certain local instances) and crushing economic power.

In the meantime, there must be no letup in the resistance, but it must be directed by brainpower and not by sensational, widely publicized operations that call attention to the race of the alleged malefactors.

Such actions will but harden the lines against normal progress of normal people combating the already tough obstacles of normal existence.



"You didn't notice... decorations have been up since... Thanksgiving!"



Republican
National
Committee.

December 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT
RE: ELECTION '72: Editorial Reaction

The enclosed report contains a compendium of editorial reaction to President Nixon's landslide victory and what the future holds. Compiled from over 100 newspapers nationwide, this analysis reveals how, in the opinion of the nation's editorial writers, President Nixon's achievements in the area of foreign policy and the economy, coupled with his overall record, George McGovern's radical image and an unprecedented amount of ticket-splitting all contributed to an overwhelming mandate for four more years.

Copies of the text of the editorials cited in this report are available from the Political/Research Division.

/jg
enc.



Election Report

Editorial Reaction

ELECTION '72

EDITORIAL REACTION

Richard M. Nixon's landslide election on November 7, 1972, provoked varying editorial reactions in the nation's press. The extent of the President's victory was commonly acknowledged. However, the broad base from which this victory was derived was a bit surprising to some.

The following report looks at the various aspects of the President's victory and what it portends for the future as highlighted by the nation's editorial writers. The analysis was compiled from over 100 newspapers across the country.

Landslide!

"The astonishing feature of President Nixon's re-election victory is its uniformity. Not since President Roosevelt's sweep of all but two states in 1936 has a national candidate attracted support so clearly in every region and from virtually every segment of the voting population."

The New York Times
November 9, 1972

"...Mr. Nixon, after four years in the presidency, has achieved remarkable status as a leader of and spokesman for the great majority of the American people, young and old, rich and poor, blue collar and white collar, liberal and conservative."

The Denver Post
November 8, 1972

"All regions and most elements of the population gave him a decisive endorsement. Few presidents have received comparable acclamation from the electorate."

The Pittsburgh Press
November 8, 1972

Foreign Policy

The winding down of the Vietnam War and the overall progress in the field of foreign policy are seen as those issues contributing most significantly to the Nixon victory.

"He has wound down the Vietnam war, [and] put out the 'cold war'...."

The Christian Science Monitor
November 9, 1972

"The acclaim for Mr. Nixon from abroad is a tribute to the effectiveness of his foreign policy which even the most dedicated McGovernites concede is his long suit."

The (Balitmore) Sun
November 10, 1972

"President Nixon's greatest achievements, however, were in the field of foreign affairs. Ping-Pong diplomacy led to the President's trip to China and all the possibilites that may grow out of the normalization of relations between the world's most populous country and the world's richest country."

The Arizona Republic
November 8, 1972

Fiscal Policies

The economy is also oft-mentioned as a major point in the President's favor.

"...the President's handling of the economic crises from the time of the August 1971 wage-price freeze...contributed to his landslide victory."

Sioux Falls Argus-Leader
November 9, 1972

"Voters were not to be distracted from their belief that peace and the economy were the main issues. They gave Mr. Nixon high grades on these.."

The New Orleans Times Picayune
November 9, 1972

Other Issues

The majority of editorials see the ending of the Vietnam War as the first priority of the President's second term. Once this goal has been met, it is generally felt that the President should turn to the great number of domestic issues awaiting action. These issues cover a wide spectrum-- federal spending, unemployment, tax reform, welfare reform, racial integration, etc.

"Bringing the cease-fire in Vietnam to reality must be the first priority.

"At home there are still problems with the economy, with high unemployment, with deficit spending, with living conditions in urban areas."

The Idaho Statesman
November 9, 1972

"For Nixon, the urgencies of office will bore in swiftly. There is still the horrid war in Vietnam to end, and related wounds at home to heal. The Watergate affair must be cleared up, for Nixon's own sake as well as the nation's. There is the challenge of the economy with the competing demands for growth without wild inflation, high unemployment, massive federal deficits or environmental damage. Taxes and tax reform are issues that will not go away. Likewise the unfinished business of the 1960's--racial injustice, poverty, inadequate schools, faltering health care and other perplexities--must still be faced more squarely."

The Milwaukee Journal
November 8, 1972

"As the administration proceeds in the weeks ahead to unravel the problems that still stand in the way of peace in Vietnam, Mr. Nixon will undoubtedly turn his attentions more fully to domestic concerns.

"...the President's initiatives in the area of welfare reform and governmental reorganization--to cite only two of the most ambitious--are still gathering dust."

The Cincinnati Enquirer
November 9, 1972

Ticket Splitting

One phenomenon very strongly in evidence in this election year is that of ticket-splitting. The Daily Oklahoman (11/9/72) refers to that state's voters as being "more sophisticated in ticket-splitting with every election." The Virginian-Pilot (11/10/72) reports that "In state after state, the electorate split its tickets with a vengeance." The (Baltimore) Sun (11/9/72) sums it up: "The pattern was not uniform around the country, but an essential fact is that a great many citizens voted for the Nixon-Agnew ticket and at the same time voted for Democratic candidates for the Senate and the House."

The newspapers that chose to analyze why people split their ballots generally came to one conclusion. The New York Times (11/9/72) stated that the voters are "tired of change." The Boston Globe (11/9/72) put it this way:

"What the people have said most clearly, perhaps, is that they have more faith in the President's call for a healing process than in a call for uncharted change."

"Confronted with the choices available to them, the overwhelming majority of America's voters were in no mood for change" is how the Akron Beacon Journal (11/8/72) saw it. The Christian Science Monitor (11/9/72) concludes:

"The American people may be wary for a long time of again entrusting all the power in Washington to men of the same party. By giving the White House to Mr. Nixon but leaving the Congress to the opposition they have expressed a preference for as little change in the present structure of American society as may be possible."

Why Nixon Won

According to newspaper editors, Richard Nixon was perceived by the electorate as the centrist, moderate, middle of the road candidate. Described by the Birmingham News (11/9/72) as "a centrist--a politician in the political middle" the President appealed to the voter in the political center. The Milwaukee Journal (11/8/72) puts it this way--"Nixon was able to dominate the political center, stressing moderate change within the comfortable framework of continuity." As simply stated in the Minneapolis Tribune (11/9/72)"...Mr. Nixon has done enough things well in his first term to elect him to a second, particularly when the views of the challenger seemed well ahead of those of the Middle American majority."

Why McGovern Lost

George McGovern was viewed by the voter as the radical, unknown, and extreme candidate. The (Cleveland) Plain Dealer (11/8/72) refers to McGovern's politics as "liberal-radical," The Detroit News (11/8/72) says "...his political ideas lie outside the main stream of American thought" and The Richmond News Leader (11/8/72) refers to his campaign as "the politics of exclusion." A vote for George McGovern was interpreted as a vote for a narrow ideology.

"One might say that the voters didn't blame the Democrats for George McGovern."

The Virginian-Pilot
November 9, 1972

"That the Democratic Party was not repudiated in the hurricane of Mr. Nixon's triumph, is plain from the almost incredible strength it showed in congressional and state elections."

The Washington Post
November 9, 1972

In short, George McGovern's defeat was seen as a personal one contributed to by his own extreme statements, vacillation on the issues, and a lack of perception of the all-encompassing job of the presidency.

"McGovern...helped Nixon immeasurably with a heavy evangelistic style that failed to stir, with alienation of traditional elements in the Democratic Party, with stumbling over Eagleton and economic policy....In the end, McGovern himself became the major issue."

The Milwaukee Journal
November 8, 1972

"McGovern...managed to alienate not only the Democrats who differed from his ideology, but he later drove off many of his original supporters by his vacillation and hedging on his original statements and policies....His chosen issues worked for his opponent and against him."

The Dallas Morning News
November 9, 1972

"So far as the institution of the presidency was concerned, Mr. Nixon was the man who came closest to matching the public image of what a President should be. Senator McGovern obviously did not match that image."

Newsday
November 9, 1972

The President and Congress

The Congressional election results are viewed editorially in one of two ways. Approximately half of those newspapers surveyed felt the President's landslide victory will give him a better hand in dealing with Congress. An example of this reaction:

"As Mr. Nixon faces Congress next year, surely he will be in better field position than when he began his administration and especially this year."

The Birmingham News
November 9, 1972

However, in the opinion of a number of other newspapers the election results will merely heighten any ill feeling that exists between the legislature and executive branches.

"Thus, in the next four years as in the last four, Congress and the White House look like pivotal points in an on-going struggle for political power, ideological supremacy and public popularity in this country."

Buffalo Evening News
November 9, 1972

Four More Years

The long range view of the Presidential outcome finds many newspapers seeing the next four years as a time of leadership challenge and change for the better. Richard Nixon is no longer restricted by the politics of the next election. It is a time for responsible action with an eye on the future.

"The country stands poised at the beginning of a new potential, offering revived opportunities for national excellence, both in solving problems at home and in fostering less fearful conditions world-wide. Americans, during election day, 1972, chose presidential leadership capable of fulfilling such tasks."

The Salt Lake Tribune
November 9, 1972

"For the first time in his political life, President Nixon will now be free of the pressures of another election campaign. He has a sense of history, and one must assume that he wants to leave a record that historians will remember favorably."

Oregon Journal
November 8, 1972

Colo. Party Bosses And

By CHARLES ROOS
Denver Post Staff Writer

Colorado politicians haven't yet sorted out the details of Tuesday's surprising election, but they're prepared to offer a few conjectures.

Item: Kenneth W. Lloyd, state Republican chairman, thinks his party was stricken with a form of "backlash"—so many Democrats were so alienated from their party's presidential candidate that they poured more than usual time and money into U.S. Senate and House races.

Item: Willard (Bill) Leavel, state Democratic chairman, believes that Democrat Floyd Haskell defeated U.S. Sen. Gordon Allott largely on issues, especially Medicare and tax reform.

Item: Richard E. Young,

Denver Democratic chairman, has a feeling the Denver party is in better health than it has been for years and may just be resuming its old-reliable Democratic tradition.

Item: William S. Powers, former Republican national committeeman, admittedly speaking with hindsight, says the "soft-sell" campaigns of Senator Allott and Republican Rep. Mike McKeivitt of Denver just weren't the right strategy this year.

'WON'T FAULT ANYBODY'

"I can't fault anybody, and I won't fault anybody," said Powers. "Their reasons were damned good, thoughtful and practical, and they might have been good reasons in another year, but they weren't good in this election."

Democratic Congresswoman-

elect Pat Schroeder and Senator-elect Floyd Haskell conducted "hard-sell" campaigns, "and they sold well," Powers said.

"Of course, some people might say that President Nixon conducted a soft-sell campaign, too," Powers said, "but he did like hell. The President conducted a tough campaign that put him on the front pages of the newspapers and on television every day."

The results of Tuesday's election show a startling trend of Colorado ticket-splitting.

As expected, President Nixon swept the state, winning all but two small counties and amassing a total Colorado vote of almost 600,000.

But three-term Senator Allott, whose name appeared next to the President's, side by side, on

every ballot for some 155,000 Nixon.

The election fore, a "Republican" in the opinion of Leavel.

'McGOVERN'

"The voters accept the candidate McGovern," I wasn't a Republican much as a person (Thomas) I

Leavel further election result unexpected vic

and Mrs. Schendence of a sen liberalism" in C

The strong new 4th Congre

by Democrat dicates that di to be as firmly

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Analyze Tuesday's Ticket Splitting

in the state, got votes less than was not, there- blican" election, of Democrat Bill EJECTED' simply didn't ac- dacy of George eavel said. "It ican victory as on, starting with agleton affair." r interprets the s (notably the ories of Haskell oeder) as evi- fiment of "sane olorado. showing in the sional District lan Merson in- ict isn't going aigns by staying at their desks Republican as

many Republicans thought, Leavel said. Merson lost the election to Republican James P. Johnson, but the seat "will be up for grabs again next time," in the opinion of the Democratic chairman. He believes Pat Schroeder's victory in Denver is evidence that "the 1st District has come home." McKeivitt, elected in 1970, was the first Republican congressman from Denver since 1946. McKeivitt has indicated since his defeat, that he isn't through with public life and at this point has to be considered the leading GOP prospect in Denver in 1974. GOP Chairman Lloyd said he's sure Allott and McKeivitt lost ground in the political car- rier isn't going paigns by staying at their desks Republican as in Washington while opponents

were stumping at home. McKeivitt especially was late getting into the campaign, remaining in Congress most of the time until adjournment in October. "He stayed in Washington, did his job, attended sessions, did his voting," Lloyd said. And, as a result, the congress- man missed exposure in Denver while his opponent was vigorously campaigning, Lloyd said. The Haskell organization ran a "very professional" cam- paign, the chairman said, "and I think we failed, as Republi- cans, we really failed to get through to the people with the things that Senator Allott had done and was doing for the state of Colorado." Allott made a decision very early, Lloyd said, to run an af-

firmative campaign, staying away from personalities and negative issues. Looking back, he said, that strategy may have been wrong, "but at the time it looked like a wise decision." Also looking back, Lloyd ac- knowledged it's clear now that many people decided it was "time for a change" in the Senate. He thinks the new youth vote and the anti-Olympics referen- dum contributed, in some de- gree, to the defeat of both Allott and McKeivitt. OLYMPICS ISSUES Though the Olympics issue ought never to have been par- tisan, many Colorado Demo- crats tried to make it so, "and to a degree, I think succeeded," he said. Republican Powers discounts the effect of the youth vote and

the Olympic issue, but concedes that the Olympic referendum "probably helped get a certain group out (to the polls) that might otherwise not have voted." Allott and McKeivitt, along with all other Colorado members of Congress, spon- sored a bill to provide federal funds to support the 1976 winter games. But both supported the idea that federal funding would depend on the will of Colorado voters as expressed in the Tuesday referendum. Young, the Denver Democr- tic chairman, said he thinks a "conscience" vote helped Colo- rado Democratic candidates: Many persons who voted for Nixon felt a compulsion to switch immediately to the other party "to put some Democrats in office."

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Pajama-clad Sen. Robert Griffin and his wife, Marge, as they are told Wednesday morning that

his opponent in the U.S. Senate race, Attorney General Frank Kelley, had conceded the election.

AP Photo

Griffin Won on Busing Issue; Can GOP Hold onto Voters?

BY REMER TYSON
Free Press Politics Writer

The morning of Sept. 24, 1971, was crisp and clear in Detroit. Michigan's U.S. Senate race was far away, not yet a flutter in the public's mind.

Republican Sen. Robert P. Griffin sat in a Pick-Fort Shelby Hotel suite, writing in black ink with a heavy felt pen on a long yellow legal pad—the kind lawyers use in court.

The statement he wrote that morning was eventually to lead—more than anything else—to his re-election victory on another morning in Detroit—Nov. 8, 1972.

"As one who wants to make more and more progress toward racial equality and an integrated society," Griffin wrote in big letters, "I am deeply concerned that forced busing solely for the purpose of achieving racial balance is counter-productive..."

Three days later—Sept. 27, 1971—U.S. District Court Judge Stephen J. Roth ruled that Detroit's school system

was segregated because of state actions.

BY THE TIME the impact of Judge Roth's ruling had sunk in, Griffin had established an image of the state's foremost opponent of court-ordered busing.

By December, President Nixon's campaign strategists were paying close attention to what was happening in Michigan, a state that the White

House had written off until that time.

"If busing is doing us as much good as Bob Griffin tells me it is, we can win Michigan," declared White House political aide Harry Dent, a onetime assistant to South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond.

When Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace won 51 percent of Michigan's May 16 Democratic presidential primary vote with a strong anti-busing campaign, it was clear that Griffin had read political sen-

Please turn to Page 20A, Col. 1

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Liberals...
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DEMS HOLD CONGRESS Election 7

Nixon Is a Loser in Victory

BY DAVID HESS
Free Press Washington Staff

WASHINGTON — A week before the election, a shrewd Democratic politico tested the wind and announced that President Nixon's "new majority" will be a mile wide and an inch deep. He predicted that the President would trounce Sen. George S. McGovern, D-S.D., but fail to win control of either house of Congress.

Consulted again the day after the election, he said he wanted to amend his first appraisal. "With the benefit of hindsight," he laughed, "I'd say Nixon's 'new majority' is two miles wide and half an inch deep."

The shallowness of the President's victory was most dramatically illustrated in the Senate, where Democrats—who figured they would be lucky to cling to a bare majority—actually gained two seats.

Going into the election with a 53-45 majority over the GOP, they emerged with a 57-43 edge.

In the House, where Republicans hoped to seize as many as 27 seats, Democrats held

them to a net gain of 12. The GOP trailed 253-177 going into the election, not counting one Democratic and two Republican vacancies.

The President's party came out of the election trailing 244-190, a crisp gain but still far short of the sweeping gains it had hoped to achieve on the wings of Mr. Nixon's smashing triumph.

The 435th House seat was

Please turn to Page 20A, Col. 1

The Election Story

Nixon's desk piled with unfinished bus City Clerk George Edwards blames the courts for Detroit's election foulup. Frank Kelley losing his righthand me Democrats gain additional governors Michigan Supreme Court gets its first Page 12A.

State Democrats gain in House. Page Can President carry out his programs. GOP keeps edge in U.S. House. Page Wayne County Democratic incumbents Complete suburban election results. Pa Illinois party power bases shattered. Pa Election tables on Pages 10, 15A and 1 Pictures on Back Page.

Polls Called It Right

WASHINGTON—(UPI)—The three major political polls were in position Wednesday to claim credit for their pre-election estimate of President Nixon's triumph over Sen. George S. McGovern.

Inside the Three D's

Amusements	10-11C	Opinion
Ann Landers	5C	Sports
Astrology	13D	Stock Market
Business News	10-15R	Television

If Busing Issue Fades, Can GOP

• Continued from Page 1A •

time in the state early and clearly.

The busing issue enabled Republicans to split off a major chunk of the white blue-collar vote that Democrats had depended on for a quarter of a century to win elections in Michigan.

TUESDAY'S election results give the best evidence of this in Macomb County, a largely

No 'New Majority' For GOP

• Continued from Page 1A •

won by an independent.

HOUSE MINORITY Leader Gerald Ford, R-Mich., heralded the Republican gain as a forerunner to giving the President an "ideological majority" in the House.

Actually, it merely strengthens the ideological majority — composed of northern Republicans and southern Democrats and called the "conservative coalition" — that existed before the election.

Thus, it virtually assures that the House will remain as the more conservative of Congress' two wings.

At the same time, more than 70 newcomers will gather on the House floor when the 93d Congress convenes in January. And they will be considerably

blue-collar Detroit suburban area where anti-busing sentiment runs extremely high.

Mr. Nixon won 64 percent of Macomb's vote, the highest Republican percentage since 1924. The county gave the President only 30 percent in 1968.

This turn toward Republicans occurred across the populous three-county Detroit metropolitan area, which was the key to Tuesday's election.

Mr. Nixon won 50.2 percent of the metropolitan area vote, an increase from 31 percent four years ago.

By contrast, Free Press indicator precincts show that

Sen. George McGovern got more than 90 percent of the black vote in Detroit.

UAW VICE-PRESIDENT Douglas Fraser, who was chairman of the McGovern campaign in Michigan, surveyed Tuesday's returns and commented:

"If you want to get to the crux of it, under the surface there is a new racism that we haven't seen in a good number of years. Saying it's busing or welfare is oversimplification. And if that's the case, it's much more serious (than the busing issue alone)."

No doubt many other factors and issues played a role in the

Michigan victories of Mr. Nixon and Sen. Griffin, but State Republican Chairman William McLaughlin said: "It is my guess that busing had one heck of a lot to do with it."

Because of that McLaughlin foresees danger ahead for Michigan Republicans.

"If the busing issue goes away," he said, "unless we build the party, we're going to lose everything we've got."

Fraser, one of Michigan's key Democratic leaders for years, views Michigan politics only partly in the same light as does McLaughlin.

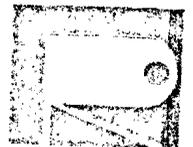
"Those who voted for Nixon

or Griffin on busing," Fraser said, "I would expect would return (to the Democratic Party) fairly soon."

But he sees an erosion of Democratic strength that might be longer lasting.

"It's not just a separation, but a divorce among some groups," Fraser explained. "The only way there can be a reconciliation is where economics dictates it. The Democratic Party is still the party of the working man."

WAYNE COUNTY Democratic Chairman Bruce Miller said Tuesday's election shows "we're going to have to talk



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Hold Gains in State?

more about the concerns of the people who make up the Democratic Party and not spend our time on single-issue causes that do not deal with the multiple causes of voter dissatisfaction."

Miller named amnesty for draft evaders as a single-issue cause.

He listed as multiple causes of Democratic dissatisfaction: "Disrespect for their institutions, — unions, union leadership, party leadership, for tax burdens they bear, for sacrifices their children make in defense of their country, for their economic and social needs, for requirements of

building a society built on justice and integration and equality."

Griffin saw the foremost

meaning of Tuesday's election as: "A mandate to continue and re-double my efforts to do something about busing."

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Nixon Has Split Michigan's Dems; What Will GOP Do with Pieces?

BY MICHAEL MAIDENBERG

Detroit Free Press Staff Writer 11/15/72

Two days before the election, one of the country's shrewder political analysts made a prediction:

"What this election will demonstrate is that out across the country . . . you will find that a solid majority of the American people do not want to go to the far left.

"What this election will demonstrate is that when a candidate takes basically an extreme position or issues, he inevitably splits his party and assures his defeat, even when it is a majority party."

One can quarrel with Richard Nixon's terming his opponent's position "the far left," but the President, who made the prediction Nov. 5 in a Washington Star-News interview, was dead accurate in his forecast of the rending of the Democratic Party.

He should be well pleased with himself, by now, since dissection of the Democrats has been the guiding strategy of Republicans for 40 years. Not even Dwight Eisenhower was as successful at it as Richard Nixon was last Tuesday.

MICHIGAN IS as clear an example as any. The Nixon vote has rearranged the state's political geography, leaving the Democrats in pieces. Nearly complete returns show:

- Mr. Nixon carried every county in the state except four, winning seven Upper Peninsula counties for the first time.
- He won 45 percent of the vote in Wayne County, the best any Republican has done since Herbert Hoover in 1928.
- He won an extraordinary 64 percent of the vote in Macomb county, 63 percent in the city of Warren. In 1968, Mr. Nixon received only 26 percent of the county's vote.

THE BREADTH of the President's victory has only one precedent in modern Michigan elections: That of Barry Goldwater's defeat in 1964, when he carried only three counties.

The candidacy of George McGovern frequently was likened to that of Barry Goldwater's, and though many Democrats scoffed at the comparison, they may take consolation in recalling the fact that one election is not by itself decisive.

The four years that followed the Goldwater defeat were full of events that few could have predicted. It would be foolhardy to guess what the next four will bring. They could resuscitate

"When detailed precinct-by-precinct returns become available, it is certain that they will show a dramatic gulf between Detroit and its suburbs, which is to say, between black and white."

day's election: The urban-suburban split in the vote.

Outside the Detroit metropolitan area (Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties, Richard Nixon won 60 percent of the vote. This is a good showing, but not unusual; Eisenhower had done better in 1952 and 1956, and Nixon himself won 60 percent of the outstate vote in 1960.

But last Tuesday Mr. Nixon won 53 percent of the combined metropolitan vote, the first Republican since Hoover to win a three-county majority. Comparing Mr. Nixon with himself, the best he had done before was 31 percent in 1968 and 38 percent in 1960.

Though city by city breakdowns are not yet available, returns from Free Press indicator precincts show the strongest McGovern votes were being cast in black precincts in the city of Detroit.

These precincts, both in the poorer black areas on the east side and in middle class areas in the northwest, were voting 95 percent and more for McGovern.

On the other hand, normally Democratic precincts in suburbs such as Dearborn, Garden City, Melvindale, Madison Heights, Roseville and Warren, were giving Mr. Nixon a majority.

Even Hamtramck, heavily blue-collar and Polish, and a bastion of Democratic strength in the past, gave Mr. Nixon 41 percent of the vote. He got only 10 percent in Hamtramck in 1968.

When detailed precinct-by-precinct returns become available, it is certain that they will show a dramatic gulf between Detroit and its suburbs, which is to say between black and white.

In Wayne County, this split cut the Democratic plurality to about 82,000 votes. This compares to the 300,000 vote pluralities generated by W.

The geographical split in the vote coincides with post World War II suburbanization.

Suburban expansion has been quite swift: Warren, for example, grew from 727 in 1950 to 179,260 in 1970.

Suburban growth also represented rising incomes, a more settled way of life, less concentration in blue collar jobs and—to a certain extent—hostility toward the blacks ever more concentrated in Detroit.

These trends were bound to have political repercussions. They were the Republicans' opportunity and the Democrats' challenge.

EARLY SUBURBANIZATION benefitted the Democrats; suburban Wayne County, Oakland County and Macomb County all increased in Democratic strength. The Detroiters leaving Detroit were carrying their party ties with them.

To its credit, the Michigan Democratic Party accomplished, however imperfectly, a political alliance which united black and white under a common banner.

Heavily influenced by labor in general and the UAW in particular, the Democratic Party in Michigan hammered home the importance of common economic interests.

The state won the reputation of being "liberal," but that label is hardly accurate when applied to racial conflict at the grassroots level.

The fact is that the state has had a long history of racial conflict, including two severe riots in 1943 and 1967. The antagonists have almost always been members of different elements of the Democratic Party.

Now in 1972, it appears the common economic bonds of the Democratic Party no longer hold. The Republicans, led by Richard Nixon, have benefited from a mass defection of suburban Democrats.

BUT A DEEPER question is arising: How will the Republicans deal with the forces that are producing realignment? Will they use them to drive Michiganders even further apart? Or can they bring the state together?

The answers to these questions will emerge over time. That we are entering a striking new period can scarcely be doubted.

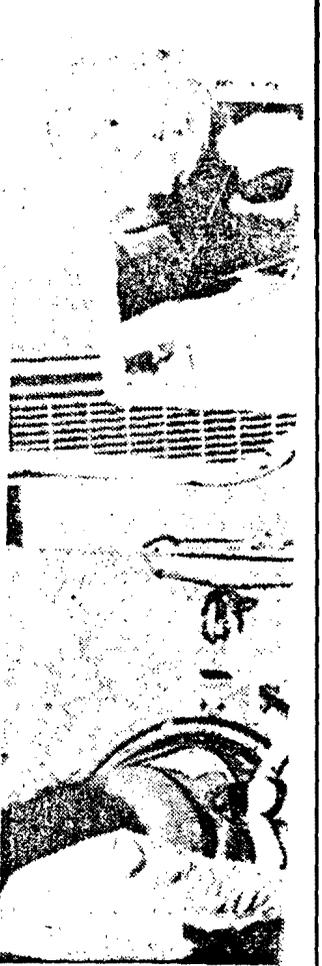
"This country has enough on its plate in the way of new spending programs, social programs, throwing dollars at problems," Richard Nixon said in the interview.

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GOP Didn't Help Grover

11/12/72 Dallas News

Governor's Race Lacked Party Faithful's Push

By CAROLYN BARTA

A staff worker for Republican gubernatorial candidate Henry Grover listened to Grover at a Dallas Press conference Friday and then jokingly told the Grover campaign story in song.

"This time we almost made the pieces fit, didn't we, Hank?"

And, they almost did. At last count, Grover had come within 96,333 votes of becoming the state's first Republican governor since Reconstruction.

With a little more help from Republican Party hierarchy, he might have made it.

Grover cited two factors that could have turned his campaign around. . . if he could have raised \$50,000 for an advertising blitz in the last 10 days, or if the Committee to Re-Elect the President had canvassed for him as well as for Nixon and U.S. Sen. John Tower.

Grover noted that when he went into the race, his problem was one of name identification. People didn't know him. Both the canvassing and the advertising would have helped that.

In addition, his campaign organization—which he built personally with no help from the state Republican Party—needed the information they could have gotten from such polling. Grover personally could not afford one.

"We got not a shred of information, not a scrap of help," said Phil Nicolaidis of the Agora Group, Grover's New York marketing com-

munications consultant.

Grover, however, would not comment on his lack of help from the state party. "I got tremendous support from the county chairmen, the precinct chairmen and thousands of volunteers," he said.

Grover said months ago, however, that leaders of the party in the state didn't really want to win the governor's office. They just wanted a token candidate.

When his campaign was virtually ignored at the Republican State Convention in Galveston last summer, Grover sought to oust State Party Chairman Dr. George Willeford and Vice-Chairman Mrs. Beryl Milburn—both of whom had the backing of Tower, the party's strongest voice in the state.

His coup failed, however.

If he had been elected, Grover would no doubt have fought Tower for the party's quarterbacking duties.

Asked at his press conference here if he plans to try to do some "house-cleaning" in the party organization, Grover said, "I just plan to continue to campaign for governor in 1974."

Grover feels his strong showing puts him in a better position to draw money in the future from the party hierarchy because, "I've proven to the party and to the citizens at large and I can win the primary and with a little money, I can win the election."

Nicolaidis told The News in July, when he came to Texas to work on the campaign, that one of the jobs of

the advertising consultants was to convince the public that Grover could win.

"We never broke the 'can't win syndrome,'" he said.

Jim Chenoweth, Grover's Dallas campaign manager, agreed, pointing out Friday that "the problem was that nobody could believe we could win it."

That hurt in fund-raising—particularly in the waning days of the campaign. Supporters who already had contributed heavily were convinced they would be throwing money "down the drain."

As a result, Nicolaidis said, "We couldn't come out with the big finish campaign wise—the media blitz."

Probably Grover's most effective tool in the last few campaign days was his television commercial showing Democrat Dolph Briscoe fumbling around, trying to get the Texas delegation vote, at the Democratic National convention.

Grover had two big things going for him in this election. One was the statewide anti-McGovern feeling. Another was the image voters had begun to get of Briscoe—as inept and unresponsive.

Briscoe either will disprove that image in the next two years or he will be defeated in the Democratic primary.

So Grover will not have either of those assets in 1974.

He should, however, after two more years of campaigning, at least improve his name identification.

And he feels that Republican chances are "always better in an off-year election, where there is not a heavy straight-ticket turnout from the Democrats."

Whether he can win in 1974 is pure guesswork at this stage. Conditions will be different then, but he says the candidate will remain the same.

"I've laid the background for the future," Grover said. "I'm a candidate from now on."

Leading U.S. Journalists To Address Meeting Here

More than 1,000 working, teaching and college-aged journalists will gather in Dallas Wednesday through Saturday for the national convention of Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society.

Headquartered at the Statler Hilton Hotel, convention speakers and panelists will include several top American journalists.

Newbold Noyes, editor of the Washington Star-News, will address the opening session Thursday morning. Hodding Carter III, editor and publisher of the Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times, will speak at the Thursday noon luncheon. And Garrick Utley, NBC correspondent, will be the evening speaker.

Jack Anderson, Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist, will speak at the Friday luncheon. Peter Arnett, Associated Press special correspondent who recently returned from a visit to Hanoi, will address the convention Friday night.

On Saturday, Erma Bombeck, nationally syndicated columnist, will speak at the concluding luncheon.

Three panel discussion will feature moderators Dick Fogel, chairman of the SDX National Freedom of Information Committee and assistant managing editor of the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune; Bill Small, vice-president of CBS news, and Paul Swensson, associate director of the American Press Institute.

The panels will cover the subjects of jobs, the 1972 election campaigns and freedom of information. Panelists will include Bill Arthur, former editor of now defunct Look magazine; Frank Mankiewicz, former national director of George McGovern's presidential campaign, and Peter Bridge, former reporter for the Newark (N.J.) News who was jailed recently for refusing to release information to a grand jury.

Pay Hike Rejected

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (AP)—A U.N. committee rejected a \$3,000 proposed salary increase for 15 World Court judges, saying a 9 per cent hike after last year's 17 per cent increase would be too much, too soon. The proposal would have tipped the judges' annual pay to \$38,000.

Democrats Lose Ethnic

In the past year, President Nixon's Hispano "surrogates" and La Raza Unida party leaders paradoxically campaigned with the same theme, accusing Democrats of "taking the Spanish-speaking vote for granted too long."

By all indications, Mexican-Americans in Texas heeded the call in last Tuesday's election and left the Democratic party in sufficient numbers as to seriously question whether the Mexican-American bloc vote remains largely Democratic.

President Nixon apparently carried a majority of the state's Mexican-American vote, with predominantly Mexican-American counties in South Texas and the Lower Rio Grande Valley giving the Nixon-Agnew ticket as much as 65 per cent of the vote in some areas.

Four years ago, President Nixon received only 10 per cent of the Spanish-speaking vote.

Meanwhile, U. S. Sen. John G. Tower and gubernatorial nominee Henry C. Grover, both representatives of the GOP's conservative wing, also ran strong among Mexican-Americans.

Tower carried from 40 to 55 per cent of the vote in the predominantly Mexican-American counties. Grover, who publicly had said he did not need the minorities' votes, won up to 40 per cent of the vote in some counties.

COUPLED WITH the Republican bite into the Mexican-American vote was the gubernatorial candidacy of La Raza Unida party's Ramsey Muniz, who drew enough votes away from Democrat Dolph Briscoe to make Briscoe the first person in 78 years elected governor of the state with less than a majority of the popular vote.

La Raza Unida, a Chicano political party making its first statewide campaign, captured more than 200,000 votes—slightly more than 6 per cent of the vote—and assured itself of a place on the 1974 general election ballot. By law, the party must now hold a primary election to se-

lect its candidates.

This year, the party had to collect 22,358 notarized signatures of eligible voters who did not vote in the primaries in order to get on the general election ballot.

Together, La Raza Unida movement and the massive shift of Texas Mexican-American voters, who compose about a fifth of the state's electorate, represent another break in the old Roosevelt Democratic coalition of labor, minorities, liberals and the South.

ROTH MUNIZ and Jose Angel Gutierrez, founder and national chairman of La Raza Unida party, have promised to continue the party's statewide drive with an even larger slate of candidates in 1972. La Raza Unida ran five candidates for state office this year.

Equally as damaging to the Democrats' future in Texas, however, could be the exodus of Mexican-Americans to the Republican party, which for the past several years has been making efforts to attract the Mexican-American vote.

In the last year and a half, President Nixon has stepped up the effort to woo the Spanish-speaking vote. He has appointed 51 Spanish-speaking persons to supergrade positions in the administration, a number dwarfing the six persons appointed to supergrade positions in the Johnson administration.

In addition, the Nixon administration in the last year poured an estimated \$47 million into Spanish-speaking projects, with more than \$20 million $\frac{1}{4}$ going to the Texas region.

ACCORDING TO a CBU voter demographic analysis, President Nixon received 49 per cent of the Spanish-speaking vote in Texas and Florida and 31 per cent of the Spanish-speaking vote nationally.

The same analysis showed President Nixon getting 24 per cent of the Puerto Rican vote in New York and 11 per cent of the vote in the California area.

In San Antonio, the Committee to Re-Elect the Presi-

dent took a sampling of three predominantly Mexican-American precincts. President Nixon received 20 per cent of the vote in a low-income precinct, 49 per cent in a middle-income precinct and 68 per cent in a high-income precinct.

In October, Henry M. Ramirez, chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People, told a press conference in Dallas he would be "terribly happy" if the President received 20 per cent of the Mexican-American vote.

RAMIREZ AND other Spanish-speaking officials in the administration indicated that a strong Spanish-speaking vote for the President would mean additional concessions for Spanish-speaking groups and a continued effort to attract them to the GOP.

On the other side of the political spectrum, La Raza Unida poses a threat of indeed being the balance of power in the state. The day after the election, Muniz, Gutierrez and other state party leaders met to begin planning for local elections next spring and for building a stronger statewide organization for 1974.

Muniz pointed out that in 1974 the party will not have to contend with the presidential races, which he said caused many Mexican-Americans to continue voting straight Democratic or to vote straight Republican.

"If we only increase our strength to 10 per cent of the vote," he said, "we'll decide every governor's race from here on out. We'll be at least that strong in 1974. We won't have to waste our time and energy with getting on the ballot, and we'll be able to concentrate on voter registration and voter education."

PRESUMABLY BY 1974, the Texas Democratic party will have begun making changes to accommodate Mexican-Americans who otherwise would be attracted to La Raza Unida.

It seems ironical that at the same time large numbers of Mexican-Americans abandoned the Democratic party,

Mexican-Americans gained slightly in their representation in the Texas Legislature. Two Mexican-American state senators and 11 representatives, all Democrats, were elected to serve in the 63rd legislature.

While making no public criticism of Mexican-American officials, however, La Raza Unida and GOP Mexican-American leaners privately express doubts about the commitments of Mexican-American legislators to their people's problems.

PAUL MORENON, the former state representative from El Paso who was beaten by another Mexican-American in a bid for the state Senate, openly says he feels he was used by the Anglo-dominated Democratic party while serving in the Legislature.

"Now there's nobody in the state senate worth a bag of peanuts," Moreno told one Raza Unida rally last month. "There's nobody there who truly represents the Chicanos, the blacks and the poor."

Perhaps an answer would be for Texas Democrats to groom their own Muniz — a Mexican-American or several Mexican-Americans to run for a high statewide office with the party's blessings and backing.

There are indications, however, that Sen. George McGovern's disastrous defeat will retard rather than hasten any attempt by Texas Democrats to give liberals or the minorities a larger role in the party.

THE PRESENT CONDITIONS would nurture the growth of La Raza Unida as well as the shift of Mexican-Americans to the Republican party.

"Maybe if Muniz had caused Briscoe's defeat it would have aroused some of the dead wood in the party hierarchy," said one member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, who asked not to be identified.

"But I'm afraid most of the party leaders aren't really worried about the Raza Unida or the Republicans."

Dallas News
11/12/72

Van Zandt ...	1,932	4,800	3,310	3,465	4,002	2,697	1,904	10
Victoria	4,231	11,289	6,789	7,998	8,019	6,150	1,221	29
Walker	2,940	5,782	4,525	4,085	4,707	3,490	193	127
Waller	1,538	2,263	2,026	1,699	2,290	1,367	32	4
Ward	1,049	2,687	1,550	1,906	1,820	1,569	235	5
Washington ..	1,324	3,862	2,190	2,972	2,911	2,185	12	10
Webb	8,304	5,977	8,067	4,168	8,143	1,794	3,855	22
Wharton	3,481	6,271	4,900	4,550	5,305	3,928	219	13
Wheeler	502	1,766	808	1,355	1,153	1,023	3	1
Wichita	10,954	25,207	15,317	21,193	20,802	14,664	477	66
Wilbarger ...	1,139	3,173	2,110	2,435	2,972	1,652	25	5
Willacy	1,384	2,317	1,337	1,802	1,647	957	1,021	5
Williamson ..	3,806	6,998	4,740	5,675	6,818	3,100	872	23
Wilson	2,072	2,953	2,466	2,140	3,248	1,139	492	8
Winkler	602	2,467	1,240	1,691	1,368	1,614	51	2
Wise	1,741	4,230	2,694	3,153	3,467	2,329	35	5
Wood	1,842	4,746	3,152	3,344	3,806	2,644	26	9
Yoakum	457	1,952	920	1,457	1,276	1,081	45	3
Young	1,486	3,363	2,314	2,617	3,132	1,750	14	3
Zapata	768	695	684	454	774	186	387	1
Cavala	1,124	1,288	1,009	901	1,703	147	2,035	15

2 Texans Due Harvard Honor

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. (AP)—Two newly elected congressmen from Texas will be among a group of newly named Fellows of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University beginning Wednesday.

They are Alan Steelman, Republican, and Barbara Jordan, Democrat, who was named earlier to be a Fellow at the institute.

The institute is a branch of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, founded as a memorial to late president John F. Kennedy.

Texas Vote Analyzed

By ROBERT E. FORD
Associated Press Writer

Seventy-eight counties of Texas' 254 voted Republican for the first time in their history in Tuesday's election, a Texas Election Bureau analysis of the vote showed Saturday.

It was the greatest presidential victory ever rung up in Texas by the GOP both in counties captured, total vote and ballot percentage.

Republicans won Texas' Electoral College votes three times previously, but even the immensely liked Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, a native son, never created the landslide that President Richard M. Nixon did Tuesday.

THE TOTAL VOTE for president was the largest of any of the races at 3,461,301. Next highest total vote was for U.S. senator with 3,438,876 by Texas Election Bureau tabulations.

In the presidential race, Nixon took 65.25 per cent of the ballots and Democrat George McGovern 33.49.

Nixon carried 246 counties and McGovern eight. Those voting for McGovern were Brooks, Cottle, Duval, Maverick, Robertson, Starr, Webb and Zapata.

In the hotly-contested governor's race, Democrat Dolph Briscoe led by 100,212 ballots in the election bureau count with 1,632,287 for Briscoe and 1,532,075 for Republican Henry Grover.

THIS LEFT THE Democrat with

48.90 per cent of the vote and Grover with 44.96, with Ramsey Muniz of the Raza Unida party getting 219,127 ballots and 6.43 per cent.

In all, Briscoe carried 229 counties while Grover won 23 and Muniz 2.

ALL THE PROPOSED constitutional amendments were approved except the raise in legislative salaries, the raise in pay of the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the House and the conservation project.

The final Texas Election Bureau count:

President: George McGovern 1,159,532, President Richard Nixon 2,293,231, Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers 8,538.

Senator: Barefoot Sanders 1,512,065, Sen. John Tower 1,850,983, Flores-Amaya Raza Unida 64,819, Tom Leonard (SW) 11,009.

Governor: Dolph Briscoe 1,632,287, Henry Grover 1,532,075, Ramsey Muniz (RU) 219,127, Debby Leonard (SW) 24,072.

Lt. Gov.: Bill Hobby 2,362,369, Alma Canales (RU) 131,627, Meyer Alewitz (SW) 27,187.

Atty. Gen.: John Hill 2,334,493, Tom Kincaid (SW) 59,298.

Comptroller: Robert S. Calvert 2,303,076, Anne Springer (SW) 93,642.

Treasurer: Jesse James 1,633,811, Maurice Angly 1,493,636, Ruben Solis Jr. (RU) 123,125.

Land Commissioner: Bob Armstrong 2,265,252, Howard Petrick (SW) 55,556.

Railroad Commissioner: Byron Tunnell 1,870,893, Jim Segrest 1,074,082, Fred Garza (RU) 159,623.

The vote on proposed constitutional amendments:

1. Legislators' pay hikes: For 1,200,909, Against 1,372,020.
2. Lamar hospital dist.: For 1,402,859, Against 871,570.
3. Peace justice salaries: For 1,726,604, Against 762,639.
4. Constitution commission: For 1,493,689, Against 949,746.
5. Veterans' tax exemptions: For 1,978,696, Against 619,319.
6. Elderly tax exemptions: For 1,805,681, Against 658,312.
7. Civil equality: For 2,066,307, Against 534,037.
8. Four-year terms: For 1,401,177, Against 1,125,806.
9. Conservation district dual pay: For 1,017,093, Against 1,377,471.
10. Constitutional procedures: 1,324,223, Against 933,783.
11. Speaker and Lt. Gov. pay: For 873,416, Against 1,591,663.
12. Dual office holding: For 1,232,761, Against 1,177,053.
13. Bond interest increase: For 1,305,590, Against 977,628.
14. County school funds: For 1,373,961, Against 1,007,571.

Dallas News 11/12/72

VER

Nunn for Senate; Kentucky in heavy vote able lead nationally

come-in terms

Kentucky: Voters cross party lines to elect Huddleston



Staff Photo by Ford Reid

By BILL BILLITER

Courier-Journal Political Editor

Kentucky voters made Nov. 7 "Ticket-Splitting Day."

In races that showed unprecedented waves of voting across party lines, Republican President Nixon easily won a Kentucky victory last night, while Democratic candidate Walter (Dee) Huddleston defeated Mr. Nixon's choice for the U.S. Senate.

Mr. Nixon trounced Democrat George McGovern and four other presidential candidates on the Kentucky ballot.

But Mr. Nixon's smashing victory over McGovern was not enough to carry the GOP senatorial candidate, former Gov. Louie B. Nunn.

In a race in which early returns saw-sawed between the two, Huddleston eventually took a relatively close, but firm lead over Nunn.

Two other senatorial candidates, William E. Bartley Jr., of the People's Party, and Mrs. Helen Breedon, of the American Party, trailed far behind in the four-way Senate race.

With 2,832 of Kentucky's 3,092 precincts reporting, the unofficial state

totals in the presidential race showed the two major-party candidates with this standing.

Nixon (R)	694,603
McGovern (D)	334,015

With 2,832 of the state's 3,092 precincts tallied, the unofficial total in the senatorial race showed:

Huddleston (D)	477,066
Nunn (R)	447,610
Breedon (Am. P.)	7,486
Bartley (P)	4,722

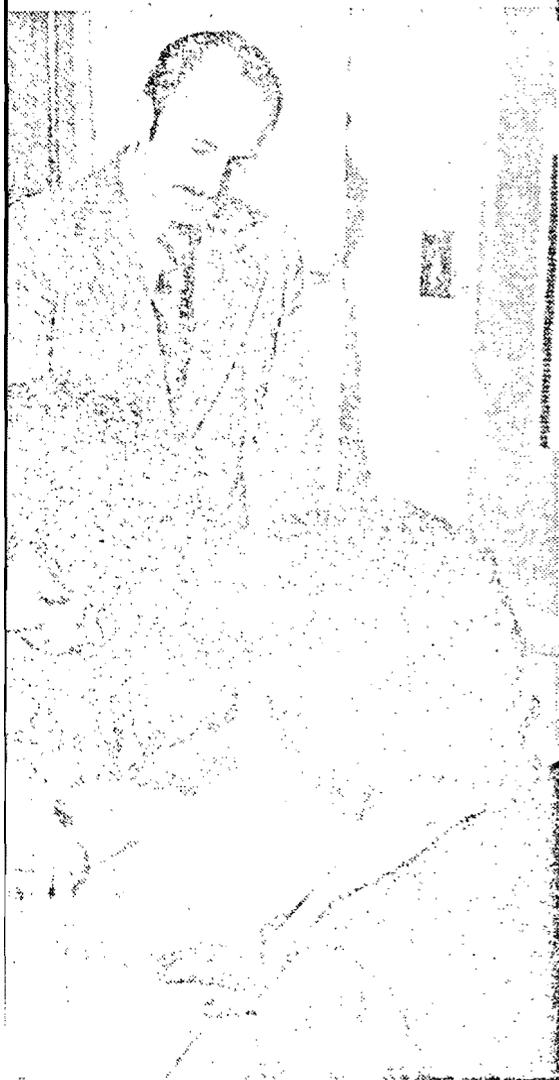
Both Nunn and Huddleston had predicted a substantial win the day before the election. But early on election night it became apparent that the two were locked in a relatively close contest.

In early returns, county totals repeatedly showed Huddleston and Nunn fighting for the lead.

In a television interview broadcast

See PRESIDENT'S

Back page, col. 4, this section



Associated Press

Presidential candidate John G. Schmitz watched
y. signed her name at the polls in Tustin, Calif.,

ses early lead

President's backers split their votes to elect Huddleston to U.S. Senate

Continued From Page One

early last night on WLKY-TV in Louisville, Huddleston said he expected the key to the election to be the urbanized areas of Jefferson County (Louisville), Fayette County (Lexington) and Northern Kentucky (Covington-Newport).

Those areas, sometimes referred to as Kentucky's "urban triangle," contain about one-third of the state's population.

Huddleston defeated Nunn in Jefferson County by more than 5,000 votes, unofficial returns indicated.

In Fayette County, Nunn was about 3,000 votes ahead of Huddleston, with 77 of 117 precincts reporting.

Mr. Nixon, who has always run well in Kentucky, zoomed off to an insurmountable lead shortly after the polls closed and ballot returns began coming in.

By 6:35 p.m. EST, the CBS television network, based on computer projections, had already declared Mr. Nixon as winning Kentucky. At the time CBS made its victory projection, the western half of Kentucky was still voting. Western Kentucky is in the Central Time Zone, and polls do not close there until 7 p.m. EST.

Vote totals from Western Kentucky, after the polls closed, proved that sentiment for Mr. Nixon in that area matched, or in some counties exceeded, the lopsided vote he got in the Eastern Time Zone portion of the state.

Vote returns were spotty and incomplete for the minor-party candidates for president. The Associated Press ran a running total only on two of them, American Party candidate U.S. Rep. John Schmitz and People's Party nominee Dr. Benjamin Spock.

Two other presidential candidates on the Kentucky ballot were Gus Hall, the Communist Party nominee, and Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate. No early returns were available on Hall and Ms. Jenness.

With 2,838 of the state's 3,092 pre-

the election that they expected Mr. Nixon's victory in Kentucky to be so massive that Huddleston could not possibly get enough ticket-splitting to defeat Nunn, an expectation that was proved erroneous.

The term "ticket-splitting" means pushing down individual levers and voting for people of more than one political party. Many Kentucky voters are attuned to pulling only a party lever and voting a straight ticket in an election.

But in recent years, election returns in Kentucky have shown increasingly high amounts of ticket-splitting. Yesterday's election apparently will set an all-time high in such cross-party voting.

Nunn was running behind Mr. Nixon in many counties, indicating that Democrats who were voting for a Republican president were switching back to vote for a Democratic senator.

For instance, in Central Kentucky's predominantly Democratic Woodford County (Versailles), unofficial returns from all 12 of the county's precincts showed Mr. Nixon trouncing McGovern, 3,282 to 1,240. But in the senatorial contest in Woodford County, Nunn barely topped Huddleston, 2,325 to 2,147, based on complete, unofficial returns.

Nixon visit unavailing

The former governor fared much more poorly than expected in the normally rock-ribbed Republican 5th Congressional District in Southeastern Kentucky. That area is the home of U.S. Sen. John Sherman Cooper, R-Somerset, whose seat Huddleston will assume in January.

Cooper announced earlier this year that he did not plan to seek re-election. The senator, in making his announcement, endorsed Nunn to succeed him. Subsequently, President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew made speeches in Nunn's behalf.

Agnew made a special appearance for Nunn in the Republican-oriented 5th

Nunn ran substantially behind Mr. Nixon.

Huddleston, based on early, incomplete returns, was carrying five of Kentucky's seven congressional districts. Nunn carried the 5th District in Southeastern Kentucky and the 4th District, which includes Northern Kentucky and most of suburban Jefferson County.

Huddleston's victory was cinched when Western Kentucky polls closed at 7 p.m. EST and its returns started rolling in. Western Kentucky, which is heavily Democratic, gave Huddleston a thumping victory in both the 1st and 2nd Congressional Districts.

White boycott of schools may continue in Brooklyn

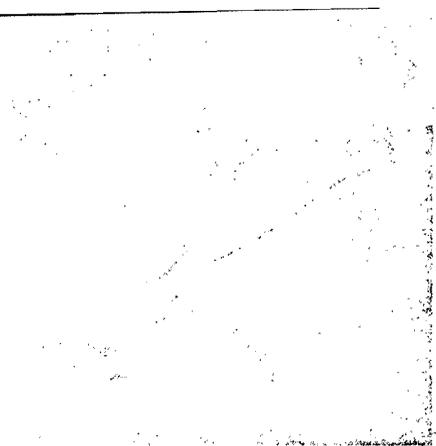
NEW YORK (AP) — A district school board gave in and approved admission of 31 minority children to a Canarsie junior high school yesterday, but it was not clear whether white parents would go along.

White parents have been refusing to send their children to several schools in the Brooklyn district in protest against admission of the 31 black and Puerto Rican children from a Brownsville housing project.

At a meeting Monday night, they shouted down a proposed compromise worked out between the central Board of Education and presidents of parent-teacher associations in the district. The parents vowed to keep their children home again today, resuming the boycott after the election day holiday.

Woman trying to vote told she was dead

SAEGERTOWN, Pa. (AP) — A Crawford County woman got quite a shock when she went to the polls yesterday in a



Associated Press

andidate John G. Schmitz watched name at the polls in Tustin, Calif.,

Early lead for victory

any turnout reports had erased GOP concern that apathy might be a Republican problem.

The returns were compiled and disseminated by the News Election Service, a organization formed eight years ago by The Associated Press, United Press International, American Broadcasting Co., and the Broadcasting System and National Broadcasting Co.

Under the spotlight of the presidential and congressional races, there were thousands upon thousands of other decisions. In five states, for example, the voters decided whether to alter or eliminate the system of property-tax support for public schools in order to equalize educational financing.

To the end, McGovern insisted that he would overturn the pollsters' forecasts to win the election.

He sped some 1,400 miles on the day after the election, New York to California, and back to Sioux Falls, S.D., for a rally at his election-night waiting place.

He harbored at demands for an end to the war in Indochina, promised a job opportunity for every American, accused Nixon of wrecking the economy,

in Kentucky, zoomed off to an insurmountable lead shortly after the polls closed and ballot returns began coming in.

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Two other presidential candidates on the Kentucky ballot were Gus Hall, the Communist Party nominee, and Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate. No early returns were available on Hall and Ms. Jenness.

With 2,338 of the state's 3,092 precincts reporting, the unofficial totals for American Party candidate Schmitz and People's Party nominee Spock was:

Schmitz (Am. P.)	15,571
Spock (P)	1,200

Mr. Nixon's overwhelming victory in Kentucky did not give proportionate "coattail" carrying-power to other Republican candidates on the ballot.

All four Democratic incumbent congressmen seeking re-election easily defeated their GOP opponents, and in the only close contest in the state, Democrat John B. Breckinridge defeated Republican Laban P. Jackson for the 6th Congressional District seat in Central Kentucky. The Democratic incumbent was not seeking re-election in the 6th District.

Nunn, who was governor from 1967 to 1971, pinned much of his campaign on his close ties to Mr. Nixon. In addition, Nunn regularly blasted Sen. McGovern, the South Dakota senator who was the Democratic presidential nominee.

Republican campaign aides said before

in many counties, indicating that Democrats who were voting for a Republican president were switching back to vote for a Democratic senator.

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Cooper announced earlier this year that he did not plan to seek re-election. The senator, in making his announcement, endorsed Nunn to succeed him. Subsequently, President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew made speeches in Nunn's behalf.

Agnew made a special appearance for Nunn in the Republican-oriented 5th District at London-Corbin Airport during the campaign. Nunn predicted at a Monday press conference that he would carry the 5th District by 40,000 or more votes.

But unofficial returns last night showed Nunn winning the strategic 5th by only about 25,000.

Nunn also apparently lost the only two counties in Kentucky that Mr. Nixon visited during the presidential campaign. Mr. Nixon flew into Greenup and Boyd counties in Northeastern Kentucky Oct. 26 in a special effort to boost Nunn's candidacy.

Huddleston ahead in 5 districts

Unofficial returns last night showed Huddleston with about a 400-vote lead over Nunn in Boyd County, with 40 of 45 precincts reporting. In neighboring Greenup County, Huddleston had about a 500-vote lead over Nunn, with 24 of 28 precincts reporting.

Huddleston ran substantially ahead of Democrat McGovern yesterday, while

White boycott of schools may continue in Brooklyn

NEW YORK (AP) — A district school board gave in and approved admission of 31 minority children to a Canarsie junior high school yesterday, but it was not clear whether white parents would go along.

White parents have been refusing to send their children to several schools in the Brooklyn district in protest against admission of the 31 black and Puerto Rican children from a Brownsville housing project.

At a meeting Monday night, they shouted down a proposed compromise worked out between the central Board of Education and presidents of parent-teacher associations in the district. The parents vowed to keep their children home again today, resuming the boycott after the election day holiday.

Woman trying to vote told she was dead

SAEGERTOWN, Pa. (AP) — A Crawford County woman got quite a shock when she went to the polls yesterday in a rural township near here — authorities told her she was dead.

A call to election headquarters in the county courthouse straightened out the problem. It seems another woman with the same name and same rural delivery address had died during the past year, and the record keepers eliminated the wrong person from the rolls.

McGoverns plan post-election rest on St. Thomas Island

CHARLOTTE AMALIE, St. Thomas (AP)—Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern and his wife will travel to St. Thomas tomorrow for a post election rest, a spokesman said.

The McGoverns plan to stay at the home here of Henry Kimmelman, McGovern's finance chairman, a spokesman for Kimmelman said yesterday. The length of the stay was not announced.

Houston Post

Good morning!

It's Thursday, November 9, 1972.

D. ELY

Nov 9

Briscoe survives Grover scare

By JANE ELY
Post Reporter

Democrat Dolph Briscoe managed to struggle into the Texas governor's seat Wednesday after a Republican sweep of the state nearly toppled State Sen. Hank Grover into top spot.

Latest figures by the Texas Election Bureau indicate Briscoe eked by with 48 per cent of the vote to Grover's 47 per cent and La Raza Unida candidate Ramsey Muniz 5 per cent.

If the figures hold through the final official tabulation, they will make the Uvalde rancher and banker the first

non-majority governor in Texas since 1894.

While Texans were helping hurl President Nixon back into the White House and racing incumbent Sen. John Tower home to Congress, they proved the state's political pundits were wrong when they said a "conscious" vote would defeat Tower and crush Grover.

Although he had relatively little money and even less party support, Grover may have made the most significant showing for the Republican party in Texas.

He won handily in three of the state's four most populous counties: Harris, Dallas and Tarrant (Fort Worth).

Unofficial returns from the Harris County clerk's office show the Republican carried his home county with 307,101 or 53.6 per cent of the vote to Briscoe's 240,458 or 42 per cent.

Muniz failed to eat away at Briscoe's votes in Harris County with the force he did in such Mexican-American strongholds as Bexar (San Antonio) and Nueces (Corpus Christi) Counties, but he did chalk up 17,552 or 3.1 per cent here.

Most political observers had expected usually die-hard Texas Democrats to vote for President Nixon and then return immediately to the Democratic side of the ballot.

Certainly Muniz could be considered

the telling factor in the 49-year-old Briscoe's narrow win.

Although he was considered something of a liberal when he served in the Texas House in the 1950s, many liberal Democrats felt he had assumed a conservative posture and were less than eager to vote for him.

For one thing, many could not forgive him for defeating the new darling of Texas liberals, State Rep. Frances "Sissy" Farenthold in the Democratic primary runoff for the party's gubernatorial nomination.

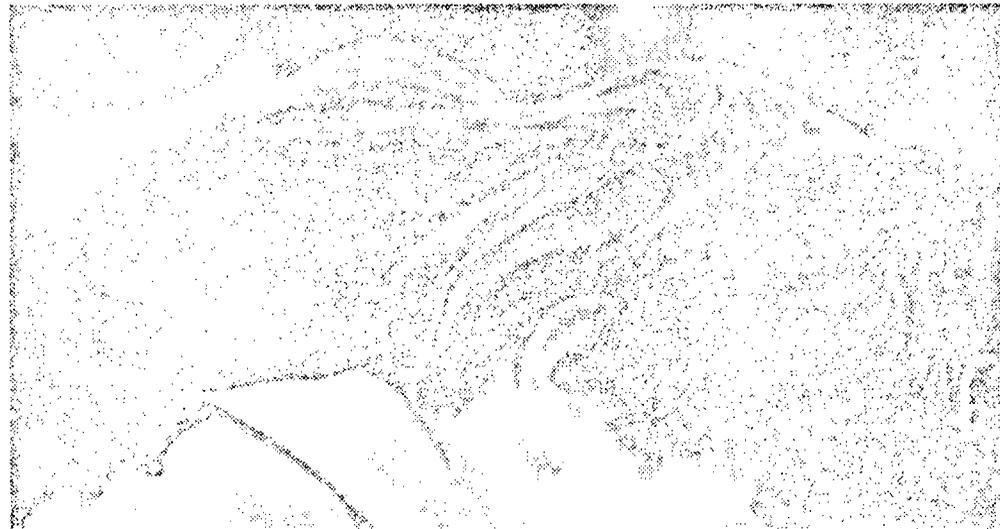
Then too, many were angered with

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Briscoe struggles to narrow win

From page 1

him for announcing his support of Alabama Gov. George Wallace in his bid to win the Democratic party's nomination for governor.

The fact he almost immediately switched his vote from Wallace to winner George McGovern in an attempt at party unity hurt him with conservative Wallace backers who did not find Grover at all unpalatable.

Muniz, a San Antonio attorney, tried to capitalize on Briscoe's support of Wallace and said "the only difference between Briscoe and Wallace is that Briscoe wears glasses."

It was the rural vote that finally defeated Grover, but the 45-year-old Houston school teacher was still refusing to concede the race late Wednesday.

He said he had reports of "fantastic numbers" of voting irregularities and felt there were still too many votes out for him to concede.

"It isn't a case of being a hard loser. I have nothing to climb the wall about. Win or lose, I have no regrets," he said.

"Life is not coming to an end. This is an experience I wouldn't trade for anything."

Grover's bitter political enemy, State Republican Chairman George Willeford also refused to concede Grover's defeat.

He said the party's ballot security forces are keeping a close watch on the final accounting of the race and a recount might be necessary.

"Our Voters Rights organization is continuing to receive reports of irregularities and in many situations there is a clear indication that recount will be necessary," said the man Grover tried to oust from party leadership last June.

"Grover should not be denied a rightful victory, and where there is the slightest question we are moving to resolve it," Willeford said.

Grover declined to comment on the leadership support he did or did not receive from the state party.

"I said all along if we had enough money we would win. I will not comment on that (party leadership support). I had great support from the rank and file, the precinct chairmen," he said.

While Grover was having trouble getting money and support from his party's leadership, Briscoe seemed to resolve his problems fairly early in the game.

In an effort to keep the party together despite the nomination of U.S. Sen. George McGovern as president, an act that openly distressed many Texas Democrats, party leaders everywhere insisted Briscoe should be supported.

Indeed, many observers say Briscoe conducted his general election campaign as have Democrats of old — on the basis that a Democratic primary win is tantamount to victory in November.

The strong showing by Grover, the influential showing by Muniz and the negligible showing by Socialist Workers party candidate Debby Leonard may have disproved that theory for all time in Texas.

Hijackers

take jet to Cuba

From page 1

the money and the prisoners were met.

Four of the six alleged robbers were released from jails, three were being held in connection with six robberies totaling more than \$260,000. The other two, not in custody, came to the airport in response to broadcast appeals.

One of the prisoners, a woman wounded during her recent arrest, was taken to the aircraft on a stretcher.

Officials said they believed three American passengers on the plane, the eighth hijacked in Mexico since 1968, were taken along on the flight to Cuba.

One on the trip was not identified. The others were Wesley Parsons, 29, a U.S. vice consul at Monterrey, and Steve Evans, 46, of the legal department in the same consulate. Both are from Phoenix.

U.S.-Poland agreement to triple trade

WASHINGTON — The United States and Poland signed a trade agreement Wednesday that American officials said would triple trade between the two nations in the next several years.

It was the second major trade agreement signed be-

tween the U.S. and the Communist nations, an agreement between the Soviet Union having been signed recently.

U.S. Commerce Secretary Peter G. Peterson told newsmen that the agreement would lead to "a new era of broadened and expanded

commercial relationships" between the two countries.

He estimated that the current \$200-million trade with Poland would probably grow to \$600 million over the next several years.

Under the agreement, each government agreed to make

reciprocal credits available to each other to finance exports. Peterson said President Nixon has determined that Export-Import Bank credit will be available to Poland, and conversely, Poland would offer borrowing facilities for American exporters.

Bentsen urges Democrat chairman to resign

From page 1

Democrats in the Congress is obviously most representative of the real voice of the American people.

unifying the majority party," Sen Bentsen said.

But Mrs. Westwood, who has scheduled a news conference Thursday afternoon, has been preparing for

In the midst of this, Strauss' name has been suggested as a possible neutral candidate with sound, moder-

Strauss raised more than \$10 million and cut deeply into the party deficit. During

Gov. John B. Connally Jr., who headed the Democrats for Nixon

Leri H. Humphrey and

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Moderate Dem

"Gene" Green, Jan

Moderate Dem

James, District 10.

Republican, Ray

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Allen, District 151, 15

Pans, District 57.

"Nick" Nichols, Dis

Jim Clark, District

Woody Denson, Distri

It's become an ordeal

news

QURE-PA

Why many did not cast votes

By MICHAEL MAHARRY
News Staff Writer

If you don't have the memory of a computer, the determination of a shoe salesman, the legs of a latte operator and the bladder of a bus driver, you may be unable to survive many more elections.

Voting — this cherished right so jealously guarded by Americans — has become an ordeal.

THAT FACT became painfully clear to voters in the Detroit area Tuesday as they waited — patiently for the most part — in long lines for a chance to wade through an equally long ballot.

The "right to vote" cost many Michigan residents two, three and even four hours of their time.

Countless others simply gave up — too tired, too busy or too old to sustain the good intentions which brought them to the polls.

How many went to the polls and then didn't vote? There's no way to tell but election officials in Detroit and other parts of Michigan insist the number was substantial.

In many races, those uncast votes could have meant the difference between victory and defeat for candidates, school millage proposals and a host of other ballot questions.

Michigan's ballot was, admittedly, longer than most.

Each voter this year had to pull a lever or punch a card for president, U.S. senator, U.S. representative, two Michigan Supreme Court justices, one Michigan Court of Appeals judge, a member of the Michigan House of Representatives, five statewide propositions, five or six county administrative offices, a county commissioner, a circuit judge or more, a District Court judge, two members of the State Board of Education, two members of the Wayne State University Board of Governors, two members of the University of Michigan Board of Regents and two members of the Michigan State University Board of Trustees.

And as if that weren't enough, many coun-

Elections '72

ties, cities and school districts added local races and propositions of their own. In Detroit, each voter had to make 76 decisions if he wished to take full advantage of his right to vote.

Is this carrying democracy too far? Aren't there any problems left that could be settled without a vote?

A growing number of state and local elections officials feel this is a substantial part of the problem.

They argue that elected officials should take up the controversial issues of the day instead of sidestepping them in favor of a popular vote.

"A number of the proposals on the ballot would not have been there," said Detroit City Clerk George Edwards, "if the Legislature had lived up to its responsibility and acted upon the questions."

LAWMAKERS deny they are shirking their duties and insist they are simply letting "the people" decide things for themselves.

Election officials, on the other hand, argue that, as ballots get longer and longer, fewer and fewer of "the people" will be willing to tolerate the delays involved in voting.

The trend shown so clearly in Michigan may be affecting the entire nation's voting habits. Statistics are still sketchy and reliable analyses are nonexistent but there is reason to become suspicious.

Despite a record number of votes cast, Tuesday's turnout was in fact the country's poorest percentage wise, in 24 years.

Simply put, the only reason more people voted Tuesday than ever before was because there were more eligible voters than ever before.

Measured in terms of the percentage of eligible voters who actually made it to the voting booth, Tuesday's election was a dismal failure.

Only an estimated 56 percent of the electorate exercised its right to vote compared to 61 percent four years ago.

Can anything be done to restore the franchise to the weak and the weary? The options aren't too encouraging.

The easiest way to reduce the waiting time at polling places would be to install more voting machines. This is also the most expensive solution.

Voters unwilling to finance new schools are not likely to authorize the purchase of voting machines which sit idle for all but two or three days a year.

ANOTHER WAY to cut waiting times would be to reduce the size of the ballot. Some state election officials are now stumping for a change in state law that would shift all judicial elections from even years to odd years.

But, because the Legislature is constitutionally prohibited from shortening any elected official's term of office, current judges would have to be given an extra year in office to make the transition work.

Such a proposal would not be too popular with aspiring judicial candidates and others wishing to defeat an incumbent judge.

A more bizarre way to ease the election crunch would be to adopt a plan now being used in a few foreign countries—hold elections on Sundays or make Election Day a national holiday.

This would allow voters to be more flexible in choosing the time when they go to the polls. (Some countries spread elections over two days.)

But Sunday being a Christian day of rest and holidays being expensive to business and industry, those proposals don't seem to have much of a chance.

Reg Murphy

36118

Nov 65

11/18/72 AC

The Assortment That Won for Nunn

If the Democratic Party is interested in rebuilding itself into a national organization with appeal in all sections, a model is available.

Sam Nunn's campaign for the United States Senate proved that the politics of inclusion will work even when the landslide is going the other way.

Marvin Griffin, the first serious politician to endorse Nunn, is said to have looked up when some others endorsed him and said: "What have I got myself into?" Then Griffin is said to have added: "I was in this bed first, and I'm not leavin'."

What else got into the Nunn campaign was a sign of the times. Moderate Democrats voted for him, blacks voted for him — and a tremendous number of supporters of President

Richard Nixon voted for him.

Nobody other than Nunn understands the full extent of his ability to put together such a diverse group of supporters. As it came together, his opponents were foolish enough to attack him for having such an assortment.

What they seem not to have understood is the political necessity of getting people together, not apart.

Late in the evening of his victorious day, Nunn shucked his shoes, pulled off his tie and retreated to a ninth-floor room at a suburban motel. He dismissed the uniformed guards who had tried to give him a little privacy in the midst of bedlam. And with a couple of trusted aides at hand, he began to go back through a fantastic rise from obscurity to the United States Senate.

He had started out to run for a House seat. Reapportionment stuck his hometown, Perry, off in a corner of a district. So he had to search for another opportunity.

"I decided I wasn't going to spend the rest of my life wishing I had run for the Senate at 34," he said.

Answering the inevitable question — hadn't he really intended just to get known for a later governor's race rather than winning this Senate seat — Nunn said: "I really like the legislative side of government. The executive side doesn't interest me."

So last March 15 he announced. Illustrious Uncle Carl Vinson gave him \$500 — and little chance of winning, in all likelihood. Certainly nobody else thought of Sam Nunn as the new senator. He could have gotten his original supporters into a Volkswagen for a statewide tour.

His wife recalled that his original file was one packet of 3x3 cards. Nunn himself had contacts through legislators, but there was no more organization than there is of high school newspaper editors.

By working relentless schedules and speaking to issues rather than per-

sonalities, he forged a coalition. It included the most diverse groups in the state. They were all in the same tent, arguing and engaging in the fine art of political debate. But they all understood that they couldn't have the position they wanted on every issue.

The national Democratic Party will have to make the same adjustments. It will need to stop chasing off labor and moderates and mayors and longtime party workers. It will, above all, quit being so pious and preachy that it makes decent common people as edgy as a prostitute in church.

Whether it is willing to learn this lesson from Nunn and his like is open to question now. Over the course of the next four years it will be a terribly important decision to the future of the two-party system.

And if it is looking for a fellow who understands about coalition politics, a slightly built freshman senator from Perry, Georgia, will be sitting on the Democratic side of the aisle.



James J. Kilpatrick

Legacy of Ezra Pound

WASHINGTON — Ezra Pound, who died in Venice 10 days ago, left to the world of letters a body of work, as poet and critic,

Michigan defeats blamed on bussing

Detroit News
News 11/9/72

Labor assessing vote results

By JACK CRELLIN
News Labor Editor

Some labor leaders licked their wounds today while others had cause to rejoice in the wake of Tuesday's elections.

To UAW President Leonard Woodcock it was a debacle. At bat twice in his first political "World Series" since taking control of the giant auto workers union, Woodcock has struck out both times.

On the other hand, AFL-CIO President George Meany and Teamsters Union President Frank E. Fitzsimmons could smugly relax and lance their critics with an "I told you so" admonishment.

Aside from Meany and Fitzsimmons, labor, particularly in Michigan, took a licking.

While it could derive some solace from the fact that most Democratic incumbents for the house won reelection, Michigan labor had put considerable effort in the campaign of Atty. Gen. Frank J. Kelley, Democratic candidate to unseat Republican Sen. Robert P. Griffin.

Labor lost on that score.

Labor leaders like UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser and Stanley Arnold, secretary-treasurer of the Michigan State Building Trades Council, AFL-CIO, think they rode a New School bus to disaster.

Arnold, whose organization had never taken a stand on the controversial issue, said he thought it was the contributing factor in Kelley's defeat.

He called for a reorganization of the Democratic Party.

HE MADE NO SECRET of the fact that he felt that McGovern had split the party to the point that the damage was irreparable before the election.

"Bussing was an emotional issue and the McGovern people never were able to overcome it," said Arnold.

Fraser was slightly more diplomatic.

"I don't think this is the time for acrimony," Fraser said. "I think we have to reassess our position and see where we are going from here."

FRASER CONCEDED that the UAW leadership, which backed bussing, may not have reflected the thinking of the membership in Michigan, but he made the point that it was his feeling that officers were elected to provide guidance to the rank and file.

"I think the results of the congressional elections prove that the Democrats are still the majority party and will continue to be so," said Fraser.

As for Kelley's defeat, Fraser had but one retort:

"I say positively without question, with absolutely no doubt at all, that Frank Kelley would win the Senate seat tomorrow without the bussing issue."

Both the UAW and the building trades had gone all out for Kelley in his race with Griffin. Meanwhile, on the national scene, AFL-CIO

President George Meany, whose 13.5-million member federation was torn apart when he dictated a strict neutrality posture in the presidential race, assumed the role of an elder statesman.

"In the presidential race, the American people have overwhelmingly repudiated neo-isolationism as a basis of their foreign policy," Meany declared. "They have shown they want peace in Vietnam, but not surrender and not dishonor."

"In the congressional elections, the American people have spoken out for a continuation of social progress for tax reforms, health security, aid to education, improved social security and all the other problems for which the AFL-CIO has fought.

"We reject any interpretation of the election results as a sign that the American people have become conservative or reactionary — or that they are politically obtuse or morally insensitive."

"They have said that they are not prepared to hand over power to those who would make social progress at home conditional on an American retreat before the enemies of freedom throughout the world."

"All the evidence so far indicates that American workers were sharply divided in the presidential contest."

"Under these circumstances, we believe that the AFL-CIO truly reflected the feeling of our rank and file when we declined to endorse either candidate. That decision has been vindicated by the events."

PRIOR TO TUESDAY, leaders of 50 unions representing 9.5 million workers, or nearly half of the nation's 20 million union members, had endorsed McGovern.

On the other hand, 17 unions with nearly 4.3 million members endorsed Mr. Nixon.

In the vanguard of the Nixon endorsers was the 2-million member Teamsters Union.

And the man responsible for that was Teamster President Frank E. Fitzsimmons.

Fitzsimmons was elated over the Nixon landslide.

"Wonderful. Just great," he said. "There was never any doubt in my mind that he would be re-elected."

Fitzsimmons, the lone labor member of the government's pay board since AFL-CIO and UAW representatives withdrew, said he was not concerned over the fact that his union, along with the UAW, faces major contract negotiations next year.

He said it was his feeling that the Nixon administration would lift controls whenever it felt that inflation had been curbed.

The UAW leadership had been trying to whip up anti-Nixon sentiment by contending that the wage board, which has set a limit of 5.5 percent increases on wages may even lower them before contract negotiations start in midsummer of 1973.

Woodcock was not available for a statement on the implications of the election, a UAW spokesman said.

CARPENTER CENTERS' THREE DAY

GOP Showing Best in Texas History

Houston Chronicle
Houston, Texas 77002
11/12/72

By ROBERT E. FORD
of the Associated Press

Dallas — Seventy-eight counties of Texas' 254 voted Republican for the first time in Tuesday election, a Texas Election Bureau analysis of the vote showed Saturday.

It was the greatest presidential victory ever rung up in Texas by the GOP both in counties captured, total vote and ballot percentage.

Republicans won Texas' Electoral College votes three times previously, but even the immensely liked Dwight Eisenhower, a native son, never created the landslide that President Nixon did Tuesday.

Eisenhower won Texas twice against Adlai Stevenson, while Herbert Hoover beat Democrat Al Smith in 1928.

The total vote for president was the largest of any of the races at 3,481,801. Next highest total vote was for U.S. senator with 3,433,876 by Texas Election Bureau tabulations.

In the presidential race, Nixon took 65.25 percent of the ballots and Democrat George McGovern 33.49.

Nixon carried 216 counties and McGovern eight. Those voting for McGovern were Brooks, Cottle, Duval, Maverick, Robertson, Starr, Webb and Zapata.

In the hotly contested governor's race, Democrat Dolph Briscoe led by 100,212 ballots in the election bureau count with 1,632,237 for Briscoe and 1,532,075 for Republican Henry (Hank) Grover.

This left the Democrat with 43.59 percent of the vote and Grover with 44.66, with Ramsey Muniz of the Raza Unida party getting 219,127 ballots and 6.43 percent.

Treasurer: Jesse James 1,633,811; Maurice Angly 1,493,636; Ruben Solis Jr. (RU), 123,133.
ron Tunnell 1,870,833; Jim Segrest 1,074,082; Fred Garza (RU), 159,623.

The vote on proposed constitutional amendments:

1. Legislators' pay hikes: For 1,200,909; against 1,372,020.
2. Lamar hospital district: For 1,402,859; against 871,570.
3. Peace justice salaries:

- For 1,726,604; against 752,639.
4. Constitution commission: For 1,493,689; against 919,746.
4. Constitution commission: For 1,493,689; against 919,746.
5. Veterans' tax exemptions: For 1,978,696; against 619,319.
6. Elderly tax exemptions: For 1,805,681; against 658,312.
7. Civil equality: For 2,006,307; against 534,037.
8. Four-Year terms: For 1,401,177; against 1,125,806.
9. Conservation district dual

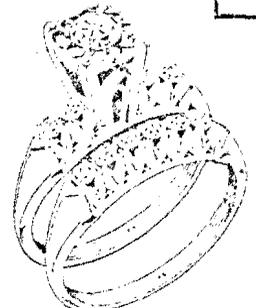
- pay: For 1,017,093; against 1,377,471.
10. Constitution procedures: For 1,324,223; against 962,783.
11. Speaker and Lieutenant Governor pay: For 873,416; against 1,591,653.
12. Dual office holding: For 1,232,761; against 1,177,053.
13. Bond interest increase: For 1,305,590; against 977,628.
14. County school funds: For 1,373,961; against 977,628.
14. County school funds: For 1,373,961; against 1,007,571.

GORDON'S JEWELERS

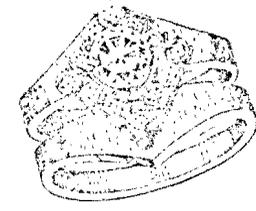
11-2-05-50



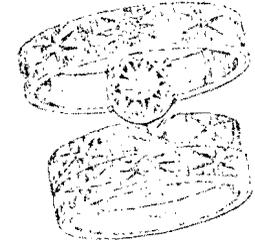
8 diamonds \$100.



11 diamonds \$249.



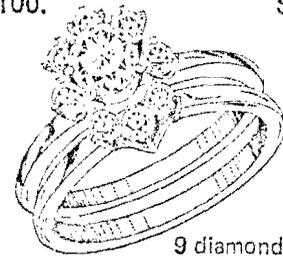
13 diamonds \$440.



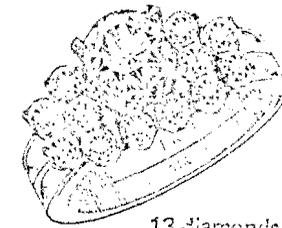
3 diamonds \$199.50



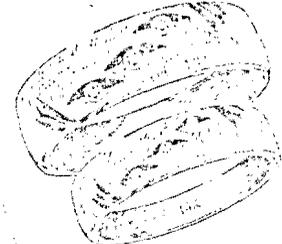
5 diamonds \$245.



9 diamonds \$795.



13 diamonds \$1399.



3 diamonds \$99.50



9 diamonds \$475.

We help finish what the

George McGovern 35,497.
 Nixon carried 215 counties and McGovern eight. Those voting for McGovern were Brooks, Cottle, Duval, Maverick, Robertson, Starr, Webb and Zapata.

In the hotly contested governor's race, Democrat Dolph Briscoe led by 109,212 ballots in the election bureau count with 1,632,237 for Briscoe and 1,532,075 for Republican Henry (Hank) Grover.

This left the Democrat with 43.99 percent of the vote and Grover with 41.96, with Ramsey Muniz of the Raza Unida party getting 219,127 ballots and 6.43 percent.

In all, Briscoe carried 229 counties while Grover won 23 and Muniz two. The Raza Unida victories came in Brooks and Zapata counties.

Sen. John Tower won reelection with 1,850,933 votes to 1,512,065 for Democrat Barefoot Sanders. Tower led in 175 counties.

All the proposed constitutional amendments were approved except the raise in legislative salaries, the raise in pay of the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the House and the conservation project.

The final Texas Election Bureau count:
 President: George McGovern 1,159,532; President Nixon 2,293,231; Linda Jenness (Socialist Workers), 8538.

Senator: Barefoot Sanders 1,512,065; Sen. John Tower 1,850,933; Flores-Amaya (Raza Unida), 64,819; Tom Leonard (SW) 11,009.

Governor: Dolph Briscoe 1,632,287; Henry Grover 1,532,075; Ramsey Muniz (RU), 219,127; Debby Leonard (SW), 24,072.

Lieutenant Governor: Bill Hobby 2,362,369; Alma Canales (RU), 131,627; Meyer Alewitz (SW), 27,187.

Attorney General: John Hill 2,331,493; Tom Kincaid (SW), 59,298.

Comptroller: Robert S. Calvert 2,393,076; Anne Springer (SW), 93,642.

Land Commissioners: Bob Armstrong 2,265,252; Howard Patrick (SW), 55,556.

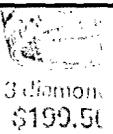
Railroad Commissioner: By-



9 diamonds \$795.



13 diamonds \$1399.



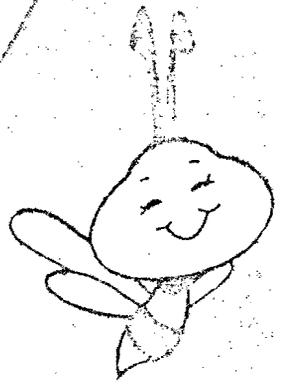
3 diamonds \$199.50



3 diamonds \$

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 (214) 742-1111

Why Nixon Won

Daniel Yankelovich
The New York Times
Yankelovich Election Survey

It was not what happened during the Presidential campaign itself that won the election for Richard Nixon. Throughout the campaign the press and television concentrated on Eagleton, Watergate, Mr. McGovern's "radical" image, his campaign style, and the "he-can't-win" psychology purportedly generated by the opinion polls. These events affected Mr. McGovern's standings in the polls during the campaign but had little bearing on why Mr. Nixon won the election. As the polls taken by my own organization, as well as others, showed, Nixon had a majority of three to two from the very start—a majority that never wavered throughout that long campaign. In a sense, the campaign proved to be irrelevant.

The news media failed to identify the truly decisive event of the election because it occurred months before the campaign even began, in the spring, after the mining of Haiphong harbor. Here is what happened as well as I can reconstruct it from our pre-election interviews prior to and during the campaign.

Though Nixon's statements about how the war should be ended were generally approved throughout the campaign, in early April, before the Haiphong blockade, the opinion polls showed that his Vietnam policy was in serious trouble with the voters. At that time when the Harris poll asked,

"Does Nixon inspire confidence?" the people interviewed answered no, by a margin of five to four. The Vietnam issue was generally conceded to be McGovern's main source of strength.

Then the mining of Haiphong happened. We must remember that the decision to mine Haiphong harbor was made at a time when the military situation in Vietnam was deteriorating badly. Our interviews shortly afterward showed that people expected the worst. In the past, most decisions on Vietnam made in times of crisis—such as the Cambodian "incursion"—had proved disastrous. This time Mr. Nixon confronted the communists with a challenge that even Lyndon Johnson at his most combative had not dared to make.

The days that followed reminded voters of the Cuban Missile Crisis. People were anxious: "How would the Russians react?" "Would they cancel the Summit?" "Would they try to break the blockade by force?" even "Would there be a nuclear confrontation?" When the Russians announced that the Summit would go on as planned, the public, as our surveys later showed, was vastly relieved. With mounting confidence, they watched the drama unfold on television: Mr. Nixon being greeted coolly but correctly at the Moscow airport; meeting in a somewhat more cordial atmosphere with Brezhnev; being toasted at Soviet banquets; addressing the Russian people; laying a wreath at the grave of a little Russian girl orphaned by the war; signing documents and treaties of

historic importance with the head of the Soviet state.

Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the message got through to the American public: Nixon had faced the Russians down, and the danger to the US from the war—the danger of a big power confrontation—had been defused. The war in Vietnam would now soon be over. Or, even if it did not end right away, it would no longer be seen as a military threat to Americans. Soviet/Chinese acquiescence in the Haiphong mining had handed Mr. Nixon an overwhelming diplomatic victory, containing the seeds of his subsequent political victory at home. Vietnam, we found, is the issue of greatest concern to the American public, and in the public mind it was almost as if the war had ended at the Moscow Summit.

The results of the Soviet trip were dramatically reflected in the opinion polls. By early July, Mr. Nixon had rebuilt public confidence in his handling of the Vietnam war by an almost two to one margin. Simultaneously, he had undermined McGovern's major source of public support by converting what had been McGovern's issue into his own principal source of strength among the voters. During the campaign, an unwavering 62 percent of the voters said, "Mr. Nixon is doing everything he can to end the war." They voted for him largely, if not exclusively, for this reason. (Domestic issues also played a part but we found they were not nearly so important.)

When, in mid-October, it appeared that the North Vietnamese had

received an accreditation for Mr. Kissinger, few were surprised. Even when the Administration failed, on October 31, to sign the treaty agreed upon by Kissinger and the North Vietnamese, few of Nixon's supporters were disillusioned. When George McGovern accused Kissinger and Nixon of "the big lie," few of Nixon's supporters believed him. In fact, the accusation boomeranged against McGovern. For the climate of opinion had crystallized around the agreements reached between Nixon and the Soviet Union and China months before. For a majority of Americans the preconditions for ending the war had been laid, and the precise time schedule no longer mattered as much as it had before.

To McGovern's supporters—a minority—the human costs of the bombings dwarf all considerations of power-politics and make even a day's delay in ending the war unforgivable. To Nixon's majority, who also want the war to end, an immediate cessation is less important than working out a compromise that does not suggest "defeat" for the US. Both sides, our surveys suggest, agree that the war is an abomination. But their views of how American morality and honor are involved in ending it are irreconcilable.

Ironically, then, Mr. Nixon can thank the Soviet Union for handing him his most important political victory. The Russians virtually pushed Mr. Nixon back into the White House when they agreed to go ahead with the Summit meeting after the mining at Haiphong. □

Detroit, Michigan's election integrity — and Canham's reputation — would have sent a strong odor from coast to coast.

Fortunately, Robert Griffin retains his Republican Senate seat and the scandal resulting from Canham's ruling is not as catastrophic as it might have been. Even so, there is no way Canham can avoid the labels of political sycophant and lackey of bowing to the Democratic appeals, even though they admittedly carried a lot of political clout.

Michigan's election rules are clearly stated in the law. The polls close at 8 p.m. with the provision that everyone in line at that time may vote. Thus, weather, length of ballot or any other consideration, with the possible exception of a

preliminary court decision allowing "perpetual" registration, we suspect the political pros had visions of tabulating a vote by every "resident" in a cemetery or a vacant lot.

Once again, the State Supreme Court showed its political colors by not considering Canham's ruling. It was almost a great day for the wheeler-dealers and a sad day for Michigan until a panel of three state Court of Appeals judges, led by Judge John H. Gillis, overturned Canham's ruling by insisting Michigan's election laws be honored.

That Court of Appeals ruling and Senator Griffin's victory will save Michigan from national disgrace. But the odor from Michigan's politically-motivated judiciary lingers on. In Judge Canham's case, it reeks.

of our space exploration program is vital.

The scientific discoveries resulting from our space program have been astounding in quantity and quality. Fantastic finds have been made in all fields of science. In the field of electronics, integrated circuits, highly precise machines, breakthroughs in communications are only a few. In medicine, new drugs and food technology have resulted. In physics new discoveries have begun to explain the origin of the earth and moon. The list is literally endless.

So far as integrated circuits are concerned, for example, there is a great demand today for stereo and television sets using them with transistors. This creates thousands of unskilled jobs. New "wonder" drugs discovered as the result of the space program help thousands of people and also create jobs.

Everyone today is affected by our space program. Telephones, stereos and computers have taken a giant leap forward thanks to the space program.

It has been suggested that we fly unmanned flights. This would be ridiculous. We save money by flying men. No computer can react like a man to emergencies, even if it were functioning perfectly. We would have had many more scrubbed missions without astronauts.

Our space program should be revived to its 1967 rate to get maximum output.

MARK HINCH
Troy

Pennies, nickels for Halloween?

To the Editor: I can't conceive why anybody would want to hurt Halloween trick-or-treaters.

But apparently some people do. So I suggest laws forbidding giving the little revelers anything to put in their mouths. I'm sure they'd be happy with pennies or nickels.

H. PFEFFER

The Publi

Readers' opinions on our subject to the Publi be brief. Each writer's signature the name will quote reason. It right to condense.

Egypt's clique

To the Editor: your editorial sense from is dent the mil is ruling Egypt Arab countries one-track mind

Its logic is are our bele refugees. We them so much let them live erty and hope to show the we love the lived 24 year we must thr into the sea as loved refugees long. To this sacrifice one necessary, all can carry ar military cliq won."

Now that th has hinted th of this grai Sadat has s Who knows, b picture of wha the Arabs rea round, maybe will arise and a stop to this Let's worr something for Arab people Let's hear plai structive."

Imagine the opened and th ness returning East. I'm a g papers talkir struction of ne- ments for peop people, includ gees. The whol willing to help ugees and the Arab image ve

BER

Detroit News 11/3/72

Voters retain Griffin's clout

Sen. Robert Griffin's reelection assures continued strong leadership for anti-bussing forces in the U.S. Senate. It also assures Michigan citizens continuation of the influence and seniority which Sen. Griffin has achieved in the post of Senate minority whip.

These were among the considerations that swung a close and hard-fought election in Sen. Griffin's favor. Although Michigan Atty. Gen. Frank Kelley was a candidate of the majority party, and although Kelley presented himself as a vigorous foe of bussing, the voters refused to throw away the advantage which Sen. Griffin provides.

Kelley helped assure his own defeat by his flip-flopping on the

most important issue. He opened a wide credibility gap by first joining in a Democratic Party manifesto in favor of bussing and later trying to characterize himself as an anti-busser. The voters could not be sure he wouldn't flip backward as easily as he had flipped forward. They wanted a consistent, dependable senator, not a political acrobat.

Generally speaking, President Nixon's coattails did not prove particularly long in the 1972 elections. But in certain cases they helped candidates, and Griffin's may have been one of those cases.



'Oh . . . These are notes from my KID-DIEGARTER teacher. I keep forgettin' to give 'em to you.'

Football is very educational. Consider what the injuries teach us about the human anatomy.

Sniffing out pollution offers employment for those with super noses and the neighborhood snoop may have found a vocation at last.

The man at the next desk says he is skeptical of the announcers in the commercials. "Nobody," he says, "could sound that sincere and mean it."

Political candidates all tell us they care about people. The problem is to get people to feel the same way about them.

BILL VAUGHAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Gordon Strachen

FROM: Bill Rhatican *WR*

For your information.

State	% of Pct.	Nixon	% of Vote	McGovern	% of Vote	Schmitz	% of Vote	Date of Certification
Alabama	95	692,480	76	215,792	23	12,248	1	AP Nothing until 11/22
Alaska		41,809	58.5	24,362	34	5,354	7.5	
Arizona	100	381,532	65	188,892	32	20,542	3	AP
Arkansas	96	427,014	70	190,598	30	-	-	Nothing until 11/22 -AP
California	100	4,546,396	56	3,433,568	42	230,548	2	AP
Colorado	98	585,324	63	325,448	36	16,537	1	Nothing until 11/27 -AP
Connecticut	100	810,763		555,498		17,239		Unofficial until 11/29
Delaware	100	139,796	60	91,974	39	2615	1	AP
Dist. of Columbia	100	29,697	21	109,974	79	-	-	AP
Florida	100	1,752,230	72	690,546	28			None AP
Georgia	100	881,490		289,529		write in		None
Hawaii	100	167,414	63	100,671	37			
Idaho	all but 2 pct.	197,589	64.0	80,558	26.0	28,221	9.0	Approx. 11/28
Illinois	97	2,748,252	60	1,863,731	40	-	-	Approx. 11/30 - UPI
Indiana	100	1,401,547	67	705,808	33	-	-	Maybe 11/22 - UPI
Iowa	100	703,933	57.8	493,310		24,051	1.	12/4
Kansas	100	605,632	68	265,158	30	21,020	2	Nothing until 12/1 - UPI
Kentucky	100	671,198	64	369,051	35	17,169	1	End of November -AP
Louisiana	96	758,903	63	377,489	32	58,547	5	Nothing until 11/27 -AP
Maine	100	252,851	61	161,652	39	-	-	Nothing until 11/27 -AP
Maryland	100	797,295	62	486,570	37	16,450	1	Official on 12/6 -AP
Massachusetts	100	1,105,072	45	1,324,525	55	-	-	Nothing until mid-Dec. -AP
Michigan	99	1,960,871	57	1,465,093	42	45,772	1	Nothing until 12/1 -AP
Minnesota	98	881,326	52	789,473	47	30,679	1	Nothing until 11/22 -AP
Mississippi	100	505,125		123,992		11,598		11/20
Missouri	99	1,425,256	63	678,660	37	-	-	Nothing until 12/12 -AP
Montana	100	183,784	58	118,681	38	13,571	4	Nothing until 11/21 -AP
Nebraska	100	384,571	71	162,600	29	-	-	Nothing until 12/4 -AP
Nevada	98	114,593	64	65,258	36	-	-	Nothing until 11/22 -AP
New Hampshire	100	213,724		116,435		3,386		11/17
New Jersey	97	1,769,487	62	1,058,557	38	24,361	-	Nothing until 12/5 -AP
New Mexico	99	233,036	62	138,856	37	8,623	2	Nothing until 11/27 -AP
New York	99	4,180,446	59	2,907,598	41	-	-	Nothing until 12/1 -AP

State	% of Pct.	Nixon	% of Vote	McGovern	% of Vote	Schmitz	% of Vote	Date of Certification
North Carolina	100	1,054,889		438,705		9,039		Result of 2nd of 3 audits
North Dakota		174,109		100,384		5,646		Official results 11/24
Ohio	100	2,456,048	60	1,546,959	38	80,766	2	Nothing until 11/21 - AP
Oklahoma	100	759,025		247,147		237,028		11/13
Oregon	100	483,229	53	390,867	42	46,104	5	Official after 12/7 - AP
Pennsylvania	100	2,703,975	60	1,788,034	39	67,255	1	Nothing until 11/27 - AP
Rhode Island	100	209,166	54	185,239	46			Nothing until 11/27 - AP
South Carolina	97	468,572	71	189,560	28	10,056	1	Nothing until 11/21 - AP
South Dakota	100	163,814	55	137,568	45			Nothing until 12/1 - AP
Tennessee	100	812,484	68	355,817	30	30,256	2	Nothing until 11/22 - UPI
Texas	99	2,272,656	67	1,146,470	33			Nothing until end of Dec. AP
Utah	99	321,595	68	126,008	26	28,616	6	Nothing until 12/11 AP
Vermont		117,149		68,174				11/21
Virginia	100	986,440	69	440,030	30	19,296	1	Nothing until 12/11 AP
Washington	94	679,456	57	475,568	39	48,953	4	Nothing until 12/7 AP
West Virginia	98	472,063	64	271,950	36			12/11 - AP
Wisconsin	100	988,021	54	807,070	44	47,019	2	Nothing until 11/23 AP
Wyoming	100	100,630	70	44,348	30			Nothing until 12/6 AP
TOTAL	99	46,767,312	60.9	28,726,515	37.4	1,238,891	1.6	

Total Votes Tabulated: 76,732,718

large proportion of them, no longer bound to the Democratic Party.

The shift of Irish and Italian vote toward Republicanism commenced in New York State some years ago, and marked in other states and other groups. In particular, many American Polish ancestry — strong in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Illinois, especially — changed their old voting pattern this month.

Can the Democrats regain this lost territory? Conceivably; for the Republican still is regarded by many as the "W." party and the party of the affluent. Republicans won much of the "ethnic" rather through the Democrats' default through any strenuous effort on the Republican organization's part.

But to win back the "ethnic" vote Democrats must abjure the notions and gains of cocktail-party liberalism. Messrs. Governor and Shriver seem really to have thought that they had the people at their backs; it turned out that they had their backs upon the people.

The "ethnics" detest compulsory education of schoolchildren. They complain bitterly about racial quotas, urban disruption and permissive judges. They set their faces against Communism, and so were displeased and alarmed by the McGovern non-diplomatic and military policy. Many of them, still militantly Christian, were angered by Senator McGovern's equivocation about "liberalized" abortion. They, or their sons, performed military service — a war were wrathful against McGovern's idiosyncrasy amnesty for draft evaders. Most of them had worked hard to acquire a competence and therefore wanted no part of McGovernite schemes for redistributing income.

What Democratic presidential candidate four years from now, might summon these quondam Democrats? Not Senator Edward Kennedy: his professed Catholicism could not suffice for his attitudes and interests are virtually unrecognizable. Senator McGovern's, and his reputation as a moralist is somewhat less.

Some form of Populism may lure Southerners and the ethnics away from the Republican Party, quite possibly. But Populism would more nearly resemble George Wallace's variety than George McGovern's variety.

(General Features Corporation)

Dr. Max Rafferty Asks:

What's Your Question?

Q. "I agree with you that Latin is dead. I studied it four years in high school. In the 58 years since my diploma, I never cracked a Latin book, but I still enjoy the benefits of my Latin studies.

"I see it in the fine



By Ernest Cuneo

TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT

GOP Divided In Victory

Incl. Star 11/19/72 Washington

It is one of the grim paradoxes of history that defeat consolidates but victory divides. Thus, the European Common Market was formed by major nations, every one of which had suffered defeat in modern war: Germany, France, Italy, and the Benelux countries.

By contrast, nothing divides like victory and this is particularly true of political parties. The Republican Party factions are already quarreling.

This would be normal, but there is an aggravating factor. Uneasy lies the head which wears the crown and doubly uneasy when on a day certain the crown must be given up.



Cuneo

As of noon on Jan. 20, 1977, Richard M. Nixon can no longer be President of the United States. Under ordinary circumstances, this would mean that, starting in 1974, two years before, Republican groups hoping to name their candidate as his successor would commence their campaigns. But these are not ordinary times and, by and large, two hostile candidates are already coagulating around Vice-President Agnew and Senator Charles Percy of Illinois.

VICE-PRESIDENT AGNEW'S estere effect indignation at the mere thought of shunting aside the brawny warrior who has borne the broiling heat of ceaseless battle. In tremolo pathétique, they declare that, though they have battled selflessly, they will not see the noble Greek, who waded through fund-raising dinners far more dangerous to the health than the Trojan wars, be done in by those who offered advice when men it was that King Richard needed.

On the other hand, the proponents of Senator Percy point out that, while no one questions the warrior heart of fighting Spiro, cooler heads are needed at headquarters than in the front line.

Further, they point out, it was the ancient Greeks themselves who declared that the final victory is in persuasion and Spiro just isn't a very persuasive guy, particularly when he reads his ghost's lightning-like repartee in full view of the TV audiences.

Senator Percy, of course, has at his disposal one of the most persuasive forces in politics: money. So persuasive is money, in fact, that the only reasonable answer to it is more money. Since Senator Percy has a sizable sock of his own, and, to boot, is a relative of the Rockefellers by marriage, it is reasonably clear that in this department at least the spleeny Spiroites are hard put to it for an answer.

AS IS USUAL IN THESE MATTERS, all are appeased to the king's favorites. The Haldeman-Ehrlichman axis, known to their detractors as the Puny Prussians, are unpopular with all, indisputable evidence of their paramount loyalty to their liege lord, King Richard. The dukes of the Cabinet hate them, as do the Republican peers of the Hill.

However, the strange exhilaration of the Spartans at Themopylae must pervade President Nixon's palace guard. They know their political life ends with the end of this presidential term. There is the freedom of no hope of reprieve. The others want something, namely the crown and the sceptre. Hence, before any are heir to its power, all are heir to the pangs of envy, jealousy, hate and malice which pave the courtyards of every palace where, in time, the king must go, his power belied him.

(North American Newspaper Alliance)

world of advertising. She came to her calling by the best of reasons. Her father...

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES



<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Wyoming						%	
Laramie	15,010	7,791	22,851	37,975	29,683	78.2	76.9
Delaware							
New Castle	100,681	70,190	172,956	261,914	215,092	82.1	80.4
Hawaii							
Honolulu	131,677	76,330	218,741	428,394	262,597	61.3	83.3
Idaho							
Ada	33,679	11,753	52,013	76,987	71,895	93.4	72.3
Canyon	18,383	5,630	26,857	42,696	34,700	81.3	77.4
Nevada							
Clark	53,046	36,790	89,836	184,340	116,611	63.2	77.0
Washoe	33,529	17,138	50,667	86,780	63,526	73.2	79.8
Nebraska							
Douglas	97,960	46,726	144,686	263,665	202,750	76.9	71.0
Lancaster	40,950	23,203	66,153	122,730	92,186	75.1	72.0

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Alabama							
Jefferson	134,828	52,574	197,867	449,984	253,279	<i>56.3</i> 44.0	78.0
Madison	38,045	12,258	52,119	120,897	86,153	<i>71.3</i> 43.0	60.0
Mobile	64,133	17,819	86,927	209,039	151,346	<i>72.4</i> 42.0	57.0
Montgomery	34,909	11,590	48,605	113,242	85,432	<i>75.4</i> 43.0	57.0
Arkansas							
Pulaski	57,576	33,611	91,187	198,611	145,780	<i>73.4</i> 45.0	61.0
Garland	15,602	5,207	21,112	40,245	32,623	<i>81.1</i> 52.0	65.0
Maryland							
Baltimore	170,378	67,620	241,854	433,303	322,691	<i>74.5</i> 73.8	55.8
Baltimore City	116,941	138,716	259,482	634,894	424,377	<i>66.8</i> 61.1	40.8
Michigan							
Genesie	85,747	73,896	162,449	285,176	225,923	<i>79.2</i> 71.9	56.9
Kent	103,450	67,427	174,684	274,814	227,196	<i>82.7</i> 76.8	63.5
Macomb	147,482	82,348	235,434	394,624	290,026	<i>73.5</i> 81.1	59.6
Monroe	23,263	17,726	42,448	75,754	55,663	<i>73.5</i> 76.2	56.0
Oakland	241,398	129,537	379,201	603,975	502,737	<i>83.2</i> 75.4	62.7
Wayne	535,523	514,007	1,065,659	1,840,584	1,484,384	<i>80.6</i> 71.7	57.8
Detroit City					873,761		
* New Jersey							
Hudson	137,202	88,440	225,642	451,022	289,142	<i>64.1</i> 78.0	50.0
Berges	284,518	146,509	431,027	646,497	519,776	<i>80.4</i> 82.9	66.7
Issex	163,989	151,804	315,793	667,453	429,762	<i>64.4</i> 73.5	47.3

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
North Dakota						%	
Cass	21,770	14,073	36,306	51,693		70.2	
Burleigh	13,909	5,841	20,644	26,835		76.9	
Grand Forks	13,361	9,416	23,475	42,217		55.6	
* Tennessee							
Davidson	82,636	48,869	134,797	317,512	224,632	70.7 60.0	42.0
Knox	64,747	24,076	90,484	199,828	120,135	60.1 75.0	45.0
Shelby	161,810	81,063	247,717	489,344	374,591	76.5 66.0	50.0
South Carolina							
Greenville	46,360	10,080	58,355	166,496	87,691	52.7 66.5	34.4
Richland	39,667	18,699	59,212	168,375	88,205	52.4 67.1	35.1
Utah							
Utah	42,179	10,828	59,460	92,005	77,794	84.6 76.4	64.6
Weber	37,753	14,503	55,580	82,735	76,166	92.1 73.3	67.5
Salt Lake				296,772			
* West Virginia							
Cabell	29,299	14,103	43,402	79,330	58,894	74.2 73.0	54.0
Kanawha	64,072	38,393	102,465	163,480	136,304	83.4 75.0	62.6
Wood	25,114	10,230	35,344	59,847	53,872	90.0 65.6	59.0

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
						%	
Vermont							
Chittenden	23,078	16,076	39,154	66,388	45,604	68.1	59.0
Rutland	13,662	7,912	21,574	36,592	28,242	77.2	59.0
Windsor	12,420	6,594	19,374	30,765	24,225	78.7	63.0
Indiana							
Marion	203,076	101,974	305,398	538,700	452,195	83.9	56.6
Vanderburgh	49,059	22,139	71,221	119,947	109,972	91.7	59.3
Monroe	19,953	15,241	35,342	64,358	52,559	81.7	54.7
New Hampshire							
Hillsborough	65,274	34,739	101,359	152,153	131,858	86.7	66.6
Rockingham	38,825	21,998	61,496	92,217	81,359	88.2	66.7
Merrimac	25,354	11,737	37,440	57,203	49,126	85.9	65.5
Massachusetts							
Middlesex	269,216	344,825	614,041	977,426	677,298	69.3	63.0
Essex	139,585	156,690	296,275	447,719	332,719	74.3	66.0
Norfolk	132,114	148,636	280,750	418,833	305,081	72.8	67.0
Worcester	123,934	140,845	264,779	449,638	311,629	69.3	59.0
Iowa							
Black Hawk	31,096	21,721	53,635	91,072	65,588	72.0	58.9
Cerro Gordo	11,856	9,270	21,449	34,949	16,454+	47.1	61.4
Crawford	4,493	3,018	7,656	12,757			60.0
Lucas	2,851	1,759	4,688	7,417	1,001+	13.5	63.2
Marion	6,583	4,634	11,516	19,146	4,265+	22.3	60.1
Polk	70,329	59,327	132,645	199,072	154,455	77.6	66.6
Poweshiek	4,785	3,718	8,633	13,457			64.6

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

* Footnotes

- IDAHO Registration figures are prior to election day. People were allowed to register on election day.
- MASSACHUSETTS Registration figures are only up to February, 1972. Turn-out figure is only major party. Worcester County results do not include town of Grafton.
- VERMONT All figures are based on 94% of the returns. Registration is as of 1970.
- TENNESSEE Registration figures for Knox County are as of September, 1971.
- NEBRASKA All voter turnout figures are based on major party vote only.
- WEST VIRGINIA All voter turnout figures are based on major party vote only.
- IOWA Registration figures for Cerro Gordo, Lucas and Marion County are partial.
- NEW JERSEY All voter turnout figures are based on major party vote only.

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
New Mexico						%	
Bernalillo	80,267	49,176	132,666	207,697	166,594	80.2	79.6
South Dakota							
Brockings	5,182	4,701	9,913	16,618	13,491	81.2	73.5
Brown	8,134	8,216	16,451	25,633	21,600	84.3	76.2
Minnehaha	22,447	22,386	44,988	63,956	57,500	89.9	78.2

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
						%	
Ohio							
Ashtabula	22,769	15,222	39,692	66,541	47,235	71.0	84.0
Athens	9,735	9,977	19,915	42,575	25,500	59.9	78.0
Butler	49,981	21,042	73,081	155,758	98,691	63.4	74.0
Cleveland City					319,825		
Cuyahoga	329,567	316,263	680,077	1,214,412	883,984	72.8	76.9
Franklin	218,472	116,752	343,264	576,075	430,644	74.8	79.7
Greene	25,349	12,736	38,904	83,993	52,099	62.0	74.7
Hamilton	248,013	119,204	373,598	636,801	457,379	71.8	81.7
Cincinnati					208,086		
Montgomery	120,312	81,447	207,138	417,320	268,124	64.3	77.3
Mahoning	63,956	61,395	127,843	214,144	158,487	74.0	80.7
Shelby	9,089	4,721	14,703	24,646	17,768	72.1	82.7
Colorado							
Denver	122,025	97,972	223,373	375,480	301,692	80.3	74.0
* New York							
Bronx	197,441	245,757	443,198	1,053,457	703,902	66.8	63.0
Erie	251,869	203,939	455,808	774,650	596,692	77.0	75.0
Monroe	192,888	118,643	311,531	492,962	356,840	72.4	87.0
Nassau	440,219	253,095	693,314	992,377	828,799	83.5	83.0
New York	179,867	353,847	533,714	1,229,878			43.0
Cronodaga	133,521	56,081	189,602	324,134	237,328	73.2	80.0
Queens	423,429	328,462	751,891	1,517,183	1,039,869	68.5	72.0
Suffolk	316,623	131,991	448,614	714,964	526,506	73.6	85.0
Westchester	263,067	148,655	411,722	643,194	471,630	73.3	87.0

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
* Missouri							
Jackson	129,922	92,836	222,758	459,932			48.3
St. Louis	253,102	154,731	407,833	645,564	485,345	75.2	83.3
St. Louis City	69,744	113,782	183,526	446,358	263,917	59.1	69.5
* Wisconsin							
Waukesha	59,399	34,573	97,620	146,823			65.8
Dane	56,020	79,567	137,177	203,415			67.4
Milwaukee	190,755	209,754	413,813	739,576	491,801	66.5	84.1
Washington							
King	251,055	181,467	447,211	816,713	701,243	85.9	63.8
* Texas							
Dallas	304,850	129,809	434,659	896,934	631,457	70.4	68.8
Harris	365,670	215,916	581,586	1,164,513	847,779	72.9	68.6
Colorado	3,495	1,502	4,997	12,515	8,068	64.5	61.9
Georgia							
Dekalb	102,676	29,727	145,317	280,155	181,000	64.6	80.3
Fulton	92,256	74,329	192,650	432,287			44.6
* Florida							
Dade	256,529	177,693	434,222	920,094	592,659	64.4	73.3
Pinellas	179,541	77,197	256,968	416,764	324,802	77.9	79.1

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Kansas							
Sedgewick	83,949	34,220	122,701	239,103	156,975	65.7 78.2	51.3
Shawnee	43,727	20,383	69,249	239,103	83,388	34.9 83.0	29.0
Johnson	76,161	24,324	104,136	144,015	120,407	83.6 86.5	72.3
Wyandotte	34,112	28,405	64,968	127,480	82,265	64.5 79.0	51.0
Minnesota							
Hennepin	227,630	205,062	440,852	671,121	522,650	77.9 84.3	65.6
Ramsey	97,138	109,427	212,410	326,993			64.6
Illinois							
Cook	1,197,818	1,006,793	2,204,611	3,840,387	3,140,500	81.8 70.2	57.4
Metro	529,517	708,206	1,237,723		1,990,500		62.1
Suburban	668,301	298,587	966,888				
DuPage	166,346	64,000	230,346	318,031	290,432	91.3 79.3	72.4
Lake	78,332	41,371	119,703	258,885	165,357	63.9 72.4	46.2
Marion	10,755	6,968	17,723	27,962	27,740	99.2 63.9	63.4
Rock Island	36,684	32,159	68,843	115,441	100,000	86.6 68.8	59.6
Mississippi							
Harrison	28,889	4,744	36,640	91,212	58,000	63.6 63.0	40.0
Hinds	49,700	12,888	63,964	143,561	98,706	68.8 65.0	45.0

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>ADDENDUM</u>		<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
				<u>Voting Age Population</u>				
Illinois								
Winnebago	34,892	22,662	57,677	165,461	73,177	44.2	78.8	34.9
Pennsylvania								
Clarion	10,000	4,500	14,501	27,227	18,840	69.2	77.0	53.3
Cumberland	42,000	14,000	57,000	111,791	71,943	64.4	79.2	51.0
Lawrence	23,000	17,000	40,736	76,640	51,484	67.2	79.1	53.1
Mercer	27,804	18,162	46,992	89,318	58,976	66.0	79.7	52.6
Montgomery	173,213	91,581	267,394	438,095	329,648	75.2	81.1	61.0
Philadelphia	344,000	429,000	778,900	1,405,617	1,010,229	71.9	77.1	55.4
Philadelphia City	344,000	429,000	778,900	1,405,617	1,010,229	71.9	77.1	55.4
Washington	42,925	34,949	78,274	151,694	98,859	65.2	79.2	51.6
Westmoreland	85,000	58,000	145,700	265,408	178,479	67.2	81.6	54.9
Ohio								
Lake	40,492	26,558	69,123	128,239	89,900	70.1	76.9	53.9
Wyoming								
Natrona	15,649	6,514	22,163	37,975	28,109	74.0	78.8	58.4

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>	<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
Kentucky							
Jefferson.	140,216	86,692	232,123	474,891	301,769	63.5 77.0	49.0
* California							
Yuba	6,433	4,433	12,164	29,134	15,320	52.6 79.4	41.8
Fresno	79,049	72,677	163,328	281,343	201,396	71.6 81.1	58.1
Mendocino	11,104	9,402	22,492	36,142	26,876	74.4 83.7	62.2
San Francisco	127,826	170,702	317,098	573,998	426,338	74.3 74.4	55.2
Marin	53,687	46,959	105,494	147,059	126,928	86.3 83.1	71.7
San Diego	365,644	203,722	605,470	973,656	725,501	74.5 83.5	62.2
Los Angeles	1,516,832	1,163,205	2,835,769	5,017,447	3,597,963	71.7 78.8	56.5
Orange	442,587	174,695	648,263	952,515	794,174	83.4 81.6	68.1
San Mateo	134,870	109,301	260,920	398,567	310,204	77.8 84.1	65.5
Tuolumne	5,894	4,596	11,107	16,500	13,205	80.0 84.1	67.3
Pennsylvania							
Pittsburgh City	89,769	104,468	197,759	372,191	266,298	71.5 74.0	53.0
Bucks	99,161	56,442	159,065	271,695	198,546	73.1 80.0	59.0
Delaware	175,480	93,759	273,446	422,164	335,711	79.5 81.0	65.0
Allegheny	317,281	281,283	611,808	1,156,055	920,875	79.7 66.0	53.0
Rhode Island							
Kent	38,826	27,890	66,821	97,712	88,824	90.9 75.2	68.4
Providence	124,557	124,037	249,152	421,705	343,901	81.6 72.4	59.1
Arizona							
Pima	71,798	55,349	129,738	245,367	179,950	73.3 72.1	52.9

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

* FOOTNOTES

RHODE ISLAND

For both counties, Total Turnout includes Nixon
McGovern, and Jenness votes only

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

* Footnotes

CALIFORNIA	The Orange County figures for turnout include only votes cast for Nixon, McGovern, Schmitz and Spock; no other minor candidates are included.
ILLINOIS	Major party vote only - Schmitz not on ballot
WISCONSIN	Registration is mandatory only for communities of 5,000 or more.
MISSOURI	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot
TEXAS	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot
FLORIDA	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot
NEW YORK	Major party vote only, Schmitz not on ballot



Republican
National
Committee.

December 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT 
RE: MICHIGAN VOTER TURNOUT

On Election Day, 1972, 70.8 percent of all registered voters turned out to vote in the State of Michigan. The enclosed voter turnout analysis reports, along with the previous report on Wayne County, completes an analysis of the voter turnout in nine selected counties.

Our analyses demonstrate that the Republican counties had a higher turnout than Democratic and marginal counties. The same pattern emerged within each county. Solid Republican areas averaged a higher turnout percentage than the marginal areas. The Democratic areas ranked last in terms of average turnout percent.

Jackson, Kalamazoo, Kent and Ottawa Counties were used to represent solid Republican counties. The representative marginal counties, those that have gone for either Party, were Saginaw, Washtenaw and Oakland. Wayne and Macomb Counties were the representative solid Democratic counties.

Each county's analysis has been based on selected areas, classified as Republican, marginal or Democratic. A table of data follows each analysis.

/jg
enclosures



Election Report

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman.

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Jackson County, Michigan

Jackson County, Michigan, home of Republican's first convention, turned out 76.7% of its registered voters. This county's turnout is significantly higher than Wayne County's 66.5% and the statewide turnout of 70.8%.

The solid Republican areas averaged a turnout of 81%, while the marginal and Democratic areas generally showed a lower percentage of registered voters that actually voted.

The following table shows the 1972 turnout % for three different area types, solid Republican, marginal and solid Democratic. The 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential percentage is also shown.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Jackson County	71,551	76.7	62.3	53.8	R
Spring Arbor Twp.	3,019	85.8	76.5	69.5	R
Parma Twp.	969	83.5	68.9	61.9	R
Summit Twp.	12,464	79.7	69.4	63.0	R
Grass Lake Twp.	1,492	79.0	71.5	60.0	R
Concord Twp.	1,066	75.3	73.2	60.4	R
Waterloo Twp.	607	91.3	61.4	47.5	M
Henrietta Twp.	1,479	82.8	63.1	54.4	M
Tompkins Twp.	849	81.9	65.9	54.1	M
Napoleon Twp.	2,969	74.9	61.6	50.1	M
Blackman Twp.	6,416	73.9	63.4	50.6	M
Jackson City	23,190	73.3	53.2	49.2	M
Norvell Twp.	1,111	72.5	61.0	50.7	M
Leoni Twp.	6,572	76.2	56.2	41.0	D

*R - Solid Republican
D - Solid Democratic
M - Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Jackson County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Kalamazoo County, Michigan

Kalamazoo County, normally a strong Republican area, turned out 77.4% of its registered voters. This turnout is higher than the state's total turnout of 70.8% and considerably higher than the Democratic Wayne County's 66.5%.

Marginal areas in Kalamazoo County usually lean toward the Republicans, but their turnout is generally lower. The Republican areas averaged a turnout of 81% in comparison with the marginal areas average of 76% -- a significant difference of 5%.

The following table shows the turnout for some solid Republican areas and a few marginal areas.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Kalamazoo County	110,869	77.4	58.8	54.0	R
Portage City	17,960	82.3	66.1	56.9	R
Richland Twp.	2,139	81.0	68.3	57.5	R
Ross Twp.	2,500	81.0	69.5	61.1	R
Kalamazoo Twp.	12,345	79.7	60.8	54.5	R
Kalamazoo City	47,326	76.1	51.0	52.7	M
Pavillon Twp.	1,932	73.0	61.1	48.1	M
Climax Twp.	1,105	67.1	65.5	52.8	M
Galesburg City	586	81.1	62.7	48.3	M
Wakeshma	544	84.2	64.2	48.1	M

* R - Solid Republican
M - Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Kalamazoo County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Kent County, Michigan

Kent County, the home of Congressman Gerald R. Ford and historically a good Republican area, had a sizeable 1972 turnout of 77.2% of its registered voters. This turnout is 6.4% higher than the statewide percentage and 10.7% higher than that of Wayne County.

The county's solid Republican cities and townships generally showed a better turnout than those marginal areas with a tendency to vote for either Party.

The following table shows the 1972 turnout percent as well as 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential vote percent in selected towns and cities. The Republican areas averaged a 85% turnout while the marginal areas averaged 79%.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Kent County	227,196	77.2	59.3	53.9	R
Cascade Twp.	3,254	91.9	73.7	65.0	R
Grandville City	5,701	88.3	72.2	67.3	R
Grand Rapids Twp.	4,248	87.7	69.0	63.7	R
Ada Twp.	2,450	86.4	70.3	60.3	R
Rockford City	1,663	85.1	64.2	63.6	R
East Grand Rapids	8,469	83.0	70.5	76.1	R
Gaines Twp.	3,937	80.7	73.3	67.2	R
Grattan Twp.	895	83.0	51.0	40.8	M
Spencer Twp.	642	81.5	55.4	49.7	M
Wyoming City	29,741	80.7	58.7	47.8	M
Nelson Twp.	883	78.9	55.8	47.4	M
Lowell Twp.	1,270	75.7	64.3	50.1	M
Grand Rapids City	112,773	73.1	53.2	51.0	M

* R-Republican
M-Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Kent County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Ottawa County, Michigan

Ottawa County, a strong Republican area with a significant turnout of 84.6%, is located just west of Kent County and south of Muskegon County on the shores of Lake Michigan in the far western part of the state. It is primarily a rural-resort area with the two cities of Holland and Grand Haven accounting for 30% of the county's vote.

Ottawa County's turnout is a significant 13.8% higher than the statewide total percent of 70.8, and 18.1% higher than Wayne County's turnout of 66.5%. Its percentage of registered voters actually voting exceeds all other counties that have been analyzed in this report.

The selected Republican areas averaged a turnout of 88.1% with Zeeland township taking the top honor of 91.9% turnout. The few marginal areas had an average turnout of 82.0%, while the lone Democratic area ranked last with a turnout of 78.2%.

The following table shows the 1972 turnout percentage for three different area types, solid Republican, marginal and solid Democratic. The 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential percentages are also shown.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Ottawa County	69,215	84.6	72.0	67.7	R
Zeeland Twp.	1,565	91.9	88.5	77.4	R
Zeeland City	2,661	90.2	85.0	83.5	R
Hudsonville City	1,972	89.4	83.7	85.3	R
Olive Twp.	919	89.3	83.8	76.2	R
Georgetown Twp.	9,204	88.8	77.1	71.6	R
Jamestown Twp.	1,471	88.0	82.1	77.8	R
Allendale Twp.	2,183	87.2	66.7	77.0	R

(Continued)

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Ottawa County, Michigan

(Continued)

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Grand Haven City	6,749	84.3	66.7	61.5	R
Holland City	12,469	83.9	73.3	71.4	R
Grand Haven Twp.	2,984	83.9	63.1	51.9	M
Port Sheldon Twp.	815	83.9	66.2	50.7	M
Wright Twp.	1,323	78.2	58.5	42.9	M
Robinson Twp.	936	78.2	53.8	41.8	D

* R - Solid Republican
D - Solid Democratic
M - Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Ottawa County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Oakland County, Michigan

Oakland County, a primarily suburban area in the northwest part of the Detroit metropolitan S.M.S.A., turned out 75.2% of its registered voters. The county is a marginal vote area which could go for either Party and presently leans toward the Republicans. The newly elected conservative Republican Congressman, Robert Huber, is from Troy.

The county has sustained rapid development in the past decade. Oakland now ranges from the Detroit Democratic fringe areas of Hazel Park, Ferndale and Oak Park in the South to the conservative, strong Republican upper-middle class communities of Birmingham and Bloomfield Hills near the middle. The City of Pontiac lies in the center, while Wixom and Walled Lake represent the western boundary and Oxford township, the northern edge.

The solid Republican areas averaged a strong turnout of 81% with the City of Bloomfield Hills claiming the top honor of 86.7%. The marginal areas averaged a turnout of 77.2%. The Democratic areas ranked last with an average turnout of 73.6%, a seven percent drop from the Republican average.

The following table shows the 1972 turnout percentage for three different area types, solid Republican, marginal and solid Democratic. The 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential percentage is also shown. The selected areas represent two-thirds of the county's registered voters.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Oakland County	502,836	75.2	63.9	45.5	M
Bloomfield Hills Cty	2,587	86.7	79.1	78.1	R
Bloomfield Twp.	26,133	84.8	79.6	74.4	R
Lathrup Village City	3,130	81.5	80.2	72.5	R
Southfield Twp.	10,801	77.8	75.1	72.5	R
Birmingham City	17,933	74.2	72.9	70.0	R
Troy City	23,314	82.6	69.6	49.8	M
Huntington Woods Cty	5,513	82.4	53.7	41.5	M

(Continued)

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Oakland County, Michigan

(Continued)

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Clawson City	8,664	81.9	66.8	38.7	M
Royal Oak City	50,376	76.0	64.9	47.2	M
Oxford Twp.	3,836	75.5	69.3	49.4	M
Wixom City	1,315	74.0	65.1	36.0	M
Berkley City	12,771	73.9	62.4	39.9	M
Walled Lake City	1,650	71.4	62.4	41.4	M
Oak Park City	21,684	81.6	42.3	17.3	D
Southfield City	42,074	80.8	59.3	36.6	D
Keego Harbor City	1,456	74.9	60.2	32.4	D
Madison Heights Cty	16,688	74.3	60.1	28.0	D
Royal Oak Twp.	3,310	72.1	16.5	7.2	D
Pontiac City	40,386	71.4	31.1	29.3	D
Hazel Park City	11,824	67.2	52.6	20.5	D
Ferndale City	17,192	66.4	57.4	35.3	D

* R - Solid Republican
D - Solid Democratic
M - Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Oakland County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Saginaw County, Michigan

Saginaw County, a marginal area in which the Democratic City of Saginaw accounts for 39% of the vote, turned out 75.5% of the county's registered voters.

This turnout is higher than the Democratic Wayne County's 66.5% and the statewide total percent of 70.8, yet it is lower than that of the normally Republican counties of Jackson, Kalamazoo and Kent.

The solid Republican areas had an average turnout of 83.5% with Lakefield Twp. claiming the top honor of 96.4% of its registered voters actually voting. The marginal areas averaged a turnout of 76.1%. The Democratic areas came in last with an average turnout of 74.6% which is almost 10% lower than the Republican areas.

The following table shows the 1972 turnout percent for three different area types, solid Republican, marginal and solid Democratic. The 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential percentage is also shown.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Saginaw County	103,973	75.5	61.0	49.3	M
Lakefield Twp.	330	96.4	73.3	68.2	R
Maple Grove Twp.	1,077	91.5	64.7	45.6	R
Frankenmuth City	1,761	87.8	84.2	78.0	R
Blumfield Twp.	928	84.6	80.8	71.9	R
Richland Twp.	1,580	83.6	73.4	65.0	R
Fremont Twp.	593	82.0	72.2	62.1	R
Saginaw Twp.	16,314	80.6	74.1	65.8	R
Thomas Twp.	3,889	80.3	72.1	55.1	R
Chapin Twp.	347	79.5	71.4	58.7	R
Frankenmuth Twp.	1,119	79.2	85.6	83.5	R

(Continued)

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Saginaw County, Michigan

(Continued)

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Tittabawassee Twp.	2,091	79.2	65.7	60.4	R
Kochville Twp.	1,202	77.6	70.6	61.6	R
Jonesfield Twp.	929	81.9	62.7	57.9	M
Chesaning Twp.	2,379	81.7	57.0	46.7	M
Brant Twp.	596	80.7	70.5	55.7	M
Brady Twp.	916	79.7	55.4	51.2	M
James Twp.	907	76.3	66.9	48.9	M
Marion Twp.	251	76.1	69.6	43.5	M
Birch Run Twp.	2,100	73.9	65.0	47.6	M
Swan Creek Twp.	928	73.8	68.6	47.7	M
Spaulding Twp	1,390	72.9	65.7	46.6	M
Zilwaukee Twp.	54	70.4	76.3	37.2	M
Bridgeport Twp.	6,328	70.0	64.6	50.0	M
Zilwaukee City	1,074	81.7	58.3	37.3	D
Albee Twp.	1,071	76.2	40.9	38.6	D
Taymouth Twp.	1,406	76.2	62.0	43.9	D
St. Charles Twp.	1,508	74.7	59.2	43.0	D
Carrollton Twp.	4,139	73.6	55.6	38.6	D
Saginaw City	41,013	72.2	51.8	42.5	D
Buena Vista Twp.	5,653	67.7	46.1	36.4	D

* R - Solid Republican
D - Solid Democratic
M - Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Saginaw County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Washtenaw County, Michigan

Washtenaw County, a marginal area which is the home of two universities and several colleges, showed a turnout of 75.4%. The two cities of Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti combined account for 61% of the county's registered voters. The county's turnout is higher than the statewide total of 70.8% and Wayne County's 66.5%, but it ranks behind the turnout of Jackson, Kalamazoo and Kent (Republican counties).

The selected Republican areas had an average turnout of 82.2%. The marginal areas averaged 74.0% which included the strong McGovern areas of the City of Ann Arbor (University of Michigan) and Ypsilanti City (Eastern Michigan University). The only solid Democratic area, Ypsilanti Township, turned out 67.9% of its registered voters.

The following table indicates the 1972 turnout plus the 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential percentage for a few solid Republican areas, marginal areas and the single Democratic township.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Washtenaw County	142,647	75.4	47.0	47.3	M
Sharon Twp.	425	87.1	79.7	69.0	R
Lodi Twp.	1,130	84.6	77.6	66.8	R
Saline Twp.	529	80.7	73.3	68.0	R
Lima Twp.	923	76.2	80.9	67.0	R
Ann Arbor City	71,746	78.2	37.8	47.9	M
Ypsilanti City	14,949	69.9	35.4	41.7	M
Ypsilanti Twp.	18,978	67.9	54.9	35.4	D

* R - Solid Republican
M - Marginal
D - Solid Democratic

Source: Office of County Clerk,
Washtenaw County, Michigan

1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
Macomb County, Michigan

Macomb County, a solid Democratic area which is represented by Congressman James G. O'Hara, turned out 77.4% of its registered voters. This county's turnout is significantly higher than Wayne County's 66.5% and the statewide turnout of 70.8%.

The Detroit fringe cities of Centerline, East Detroit, Roseville, Warren, St. Clair Shores and Sterling Heights, all of which lie in the southern part of the county, account for over seventy percent of Macomb County's registered voters. The first four of these cities are solid Democratic, and the last two are marginal. These six cities are primarily blue collar, middle income, white (ethnic) suburbs on the Wayne County border.

The few solid Republican areas averaged a turnout of 80.2%, and the marginal areas turned out an average of 77.7%. The solid Democratic areas had an average turnout of 75.8%, which when compared with the average turnout for the same type of areas in Wayne County is quite similar.

The following table shows the 1972 turnout percentage for three different area types, solid Republican, marginal and solid Democratic. The 1972 and 1968 Republican Presidential percentage is also shown.

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Macomb County	304,605	77.4	62.7	30.5	D
Lake Twp.	79	86.1	83.8	79.7	R
Washington Twp.	3,850	78.8	69.3	50.0	R
Richmond City	1,618	75.6	64.3	52.4	R
Richmond Twp.	750	90.1	63.8	50.4	M
Shelby Twp.	12,700	89.0	69.1	38.3	M
St. Clair Shores	41,689	83.5	63.5	32.9	M
Memphis City (part)	359	81.9	59.5	43.7	M

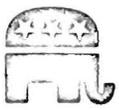
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1972 Voter Turnout Analysis
 Macomb County, Michigan
 (Continued)

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area* Type</u>
Utica City	2,540	78.3	64.4	46.3	M
Fraser City	5,530	78.1	69.0	34.2	M
Harrison Twp.	8,150	77.1	64.1	34.3	M
Bruce Twp.	2,215	76.8	67.7	54.5	M
Mt. Clemons City	8,772	73.4	54.2	41.1	M
Armada Twp.	1,559	72.2	65.6	50.5	M
Clinton Twp.	24,796	70.9	62.0	35.4	M
Ray Twp.	1,425	70.2	66.4	42.9	M
Macomb Twp.	3,091	68.2	64.1	39.5	M
Centerline City	5,415	84.4	55.4	22.4	D
East Detroit City	24,500	79.1	58.1	25.2	D
Sterling Heights Cty	33,236	77.7	67.2	30.9	D
Warren City	86,500	75.6	62.7	25.9	D
Chesterfield Twp.	4,424	73.8	60.0	31.8	D
Roseville City	27,787	69.9	56.9	23.0	D
Lenox Twp.	2,018	69.8	49.9	34.2	D

* R - Solid Republican
 D - Solid Democratic
 M - Marginal

Source: Office of County Clerk,
 Macomb County, Michigan



Republican
National
Committee.

November 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT *Ed*
RE: VOTER TURNOUT ANALYSIS

The enclosed voter turnout analysis for Wayne County, Michigan, indicates that GOP turnout percentages were substantially above Democrat and swing areas in the same county for the 1972 election. Early next week similar reports will be available for several other selected counties in the State of Michigan.

/jg
enc.

cc: Senator Bob Dole



Election Report

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
VOTER TURNOUT ANALYSIS
Wayne County, Michigan

Republican turnout in Michigan is usually quite solid and substantially high in Republican areas. Michigan elections, however, are not determined by the Republican turnout, but rather by the Democrat turnout, particularly in Wayne County.

Wayne County accounts for 33 percent of the registered voters in the state of Michigan. The City of Detroit, which is heavily Democrat, contributes 60 percent of the county's registered voters. Normally, voter turnout in Detroit must be low for a Republican candidate to carry the state.

An analysis of the 1972 election results in Wayne County shows that the Republican upper-middle class areas consistently turned out at least 80 percent of the registered voters. The Democrat areas of white ethnic blue collar workers also turned out heavily with 70 percent of the registered voters. But the black Democrat areas in the City of Detroit turned out with a poor 50 percent of the registered voters.

The turnout for the City of Detroit was 60.7 percent in comparison with an overall turnout of 66.5 percent for Wayne County. Yet, the turnout for the upper-middle class northeastern Grosse Pointe suburbs averaged 83 percent with Grosse Pointe Shores retaining the top honor of 88.3 percent turnout.

The attached table shows 1972 registration and 1972 Presidential election results for selected areas in Wayne County.

1972 Voter Turnout
in
Wayne County, Michigan

	<u>1972 Registration</u>	<u>1972 Turnout %</u>	<u>1972 Republican %</u>	<u>1968 Republican %</u>	<u>Area*</u> <u>Type</u>
Wayne County	1,492,765	66.5	43.9	26.3	
Grosse Pointe City	4,601	83.2	76.9	72.5	R U-M
Grosse Pointe Farms	8,626	80.8	78.9	75.9	R U-M
Grosse Pointe Park	9,278	80.8	74.8	64.3	R U-M
Grosse Pointe Woods	14,307	83.2	79.8	66.9	R U-M
Grosse Pointe Twp.	2,046	88.3	86.5	81.9	R U-M
Livonia	56,642	76.9	70.8	44.1	M WE
VanBuren Twp.	6,927	73.6	62.2	38.0	M BE
Hamtramck	13,519	76.8	40.3	10.2	D BE (Polish)
Inkster	16,316	71.2	31.8	15.4	D BE
City of Detroit					
District 8	34,858	54.7	4.9	4.5	D B
District 9	29,675	51.2	18.2	18.2	D B Primarily
District 12	32,540	52.6	8.9	8.0	D B
District 15	48,556	53.4	11.7	17.3	D B Primarily
District 17	47,048	54.7	53.6	47.2	M WE
District 22	37,498	53.8	3.5	2.9	D B
District 23	32,745	55.5	4.2	3.9	D B
District 24	23,001	47.8	17.0	9.3	D B Primarily

R - Solid Republican
D - Solid Democrat
M - Marginal - swing areas

* U-M - Upper Middle
WE - White Collar - Ethnic
BE - Blue Collar - Ethnic
B - Black

The American Political Report

AROUND THE WHITE HOUSE

Richard Nixon has indicated to aides that giving permanence to the "new majority" will be the Number One domestic priority of his second administration. Realignment patterns indicated by the 1972 results suggest that consolidation of this presidential level GOP coalition is eminently realizable (see Special Survey). But White House efforts will be concentrated on national coalition-building, and local Republican parties cannot expect too much.

Meanwhile, the structure and command of any White House political operation remains up in the air. Special Counsel Charles Colson will play a leading role if he stays on. Otherwise, tentative plans call for more of the political work to be done by a beefed-up Republican National Committee headed by a fulltime chairman and executive director (see p. 3).

Even though the ink is hardly dry on the election returns, five would-be GOP presidential candidates are already jockeying at the post: Vice President Spiro Agnew, Tennessee Senators William E. Brock and Howard Baker, former Treasury Secretary John Connally and Illinois Senator Charles Percy. Brock has already tipped his hand by trying to load key lieutenants into the Republican National Committee.

In conversation after conversation with aides, RMN has stressed issues and approaches that reaffirm the conservative policy directions laid down in his recent interview with the Washington Star. However, the basic source of Administration domestic policymaking is expected to be an upgraded Domestic Council. Its chief, John Ehrlichman, who presumably will stay in position, was only a year ago defining his philosophy (and that of the President too) as liberal. Ehrlichman is a Nixon loyalist who will follow the President's conservative wishes, but if those instructions ebb, Ehrlichman's basic bent is more to the left. Reorganizational plans are sure to increase White House policymaking at the expense of the departments, and as one aide puts it, "structure is policy, and Ehrlichman's got the structure."

While the White House staff upheaval may prune a lot of excess jobholders, no change is seen in the pre-eminent power of White House Chief of Staff Bob Haldeman. Personnel czar Fred Malek, the man in charge of the hunt-and-purge operation, takes his cues from Haldeman. Insiders would be astonished if anything happened to Haldeman; and if no change is made in his basic lines of power, then other personnel changes are peripheral.

On the foreign policy front, the President's discussion of State Department plans indicate that he expects Henry Kissinger to be leaving his post next year. International Economics chief Peter Flanigan is also expected to leave next spring.

DEPARTMENTAL REORGANIZATION

Beneath the rhetoric of a bold new federal re-organization plan, insiders believe that Nixon planners are calculating a chance to shuffle departmental power and increase the central authority of the White House. While sweeping language may be drafted for public relations purposes, the underlying goals of the forced resignations and departmental reshuffling seem substantially negative: 1) to compel the resignations of several departmental secretaries -- like Transportation Secretary John Volpe and Attorney General Richard Kleindienst -- who were stalling in hope of being able to stay; 2) to enable the culling of Schedule C departmental officials out of sympathy or out of favor with the Administration; 3) to trim an overweight White House staff; 4) to provide slots for White House staffers to be sent into the different departments; and 5) to shuffle Cabinet officers to new departments so that their inexperience would make it easier to pull more policymaking power back to the White House.

Insiders suspect that intentions may be less grandiose than ultimate rhetoric because only a few top Administration loyalists are centrally involved in the planning: Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Malek and John Dean, the White House Counsel. Nor does there seem to be any great attempt to recruit high-level outside talent. Proven loyalty and in-groupmanship seem to be at a premium inasmuch most of the names on the rumor mill are those of persons already holding or recently holding high Administration jobs.

RMN is expected to straighten out the State, Defense, Justice and Treasury situations first, and then deal with the lesser Cabinet slots that would be affected by any actual or potential departmental reorganization.

State Department: Former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally has had the refusal of this post for some time. Associates say he is inclined to take it, but timing is emerging as a problem. Connally's taking over at State would discomfort Henry Kissinger in his White House slot, and RMN is not quite ready to have Kissinger leave. Insiders say, however, that the President expects Kissinger to depart in the relatively near future when his Vietnam peace assignment is wrapped up. But Connally is not likely to wait six months for State. Politicos doubt that he can afford to put his political evolution in limbo for that long.

Defense: Retiring Secretary Melvin Laird would like Deputy Defense Secretary Kenneth Rush to get the job. There is also talk of SEC Chairman Bill Casey, whose OSS background earlier brought his name into speculation for the CIA Director's job. Casey is only a longshot, though, because RMN wants younger men in the Cabinet. Nothing appears resolved as yet.

Treasury: George Shultz is staying on.

Justice: Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst would like to stay on, but even his own aides aren't betting on it. Even so, Kleindienst's hopes remain alive while his enemies in the White House command try to settle on a successor. John Ehrlichman is unlikely to leave the ever-more-powerful White House Domestic Affairs Council. HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson is a possible Kleindienst replacement, but even though liberal Richardson is a Nixon loyalist, some presidential advisers balk at putting him in the pivotal Justice Department. Richardson is also mentioned on the rumor mill as a possible short-term Secretary of State, which only goes to show nothing is likely to be settled until almost everything is settled.

Far from being a unique George McGovern aberration, the 1972 presidential election fits right in with previous contests to suggest some realignment patterns that should go a long way towards indicating 1976 prospects.

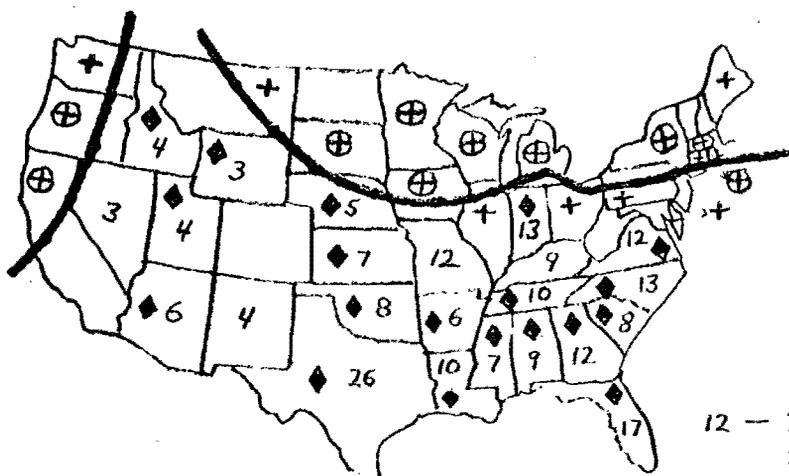
On the Republican side, the big breakthrough came in the South. As APR's September 25 Special Survey illustrated, Dixie presidential voting has been tilting steadily more Republican since 1948, and this election provided the final lurch, adding the 1968 Wallace vote to the 1968 Nixon vote and giving the GOP nominee a full 11-state regional sweep. Four years hence, the GOP appears likely to carry the South for any reasonably attractive center-right candidate against a Democrat of even Humphrey-Muskie ideological coloration. Outer South states like Tennessee, Virginia and the Carolinas are becoming Republican below the presidential level, and the Deep South (not presidentially Democratic since the Fifties) will oppose a national party nominee tied to the black vote. Texas, less solid for the GOP in 1976 than the others, is probably safe if the Democratic nominee is a Northern liberal a la Edward Kennedy, Adlai Stevenson or Walter Mondale. As the map shows, Dixie is a Republican realignment area, and it gives the GOP a starting wedge of 130 (of the 270 electoral votes) for 1976.

The Border's tide is a lesser version of Dixie's. As against a Kennedy-Mondale, Northern liberal Democrat, the GOP can add Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma to their starting stake for another 29 electoral votes.

The last solid GOP presidential area is the Rocky Mountains (also see September 25 Special Survey). In the 1964, 1968 and 1972 elections, the Rockies were the best Republican presidential region outside the South. Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Arizona are the core states. Take 25 of these electoral votes for the GOP candidate in 1976.

A few other bedrock areas can be added: Kansas (7), Nebraska (5) and Indiana (13). As the map shows, the South-Border-Southwest-Rockies bloc is the core of Republican presidential strength. It should give a center-right GOP candidate a flying start of 200 electoral votes in 1976.

1972 and Probable 1976 Presidential Alignments



- + States giving McGovern over 38% (his national average).
- ⊕ States giving McGovern over 41% (new coalition core areas).
- ◆ States better than 66% for Nixon

12 - Electoral votes of states forming base of center-right GOP candidate in 1976. (The total - based in South and West - comes to 210 of the 270 needed.)

— Demarcation of realignment areas; Democratic presidential realignment is coming in the Northeast, Upper Midwest and Pacific Northwest. All but a few top McGovern states (and also top 1968 HHH states) fall in these areas.

The Democratic trend areas are almost as obvious. Since the 1950's, New England has become the Democrats' best presidential voteground. Come 1976, the Democratic candidate -- especially Edward Kennedy -- should be favored to win most of New England's electoral votes (37). Other old Civil War Republican areas are also flipping as the GOP moves onto its new Southern-Western axis. Upstate New York and outstate Michigan are softening. But the most striking example may be the once rock-ribbed Republican Upper Farm Belt: Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa and the Dakotas (36 electoral votes). McGovern ran well here, but it should also be remembered that Hubert Humphrey, in 1968, ran well ahead of John F. Kennedy's 1960 levels. In 1973, 9 of the area's 10 U.S. Senators will be liberal Democrats. A Mondale nomination would continue the HHH-McGovern Democratic regional thrust; an EMK nomination might cut it back a bit.

Along the Pacific, the Democrats have a long-term trend in the Pacific Northwest: Washington, Oregon and Northern California. Overall, however, the state of California shapes up as a major battleground.

Three key battleground areas are indicated for 1976: 1) California; 2) the industrial Midwest, especially Ohio and Illinois; and 3) the heavily Catholic Middle Atlantic (Conn., N.Y., N.J., Pa. and Md.). In the latter two, the Democrats are making gains among upper-middle-income suburbanites and Yankee rural voters, but the GOP has a strong ethnic tide. White House strategists looking towards 1976 put heavy emphasis on the ethnic shifts of New York City plus the expectation that Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo will be elected Governor of Pennsylvania in 1974 and lead the ethnic vote into the GOP. History suggests that urban Catholic strength has been the Northern wing of a Southern-Western coalition.

If the Republicans can count on the South, Border and Rockies, plus a few other obvious states, they need only limited inroads into the big states -- say 70-80 electoral votes worth of inroads. In contrast, the Democrats have no region like Dixie to bank on. Sure Democratic states are limited to a handful (with 50-75 electoral votes) once the Middle Atlantic and Midwest industrial states are thrown into the doubtful group because of ethnic trends.

Ethnic, Catholic voters are the key. While there is no chance of the Democrats moving far enough towards the center to recapture the South presidentially, the Catholic vote is more readily regainable. In 1960, Richard Nixon got 22% of it; in 1968, 33%; and in 1972, about 55%. This last figure will not stick. Edward Kennedy, for example, would easily win 55-65% of the Catholic vote for the Democrats. Still, the GOP does not need 55%. Actually 35-40% is more than enough in presidential elections where the South is Republican en bloc.

By dint of the internal politics and cultural demographics of the Democratic Party (to be covered in another survey), it is hard to see the presidential wing of the Democratic Party moving very far back towards the center. The party's quadrennial wing has come to rest on activists, minorities and the middle-class reform areas of the nation (Northeast, Upper Farm Belt, Northwest), not a base from which appeals to the George Wallace vote can effectively be mounted.

Just as Republicans would be foolish to nominate a Southerner in 1976, Democrats would be foolish to pick a nominee out of the New England-Upper Midwest axis of liberal moralizers. EMK is an exception because of his appeal to traditionalist Catholics. Yet besides Kennedy, the Democratic list is short: Mondale and Stevenson are moralizer Upper Midwest Protestants, exactly the sort who would play into the hands of presidential coalitional re-alignment. Nor can the Democrats look to the 1974 elections for attractive new faces in pivotal industrial states. On the evidence of the last two decades, plausible presidential candidacies take time to develop and emerge.

Commerce: The word back from the Camp David meetings is that even Pete Peterson isn't sure of his job. However, there is little speculation on possible replacements.

Labor: Secretary James Hodgson could be a casualty of the Administration's flirtation with organized labor.

Interior: Rogers C. B. Morton got his Cabinet job to get him out of the Republican National Committee Chairmanship. Two years have passed, and that logic may have worn thin.

Health, Education and Welfare: Elliot Richardson, having done yeoman service here, is almost certainly headed elsewhere. Although Defense Secretary Melvin Laird disclaims interest, he is rumored as a possible replacement because of having served (until 1968) on the House Appropriations Committee's HEW Subcommittee. This would give Laird a big edge in knowing how to slash HEW outlays, a key Nixon goal.

HUD: With George Romney leaving, White House Counselor Don Rumsfeld is the early favorite. Insiders expect Rumsfeld to get some lesser Cabinet post, with HUD being most frequently mentioned.

Transportation: John Volpe had hoped to stay, but now has thrown in the towel and will leave. Nor is Volpe likely to get his dreamed-of Ambassadorship to Italy. Maritime Administrator Helen Bentley is pushing for Volpe's slot and using the idea of a woman in the Cabinet. Labor opposition will probably block her. Rumsfeld could also surface here.

All of these people and posts were hot topics of discussion in Camp David and the White House last week, but insiders say that the President has made very few hard decisions. And because of the lateral movements involved, all the pieces are likely to fall into place together at the last minute -- sometime in early-to-mid December.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Pressure is building up within the GOP for a major overhaul of the Republican National Committee. Although Chairman Bob Dole has expressed interest in remaining on the job, White House officials and many party leaders want a fulltime chairman in the wake of GOP disappointment in the November 7 elections. Dole's Senate responsibilities are seen as demanding too much of his time.

Current White House plans call for transferring some of the Administration's political work to the RNC, and these blueprints also underlay the call for a shake-up in the RNC hierarchy. Inasmuch as Dole was elected chairman for a full term at the 1972 Miami Convention, he can effectively be removed only through RMN's own personal decision and request. Insiders think that the President will make such a request. Also expected to leave the RNC is Deputy Chairman Tom Evans, now out of favor with the White House. Tentative plans call for a fulltime chairman and a fulltime executive director.

The current frontrunner for the RNC Chairmanship is U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. George Bush. If the President offers the job to Bush, indications are that he would take it. Another name mentioned is that of William Timmons, Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations. But Timmons' selection is unlikely because of his mention in the Watergate episode, and his closeness (as a former aide) to 1976 presidential candidate Bill Brock. Brock is also pushing his 1970 campaign manager, Ken Rietz, for the Executive Director slot. Despite Rietz's work as 1972 director of the Youth for Nixon effort, he is unlikely to get the RNC job because of his ties to Brock. Representatives of

other 1976 hopefuls (namely Vice President Agnew) are insisting that 1976 politics be kept out of the RNC. White House decisionmakers agree.

Whatever happens to the Chairmanship, battle has already been joined over yet another key position, that of Counsel to the RNC. Incumbent Fred Scribner of Maine has angered Southerners and Westerners with his seeming refusal to develop a legal case for the 1976 delegate plan decided upon in Miami and under attack by Northern state officials. Southerners forced Scribner to accept Florida's Bill Cramer as co-counsel for the case by threatening to have sixteen states convene a special meeting of the Republican National Committee, and they are contemplating a motion of no confidence in Scribner at the January RNC meeting.

NOVEMBER 7 TURNOUT AND THE MAKE-UP OF CONGRESS

Published Sindlinger and Company poll data confirms our November 13 analysis that the final-hour slippage in Election Day turnout hurt the Republican Party. Sindlinger data indicates that the 6 million voters deciding not vote at the last minute in response to the Watergate issue and other kindred morality-in-government questions were largely Republicans and Independents from traditionally Republican sections of the Northeast, Midwest and the Pacific. Thus, congressional GOP candidates lost vital votes.

Sindlinger's numbers cannot be confirmed elsewhere because his company had the only polling operation at work non-stop every day until the election. However, here are his findings: For the October 31-November 2 period, a projected 76.6 million voters indicated that they were "positive" that they would vote, and 6.87 million indicated that they were only "considering" voting. By November 3-5, only a projected 69.1 million voters were still "positive" whereas the "considering" group had swollen to 15 million. The real key lies in the political preference of those who shifted from "positive" to "considering." Of the more than 8 million so shifting, only some 215,000 were for McGovern while 5.522 million favored Nixon. Sindlinger data shows that most of these people developing a disinclination to vote were Republicans and Independents. This switching of 7 million voters from "positive" to "considering" roughly parallels the slippage of turnout from the 84 million expected to the extraordinarily low 77.5 million who actually voted. Democrats, on the other hand, seem to have made it to the polls.

Paradoxically, Democratic turnout was stimulated by the vote-drive machinery of the Committee to Re-Elect the President. CRP got out the Republicans everywhere. In many states, Republicans never received a single phone call. Most Nixon Democrats, of course, voted for local Democratic candidates after going to the polls. It seems fair to say that the combined impact of the Watergate/Morality-in-government malaise and the Nixon Get-Out-The-Democratic-Vote Drive cost local Republican candidates several million votes while adding several million to Democratic totals, thereby substantially distorting the make-up of Congress.

White House strategists are well aware of congressional Republican indignation at this autumn's treatment, and special "stroke" sessions and tactics are planned. Even so, Capitol Hill GOP hostility will hobble Administration programs, and the President's political machismo with Congress has been weakened by the overall November results.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Gordon -

Rick Fox's

draft - as promised -

Jerry

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

November 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB ~~H~~ALDEMAN

FROM: FRED MALEK

SUBJECT: Post-Election Political Plans

Unfortunately the President's landslide victory was accompanied by an extremely low voter turnout and a stinging defeat for the Republican Party. The net loss of two Senators, one Governor, and several state legislatures has raised sharp criticism from GOP Congressional leaders and state GOP chairmen. Senator Dominick, among others, has issued statements to the press placing the blame on the President for defeat of other Republicans. These critics claim that the President's reluctance to personally campaign for other candidates and CREP's concentration only on the Presidential race was the major factor in the defeat of other Republican candidates. This problem is compounded by political pundits like Kevin Phillips who are using the White House and the Presidential campaign as scapegoats for the Republican defeats.

Although the GOP critics and the political writers have little, if any, hard data to back up their assertions, it seems likely that criticism of the White House will continue up to the Christmas holidays. Several regional and state GOP meetings will be taking place. There may well be adverse publicity resulting from these sessions. The heaviest criticism and most hostile feeling, however, should be expected from GOP Congressional leadership when Congress reconvenes in January.

If this problem is left unchecked, we may face serious political problems within our own ranks in January. Therefore we should take the following steps to solve the problem:

1. Conduct a complete election analysis.
2. Provide for a good political liaison with the states.
3. Draw up a complete plan to improve relations with defeated candidates, incumbents, and state GOP leaders.

A sophisticated election analysis would provide us with information to refute critics and to show "our side" of the campaign. The election analysis should answer the following questions:

1. Did Republicans vote in greater or less proportion than normal?
2. Did the Democratic turnout for the President hurt other Republicans on the ticket?
3. Why did other GOP candidates lose (particularly U.S. Senate)?
4. What was the reason for low voter turnout?
5. Did voter contact - canvassing and GOTV - make a difference in turnout?
6. What were our most effective campaign techniques?

A committee of Bob Marik, Bob Teeter, and Rick Fore at 1701 has been formed to coordinate this effort. The proposed method of analysis would consist of the following.

Post-Election Poll - Many of the questions that we have raised can only be answered by a poll. Bob Teeter has been assigned the responsibility of conducting a nationwide sample of votes. The questionnaire should go into the field on November 25 and the analysis should be completed in mid-December. However, preliminary results should be available sooner.

Analysis of Voting Results by County - Dan Evans of Bob Teeter's 1701 staff is undertaking the job of comparing 1972 county results with 1968 results. This may provide us with some rough trend information on turnout.

Analysis of Voting Results by Precinct - Rick Fore of my 1701 staff is presently retrieving precinct results from the state CREP operations. These results will be especially useful in analyzing turnout by voter segment. This project, however, should run past January 1 because of the difficulty of pulling in the material.

When completing the election analysis we will have hard data that will allow us to deal authoritatively with critics. In addition, the election analysis could be used for publicity with favorable press contacts.

A substantial amount of the criticism can be blunted and potential trouble averted by maintaining good political liaison with the state GOP. Many of the state GOP leaders are feeling neglected. They believe that the RNC is relatively powerless since it will probably be reorganized. The White House is in the middle of reorganization and many of those staff members who provided political liaison are in the process of leaving.

Since the RNC and White House political operations are undergoing or will undergo reorganization, we are preserving liaison continually with the states by utilizing the remaining staff of the Political Division at 1701. Rick Fore and staff will keep in constant communication with state CREP and GOP operations in order to convey a sense of interest from Washington. The staff will also be used to attend regional meetings and other GOP functions. This allows the leadership to vent its frustrations with someone from Washington. It also serves as a listening post to identify potential problems before they surface. Finally, this liaison is essential for retrieving the results and reports from the field that will be valuable for future political activity. After reorganization, the 1701 Political Division staff, along with all material should be transferred to the White House or the RNC so that the political liaison continuity is carried over to the next four years.

The use of election analysis and political liaison will go a long way toward solving our political problems with the GOP. A total offensive plan, however, is required immediately to diffuse the hostility before Congress reconvenes. This plan has not been totally developed but would consist primarily of the following activities.

1. Have several Senators who are strong allies release statements to set facts straight--"The GOP would have suffered a much greater defeat if the President had not been on the ticket. He followed the right strategy. We just have to work harder in the future." Senator Griffin, along with Senators-elect Bartlett and McClure might be prime candidates.
2. Have several friendly journalists use election analysis to point out the real reason for Republican defeats.
3. Provide for a comprehensive program of assistance for losing Senatorial and gubernatorial candidates. This would consist of the following : (a) Immediate calls to all offering assistance; (b) Providing jobs for candidates and top staff where needed; (c) Providing surrogate speakers for post-election fund raisers to pay off debts. This must take place immediately to dampen hostility.
4. Analyze 1974 races and draw up a plan to assist. Attached is a list of 1973 and 1974 governors races, along with 1974 Senate races. It is already apparent that many incumbents are in trouble. One plan of assistance might be to offer a political service operation in the White House that would combine political liaison, personnel, grants, and patronage.

5. Present the plan for political service to the GOP state and Congressional leadership in early January. Politicians are more interested in what can help them in the future than what hurt in the past. This political service will provide leverage and help us regain strong GOP allies that may have been lost in 1972.

If the aforementioned plan is followed, the post-election analysis used correctly, and political continuity maintained, we not only should solve our present political problem of a defeated GOP, but should lay positive groundwork for the future political activity of the administration.

Alabama	George Wallace	D	1974
Alaska	William Egan	D	1974
Arizona	Jack Williams	R	1974
California	Ronald Reagan	R	1974
Colorado	John A. Love	R	1974
Connecticut	Thomas J. Meskill	R	1974
Florida	Reubin Askew	D	1974
Georgia	Jimmy Carter	D	1974
Hawaii	John A. Burns	D	1974
Idaho	Cecil D. Andrus	D	1974
Maine	Kenneth M. Curtis	D	1974
Maryland	Marvin Mandel	D	1974
Massachusetts	Francis W. Sargent	R	1974
Michigan	William G. Milliken	R	1974
Minnesota	Wendell Anderson	D	1974
Nebraska	J.J. Exon	D	1974
Nevada	Mike O'Callaghan	D	1974
New Jersey	William T. Cahill	R	1973
New York	Nelson Rockefeller	R	1974
Ohio	John J. Gilligan	D	1974
Oklahoma	David Hall	D	1974
Oregon	Tom McCall	R	1974
Pennsylvania	Milton Shapp	D	1974
South Carolina	John C. West	D	1974
Tennessee	Winfield Dunn	R	1974
Texas	Dolph Briscoe	D	1974
Virginia	Linwood Holton	R	1974
Wisconsin	Patrick Lucey	D	1974
Wyoming	Stanley Hathaway	R	1974

1974 SENATE ELECTIONS

1. Alabama	James Allen (D)
2. Alaska	Mike Gravel (D)
3. Arizona	Barry Goldwater (R)
4. Arkansas	J.W. Fulbright (D)
5. California	Alan Cranston (D)
6. Colorado	Peter Dominick (R)
7. Connecticut	Abraham Ribicoff (D)
8. Florida	Edward Gurney (R)
9. Georgia	Herman Talmadge (D)
0. Hawaii	Daniel Inouye (D)
1. Idaho	Frank Church (D)
2. Illinois	Adlai Stevenson, III (D)
3. Indiana	Birch Bayh (D)
4. Iowa	Harold Hughes (D)
5. Kansas	Robert Dole (R)
6. Kentucky	Marlow Cook (R)
7. Louisiana	Russell Long (D)
8. Maryland	Charles Mathias (R)
9. Missouri	Thomas Eagleton (D)
0. Nevada	Alan Bible (D)
1. New Hampshire	Norris Cotton (R)
2. New York	Jacob Javits (R)
3. North Carolina	Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D)
4. North Dakota	Milton Young (R)
5. Ohio	William Saxbe (R)
6. Oklahoma	Henry Bellmon (R)
7. Oregon	Bob Packwood (R)
8. Pennsylvania	Richard Schweiker (R)
9. South Carolina	Ernest Hollings (D)
0. South Dakota	George McGovern (D)
1. Utah	Wallace Bennett (R)
2. Vermont	Robert Stafford (R)
3. Washington	Warren Magnuson (D)
4. Wisconsin	Gaylord Nelson (D)

VOTER TURNOUT ANALYSIS OF NEW CASTLE COUNTY, DELAWARE

November 22, 1972

1. New Castle County: 80.5% of those registered to vote actually voted (173,150 of 215,092) -- based on Presidential data.

Presidential:	Nixon	100,420	57.9
	McGovern	70,115	40.5
	Schmitz	2,615	1.6
	Total	<u>173,150</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

Senate:	Borns	83,250	49.38
	Biden	84,788	50.30
	Majka	523	.32
	Total	<u>168,561</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

Congressional:	DuPont	102,096	61.7
	Handloff	62,542	37.8
	Lopresti	829	.5
	Total	<u>165,467</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

Governor:	Peterson	85,534	51.1
	Tribbitt	80,880	48.3
	Lyndall	1,097	.6
	Total	<u>167,511</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

2. 11th Representative District -- Strong Republican area.

a. Registration:

Rep.	5,206
Dem.	2,140
Other	2,526
Total	<u>9,872</u>

- b. 2nd Election District (Precinct)

Registration:

Rep.	720
Dem.	235
Other	328
Total	<u>1,283</u>

534 registered Republican voted for a Republican turnout of 74.1%

Presidential:	Nixon	755	70.3
	McGovern	300	27.9
	Schmitz	19	1.8
	Total	<u>1,074</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

83.7 % of those registered voted

Senate:	Boggs	683	63.8
	Biden	380	35.3
	Majka	<u>7</u>	<u>.9</u>
	Total	<u>1,070</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

83.4% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	821	76.5
	Handloff	242	22.6
	Lopresti	<u>10</u>	<u>.9</u>
	Total	<u>1,073</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

83.6% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	783	69.8
	Tribbitt	312	29.5
	Lyndall	<u>8</u>	<u>.7</u>
	Total	<u>1,058</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

83.7 of those registered voted

3. 13th Representative District -- Very strong Republican, upper middle to upper income.

a. Registration:	Rep.	4,987
	Dem.	1,803
	Other	<u>2,285</u>
	Total	<u>9,075</u>

b. 8th Election District (Precinct)

Registration:	Rep.	432
	Dem.	78
	Other	<u>156</u>
		<u>716</u>

411 registered Republicans voted for a Republican turnout of 85.2%

Presidential:	Nixon	466	82.0
	McGovern	100	17.6
	Schmitz	<u>2</u>	<u>.4</u>
	Total	<u>568</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

79.3% of those registered voted

Senate:	Boggs	463	81.7
	Biden	104	18.3
	Majka	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
	Total	<u>567</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

79.2% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	483	83.6
	Handloff	79	14.0
	Lopresti	2	.4
	Total	<u>564</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

78.8% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	450	80.8
	Tribbitt	107	19.2
	Lyndall	0	0.0
	Total	<u>557</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

79.3% of those registered voted

4. 17th Representative District -- Strong Democrat, non-Black, blue collar, New Castle City area.

a. Registration:	Rep.	1,122
	Dem.	3,296
	Ind.	1,409
	Total	<u>5,827</u>

b. 5th Election District (Precinct)

Registration:	Rep.	150
	Dem.	542
	Ind.	259
	Total	<u>953</u>

107 registered Republicans voted for a Republican turnout of 71.3%

Presidential:	Nixon	286	39.3
	McGovern	438	60.2
	Schmitz	4	.5
	Total	<u>728</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

78.4% of those registered voted

Senate:	Bonqs	233	31.6
	Biden	501	68.0
	Majka	3	.4
	Total	<u>737</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

77.3% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	326	46.0
	Handloff	381	53.8
	Lopresti	1	.2
	Total	<u>708</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

74.3% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	260	36.2
	Tribbitt	453	63.1
	Lyndall	5	.7
	Total	<u>718</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

75.3% of those registered voted

c. 6th Election District (Precinct)

Registration:	Rep.	286	Turnout figures not available.
	Dem.	656	
	Ind.	293	
	Total	<u>1,235</u>	

Presidential:	Nixon	517	53.9
	McGovern	420	43.8
	Schmitz	22	2.3
	Total	<u>959</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

77.7% of those registered voted

Senate:	Boogs	483	46.4
	Biden	553	53.0
	Majka	6	.6
	Total	<u>1,042</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

84.4% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	453	49.13
	Handloff	458	49.67
	Lopresti	11	1.20
	Total	<u>922</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

74.7% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	313	33.3
	Tribbitt	622	66.3
	Lyndall	4	.4
	Total	<u>939</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

76.0% of those registered voted

5. 18th Representative District -- Blue collar, mostly white, lower middle income.

a. Registration:	Rep.	972
	Dem.	3,437
	Ind.	1,179
	Total	<u>5,588</u>

b. 4th Election District (Precinct)

Registration:	Rep.	136	
	Dem.	602	
	Ind.	<u>162</u>	
	Total	900	

101 registered Republicans voted for a Republican turnout of 74.3%

Presidential:	Nixon	155	24.7
	McGovern	468	74.5
	Schmitz	<u>5</u>	<u>.8</u>
	Total	628	100.00%

69.8% of those registered voted

Senate:	Boggs	165	31.1
	Biden	361	68.0
	Majka	<u>5</u>	<u>.9</u>
	Total	531	100.00%

59.0% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	163	31.8
	Handloff	344	87.0
	Lopresti	<u>6</u>	<u>1.2</u>
	Total	513	100.00%

57% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	179	32.6
	Tribbitt	367	66.8
	Lyndall	<u>3</u>	<u>.6</u>
	Total	549	100.00%

61.0% of those registered voted

6. 16th Representative District -- Newport, swing, urban and rural, almost all white, some ethnic groups, middle income.

a. Registration:	Rep.	2,006
	Dem.	2,928
	Ind.	<u>2,412</u>
	Total	7,346

b. 7th Election District (Precinct)

Registration:	Rep.	285
	Dem.	505
	Ind.	<u>347</u>
	Total	1,137

246 registered Republicans voted for a Republican turnout of 86.3%

Presidential:	Nixon	537	57.6
	McGovern	385	41.4
	Schmitz	9	1.0
	Total	<u>931</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

81.9% of those registered voted

Senate:	Boggs	410	44.0
	Biden	517	55.5
	Majka	4	.5
	Total	<u>931</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

81.9% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	512	56.4
	Handloff	394	43.4
	Lopresti	2	.2
	Total	<u>908</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

79.9% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	351	38.4
	Tribbitt	553	60.6
	Lyndall	9	1.0
	Total	<u>913</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

80.3% of those registered voted

7. 19th Representative District -- New Castle, swing, mixed income and race area.

a. Registration:	Rep.	1,885
	Dem.	3,711
	Ind.	1,835
	Total	<u>7,431</u>

b. 6th Election District (Precinct) -- Union, blue collar, middle income.

Registration:	Rep.	245
	Dem.	556
	Ind.	230
	Total	<u>1,031</u>

182 registered Republicans voted for a Republican turnout of 74.3%

Presidential:	Nixon	453	54.7
	McGovern	353	42.8
	Schmitz	12	1.5
	Total	<u>828</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

80.3% of those registered voted

Senate:	Boggs	328	40.1
	Biden	488	59.7
	Majka	2	.2
	Total	<u>818</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

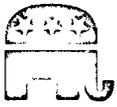
79.3% of those registered voted

Congressional:	DuPont	443	56.1
	Handloff	344	43.5
	Lopresti	3	.4
	Total	<u>790</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

76.6% of those registered voted

Governor:	Peterson	294	36.6
	Tribbitt	506	63.0
	Lyndall	3	.4
	Total	<u>803</u>	<u>100.00%</u>

77.9% of those registered voted



Republican
National
Committee.

DECEMBER 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT 
RE: ELECTION '72: THE CITIES

Enclosed is a copy of the latest edition of the Political/Research Division's series on the 1972 elections in the big cities. The 1972 election returns have been analyzed in key demographic and voter bloc wards and precincts. If significant political boundary changes have not occurred, comparisons are made with 1968 election data. Where available, city-wide ward results have been provided.

/st
enc.

cc: Senator Bob Dole



Election Report

The Cities

St. Louis

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

1972 ELECTION:

St. Louis, Missouri

St. Louis City has experienced a decline in population in recent years. Half of the city's population is now black. No doubt, St. Louis' large black population enabled McGovern, who carried the city with 62% of the vote, to run only three percentage points behind Hubert Humphrey's 1968 showing of 65%. With Wallace out of the race, President Nixon was able to significantly improve upon his 1968 vote (26.4%) by receiving approximately 38% of the St. Louis vote this year.

Among the major business enterprises in St. Louis are:

- Chrysler, Ford and General Motors assembly line plants (second to Detroit in automobile assembly)
- McDonnell-Douglas Corporation, aerospace manufacturers who make Phantom jets
- Interco, Incorporated and Brown Shoe Company headquarters (two of the nation's largest shoe companies)
- Anheuser-Busch (the world's largest brewery)
- Monsanto Company (headquarters and plants)

Since the 1968 election, St. Louis has redrawn its ward boundaries, in some instances radically. However, the ward totals used below come from wards that have substantially the same geographic location and population make-up in 1972 as they did in 1968. Races used in the following analysis include the Presidential and gubernatorial (Bond-Dowd, 72; Roos-Hearnes, 68;) races for 1972 and 1968. All 1968 returns are complete. 1972 returns are based upon 98% of the vote reported.

BLACK VOTERS

Wards 4 and 20 are nearly all black. This year, as in 1968, the President trailed the Republican gubernatorial candidate in these wards and made no appreciable gains over his 1968 race. Returns for these two wards appear below.

Ward 4

Nixon	544 (9%)	Nixon	238 (4%)
McGovern	5,714 (91%)	Humphrey	6,462 (96%)
		Wallace	3 (--%)

Bond	675 (11%)	Roos	497 (8%)
Dowd	5,377 (89%)	Hearnes	6,016 (92%)

Ward 20

Nixon	548 (7%)	Nixon	443 (5%)
McGovern	7,464 (93%)	Humphrey	8,046 (94%)
		Wallace	36 (--%)

Bond	1,132 (15%)	Roos	904 (11%)
Dowd	6,559 (85%)	Hearnes	7,202 (89%)

GERMAN-AMERICAN VOTERS

St. Louis has a large German community. Wards 13 and 14 contain the largest concentration of German-Americans in the city. In 1968, Humphrey carried both these wards with 48% of the vote. In 1972, these wards went overwhelmingly for President Nixon, who led Governor-elect Bond in both of them. In fact, while the President was winning both wards with 58-59% of the vote, Bond was losing them with 47-48% (still an impressive showing when compared to the 1968 gubernatorial election when the Republican candidate was defeated nearly two-to-one in these wards.) These wards clearly reveal the increased appeal of not only the President, but Republican candidates, among St. Louis' German community.

Ward 13

Nixon	5,505 (59%)	Nixon	3,695 (39%)
McGovern	3,749 (41%)	Humphrey	4,573 (48%)
		Wallace	1,180 (13%)

Bond	4,412 (47%)	Roos	3,220 (34%)
Dowd	4,879 (53%)	Hearnes	6,139 (66%)

Ward 14

Nixon	5,378 (58%)	Nixon	3,521 (40%)
McGovern	3,853 (42%)	Humphrey	4,224 (48%)
		Wallace	1,024 (12%)
Bond	4,497 (48%)	Roos	3,097 (36%)
Dowd	4,834 (52%)	Hearnes	5,563 (64%)

ITALIAN VOTERS

Ward 24 is St. Louis' Italian Ward. While the President still failed to carry the ward in 1972, his showing there is twenty-four percentage points higher than in 1968. An indication of the President's appeal to Italian voters and their repulsion of George McGovern can be noted in the differences between the Presidential and gubernatorial contests. While Governor-elect Bond was losing the ward by thirty-two points, the President trailed McGovern by only eight. Ward 24 results appear below.

Ward 24

Nixon	3,466 (44%)	Nixon	2,120 (25%)
McGovern	4,459 (56%)	Humphrey	5,419 (64%)
		Wallace	892 (11%)
Bond	2,685 (34%)	Roos	1,895 (23%)
Dowd	5,234 (66%)	Hearnes	6,397 (77%)

BLUE COLLAR VOTERS

St. Louis has several blue collar wards, of which 9 and 15 are representative. The President lost each of these wards in 1968. In 1972, both of them were in the Nixon column. The Republican ticket fared better in general, though Governor-elect Bond did lose both wards. Ward 9 was Wallace's best ward in St. Louis in 1968, and blue collar defections to Nixon in 1972 are apparent in the returns, which appear below.

Ward 9

Nixon	2,718 (52%)	Nixon	1,973 (29%)
McGovern	2,489 (48%)	Humphrey	3,672 (54%)
		Wallace	1,189 (17%)
Bond	2,189 (42%)	Roos	1,844 (28%)
Dowd	3,057 (58%)	Hearnes	4,823 (72%)

Ward 15

Nixon	4,029 (55%)	Nixon	2,976 (37%)
McGovern	3,284 (45%)	Humphrey	3,825 (48%)
		Wallace	1,207 (15%)
Bond	3,628 (49%)	Roos	2,663 (34%)
Dowd	3,841 (51%)	Hearnes	5,205 (66%)

AFFLUENT WHITE VOTERS

Ward 12 is probably the most affluent of St. Louis' 28 wards. Located in the far southside of the city, Ward 12 supported the President in 1968 with a 46% plurality. In 1972, the President easily carried the ward with 65% of the vote, while McGovern lost eight points from Humphrey's 1968 showing. Governor-elect Bond did much better than the previous Republican gubernatorial candidate by winning the ward. However, Bond still trailed the President.

Ward 12

Nixon	6,800 (65%)	Nixon	4,750 (46%)
McGovern	3,660 (35%)	Humphrey	4,444 (43%)
		Wallace	1,130 (11%)
Bond	5,751 (54%)	Roos	4,054 (40%)
Dowd	4,824 (46%)	Hearnes	6,137 (60%)

CONCLUSION

St. Louis' large black community made it nearly impossible to hope for a close contest in this city in 1972, And, McGovern did in fact carry St. Louis comfortably. Though failing to make significant gains in the black community itself, the President made significant inroads into the previously Democratic German and Italian ethnic territory, as well as among blue collar voters, while improving upon previous margins of victory in the few normally Republican areas of St. Louis.



Republican
National
Committee.

December 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT *ED*
RE: ELECTION '72: THE CITIES

Enclosed is a copy of the latest edition of the Political/Research Division's series on the 1972 elections in the big cities. The 1972 election returns have been analyzed in key demographic and voter bloc wards and precincts. If significant political boundary changes have not occurred, comparisons are made with 1968 election data. Where available, city-wide ward results have been provided.

/st
enc.

cc: Senator Bob Dole

**ELECTION
72**

Election Report

The Cities

Los Angeles

POLITICAL / RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

1972 ELECTION:

Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles, California, now the nation's third largest city, experienced a lower than usual turnout in 1972, with approximately 79% of the registered voters going to the polls. With 55% of the vote in Los Angeles County, the President made a significant improvement upon his 1968 showing when he carried the county with a plurality of 47.6%.

The following analysis compares the 1968 and 1972 races using results from five State Assembly Districts, whose boundaries have not changed since 1968, five key precincts used in a Los Angeles Times survey (November 10, 1972), and several bellweather Spanish-American precincts.

BLACK VOTERS

The President failed to make substantial gains among Los Angeles' black voters in 1972. Assembly District 55, which includes the Watts area of Los Angeles, gave the President only four percentage points more in 1972 than in 1968. Results were similar in Precinct 2010, a predominately black precinct in Los Angeles' Southside area. Their returns follow.

Assembly District 55

Nixon	8,788 (17%)	Nixon	6,692 (13%)
McGovern	40,465 (75%)	Humphrey	45,046 (84%)
		Wallace	1,459 (3%)

(All percentages are of total vote.)

Precinct 2010

Nixon	24 (7%)	Nixon	11 (3%)
McGovern	325 (93%)	Humphrey	378 (97%)

(Percentages are of major party vote, '68 Wallace figures not readily available.)

MEXICAN-AMERICAN VOTERS

The President's 1972 gains among Mexican-American voters were only marginal. Though running behind Humphrey's 1968 performance, McGovern still carried the Mexican-American vote. NBC estimated McGovern's statewide showing among this ethnic group at 74%. However, indications are that the President did

quite well among high income Mexican-Americans, who make up a small percentage of this ethnic group's vote. Assembly District 48 contains a large number of blue collar Mexican-Americans. The President pulled only four percentage points more of the vote in 1972 than in 1968 here. And in the predominately Chicano, East Side Los Angeles Precinct 1891, the totals conformed more closely to estimated state-wide figures.

Assembly District 48

Nixon	36,437 (46%)	Nixon	33,105 (42%)
McGovern	37,868 (48%)	Humphrey	39,846 (51%)
		Wallace	4,243 (5%)

(All percentages are of total vote.)

Precinct 1891

Nixon	84 (25%)	Nixon	44 (14%)
McGovern	247 (75%)	Humphrey	263 (86%)

(Percentages are of major party vote. Wallace '68 totals not readily available.)

A look at this year's vote among Mexican-Americans of varying economic status reveals the President's appeal to this ethnic group's higher income voters:

	Precinct 2720	Precinct 923	Precinct 24
Nixon	51 (20%)	138 (36%)	335 (70%)
McGovern	204 (78%)	241 (62%)	135 (28%)
%Mex.-Am.	86%	85%	74%
Av. Income	\$5102	\$6382	\$11,293

(All vote percentages are of total vote. Third row has percentage of precinct's Mexican-American population.)

JEWISH VOTERS

Though McGovern carried the Jewish vote in both Los Angeles and California as a whole, an NBC survey indicates that he fell 13 points behind Hubert Humphrey's 1968 Jewish vote. At the same time, state-wide, the President picked up 14 points among Jewish voters. Assembly District 61 has a large population and Precinct 1461 in Los Angeles' West Side is predominately Jewish. Their vote is listed below.

Assembly District 61

Nixon	38,486 (39%)	Nixon	28,385 (31%)
McGovern	55,246 (56%)	Humphrey	59,581 (65%)
		Wallace	2,590 (3%)

(All percentages are of total vote.)

Precinct 1461

Nixon	121 (32%)	Nixon	50 (13%)
McGovern	253 (68%)	Humphrey	350 (87%)

(All percentages are of major party vote. Wallace '68 figures are not readily available.)

BLUE COLLAR VOTERS

Some of the most impressive gains made by the President in 1972 were among blue collar voters who rejected the candidacy of George McGovern. Assembly District 45 is a blue collar area carried by Humphrey in 1968. This year, the President carried it with 54% of the vote. And in Precinct 18, a low-income, blue collar neighborhood, the President scored a dramatic twenty-three percentage point increase over 1968. The totals follow.

Assembly District 45

Nixon	41,275 (54%)	Nixon	34,493 (46%)
McGovern	31,294 (41%)	Humphrey	37,018 (49%)
		Wallace	4,043 (5%)

(All percentages are of total vote.)

Precinct 18

Nixon	141 (49%)	Nixon	80 (26%)
McGovern	135 (47%)	Humphrey	154 (49%)
Schmitz	14 (5%)	Wallace	78 (25%)

(All percentages are for top three party vote.)

EASTERN-EUROPEAN ETHNIC VOTERS

Assembly District 68 is situated in the San Pedro area of the Los Angeles harbor. It is a mixed district of Eastern European ethnics with some blacks. This year, the President, improving twelve percentage points upon his 1968 vote, carried the District, further evidence of increased appeal among ethnic groups. Vote totals follow.

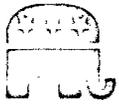
Assembly District 68

Nixon	42,308 (54%)	Nixon	28,715 (42%)
McGovern	31,471 (40%)	Humphrey	32,779 (48%)
		Wallace	6,243 (9%)

(All percentages are of total vote.)

CONCLUSION

Los Angeles County returns indicate an improved showing by the President over his 1968 race in virtually every socio-economic segment of the population. While gains among blacks were mostly negligible, solid improvement among blue collar whites was evident. The President also fared better among such ethnic groups as Mexican-Americans, Eastern Europeans, and Jews, though no sweeping realignment of party preference was exhibited by these groups, who reverted back to their normally Democratic habits in other races.



Republican
National
Committee.

NOVEMBER 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT 
RE: 'ELECTION '72: POLL REPORT

The Election '72 Poll Report is the first in a series of studies that the RNC Political/Research Division will publish on post-election political surveys.

Our initial report analyzes Voter Turnout, Support for President Nixon among key vote-blocs and the accuracy with which this year's polls predicted the outcome of the presidential election.

Many national political surveys are still in the field. Subsequent reports will be issued as information becomes available.

/st
attachment
cc: Senator Bob Dole



Election Report

The Polls

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
 POLL REPORT

VOTER
 TURNOUT

A record turnout of 77 million people cast their ballots in November, 1972, a figure considerably lower than the expected turnout of 84 million voters. The 56 percent of the voting age population who voted indicated a continuing decline since 1960 in voter participation and was the lowest national voting average since 1948.

Presidential Turnout

1948 - 1972

	1972	1968	1964	1960	1956	1952	1948
Numbers in Thousands	76,116	73,211	70,645	68,838	62,027	61,551	48,794
Percentage	56	61.8	62.9	64	60.1	62.6	51.3

The following factors may be considered major reasons for low voter turnout:

- A. Voter apathy
- B. Watergate and related issues
- C. Low turnout among youth

Apathy

Voter apathy was indicated in pre-election Gallup and Harris polls. These organizations cite various reasons for apathy including:

- A. Little enthusiasm was generated by either the personality or issues raised by the major party candidates.
- B. Voters felt that President Nixon had the election sewed up.

In fact, the Harris Survey of October 10 reported that only 82 percent of those considered "likely" to vote would actually do so on November 7 and that these "certain" voters would aid the President.

Watergate, Etc.

Although the Harris Survey of October 19 indicates that 62 percent of the electorate had dismissed the Watergate issue as "mostly politics", the final pre-election survey by Albert Sindlinger predicted that this issue and other morality-in-government questions would hinder turnout, especially among traditional Republicans and independents who were "considering" voting for President Nixon.

The Sindlinger survey for October 31-November 2 showed a projected 76.6 million voters indicating that they would "positively" vote while 6.87 million said they were only "considering" it. By November 5, only a projected 69.1 million voters were "positively" voting while the number of those only "considering" voting had increased to 15 million. Of the eight million voters shifting their position, 5.5 million had favored President Nixon and their number one reason for shifting from "positively" to "considering" voting was the Watergate and related issues. Mr. Sindlinger compares this switching of seven million voters to the slippage in turnout from the 84 million expected to the 77 million who actually voted.

Youth

The anticipated high turnout among "first-time voters" never materialized. Historically only 50% of the under 30 voter actually vote. In 1972 this statistic was confirmed when only 12 million of the 25 million first-time voters turned out to vote.

NIXON
McGOVERN
SUPPORT

The Nixon Vote

As indicated by the major political polls, President Nixon managed to obtain the support of most of the major demographic voter groups including traditional Democratic groups. He also won a much stronger support from every segment of the electorate than he had in 1968.

The CBS Election Day Survey of 17,405 voters as they left their polling places indicates the following support for the President:

- Catholics, for the first time in U.S. history, voted for a Republican presidential candidate. President Nixon received 56 percent of the Catholic vote with Senator McGovern receiving 33 percent. In 1968, 59 percent of Catholics voted Democratic.

- Blue collar workers favored President Nixon by 59 percent; whereas 56 percent voted for Senator Humphrey in 1968.
- Italians voted 65-35 percent for President Nixon, an increase of 25 points since 1968.
- The farm belt voted for the President by 62-38 percent.
- Sixty-two percent of white-collar voters supported the President.
- Middle-income voters (\$7000-\$15,000 a year) went 61 percent for President Nixon.
- Republicans gave 90 percent of their votes to the President and 59 percent of independent voters supported him.
- Seventy-five percent of those who supported Governor Wallace in 1968 voted for President Nixon in 1972.

The McGovern Vote

Those groups which supported Senator McGovern are as follows:

- Blacks who traditionally vote Democratic gave less of their vote to Senator McGovern than any other Democrat. Nationally, blacks chose McGovern over the President by 82-17 percent. However, blacks in rural areas and small towns gave the President 31 percent of their vote, those living in mixed suburbs gave 34 percent of their support to President Nixon; those living in mixed areas in the city, 18 percent and those living in ghettos, only 6 percent.
- Young voters, aged 18 to 24, voted for Senator McGovern by only 50 to 48 percent; not the 2-to-1 margin expected by McGovernites.
- Those who are unemployed supported McGovern by a slight margin also -- 50 to 47 percent.
- Approximately 65 percent of the Jewish vote went to Senator McGovern.
- People who live in large cities supported McGovern by 61 percent; whereas, all other community groups supported President Nixon by more than 50 percent.

ACCURACY
OF THE
POLLS

With the total vote count almost complete and the results showing President Nixon winning by 61 to 38 percent, the accuracy of the major polls has been confirmed.

- The final Gallup finding was 62 to 38 percent;
- The Harris finding was 61 to 39 percent;
- The Times/Yankelovich survey in the 16 largest states found a 60 to 40 margin in those states. The estimated total result in those states was 60 to 38.
- The California Poll, conducted by Mervin Field Research, Inc., found a Nixon lead of 14 points -- 49 to 35. The results confirmed that margin 57 to 43.
- The Massachusetts Poll, conducted by Becker Research Corp., found a 10-point lead for Senator McGovern 49 to 39 percent. The final result maintained the 10-point margin -- 55 to 45.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6

November 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI
SUBJECT: Popular Vote

	<u>U. S.</u>	<u>Calif.</u>	<u>South*</u>
% of population over 18 who voted	55	58.43	48.33
% of population over 18 who registered	72.23	70.83	68.8
% of population registered who voted	71.3	82.5	64.05

*South = Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky,
Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina,
Tennessee, Virginia.

Popular vote -- RN: 60.93%; McGovern: 37.67%; Schmidt: 1.38%.

Changes from table that ran in November 9 WASHINGTON STAR --

1. Ohio -- 100% of vote:

RN-- 2,426,048; McG -- 1,546,959; Schmidt -- 80,766.

2. Texas -- 99% of vote:

RN-- 2,272,656; McG -- 1,146,470.

New total vote: 75,663,560.