

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	4	11/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Election '72 Election Report: The Cities - Minneapolis-St. Paul RE: 1972 Election information on Minneapolis-St.Paul, Minnesota, from the RNC Research Division. 9pgs
41	4	11/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: The Cities, the latest edition of the Political/Research Division's series on the 1972 elections in the big cities. 1pg
41	4	11/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: The Cities. "Election '72: Election Report: The Cities - Houston" attached. 8pgs
41	4	11/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Election '72: The Cities. "Election '72: Election Report: The Cities - Pittsburgh" attached. 7pgs
41	4	11/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Election '72 Election Report: The Cities - Milwaukee RE: 1972 Election information on Milwaukee, Wisconsin, from the RNC Research Division. 4pgs
41	4	11/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt Re: Election '72: The Cities. The initial studies of the presidential vote in four of the nation's largest cities: Boston, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. 31pgs

<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	4	11/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: Precinct Report. 1972 Presidential election results for over 40 selected precincts around the country report attached. 3pgs
41	4	11/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan From: Ed DeBolt RE: State House report reviewing Republican fortunes in elections. "Election '72: Election Report: The Statehouses" attached. 14pgs
41	4	11/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan and Bruce Kehrli From: Ed DeBolt RE: GOP Turnout Analysis, preliminary analysis of the approximate number of GOP voters turning out and participating in 1972 election. Analysis and handwritten notes attached. 6pgs
41	4	11/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Larry Higby From: Gordon Strachan RE: re-typed version of most recent voter figures, as well as additional information on the key counties. Election report results attached. 10pgs
41	4	11/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Gordon Strachan and Bruce Kehrli From: Ed DeBolt RE: Response to request for follow-up percentages of eligible voters in 50 states and selected counties. Election Results and Registration Profiles attached. 22pgs
41	4	11/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Bruce Kehrli From: Ed DeBolt RE: Presidential Election Returns - for all states and key counties. 1972 Election Results - Key Counties attached. 15pgs

<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	4	12/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	To: Robert M. Smalley From: Robert C. Odle, Jr. RE: bill about filming Presidential spots being paid by Senate candidates and not charged against the White House's account at the Committee. 1pg
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Report including State, Candidates, Total Turnout, Voting Age Population, Total Registered Voters, % Turnout of Registered Voters, % Turnout of Voting Age Population. 2pgs
41	4	11/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Chart of Percentages of Votes for President. Includes States, % of Precinct, % of Votes for Nixon, % of Votes for McGovern, % of Votes for Schmitz, and Date of Certification. 2pgs
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Chart of Percentages of Votes for President. Includes States, % of Precinct, % of Votes for Nixon, % of Votes for McGovern, % of Votes for Schmitz, and Date of Certification. 2pgs
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	1972 Election Report: Aggregate Report on the top 15 SMSA's - New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington DC, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Houston, Newark, Minneapolis, Dallas. 5pgs
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	1972 Election Report: Aggregate Report on the top 15 SMSA's - New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington DC, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Houston, Newark, Minneapolis, Dallas. 5pgs

<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	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes from Haldeman. 1pg
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes by Haldeman RE: Jack Saloma - Political Science at MIT. 1pg
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes from Haldeman RE: Teeter; including voter turnout and post-election surveys. 6pgs
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes from Haldeman RE: post election. 2pgs
41	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten note to Strachan (author unk) RE: action memos requesting a complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election. Drafts of memos attached. 3pgs
41	4	11/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Action Memo To: Higby From: HRH RE: Report on the California voter turnout percentage vs the national percentage, as well as Republican vote turnout throughout country and South vs. the rest of the country. 1pg
41	4	11/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Bob Haldeman From: Charlie McWhorter RE: Post Election Comments. 2pgs
41	4	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	To: Gordon Strachan From: Dwight L. Chapin RE: Congratulating Strachan on a job well done in his work on the President's re-election effort. 1pg

<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	4	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Donald Dwight and Mrs. Charles Malone From: Richard Nixon RE: Their work in the re-election effort in Massachusetts, despite Massachusetts not coming in the Presidential winner column. 1pg
41	4	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Otto A. Wahlrab From: Richard Nixon RE: Thanking Wahlrab for work in the Presidential election in Massachusetts, despite Massachusetts not showing up in the winner column. 1pg
41	4	11/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	To: The President From: Maurice H. Stans RE: Preliminary report on the fund-raising efforts in the Presidential campaign. 2pgs
41	4	11/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Patrick J. Buchanan From: Ken Khachigian RE: Analysis of Why McGovern Lost. 14pgs

**ELECTION
72**

Election Report

The Cities

Minneapolis-St. Paul

POLITICAL / RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman,

ELECTION '72

BIG CITIES REPORT

Minneapolis--St. Paul

Introduction

Minneapolis--St. Paul, or the "Twin Cities" as they are popularly known contain nearly half the population of the state of Minnesota. The area is Democratic but not the state's strongest Democratic area, which is the north country, particularly Duluth and the iron bearing Mesabi Range.

Minneapolis was settled by Swedes. Their descendents are still spread throughout the city. Swedish and Norwegian stock account for 15% of the city's population compared to only 4% blacks. St. Paul, on the other hand, was settled by Irish and German Catholics and has always been slightly more Democratic than Minneapolis.

THE RESULTS--MINNEAPOLIS

1968

In Minneapolis in 1968 President Nixon lost the city to "favorite son" Hubert Humphrey by a plurality of 44,705.

Nixon	70,016	(36.1%)
Humphrey	114,721	(59.1%)
Wallace	8,455	(4.4%)
Other	977	(.4%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>194,169</u>	<u>(100.0%)</u>

1972

This year the plurality was cut to 24,309--a significant gain that aided the President in carrying the state.

Nixon	83,790	(42.8%)
McGovern	108,099	(55.2%)
Schmitz	2,948	(1.5%)
Other	999	(.5%)
<u>Total</u>	<u>195,836</u>	<u>(100.0%)</u>

WARD ANALYSIS

MIDDLE CLASS--TICKET SPLITTERS

President Nixon gained a good deal of ground in this year's race in essentially Middle to upper Middle class neighborhoods in Minneapolis with some history of selectivity in their voting habits. Two wards--the fourth and 13th illustrate the phenomenon. The President lost these two wards taken together by 4,744 (although he won the 13th by a small plurality) in 1968. This year, the two wards produced a 2,425 vote victory.

Fourth Ward

The fourth ward is located in the extreme northwestern end of the city. It contains a substantial number of city employees but tends to be rather a swing district with independent oriented voters. McGovern lost ground with these elements.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	7,075	(43.6%)	Nixon	4,754	(28.5%)
McGovern	8,712	(53.7%)	Humphrey	10,991	(65.8%)
Schmitz	368	(2.3%)	Wallace	930	(5.6%)
Other	62	(.4%)	Other	33	(.1%)
Total	16,217	(100.0%)	Total	16,708	(100.0%)

Thirteenth Ward

The 13th ward is located in the extreme southwestern end of the city. It borders on the very affluent suburb of Edina and is referred to by local "politicos" as a silk-stocking district. Nixon carried the ward in 1968 but substantially increased his margin this time.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	10,496	(57.5%)	Nixon	10,459	(52.2%)
McGovern	7,434	(40.8%)	Humphrey	8,966	(44.7%)
Schmitz	231	(1.3%)	Wallace	569	(2.8%)
Other	76	(.4%)	Other	50	(.3%)
Total	18,237	(100.0%)	Total	20,044	(100.0%)

YOUTH VOTE

Second Ward

The second ward, divided in half by the Mississippi River, is the site of the University of Minnesota and its environs. The ward contains a good number of students, faculty members and other "intelligentsia" elements. The McGovern campaign strategy had as one of its goals the accumulation of substantial majorities in areas such as this one. McGovern did do well but he only increased Hubert Humphrey's plurality by approximately 600 voters. This does not represent the type of gains McGovern needed to make his efforts with the youth vote worthwhile.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	5,624	(33.3%)	Nixon	4,799	(31.8%)
McGovern	11,013	(65.1%)	Humphrey	9,581	(63.6%)
Schmitz	170	(1.0%)	Wallace	471	(3.1%)
Other	97	(.6%)	Other	223	(1.5%)
Total	16,904	(100.0%)	Total	15,074	(100.0%)

BLACK VOTE

Fifth Ward

Minneapolis' black population is only 4% city-wide but for the most part it is concentrated in the 5th ward. This ward presents us with the best example we have city-wide of the black voter. The ward experienced a 6% decline in turnout from 1968's totals--following the pattern of many areas around the country with black voters. McGovern's plurality over the President was thus down somewhat from Humphrey's 1968 totals but for the most part the Democratic complexion of the ward remained the same.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	2,459	(24.1%)	Nixon	2,234	(20.5%)
McGovern	7,571	(74.1%)	Humphrey	8,065	(74.1%)
Schmitz	114	(1.2%)	Wallace	541	(5.0%)
Other	67	(.6%)	Other	49	(.4%)
Total	10,211	(100.0%)	Total	10,889	(100.0%)

II. THE RESULTS--ST. PAUL*

In St. Paul in 1968 President Nixon lost the city to Hubert Humphrey by a plurality of 47,068.

Nixon	37,446	(30.7%)
Humphrey	84,514	(69.3%)
Total	121,960	(100.0%)

This year the plurality was cut to 18,703.

Nixon	55,843	(42.8%)
Humphrey	74,546	(57.2%)
Total	130,389	(100.0%)

BLACK VOTE

Seventh Ward

St. Paul, like its twin Minneapolis does not have a large black population. Those black voters it does have are concentrated in the 7th ward which is located in the center of the city. This ward is known as the "Summit University" area. Nearly two-thirds of its residents are black. Turnout was fairly heavy here but President Nixon received a higher percentage of the overall vote.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	3,597	(36.4%)	Nixon	2,073	(31.6%)
McGovern	6,274	(63.6%)	Humphrey	4,490	(68.4%)
Total	9,871	(100.0%)	Total	6,563	(100.0%)

* Figures for both 1968 and 1972 are based on major party vote only.

GERMAN VOTE

Wards 8 and 9 are both in north-central St. Paul. They are heavily populated with German voters and have been strong DFL (Democratic-Farmer Labor Party) core areas for years. The President made significant gains in both.

Ward 8

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	2,624	(32.8%)	Nixon	1,531	(18.5%)
McGovern	5,380	(67.2%)	Humphrey	6,740	(81.5%)
Total	8,004	(100.0%)	Total	8,271	(100.0%)

Ward 9

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	988	(31%)	Nixon	517	(17.1%)
McGovern	2,199	(69%)	Humphrey	2,504	(82.9%)
Total	3,187	(100%)	Total	3,021	(100.0%)

CENTRAL EUROPEAN

Fifth Ward

The fifth ward of St. Paul is divided by west 7th Street--the city's "main drag." The area is lower middle income and is heavily populated by central European ethnic groups. They are essentially labor class people and thus provide an example of blue-collar voting habits also. (See following section on general working class, blue collar neighborhoods.) The President improved the percentage of his vote nicely in these areas.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	3,253	(39.9%)	Nixon	2,016	(21.8%)
McGovern	4,898	(60.1%)	Humphrey	7,234	(78.2%)
Total	8,151	(100.0%)	Total	9,250	(100.0%)

WORKING CLASS

The first and second wards are good examples of working class areas in St. Paul. The first ward is located in the northeast section of the city. The second ward is the whole east side of St. Paul. The second has been a DFL ward, but it is rather a "mixed bag!" The 3M Company is located in the 2nd ward and a good number of its employees live there although there has been in recent years an exodus to the suburbs. These blue collar workers, like their "brothers" across the country, defected in large numbers to the GOP.

First Ward

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	5,002	(42%)	Nixon	3,500	(30.6%)
McGovern	6,899	(58%)	Humphrey	7,939	(69.4%)
Total	11,901	(100%)	Total	11,439	(100.0%)

Second Ward

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	12,020	(44.0%)	Nixon	6,734	(27.9%)
McGovern	15,319	(56%)	Humphrey	17,427	(72.1%)
Total	27,319	(100.0%)	Total	24,161	(100.0%)

CONCLUSION

Even the Democratic balliwick of Minneapolis-St. Paul buckled somewhat under the pressure of President Nixon's "new majority." In some cases, however, it should be remembered that the 1968 results probably show a somewhat higher Democratic vote than normal because the state was voting for one of its own favorite sons. However, even considering an abnormally low Republican vote in 1968--the President's performance in 1972 among middle class, blue collar and ethnic voters is impressive, to say the least.

St. Paul Election Results

1968

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>
1	3,500 (30.6%)	7,939 (69.4%)
2	6,734 (27.9%)	17,427 (72.1%)
3	14 (34.1%)	27 (65.9%)
4	234 (39.8%)	354 (60.2%)
5	2,016 (21.8%)	7,234 (78.2%)
6	1,637 (24.7%)	4,987 (75.3%)
7	2,073 (31.6%)	4,490 (68.4%)
8	1,531 (18.5%)	6,740 (81.5%)
9	517 (17.1%)	2,504 (82.9%)
10	4,742 (38.3%)	7,638 (61.7%)
11	11,996 (39.1%)	18,714 (60.9%)
12	2,452 (27.5%)	6,460 (72.5%)
Total	37,446 (30.7%)	84,514 (69.3%)

1972

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>
1	5,002 (42.0%)	6,899 (58.0%)
2	12,020 (44.0%)	15,319 (56.0%)
3	12 (44.4%)	15 (55.6%)
4	417 (47.4%)	462 (52.6%)
5	3,253 (39.9%)	4,898 (60.1%)
6	2,431 (38.3%)	3,920 (61.7%)
7	3,597 (36.4%)	6,274 (63.6%)
8	2,624 (32.8%)	5,380 (67.2%)
9	988 (31.0%)	2,199 (69.0%)
10	6,147 (46.8%)	6,976 (53.2%)
11	15,642 (48.3%)	16,734 (51.7%)
12	3,710 (40.4%)	5,470 (59.6%)
Total	55,843 (42.8%)	74,546 (57.2%)

Minneapolis

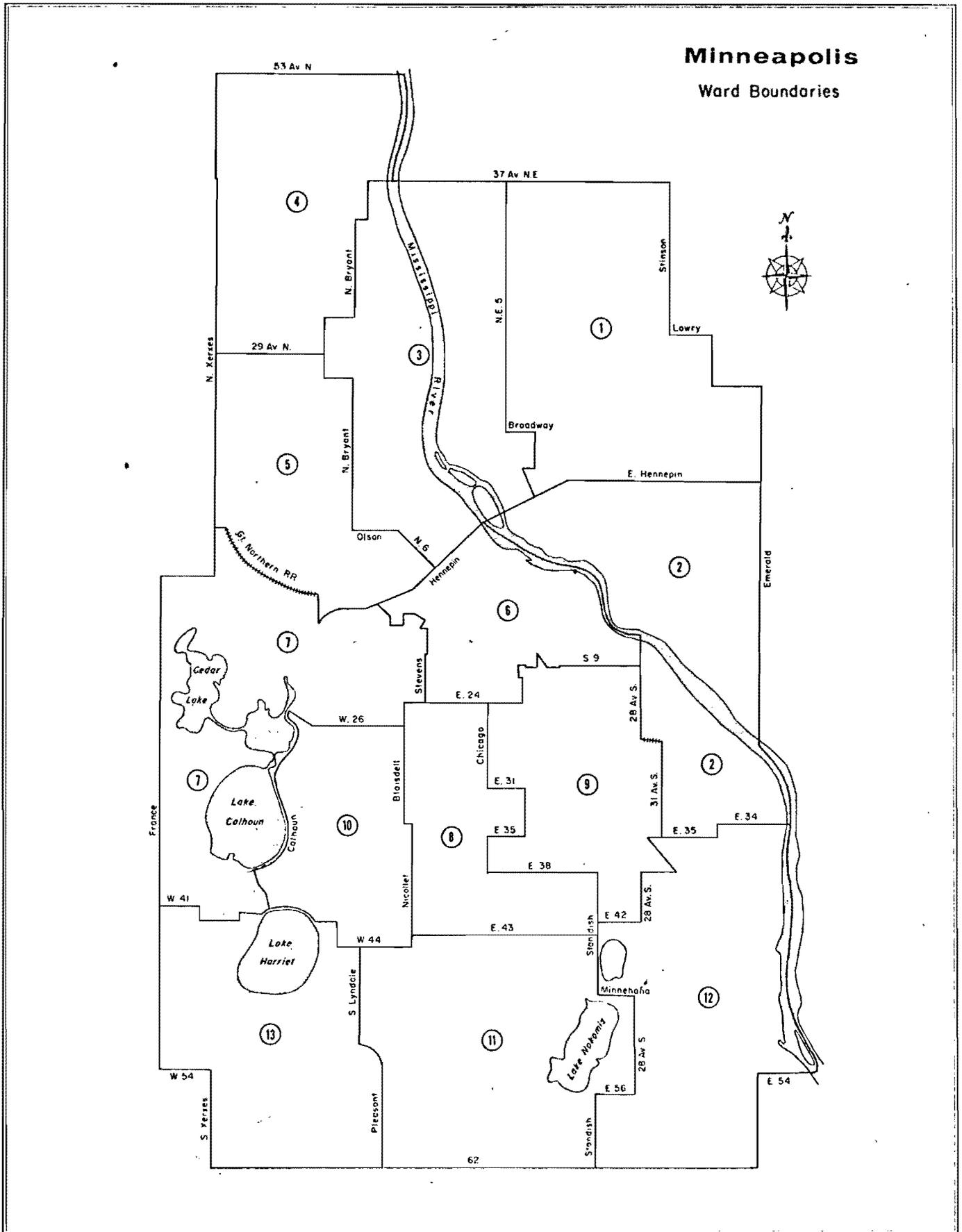
PRESIDENT 1968 *

1960 Census Population	Ward	Total Vote	Republican	Democratic	AIP	Other	Plurality	Percentage Total Vote		
								Rep.	Dem.	AIP
	WARD 1	16,121	4,407	10,731	935	48	6,324 D	27.3%	66.6%	5.8%
	WARD 2	15,074	4,799	9,581	471	223	4,782 D	31.8%	63.6%	3.1%
	WARD 3	10,042	1,974	7,353	675	40	5,379 D	19.7%	73.2%	6.7%
	WARD 4	16,708	4,754	10,991	930	33	6,237 D	28.5%	65.8%	5.6%
	WARD 5	10,869	2,234	8,005	541	49	5,831 D	20.5%	74.1%	5.0%
	WARD 6	8,003	2,682	4,846	333	142	2,164 D	33.5%	60.6%	4.2%
	WARD 7	16,400	7,549	8,286	543	88	737 D	45.8%	50.3%	3.3%
	WARD 8	13,331	4,628	8,026	614	63	3,398 D	34.7%	60.2%	4.6%
	WARD 9	13,570	4,060	8,750	676	84	4,684 D	29.9%	64.5%	5.0%
	WARD 10	16,190	6,652	8,795	701	48	2,143 D	41.1%	54.3%	4.3%
	WARD 11	20,024	9,771	9,562	637	54	209 R	48.8%	47.8%	3.2%
	WARD 12	17,695	6,041	10,769	830	55	4,728 D	34.1%	60.9%	4.7%
	WARD 13	20,044	10,459	8,966	569	50	1,493 R	52.2%	44.7%	2.8%
482,872	TOTAL	174,169	70,016	114,721	8,455	977	44,705 D	36.1%	59.1%	4.4%

President 1972

Wards	GOP	%	Dem.	%	Schmitz	%	Other	%
1	6,189	(40.1)	8,791	(57.0)	353	(2.3)	86	(.6)
2	5,624	(33.3)	11,013	(65.1)	170	(1.0)	97	(.6)
3	4,242	(36.0)	7,209	(61.2)	283	(2.4)	53	(.4)
4	7,075	(43.6)	8,712	(53.7)	368	(2.3)	62	(.4)
5	2,459	(24.1)	7,571	(74.1)	114	(1.2)	67	(.6)
6	4,516	(37.9)	7,171	(60.1)	138	(1.2)	101	(.8)
7	7,687	(44.7)	9,235	(53.7)	169	(1.0)	97	(.6)
8	5,355	(39.0)	8,151	(59.3)	141	(1.0)	90	(.7)
9	4,791	(36.2)	8,154	(61.6)	205	(1.6)	80	(.6)
10	6,998	(45.3)	8,156	(53.0)	204	(1.3)	57	(.4)
11	9,926	(54.3)	8,047	(44.0)	233	(1.3)	75	(.4)
12	8,432	(48.8)	8,455	(48.9)	339	(2.0)	58	(.3)
13	10,496	(57.5)	7,434	(40.8)	231	(1.3)	76	(.4)
Total	83,790	(42.8)	108,099	(55.2)	2,948	(1.5)	999	(.5)

* 1968 results are from America Votes #8 Scammon





Republican
National
Committee.

November 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: •

ED DeBOLT *Ed*

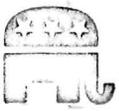
RE:

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



Republican
National
Committee.

November 29, 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.

/jg
enc.

cc: Senator Bob Dole



Election Report

The Cities

Houston

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
BIG CITIES REPORT
Houston, Texas

Introduction

Houston, the fastest growing major city in the country, now ranks sixth in population among the nation's cities. Indicative of its size and growth, Houston is:

- the nation's largest refining center and manufacturing and distribution center of petroleum equipment;
- the home of two major airports and the nation's third largest seaport;
- the home of 14 colleges and numerous cultural attractions;
- the site of the Texas Medical Center that includes 22 institutions within its complex.

Although the President handily carried Harris county, where Houston is located, with over 60 percent of the vote, the 1972 election was a disappointment to Houston Republicans in one aspect--Houston recorded its lowest voter turnout since 1948. Overall turnout was approximately 69 percent. While Republican areas in the region turned out in higher numbers, as usual, their participation was down 8-10 percent over previous years. The following analysis uses precincts that have maintained substantially the same boundaries over the past four years. The totals used in addition to the President's 1968 and 1972 races are the 1972 Tower-Sanders senatorial race, the 1972 Grover-Briscoe gubernatorial race, and the 1970 Bush-Bentsen senatorial race.

THE BLACK VOTE

Approximately 25 percent of urban Houston is black. In 1972, the black vote was solidly Democratic as usual. The following are vote totals for precincts 48 and 159--both of which are nearly 100 percent black precincts.

Precinct 48

Nixon	23	(3%)	Nixon	5	(1%)
McGovern	719	(97%)	Humphrey	829	(99%)
			Wallace	0	(0%)
			Grover Briscoe	22 697	(3%) (97%)
Tower Sanders	19 707	(3%) (97%)	Bush Bentsen	55 523	(10%) (90%)

Precinct 159

Nixon	24	(3%)	Nixon	20	(1%)
McGovern	883	(97%)	Humphrey	1,295	(98%)
			Wallace	4	(---)
			Grover Briscoe	25 841	(3%) (97%)
Tower	23	(3%)	Bush	127	(15%)
Sanders	855	(97%)	Bentsen	707	(85%)

As the returns indicate, no appreciable gains were made by the President in 1972 in Houston's black precincts over the 1968 race. Returns indicate heavy straight-ticket voting given the constant 3 percent showing by all state-wide Republican candidates in 1972.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN VOTE

Though Houston does not contain the large Mexican-American community found in cities such as San Antonio, approximately 10-12 percent of its inhabitants are of Mexican-American heritage. Precincts 44 and 46 contain large numbers of Mexican-Americans. Their election returns follow:

Precinct 44

Nixon	219	(32%)	Nixon	105	(16%)
McGovern	463	(68%)	Humphrey	477	(73%)
			Wallace	73	(11%)
			Grover Briscoe Muniz	140 310 193	(21%) (47%) (29%)
Tower	158	(24%)	Bush	126	(31%)
Sanders	389	(60%)	Bentsen	276	(69%)

Precinct 46

Nixon	362	(33%)	Nixon	169	(17%)
McGovern	738	(67%)	Humphrey	707	(71%)
			Wallace	125	(12%)
			Grover Briscoe Muniz	258 568 232	(24%) (53%) (22%)
Tower	183	(18%)	Bush	288	(36%)
Sanders	700	(68%)	Bentsen	518	(64%)

(Note: Muniz was the 1972 gubernatorial candidate on the La Raza Unida Party ticket, whose main appeal was to Spanish-speaking voters.)

Though the President clearly made a better showing in these precincts in 1972 than he did in 1968, part of his increased total must necessarily be attributed to the Wallace vote. That the gains were not as large as hoped

for was indicated by Harris County Republicans who believe very few substantial gains were made among Houston's Mexican-American voters by the Republican Party.

THE JEWISH VOTE

Large numbers of affluent Jewish voters are situated in southwest Houston, where several of the large synagogues are located. Precincts 176 and 281, whose vote totals are below, both contain large numbers of Jewish people.

Precinct 176

Nixon	1,246	(79%)	Nixon	1,539	(67%)
McGovern	333	(21%)	Humphrey	622	(27%)
			Wallace	147	(6%)
			Grover Briscoe	1,121 380	(71%) (24%)
Tower	1,061	(67%)	Bush	1,062	(78%)
Sanders	512	(32%)	Bentsen	303	(22%)

Precinct 281

Nixon	2,087	(80%)	Nixon	1,513	(64%)
McGovern	519	(20%)	Humphrey	709	(30%)
			Wallace	126	(5%)
			Grover Briscoe	1,757 709	(68%) (28%)
Tower	1,689	(65%)	Bush	1,634	(73%)
Sanders	889	(34%)	Bentsen	606	(27%)

Though there are many non-Jewish voters in these precincts, the large Republican majorities should not be misleading. In the past, Houston's Jewish voters have been good to the Republican Party, unlike their counterparts in other large U.S. cities. Evidence suggests that while no massive realignment occurred in Houston, the Jewish vote was higher than ever for the Republican Party.

THE BLUE COLLAR VOTE

Precinct 266 is just north of the Houston Ship Canal in a heavily industrial section of Harris County. In 1972, the President handily carried this precinct, having run third in 1968. Precinct 266 returns follow.

Nixon	1,338	(68%)	Nixon	585	(27%)
McGovern	601	(31%)	Humphrey	692	(32%)
			Wallace	899	(41%)
			Grover	1,041	(54%)
			Briscoe	879	(45%)
Tower	890	(46%)	Bush	704	(49%)
Sanders	1,028	(54%)	Bentsen	728	(51%)

THE YOUTH VOTE

Unlike their Boston counterparts, Texas youth took a relatively dim view of George McGovern. Though McGovern actually improved upon Humphrey's 1968 showings in Precinct 40 (Rice University) and Precinct 38 (in the vicinity of the University of St. Thomas), the President led the entire Republican ticket in both precincts. Their vote follows.

Precinct 40

Nixon	1,130	(60%)	Nixon	582	(58%)
McGovern	749	(40%)	Humphrey	344	(34%)
			Wallace	80	(8%)
			Grover	1,010	(55%)
			Briscoe	578	(32%)
Tower	963	(52%)	Bush	604	(74%)
Sanders	858	(46%)	Bentsen	212	(26%)

Precinct 38

Nixon	834	(58%)	Nixon	628	(52%)
McGovern	596	(42%)	Humphrey	399	(33%)
			Wallace	180	(15%)
			Grover	776	(55%)
			Briscoe	453	(32%)
Tower	696	(49%)	Bush	657	(69%)
Sanders	677	(48%)	Bentsen	299	(31%)

LOWER-INCOME WHITE VOTERS

Precinct 162, a lower income white precinct, gave the President an impressive 63% of its vote this year, compared to his 27% showing in 1968. The results suggest that the voters here could not take McGovern's liberal views on such issues as welfare, even though McGovern's fellow Democrat, Barefoot Sanders, carried the precinct by 60%.

Precinct 162

Nixon	686	(63%)	Nixon	523	(27%)
McGovern	397	(37%)	Humphrey	747	(38%)
			Wallace	689	(35%)

		Grover	545 (51%)		
		Briscoe	514 (48%)		
Tower	417 (40%)			Bush	587 (46%)
Sanders	626 (60%)			Bentsen	698 (54%)

UPPER-INCOME WHITE VOTERS

The affluent white neighborhoods of Houston, usually generous to Republican candidates, outdid themselves in 1972. Precinct 217, adjacent to western Houston's Buffalo Bayou, is indicative of the President's massive support among these voters.

Precinct 217

Nixon	1,259 (90%)	Nixon	1,016 (81%)
McGovern	140 (10%)	Humphrey	170 (14%)
		Wallace	61 (5%)
		Grover	969 (70%)
		Briscoe	397 (28%)
Tower	1,126 (80%)	Bush	931 (76%)
Sanders	275 (20%)	Bentsen	293 (24%)

CONCLUSION

Results from the above precincts and the survey (see below) based on election returns from key precincts in Harris County reveal that:

- the President led other Republicans on the ticket among young voters, Mexican-American voters, affluent, middle income, and lower income whites;
- none of the Republican candidates did exceptionally well among black voters;
- the President scored a particularly heavy success among white labor voters by running almost 10-20 points ahead of the gubernatorial and senatorial candidates.

Voter Analysis

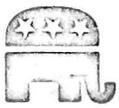
President

U.S. Senate

	QUALIFIED	VOTED	MCGOVERN	NIXON	JENNESS	SANDERS	TOWER	LEONARD	AMAYA
YOUTH	31384	20605-65.6%	6839-33.7%	13382-65.9%	64- 0.3%	8875-44.1%	10877-54.1%	143- 0.7%	198- 0.9%
WHITE LABOR	10104	6769-66.9%	1972-29.8%	4621-70.0%	7- 0.1%	3106-47.1%	3417-51.8%	23- 0.3%	38- 0.5%
BLACK	20847	12606-60.4%	11621-95.5%	510- 4.1%	26- 0.2%	11040-95.2%	421- 3.6%	60- 0.5%	66- 0.5%
MEXICAN-AMERICAN	13779	6909-50.1%	4621-69.2%	2024-30.3%	24- 0.3%	4264-68.2%	1239-19.8%	49- 0.7%	697-11.1%
MIDDLE INCOME WHITE	22426	16080-71.7%	2972-18.7%	12874-81.1%	14- 0.0%	3840-33.1%	7423-64.1%	27- 0.2%	278- 2.4%
AFFLUENT WHITE	19404	11910-61.3%	2949-25.2%	8707-74.5%	22- 0.1%	4010-55.5%	3039-42.1%	39- 0.5%	130- 1.8%
LOW INCOME WHITE	12319	7574-61.4%	3064-41.3%	4322-58.3%	15- 0.2%	5644-49.6%	5582-49.1%	53- 0.4%	81- 0.7%

Governor

	BRISCOE	GROVER	LEONARD	MUNIZ
YOUTH	6368-32.0%	11816-59.4%	573- 2.8%	1124- 5.6%
WHITE LABOR	2470-37.5%	3857-58.5%	87- 1.3%	168- 2.5%
BL/CK	10681-91.6%	644- 5.5%	98- 0.8%	236- 2.0%
MEXICAN-AMERICAN	3581-56.1%	1375-21.5%	93- 1.4%	1331-20.8%
MIDDLE INCOME WHITE	3739-24.0%	11275-72.4%	165- 1.0%	380- 2.4%
AFFLUENT WHITE	3554-30.8%	7253-62.9%	109- 0.9%	607- 5.2%
LOW INCOME WHITE	3528-47.3%	3543-47.5%	77- 1.0%	302- 4.0%



Republican
National
Committee.

November 28, 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 Report

The Cities

Pittsburgh

POLITICAL / RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
BIG CITIES REPORT
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Introduction

President Nixon became the first Republican President to carry Allegheny County in a Presidential race since Eisenhower accomplished the feat in 1956. The President's 89,000 vote majority (370,281 to 291,283) can be attributed to the fact that he kept his losses in the city of Pittsburgh to a minimum. The President lost Pittsburgh by a scant 14,699 votes as against a 81,196 deficit in the city four years ago.

The figures and percentages were:

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	89,769	46.2%	Nixon	57,681	25.8%
McGovern	104,468	53.8%	Humphrey	138,877	62.2%
<u>Total</u>	<u>194,237</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	Wallace	24,931	11.2%
			Other	1,721	.8%
			<u>Total</u>	<u>223,210</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

An analysis of the ward returns for both 1968 and 1972 show exactly what trends were at work in Pittsburgh to create the larger GOP vote this year.

The Black Vote--Third Ward

The third ward is part of Pittsburgh's inner city. It is located close to the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers or "Golden Triangle" area. Inner-city wards such as this one are continually losing population. George McGovern, as do most Democrats, carried the ward by a large margin, but voter turnout was down dramatically--by nearly 40%. This development in black areas of the city severely curtailed McGovern's victory margin in the city and doubled the President's percentage share of the vote.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	343	19.8%	Nixon	267	9.2%
McGovern	1,387	80.2%	Humphrey	2,593	89.8%
<u>Total</u>	<u>1,730</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	Wallace	19	.7%
			Other	8	.3%
			<u>Total</u>	<u>2,887</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Fifth Ward

This inner city ward showed the same trend at work--lower turnout nearly all at the expense of McGovern. Turnout in this ward was down by nearly 23%.

<u>1972</u>		
Nixon	991	13.6%
McGovern	6,318	86.4%
<u>Total</u>	<u>7,309</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	712	7.5%
Humphrey	8,626	91.0%
Wallace	72	.8%
Other	64	.7%
<u>Total</u>	<u>9,474</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Thirteenth Ward

The 13th ward (Homewood--Brushton) is another Black ward located on the extreme eastern edge of the city. The returns there confirm the universality of the low turnout trend of black voters in the city. Turnout was down by over 21%.

<u>1972</u>		
Nixon	870	13.4%
McGovern	5,609	86.6%
<u>Total</u>	<u>6,479</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	695	8.4%
Humphrey	7,352	89.3%
Wallace	123	1.5%
Other	62	.8%
<u>Total</u>	<u>8,232</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Polish--Hard Core Democrat.

In the 16th and 17th wards in the South Side, near the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation mill, President Nixon lost roughly by 4 to 1 in 1968. But in those Democratic bailiwicks this year he lost by only 1321 votes out of approximately 10,000 cast.

<u>Sixteenth Ward--1972</u>		
Nixon	2,465	41.6%
McGovern	3,457	58.4%
<u>Total</u>	<u>5,922</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

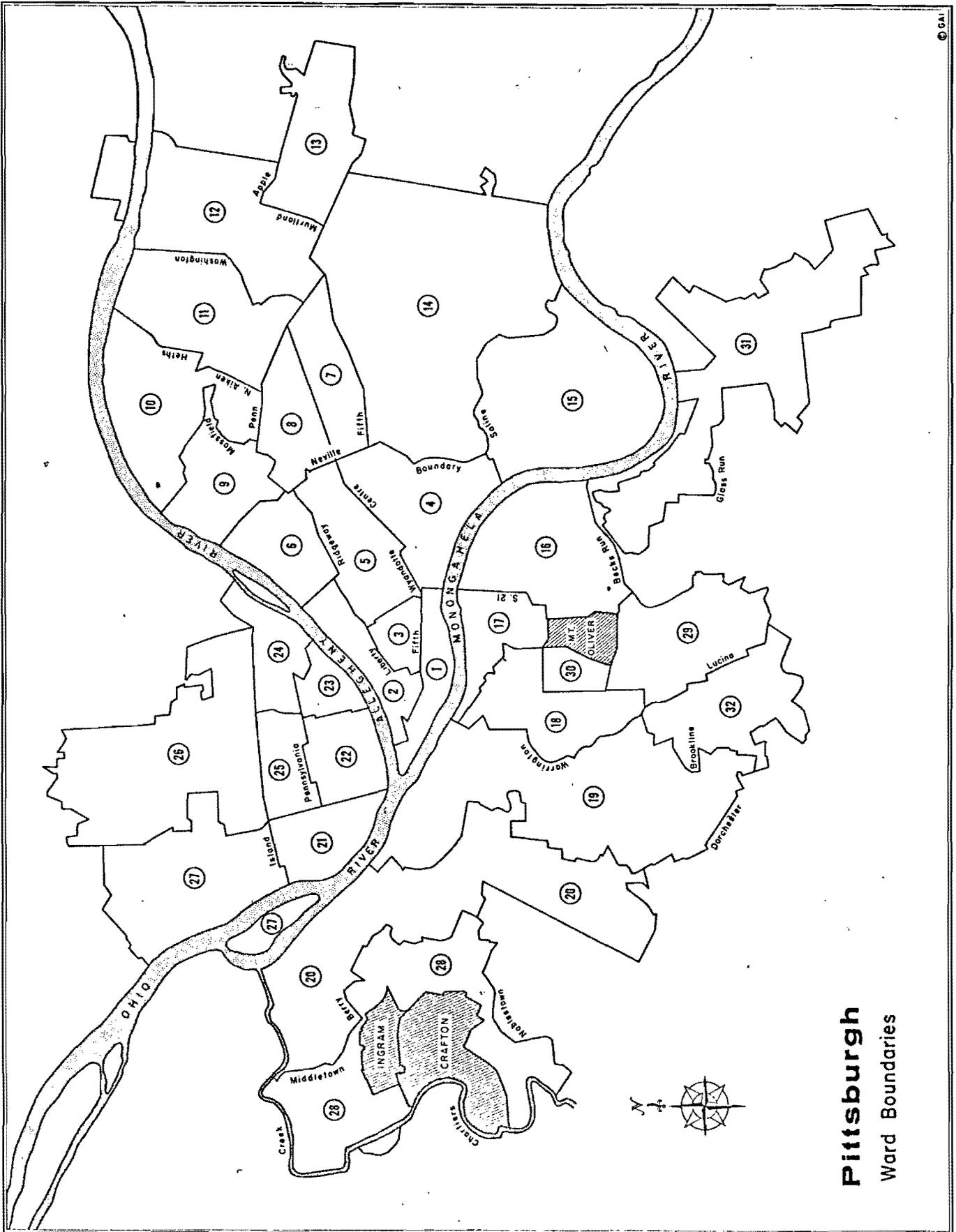
<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	1,114	15.6%
Humphrey	4,958	69.5%
Wallace	1,009	14.1%
Other	54	.8%
<u>Total</u>	<u>7,135</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Seventeenth Ward

<u>1972</u>		
Nixon	1,917	46.0%
McGovern	2,246	54.0%
<u>Total</u>	<u>4,163</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	733	14.5%
Humphrey	3,640	72.0%
Wallace	628	12.4%
Other	53	1.1%
<u>Total</u>	<u>5,054</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

The results in the 16th and 17th indicate widespread blue collar defections from the Democrats. No doubt symptomatic of the defection was the United Steel Workers Union and I.W. Abel who took a "neutral" stance at the top of the ticket. Other Democratic candidates with the active support of this union went on to win the election and scored well in traditionally Democratic areas like the 16th and 17th wards.



Pittsburgh
Ward Boundaries

Pittsburgh

PRESIDENT 1968

1960 Census Population	Ward	Total Vote	Republican	Democratic	AIP	Other	Plurality	Percentage Total Vote		
								Rep.	Dem.	AIP
6,155	WARD 1	1,470	273	1,020	169	16	747 D	18.5%	69.0%	11.4%
2,200	WARD 2	1,224	540	610	56	4	72 D	44.6%	50.5%	4.6%
10,143	WARD 3	2,867	267	2,593	19	8	2,326 D	9.2%	89.8%	.7%
26,477	WARD 4	8,781	2,463	5,601	617	100	3,138 D	28.0%	63.8%	7.0%
30,266	WARD 5	9,474	712	8,626	72	64	7,914 D	7.5%	91.0%	.8%
9,856	WARD 6	3,923	567	2,838	491	27	2,271 D	14.5%	72.3%	12.5%
18,177	WARD 7	8,069	3,074	3,920	445	100	316 D	44.7%	48.6%	5.5%
17,821	WARD 8	6,683	2,232	3,506	893	52	1,274 D	33.4%	52.5%	13.4%
13,679	WARD 9	5,677	958	3,865	802	52	2,907 D	16.9%	68.1%	14.1%
25,125	WARD 10	11,119	2,430	7,177	1,434	78	4,747 D	21.9%	64.5%	12.9%
23,432	WARD 11	8,663	2,805	4,947	849	62	2,142 D	32.4%	57.1%	9.8%
23,767	WARD 12	7,940	870	6,531	479	60	5,661 D	11.0%	82.3%	6.0%
26,923	WARD 13	8,232	695	7,352	123	62	6,657 D	8.4%	89.3%	1.5%
47,301	WARD 14	22,116	6,936	13,983	971	226	7,047 D	31.4%	63.2%	4.4%
29,946	WARD 15	10,297	2,036	6,658	1,516	87	4,622 D	19.8%	64.7%	14.7%
23,300	WARD 16	7,135	1,114	4,958	1,029	54	3,844 D	15.6%	69.5%	14.1%
13,011	WARD 17	5,054	733	3,640	628	53	2,907 D	14.5%	72.0%	12.4%
18,907	WARD 18	6,600	1,492	4,286	771	51	2,794 D	22.6%	64.9%	11.7%
47,187	WARD 19	19,065	6,076	10,096	2,780	113	4,020 D	31.9%	53.0%	14.6%
24,827	WARD 20	10,346	3,453	5,343	1,495	55	1,890 D	33.4%	51.6%	14.5%
15,458	WARD 21	2,640	379	1,964	264	33	1,585 D	14.4%	74.4%	10.0%
11,074	WARD 22	2,097	571	1,179	320	27	608 D	27.2%	56.2%	15.3%
10,038	WARD 23	2,802	667	1,613	497	25	946 D	23.8%	57.6%	17.7%
11,382	WARD 24	4,046	1,124	2,154	749	19	1,030 D	27.8%	53.2%	18.5%
14,298	WARD 25	3,934	775	2,624	500	35	1,849 D	19.7%	66.7%	12.7%
23,401	WARD 26	9,985	3,445	4,810	1,654	76	1,365 D	34.5%	48.2%	16.6%
23,485	WARD 27	9,021	2,958	4,327	1,679	57	1,369 D	32.8%	48.0%	18.6%
14,453	WARD 28	5,914	2,094	2,982	813	25	888 D	35.4%	50.4%	13.7%
16,604	WARD 29	7,342	2,191	4,014	1,099	38	1,823 D	29.8%	54.7%	15.0%
7,353	WARD 30	2,881	780	1,724	361	16	944 D	27.1%	59.8%	12.5%
8,055	WARD 31	3,459	1,010	1,792	635	22	782 D	29.2%	51.8%	18.4%
10,127	WARD 32	4,326	1,425	2,136	741	24	711 D	32.9%	49.4%	17.1%
604,332	TOTAL	223,210	57,681	138,877	24,931	1,721	81,196 D	25.8%	62.2%	11.2%

Source: America Votes No. 8, Scammon



Election Report

The Cities

Milwaukee

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
BIG CITIES REPORT
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Introduction

President Nixon lost Milwaukee to Senator McGovern but by a sharply reduced margin from the 1968 results. The President garnered 106,612 (42.4%) votes to McGovern's 145,024 (57.6%). The 1968 figures were Nixon 89,553 (34.9%), Humphrey 142,047 (55.4%), and Wallace 23,917 (9.3). A look at selected wards in the city show some of the trends at work.

Milwaukee, for the purposes of socio-political analysis has traditionally been divided by the Milwaukee River which bisects the city. Although Germans are scattered throughout the city, the north side is generally considered the German area while the south side has been the haven for Polish Americans. These Polish voters have been studied as representative of what is "happening" politically among "ethnics" since 1964 when they gave George Wallace a near majority in the presidential primary.

The cleavage in the city is best illustrated by the two Congressmen whose districts comprise part of Milwaukee. Congressman Zablocki, representing south Milwaukee, has tended to support the war under both the Johnson and Nixon administrations and has taken a hard line on crime. In 1970, the ADA gave him a rather low mark of 44.

His northern counterpart -- Henry Reuss -- is one of the most liberal members of the house in the tradition of "progressive" Wisconsin politics. The Congressman's ADA ratings range in the 85-100% area. They are an accurate reflection of the Congressman's performance.

Presidential Vote -- 1968-1972

Because of a change in ward boundaries between 1968 and 1972, comparisons are extremely difficult to make. Several wards have maintained, however, essentially the same population composition to make comparisons meaningful. What follows is a comparison of only those wards.

The Black Vote -- Ward One

Ward One in northeast Milwaukee has maintained its essential population composition as it had in 1968. It is for the most part a black ward although in the northern part of the ward the black percentage of the total population drops to as low as 20%.

	<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>	
Nixon	1,815	15%	Nixon	2,720	21.4%
McGovern	10,247	85%	HHH	9,248	72.6%
			Wallace	712	5.6%
			Other	58	.4%

Polish Vote--Eighth Ward

The Eighth Ward has maintained its essentially Polish composition since 1968 in spite of boundary changes. The returns show the Democrats maintaining the same percentage of votes as 1968 but a heavier turnout resulted in substantially more votes for President Nixon. In addition, the absence of Governor Wallace from the ballot apparently helped the President's vote.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	6,430	40.9%	Nixon	3,349	28.0%
McGovern	9,264	59.1%	HHH	7,153	59.7%
			Wallace	1,420	11.9%
			Other	55	.4%

Blue Collar--Twelfth Ward

The new and old 12th wards are substantially the same. The 12th is basically blue collar--low income, composed of varied ethnic groups including Spanish, Polish and Slavic derivative elements. Again the Democratic percentage of the vote remained the same, but the GOP percentage increased almost exactly by the percentage Wallace received in 1968.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	4,033	33.2%	Nixon	1,698	19.5%
McGovern	8,107	66.8%	HHH	5,852	67.2%
			Wallace	1,108	12.7%
			Other	49	.4%

Youth Vote--Third Ward

The 3rd Ward borders on Lake Michigan and is the home of the Milwaukee branch of the University of Wisconsin. The area is heavily populated with students, faculty members and provides a good indication of the college youth vote, if not, working class young. Over 5,000 more people voted this year in this ward and their votes apparently all went to Senator McGovern.

<u>1972</u>			<u>1968</u>		
Nixon	7,751	37.5%	Nixon	7,116	44.6
McGovern	12,917	62.5%	HHH	7,779	48.7
			Wallace	930	5.8
			Other	142	.9

Conclusion

The McGovern organization in Wisconsin was one of the best he had in the nation. In Milwaukee, gains among traditionally liberal elements of the voting population, helped the Senator actually receive more votes than Hubert Humphrey in 1968. However, because of GOP gains, possibly from Wallace voters of 1968 among others, McGovern's victory margin was sharply reduced from Humphrey's performance.

1972 Results--Milwaukee*

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total Vote</u>
1	1,815	(15.0)	10,247	(85.0)	12,062
2	8,656	(47.7)	9,482	(52.3)	18,138
3	7,751	(37.5)	12,917	(62.5)	20,668
4	4,053	(35.8)	7,279	(64.2)	11,332
5	12,963	(57.8)	9,459	(42.2)	22,422
6	1,710	(16.7)	8,530	(83.3)	10,240
7	3,923	(31.0)	8,741	(69.0)	12,664
8	6,430	(41.0)	9,264	(59.0)	15,694
9	7,415	(49.3)	7,623	(50.7)	15,038
10	3,904	(37.0)	6,637	(63.0)	10,541
11	9,123	(49.4)	9,334	(50.6)	18,457
12	4,033	(33.2)	8,107	(66.8)	12,140
13	7,965	(45.0)	9,754	(55.0)	17,719
14	7,768	(42.0)	10,708	(58.0)	18,476
15	9,940	(55.5)	7,974	(44.5)	17,914
16	<u>9,163</u>	<u>(50.5)</u>	<u>8,968</u>	<u>(49.5)</u>	<u>18,131</u>
	106,612	(42.4)	145,024	(57.6)	251,636

* Figures include only major party vote



Republican
National
Committee.

November 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT 
RE: ELECTION '72: THE CITIES

Enclosed are initial studies of the presidential vote in four of the nation's largest cities: Boston, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

In each report, we have identified and analyzed the vote in key wards and precincts. In most cases, comparisons have been made with 1968 results. Where available, city-wide ward results for 1968 and 1972 have been provided.

/jg
enc.

cc: Senator Bob Dole



Election Report

The Cities

Boston

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72

BIG CITIES REPORT

Boston, Massachusetts

Introduction

The days of the late Mayor James Michael Curley are gone forever in Boston. Migration by Boston's renowned Irish from the core city, an increasing black population, and an incredible influx of voting college students who attend the 52 colleges and universities of the area have drastically altered the political composition of the city. These factors have not, however, changed its Democratic inclinations. The President did fare better in Boston in 1972 than he did in 1968. In 1968, he received 18.3% of the vote, but still lost all of Boston's twenty-two wards.

According to the United States Department of Commerce Bureau of Census, Boston is a younger, richer and better educated city than it was ten years ago. And, not surprisingly in light of the student population, Boston has a high mobility rate.

The following analysis gives an indication of the Boston vote in 1972. Ward boundaries have not changed in the last four years, facilitating comparison of voting statistics over several years. However, the obvious limitation should be recognized --- population shifts may alter the political behavior of a given ward from year to year.

THE BLACK VOTE

Ward 12, in the heart of the city, is predominately black. Based upon near complete returns appearing in the Boston Globe (all ward totals for this report are based upon Globe figures which are unofficial), Ward 12 results in 1972 were:

Nixon	571 (14%)	Brooke	3,112 (86%)
McGovern	3,618 (86%)	Droney	500 (14%)

Both the President and Senator Brooke bettered their previous showing in this ward for their last election. (Nixon-Humphrey figures are for 1968. Brooke-Peabody figures are for 1966).

Nixon	378 (6%)	Brooke	859 (85%)
Humphrey	5,524 (92%)	Peabody	5,021 (15%)

Even though both the President and Brooke did better than their previous race, neither indicates a substantial shift of Boston's black electorate to non-black Republican candidates.

THE ITALIAN VOTE

Ward 1 contains a large number of Italian voters. The 1972 results were:

Nixon	4,278 (31.5%)	Brooke	4,266 (41%)
McGovern	9,299 (68.5%)	Droney	6,180 (59%)

In previous races, Ward 1 voted:

Nixon	2,094 (15%)	Brooke	4,335 (37%)
Humphrey	11,129 (79%)	Droney	7,336 (63%)

Results reveal a two-fold increase in support for the President in 1972 over the 1968 election. That the President made significant inroads into the Italian ethnic vote as confirmed by the results in Precinct 1 of Ward 1, considered to be a bellweather precinct for middle income Italian voting behavior. The vote there was:

Nixon	277 (29.7%)
McGovern	652 (70.0%)

THE IRISH VOTE

Ward 13 is predominately Irish. In 1972, it voted:

Nixon	2,083 (32%)	Brooke	2,653 (50.5%)
McGovern	4,355 (68%)	Droney	2,607 (49.5%)

Both the President and Senator Brooke did significantly better in 1972 than in the prior races when they received:

Nixon	1,009 (13%)	Brooke	2,856 (37%)
Humphrey	6,378 (79%)	Peabody	4,773 (61%)

Glancing at three bellweather low to middle income Irish precincts in Ward 13 reveals the general accuracy of Ward 13 as an indication of Irish support:

	<u>Pct.7</u>	<u>Pct.8</u>	<u>Pct.9</u>
Nixon	287 (34%)	293 (32%)	305 (35%)
McGovern	541 (65%)	627 (68%)	565 (65%)

The lower ward percentage is probably due to an increase in Ward 13's black population.

THE YANKEE WASP VOTE AND YOUTH VOTE

Ward 5 has traditionally been a high income, Yankee WASP territory though some influx of students has been experienced in recent years. In 1972, Ward 5 voted:

Nixon	2,221 (31%)	Brooke	3,986 (71%)
McGovern	5,026 (69%)	Droney	1,610 (29%)

In previous races, Ward 5 voted:

Nixon	4,389 (39%)	Brooke	6,582 (72%)
Humphrey	6,681 (59%)	Droney	2,515 (28%)

McGovern's appeal to the liberal, affluent voter combined with strong Boston youth support is indicated here where the President actually ran behind his 1968 showing while Brooke remained relatively stable.

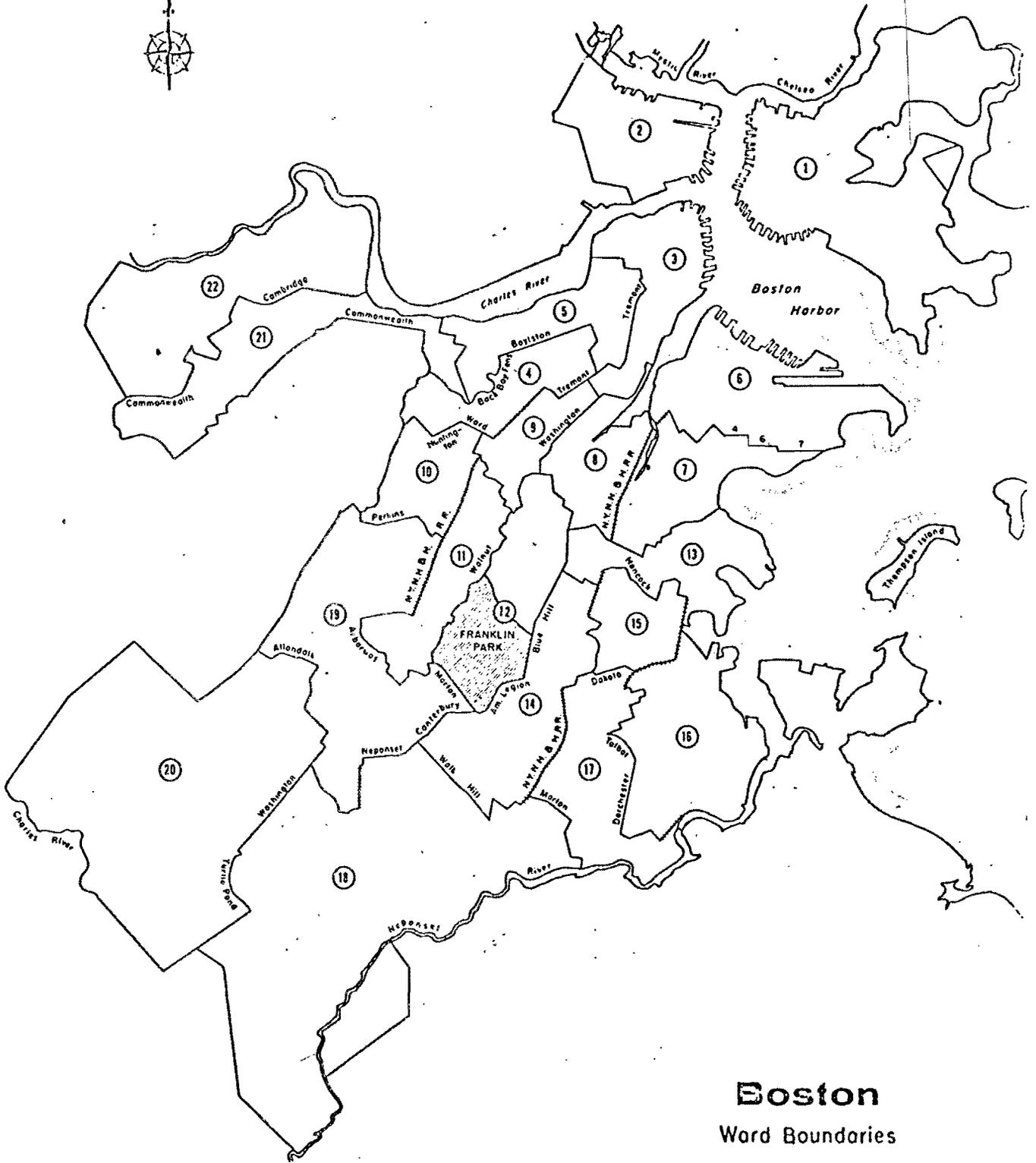
The lopsided nature of the youth vote was shown by the Boston Globe (November 8, 1972) which conducted a survey of two key precincts on the morning of the election. The Globe asked young voters their preference at the polls. In Ward 5, Precinct 10 where over half of the registered voters are 20 years of age or under, the Globe survey revealed:

Nixon	22 (10%)	Students	169 (75%)	18-21 yrs.	174 (71%)
McGovern	205 (90%)	Non-Students	56 (25%)	22-25 yrs.	70 (29%)

Conclusion

The results from Boston indicate two major reasons for McGovern's relatively good showing when compared to the rest of the country. First, traditional Democratic loyalties still steeped somewhat in the Camelot myth prevented landslide Democratic defections to the President. Second, and most important, a huge and overwhelmingly pro-McGovern student youth vote with its preoccupation on the Viet Nam issue saved McGovern the embarrassment of a much closer contest and, perhaps, a narrow defeat.

Among the Italian and Irish voters, the President improved significantly his showing over previous races, though still falling short of a majority. And among Boston's black voters, the President failed to make any large gains of consequence, even though Edward Brooke was carrying black precincts by enormous margins.



Boston
Ward Boundaries

PRESIDENT
Pct. Nixon (R) McGovern (D) Brooke (R) Droney (D)

WARD 1				
1	275	649	263	420
2	248	617	206	369
3	252	642	267	367
4	182	534	211	304
5	255	731	261	480
6	251	587	260	382
7	308	611	316	412
8	316	618	329	431
9	300	577	300	404
10	257	699	284	465
11	396	889	412	621
12	410	715	357	572
13	528	1045	575	658
14	300	385	225	295
Total	4278	9299	4266	6180

WARD 2				
1	180	323	174	272
2	229	619	354	369
3	360	689	316	592
4	321	621	284	508
5	310	665	277	551
6	275	484	257	480
7	196	390	168	332
Total	1871	3791	1830	3104

WARD 3				
1	381	642	393	342
2	380	554	318	308
3	400	498	337	330
4	518	527	340	323
6	466	740	656	362
7	278	458	356	228
8	254	282	304	150

WARD 4				
1	202	536	386	204
2	521	487	560	206
3	121	455	370	116
4	99	426	334	77
5	116	300	231	110
6	314	392	387	187
7	261	539	456	205
8	274	651	470	259
9	105	353	237	119
10	221	624	509	211

WARD 5				
2	428	921	722	383
3	431	814	834	251
4	347	1742	756	367
5	545	810	913	291
6	479	739	761	318

WARD 6				
1	201	336	179	227
2	211	448	215	297
3	232	422	204	313
4	249	389	200	294
5	257	389	223	267
6	358	519	286	405
7	332	540	276	419
8	380	556	317	433
9	420	653	359	544

WARD 7				
1	405	573	312	464
2	445	715	368	462
3	418	827	328	608
4	362	597	283	452
6	256	588	232	396
7	274	773	374	391
8	231	456	209	327
9	307	568	305	440
10	277	421	335	297
Total	3225	6007	2991	4189

WARD 8				
1	95	426	236	133
2	92	208	114	128
3	65	319	231	60
4	42	270	177	47
5	129	347	176	178
6	67	38	54	103
7	74	239	180	65

WARD 9				
1	79	206	117	93
2	79	339	245	71
4	55	308	240	53
5	84	527	379	101

WARD 10				
1	136	330	238	135
2	205	538	377	219
3	192	569	243	353
4	134	457	239	55
5	174	571	233	338
6	99	292	154	123
7	134	404	302	111
8	238	378	294	214
9	453	643	512	401

WARD 11				
1	84	229	171	86
2	45	434	314	61
3	62	507	412	65
4	166	323	239	161
5	222	452	354	203
6	158	310	159	202
7	248	467	319	276
8	291	512	298	349
9	201	419	179	313
10	288	589	306	375

WARD 12				
1	87	482	405	57
2	108	807	733	78
3	80	357	314	97
4	78	385	329	63
5	43	376	321	853
6	63	373	329	49
7	112	838	681	103

WARD 13				
1	71	356	228	104
2	45	146	93	68
3	122	419	319	141
4	148	252	170	150
6	296	551	357	367
7	287	541	273	389
8	284	617	271	442
9	305	565	326	329
10	525	908	616	566

WARD 14				
1	80	660	514	115
2	85	805	647	102
4	72	390	289	97
5	39	345	238	72

Boston Vote by Precincts

November 8, 1972

Boston Globe

Pct.	PRESIDENT		US SENATE	
	Nixon (R)	McGovern (D)	Brooke (R)	Droney (D)
6	51	451	347	67
7	49	439	342	62
8	61	362	291	71
9	33	259	265	57
11	20	321	236	33
12	28	212	170	331
13	39	304	227	58
14	42	436	340	55

WARD 15

1	222	478	297	325
3	141	317	179	217
4	396	671	384	539
5	253	519	298	365
6	160	283	151	214
7	216	528	245	408
8	203	296	192	234
9	234	403	228	389

WARD 16

1	295	430	282	365
2	203	372	218	270
3	318	616	314	419
4	319	687	333	596
5	346	623	348	508
6	375	734	445	539
7	365	706	372	591
8	423	524	384	484
9	475	806	469	668
10	329	577	309	471
11	439	716	415	609
12	252	455	265	353
Total	4139	7246	4154	5873

WARD 17

1	60	291	210	91
2	209	310	194	239
3	285	645	408	398
4	604	799	511	725
5	49	195	140	66
6	313	487	320	365
7	112	263	141	183
8	209	410	257	289
9	287	340	267	270
10	263	518	360	335
11	147	177	143	176
12	203	452	236	339
13	302	493	386	387
14	233	456	241	350
Total	3282	5836	3814	4213

WARD 18

1	380	926	431	614
2	141	535	339	223
3	181	577	443	307
4	451	778	502	517
5	447	619	438	472
6	493	674	505	493
7	330	561	315	418
8	686	988	685	677
9	305	444	304	353
10	610	765	586	588
11	324	676	437	397
12	442	643	442	426
13	261	327	252	253
14	295	324	292	240
15	393	553	427	378
16	589	600	536	483
17	541	777	471	638
19	490	869	454	446
20	503	905	541	638
21	429	795	479	435
22	534	746	509	601

WARD 19

1	262	398	269	253
2	810	714	774	528
3	241	339	265	235
4	295	129	333	269
5	313	407	358	243
6	338	549	363	363
7	296	677	387	487
8	268	428	302	289
9	260	348	294	219
10	394	694	418	483
11	309	483	360	375
12	301	509	306	390
13	251	432	285	290

WARD 20

2	450	594	506	419
3	498	516	474	393
4	423	488	449	358
5	494	709	540	508
6	556	700	572	515
7	326	541	347	388
8	356	532	271	406
9	499	571	520	382
10	630	699	637	510
11	348	410	395	272
13	347	492	341	377
15	548	708	536	533
16	702	878	698	670
17	655	841	646	641
18	329	529	410	320
19	391	558	427	387
20	591	841	719	531

WARD 21

1	214	607	407	163
2	101	629	302	260
3	220	654	450	274
4	200	543	349	246
5	211	685	392	318
6	263	490	356	290
7	233	607	370	395
8	264	720	444	332
9	300	842	553	477
10	310	716	472	361
12	243	549	389	260
13	289	881	540	413
14	145	507	337	196
15	224	551	405	203
16	285	539	398	302

WARD 22

1	301	678	411	419
2	271	670	339	437
3	373	780	497	496
4	279	536	362	356
5	193	440	261	270
6	158	480	244	314
7	329	724	447	400
8	361	792	625	401
9	271	729	481	403
10	333	729	423	495
11	225	495	293	352
12	289	626	296	496
13	200	177	230	361



Election Report

The Cities

Chicago

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
BIG CITIES REPORT

Chicago, Illinois

Introduction

Signs of erosions appeared in the Daley domain after this year's votes were counted in Chicago. Not only did President Nixon receive 43% of the Chicago vote (compared to his 1968 showing of 31,5%), but Daley favorite Edward V. Hanrahan lost his bid for reelection as State's Attorney for Cook County.

Until recently, the Daley machine has been able to exert tight control over Chicago's population, including large communities of blacks, Polish, Italians and Greeks. The extent to which Daley's control has eroded is revealed in the following analysis.

(Note: since the 1970 election, Chicago's ward boundaries have been withdrawn. Vote totals from 1972 wards are compared to totals from wards in the same area during the 1968 and 1970 elections.)

THE BLACK VOTE

Daley's major loss in Chicago came in black areas where State's Attorney Hanrahan's involvement in the case of the police slaying of two Black Panthers was extremely unpopular. Hanrahan lost ten of the black Southside wards to his Republican opponent Bernard Carey, as well as losing the heavily black 29th ward in west central Chicago.

In a race characterized by low voter turnout by blacks, the President was unable to make any significant inroads into black Democratic strength.

Ward 20

With 90 per cent of the precincts reporting, this ward, which is approximately 90% black, voted as follows:

Nixon	1,810 (9%)	Carey	9,316 (54%)
McGovern	17,844 (91%)	Hanrahan	7,830 (46%)
Ogilvie	3,032 (17%)	Percy	8,140 (45%)
Walker	14,961 (83%)	Pucinski	9,804 (55%)

In 1968, the vote in ward 20 was:

Nixon	1,585 (6%)
Humphrey	24,904 (94%)

Ward 24

Ward 24 is approximately 99% black. With 94 per cent of the precincts reporting, its 1972 vote was as follows:

Nixon	803 (5%)	Carey	5,891 (40%)
McGovern	15,711 (95%)	Hanrahan	8,925 (60%)
Ogilvie	1,266 (8%)	Percy	3,774 (24%)
Walker	14,222 (92%)	Pucinski	11,690 (76%)

In 1968, Ward 24 returns were:

Nixon	369 (2%)
Humphrey	16,498 (98%)

Ward 29

Ward 29 is 85-90 per cent black and, with approximately 85 per cent of the precincts reporting, the 1972 vote was:

Nixon	1,333 (9%)	Carey	6,774 (50.2%)
McGovern	13,542 (91%)	Hanrahan	6,719 (49.8%)
Ogilvie	1,950 (14%)	Percy	5,344 (38%)
Walker	12,050 (86%)	Pucinski	8,730 (62%)

In 1968, Ward 29 returns were:

Nixon	597 (3%)
Humphrey	19,570 (97%)

The voting was similar in every black ward of Chicago. The President trailed the ticket, while Carey made by far the strongest showing, winning eleven black wards, followed by Percy and Ogilvie. While the President's percentage of the vote was invariably better than his 1968 contest, it appears that low voter turnout decreased slightly the usually enormous Democratic margins in statewide races.

THE JEWISH VOTE

Wards 49 and 50 in the northernmost part of Chicago are 80-85 per cent Jewish. While Carey and Percy carried them, the President and Ogilvie lost them. However, the President and Governor Ogilvie overall improved their showing over previous elections.

Ward 49

Nixon	13,016 (41%)	Carey	18,258 (58%)
McGovern	18,871 (59%)	Hanrahan	12,996 (42%)
Ogilvie	12,312 (39%)	Percy	20,333 (65%)
Walker	19,292 (61%)	Pucinski	11,174 (35%)

(Based upon 90 per cent precincts reporting)

In 1968, the results were:

Nixon	16,603 (38%)
Humphrey	25,742 (59%)
Ogilvie	17,327 (40%)
Shapiro	25,897 (60%)

Ward 50

Nixon	13,624 (42%)	Carey	16,818 (51%)
McGovern	19,175 (58%)	Hanrahan	16,117 (49%)
Ogilvie	12,397 (35%)	Percy	19,634 (59%)
Walker	23,055 (65%)	Pucinski	13,547 (41%)

(Based upon 90 per cent precincts reporting)

While in 1968, the results were:

Nixon	13,618 (29%)
Humphrey	31,898 (68%)
Ogilvie	13,509 (29%)
Shapiro	32,711 (71%)

In those two Jewish wards, Ogilvie trailed the ticket. However, both Carey and Percy ran well ahead of the President. Results from Ward 50 support national indications of large scale defections by Jewish voters to the President.

THE POLISH VOTE

Chicago's Ward 35 is approximately 60 per cent Polish. In 1968, the President barely lost Ward 35. In 1972, the President handily defeated McGovern, indicating a significant gain for the President among this Eastern European ethnic group.

Ward 35

Based upon 87 per cent of the precincts reporting, the 1972 results were:

Nixon	16,563 (63%)	Carey	11,671 (45%)
McGovern	9,927 (37%)	Hanrahan	14,301 (55%)
Ogilvie	12,706 (48%)	Percy	12,249 (46%)
Walker	13,513 (52%)	Pucinski	14,249 (54%)

In 1968, Ward 35 voted:

Nixon	13,640 (45.0%)
Humphrey	13,706 (45.2%)

The President was the only Republican to carry Ward 35 in 1972 --- further testimony to the ethnic flight from George McGovern.

THE ITALIAN VOTE

Ward 25 is the home of Alderman Vito Marzullo, a Democrat who cast his first Republican vote this year for the President. The ward is approximately three-quarters Italian and, while Marzullo did not carry the ward for the President this year, the vote was far closer than 1968.

Ward 25

With 96 of the precincts reporting, the results were:

Nixon	7,120 (44%)	Carey	2,603 (26%)
McGovern	9,039 (56%)	Hanrahan	7,427 (74%)
			(60% returns)
Ogilvie	6,106 (39%)	Percy	4,362 (28%)
Walker	9,560 (61%)	Pucinski	11,004 (72%)

In 1968, Ward 25 results were:

Nixon	3,448 (16%)
Humphrey	16,547 (77%)

Once again, as in the Polish ward, the President led all other Republicans on the ticket, signalling a widespread attraction to the President by Italian voters.

THE BLUE COLLAR VOTE

Ward 10 is the home of much of Chicago's steel industry. As such, it is approximately 90 per cent blue collar with many union households. With almost 97 per cent of the precincts reporting, the President appears to have won the 10th Ward in 1972 --- an unprecedented showing considering his 30% of the vote there in 1968.

Ward 10

Nixon	13,675 (51%)	Carey	9,886 (38%)
McGovern	13,079 (49%)	Hanrahan	16,051 (62%)
Ogilvie	11,190 (43%)	Percy	12,562 (48%)
Walker	15,070 (57%)	Pucinski	13,560 (52%)

In 1968, Ward 10 voted:

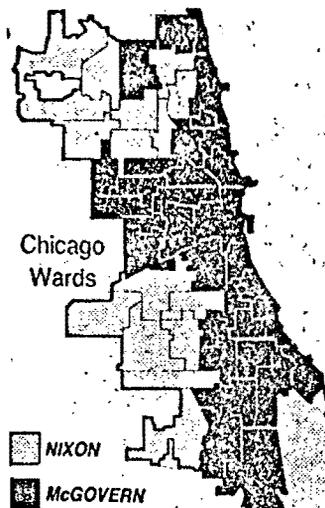
Nixon	9,742 (29.7%)
Humphrey	17,343 (52.8%)
Wallace	5,579 (17.0%)

Conclusion

The 1972 election returns from Chicago revealed real gains by the President over his 1968 vote among virtually every major ethnic group in the city, with the exception of black voters, among whom his showing was better in 1972 than in 1968, but still at the bottom of the ticket in a low turnout contest.

Contributing to the President's best showing in Chicago were the luke-warm support of Mayor Daley for George McGovern, a successful appeal to ethnic voters, and lower than usual turnout among key Democratic groups such as blacks. The local Hanrahan-Carey contest appears to have had little or no effect upon the Presidential race, or vice-versa, since Carey lost every ward but one that the President carried.

Additionally, McGovern did manage to maintain the lead in the liberal, affluent North Shore wards where Senator Percy did well. However, massive defections among blue collar voters contributed to exceptional support for the President in industrial areas such as the Tenth Ward.



Vote by Wards for President

Ward	McGovern	Nixon	Pcts. Pcts. In	
			Rpld.	Ward
1	10,359	5,726	42	47
2	16,489	1,870	51	56
3	13,770	1,110	44	54
4	17,026	2,340	56	61
5	19,933	4,058	55	63
6	19,504	2,091	62	74
7	13,687	7,018	55	64
8	20,187	2,715	56	69
9	11,920	9,090	53	57
10	13,079	13,675	60	62
11	15,084	11,007	67	75
12	10,888	16,748	63	69
13	10,194	23,108	72	78
14	9,986	12,654	54	62
15	10,900	14,023	64	69
16	15,011	1,023	48	54
17	18,496	1,185	54	57
18	13,649	15,917	65	69
19	9,706	22,694	65	71
20	17,844	1,810	60	67
21	19,882	2,163	54	68
22	11,336	7,825	53	58
23	10,344	21,937	66	66
24	15,711	803	51	54
25	9,039	7,120	46	48
26	12,697	7,168	50	53
27	10,767	21,104	41	52
28	12,223	1,019	39	46
29	13,542	1,333	41	48
30	9,980	13,811	62	70
31	10,460	5,845	40	54
32	12,083	8,009	53	55
33	9,718	10,532	52	56
34	20,478	3,067	56	59
35	9,927	16,563	69	79
36	10,757	21,976	74	82
37	12,632	10,143	61	69
38	10,650	20,665	67	71
39	12,729	9,328	70	74
40	13,398	15,389	68	72
41	11,203	27,445	78	80
42	13,730	10,454	53	64
43	16,950	13,775	64	73
44	13,190	11,490	59	64
45	11,554	22,953	74	77
46	13,069	9,946	54	54
47	1,437	16,056	66	69
48	11,977	11,251	52	59
49	18,871	13,016	69	70
50	19,175	13,224	78	87
TOTAL	677,631	505,703	2,936	3,339

Source: Chicago Tribune
11/9/72



Election Report

The Cities

Philadelphia

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72
BIG CITY REPORT

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Introduction

An indication of the size of President Nixon's election day victory can be illustrated by examining the ward returns in the city of Philadelphia. The President registered gains among many of the city's voting blocs. As a result President Nixon lost the city by only 89,000 votes compared to a 272,000 deficit in 1968.

The President's votes were drawn chiefly from Northeast and South Philadelphia, the areas that formed the base of Mayor Frank Rizzo's political strength. The President also carried several wards that Mayor Rizzo was not able to carry in 1971 -- ward 9 in Chestnut Hill for example and the 18th ward in Fishtown.

In Mayor Rizzo's home ward, the 50th, the President was defeated about two-to-one, but this was considerably better than his 1968 vote. The Mayor narrowly missed carrying his home ward in 1971.

What follows are some comparisons that clearly show the cleavage (that has developed in recent years) between black Philadelphians and the city's blue collar ethnic vote.

BLACK VOTERS

In 1971, Philadelphia's black voters deserted their normal Democratic voting habits and voted for liberal Republican Thatcher Longstreth. In 1972 black wards returned to their Democratic loyalties.

Ward 28, North Philadelphia, overwhelmingly black.

1972 Presidential race

Nixon	493	8.4%
McGovern	5,401	91.6

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	1,187	23.3%
Longstreth	3,901	76.7

1968 Presidential

Nixon	613	8.0%
Humphrey	6,980	91.1
Wallace	27	.4
Other	43	.5

Ward 3, West Philadelphia

1972 Presidential race

Nixon	1,072	11.3%
McGovern	8,382	88.7

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	1,831	20.4%
Longstreth	7,129	79.6

1968 Presidential

Nixon	1,332	11.4%
Humphrey	9,962	85.5
Wallace	241	2.1
Other	113	1.0

BLUE COLLAR

As was the trend across the country, numerous blue-collar areas of Philadelphia turned out election day majorities for the President. Ward 33 is a good example of the breakdown of Democratic loyalties among members of this voting bloc.

Ward 33, Kensington

1972 Presidential

Nixon	7,392	59.2%
McGovern	5,084	40.8

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	9,347	72.9%
Longstreth	3,470	27.1

1968 Presidential

Nixon	4,547	32.8%
Humphrey	7,355	53.1
Wallace	1,905	13.8
Other	38	.3

ITALIANS

In the city's Italian neighborhoods, President Nixon was able to win over 60% of the vote. Thacher Longstreth was barely able to garner 20% in most of these neighborhoods in 1971 on the GOP ticket. The President's vote was a considerable improvement over his 1968 totals which averaged about 37%.

Ward 39, South Philadelphia, Italian

1972 Presidential

Nixon	15,206	63.2%
McGovern	8,860	36.8

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	19,797	83.4%
Longstreth	3,930	16.6

1968 Presidential

Nixon	9,858	38.2%
Humphrey	12,280	47.6
Wallace	3,367	13.1
Other	77	1.1

JEWISH VOTERS

Two Jewish wards in the Oxford Circle area were the only wards to go for McGovern in northeast Philadelphia. However, their margins for the Senator were sharply reduced from the vote totals they gave Hubert Humphrey in 1968. Rizzo won the wards -- also by relatively small margins.

Ward 53, Northeast Philadelphia

1972 Presidential

Nixon	6,590	45.4%
McGovern	7,933	54.6

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	7,844	56.2%
Longstreth	6,110	43.8

1968 Presidential

Nixon	4,219	28.6%
Humphrey	9,776	66.3
Wallace	709	4.8
Other	46	.3

Ward 54, Northeast Philadelphia

1972 Presidential

Nixon	5,958	39.9%
McGovern	8,992	60.1

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	8,376	58.5%
Longstreth	5,943	41.5

1968 Presidential

Nixon	3,236	21.9%
Humphrey	10,956	74.1
Wallace	537	3.6
Other	57	.4

Ward 50, Mount Airy, Mayor Rizzo's Home Ward

1972 Presidential

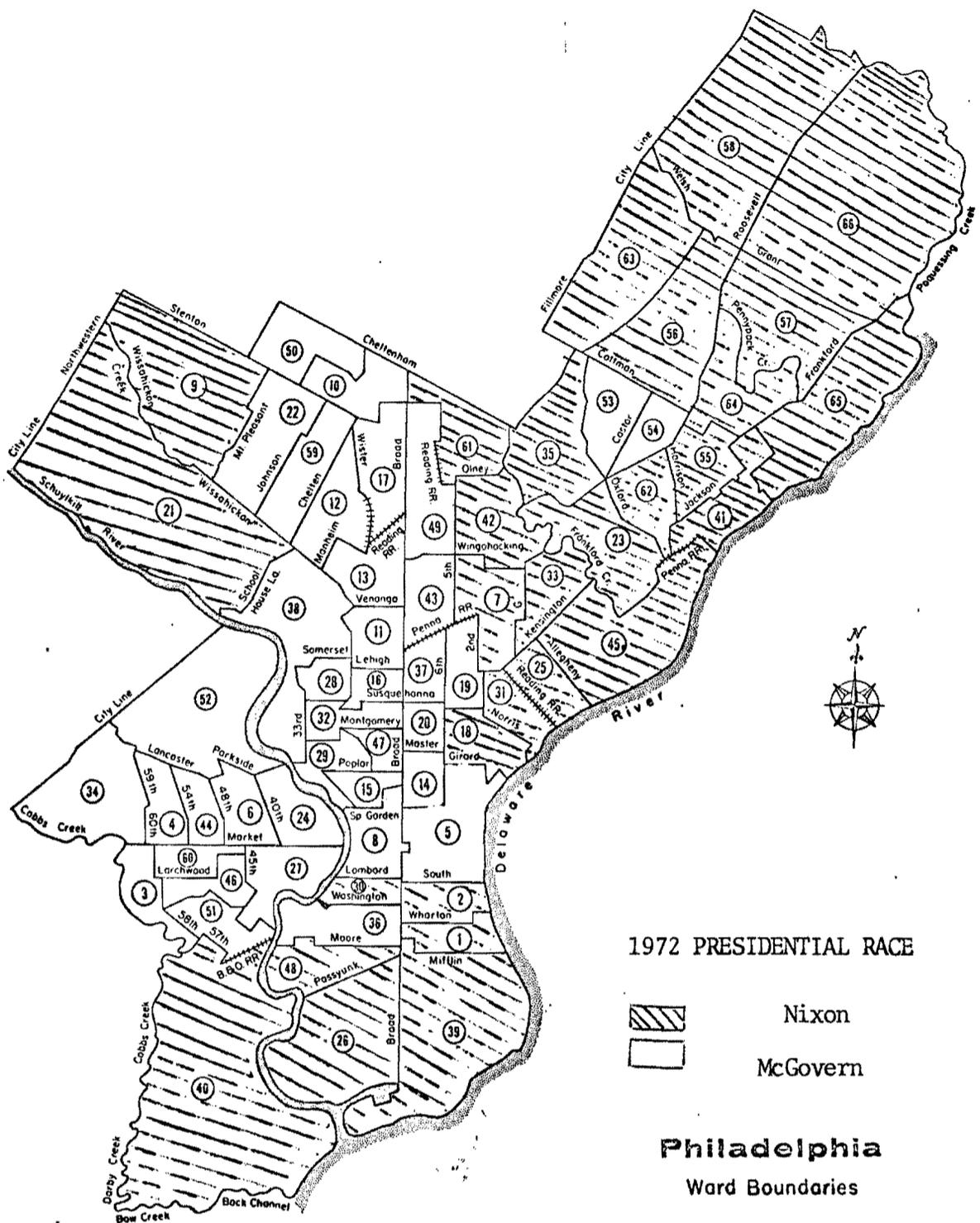
Nixon	4,112	29.3%
McGovern	9,920	70.7

1971 Mayoralty

Rizzo	6,086	44.0%
Longstreth	7,756	56.0

1968 Presidential

Nixon	4,731	26.8%
Humphrey	12,118	68.6
Wallace	690	3.9
Other	113	.7



1972 PRESIDENTIAL RACE

 Nixon
 McGovern

Philadelphia
Ward Boundaries

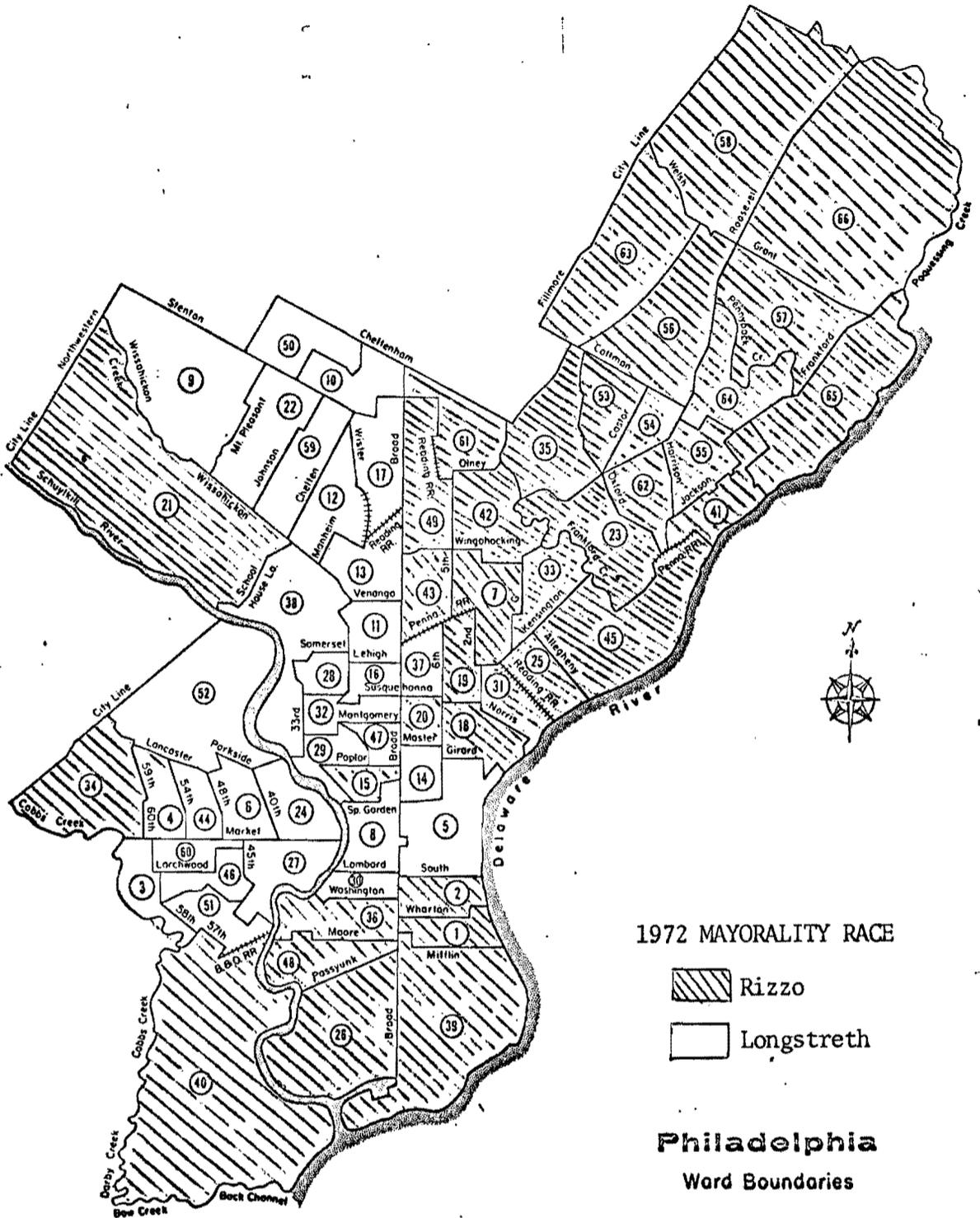
Please see next page for McGovern totals in Wards

60-66.

WARD	NIXON	McGOVERN	WARD	NIXON	McGOVERN	WARD	NIXON	McGOVERN
1	1,630	4,742	24	572	5,024	46	1,905	8,632
2	5,685	5,161	25	7,017	4,705	47	943	6,546
3	1,072	8,382	26	8,259	4,273	48	6,927	5,054
4	1,204	8,672	27	2,121	6,770	49	5,570	7,354
5	3,615	6,115	28	493	5,401	50	4,117	9,579
6	732	5,706	29	855	4,403	51	1,989	6,534
7	5,929	4,083	30	6,187	4,455	52	3,927	11,787
8	7,203	10,344	31	5,171	3,258	53	6,570	7,933
9	5,288	4,661	32	7,678	5,084	54	5,978	8,792
10	2,355	8,587	33	885	7,392	55	10,484	6,104
11	977	5,481	34	8246	13,168	56	10,323	9,572
12	3,034	6,854	35	11,348	6,025	57	9,156	6,278
13	2,234	6,263	36	4,812	13,515	58	12,763	9,371
14	528	2,578	37	792	4,374	59	2,763	7,621
15	4,797	5,850	38	2,263	4,882	60	912	7,271
16	690	4,004	39	15,706	8,850	61	9,335	6,317
17	2,077	8,511	40	12,219	9,311	62	9,127	5,727
18	4,056	2,891	41	7,309	6,405	63	7,956	5,641
19	2,116	3,180	42	8,508	4,675	64	6,073	3,711
20	515	2,518	43	3,774	5,594	65	5,790	3,951
21	14,924	7,838	44	1,171	5,775	66	15,714	7,892
22	2,888	10,539	45	7,518	5,311	TOTALS	343,066	427,110
23	6,885	5,066						

McGovern Totals for Wards 60-66

Ward	McGovern
60	7926
61	6332
62	5749
63	5042
64	3785
65	3921
66	7990
	<hr/>
	432,330



1972 MAYORALTY RACE

 Rizzo

 Longstreth

Philadelphia
Ward Boundaries

Philadelphia

PRESIDENT 1968

1960 Census Population	Ward	Total Vote	Republican	Democratic	AIP	Other	Plurality	Percentage Total Vote		
								Rep.	Dem.	AIP
WARD 1		11,055	5,132	5,127	1,426	170	5 R	43.3%	43.2%	12.0%
WARD 2		12,112	5,029	6,157	776	150	1,128 D	41.5%	50.8%	6.4%
WARD 3		11,048	1,332	9,962	241	113	8,630 D	11.4%	85.5%	2.1%
WARD 4		12,437	979	11,320	64	74	10,341 D	7.9%	91.0%	.5%
WARD 5		10,248	3,979	5,765	352	152	1,786 D	38.8%	56.3%	3.4%
WARD 6		9,048	712	8,252	35	49	7,540 D	7.9%	91.2%	.4%
WARD 7		11,024	3,705	6,228	1,798	43	2,473 D	31.8%	52.7%	15.2%
WARD 8		14,048	5,424	8,035	378	211	3,211 D	37.0%	59.0%	2.6%
WARD 9		9,720	4,908	4,443	311	66	465 R	50.5%	45.7%	3.2%
WARD 10		13,704	3,024	9,433	593	114	5,809 D	26.3%	68.5%	4.3%
WARD 11		8,951	1,554	7,017	397	73	5,463 D	17.4%	73.4%	3.4%
WARD 12		11,737	3,498	7,297	782	160	3,799 D	29.8%	62.2%	6.7%
WARD 13		10,079	2,570	7,132	875	102	4,562 D	24.1%	66.8%	8.2%
WARD 14		4,689	547	4,008	27	57	3,411 D	12.7%	85.5%	.6%
WARD 15		8,538	2,029	5,204	655	50	2,575 D	30.8%	61.0%	7.7%
WARD 16		7,697	457	7,198	13	29	6,741 D	5.9%	93.5%	.2%
WARD 17		12,919	2,132	10,288	375	74	8,106 D	16.9%	79.6%	2.9%
WARD 18		8,911	3,350	4,238	1,158	115	938 D	37.6%	48.1%	13.0%
WARD 19		7,635	2,047	4,721	816	51	2,674 D	26.8%	61.8%	10.7%
WARD 20		4,002	420	3,542	13	27	3,122 D	10.5%	88.5%	.3%
WARD 21		24,149	11,811	9,586	2,588	164	2,225 R	48.9%	39.7%	10.7%
WARD 22		14,707	3,110	11,159	258	180	8,049 D	21.1%	75.9%	1.8%
WARD 23		12,279	4,840	6,151	1,220	62	1,305 D	39.5%	50.1%	9.9%
WARD 24		8,915	698	6,038	23	156	5,340 D	10.1%	87.3%	.3%
WARD 25		12,224	3,904	6,607	1,671	42	2,703 D	31.9%	54.0%	13.7%
WARD 26		12,513	5,305	5,497	1,510	121	112 D	43.0%	43.9%	12.1%
WARD 27		7,010	2,000	4,686	193	123	2,678 D	28.6%	66.8%	2.8%
WARD 28		7,663	613	6,980	27	43	6,367 D	8.0%	91.1%	.4%
WARD 29		7,138	753	6,285	70	30	5,532 D	10.5%	88.0%	1.0%
WARD 30		7,930	1,132	6,581	96	121	5,449 D	14.3%	83.0%	1.2%
WARD 31		9,850	3,510	4,946	1,358	36	1,436 D	35.6%	50.2%	13.8%
WARD 32		12,792	1,001	11,575	18	138	10,514 D	8.3%	90.5%	.1%
WARD 33		13,845	4,547	7,355	1,905	38	2,808 D	32.8%	53.1%	13.8%
WARD 34		23,171	6,122	15,751	1,119	179	9,629 D	26.4%	68.0%	4.8%
WARD 35		18,109	7,836	8,066	2,163	44	230 D	43.3%	44.5%	11.9%
WARD 36		21,825	3,818	16,387	1,405	215	12,569 D	17.5%	75.1%	6.4%
WARD 37		7,939	1,238	6,407	222	72	5,169 D	15.6%	80.7%	2.8%
WARD 38		10,137	3,124	6,072	864	77	2,948 D	30.8%	59.9%	8.5%
WARD 39		25,781	9,898	12,280	3,367	276	2,422 D	38.2%	47.6%	13.1%
WARD 40		23,379	7,537	12,034	3,636	172	4,497 D	32.2%	51.5%	15.6%
WARD 41		12,854	4,834	6,258	1,728	34	1,424 D	37.6%	48.7%	13.4%
WARD 42		15,901	5,580	8,232	1,987	102	2,652 D	35.1%	51.8%	12.5%
WARD 43		11,865	3,492	6,895	1,352	126	3,403 D	29.4%	58.1%	11.4%
WARD 44		8,266	833	7,202	155	76	6,369 D	10.1%	87.1%	1.9%
WARD 45		13,460	4,547	6,891	1,976	46	2,344 D	33.8%	51.2%	14.7%
WARD 46		11,717	2,245	9,038	281	153	6,793 D	19.2%	77.1%	2.4%
WARD 47		6,185	470	5,687	6	22	5,217 D	7.6%	91.9%	.1%
WARD 48		13,139	5,019	6,433	1,553	134	1,414 D	38.2%	49.0%	11.8%
WARD 49		15,863	4,949	9,820	956	138	4,871 D	31.2%	61.9%	6.0%
WARD 50		17,052	4,731	12,118	690	113	7,387 D	26.8%	68.6%	3.9%
WARD 51		12,636	3,125	8,231	1,179	101	5,106 D	24.7%	65.1%	9.3%
WARD 52		17,032	3,147	13,535	254	116	10,388 D	18.5%	79.5%	1.4%
WARD 53		14,750	4,219	9,776	709	46	5,557 D	28.6%	66.3%	4.8%
WARD 54		14,786	3,236	10,956	537	57	7,720 D	21.9%	74.1%	3.6%
WARD 55		17,234	7,233	8,057	1,900	44	824 D	42.0%	46.8%	11.0%
WARD 56		20,904	6,691	12,472	1,165	76	5,781 C	32.6%	61.1%	5.7%
WARD 57		15,424	2,627	8,235	1,515	48	2,608 D	36.5%	53.4%	9.8%
WARD 58		16,250	7,603	9,189	1,324	54	1,506 C	42.0%	50.2%	7.2%
WARD 59		11,850	3,007	8,281	353	135	5,154 C	25.9%	65.7%	3.3%
WARD 60		11,330	450	10,223	74	83	5,273 C	8.4%	90.2%	.7%
WARD 61		16,525	7,010	8,036	1,428	51	1,026 D	42.4%	48.6%	8.6%
WARD 62		15,461	6,301	7,338	1,777	45	1,037 D	40.8%	47.5%	11.5%
WARD 63		13,174	5,781	6,424	909	60	643 D	43.9%	48.8%	6.9%
WARD 64		10,528	4,552	5,060	860	56	508 D	43.2%	48.1%	8.2%
WARD 65		10,062	3,492	5,171	1,324	75	1,679 D	34.7%	51.4%	13.2%
WARD 66		20,937	8,250	9,770	2,782	135	1,520 D	39.4%	46.7%	13.3%
2,002,512	TOTAL	850,117	254,153	525,768	63,506	6,690	271,615 D	29.9%	61.8%	7.5%

Source: America Votes #8, Scammon.



Election Report

The Cities

New York City

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

ELECTION '72

BIG CITIES REPORT

New York, New York

Introduction

An analysis of selected assembly districts indicates that the Nixon nationwide landslide reached even into the Democratic bastion of New York City. Although it was not enough to carry "Gotham," the GOP vote total continued to show Republican trends among several major voting blocks--notably New York's Catholic vote. Catholic Districts in Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island showed Nixon majorities ranging from 66.2% to 76.7%.

At the same time gains were made in traditionally Democratic areas. Some gains were registered among the city's black population while more significant gains were accomplished in Jewish areas. It is interesting to note that in several black areas of the city, the President's vote matched that of Senator Javits in his 1968 Senatorial race.

What follows is an analysis of the black, Catholic, Jewish, and silk-stocking voting districts of New York.

Note:

- All 1972 vote totals and percentages for President Nixon and Senator McGovern include the votes they received on the conservative and liberal tickets respectively. The 1972 figures do not include votes received by minor party candidates.
- The New York legislature redistricted itself in 1965, 1966, and twice since 1968. Comparisons have been made in only those Assembly Districts that retained a somewhat similar population composition as they had in the past, even though possessing different boundaries than before.

The Catholic Vote

The 1968, President Nixon's eighteen top assembly districts in New York City were predominantly Catholic districts. An examination of the President's performance in several of these districts indicate that the Catholic trend away from "liberal" Democrats to the GOP is continuing. It is interesting to note that in these Catholic Assembly Districts George Wallace ran as much as 5% ahead of his city-wide average in 1968.

(Catholic Vote cont'd.)

Assembly District	1972		1968		
	Nixon	McGovern	Nixon	HHH	Wallace
49th Brooklyn (Bay Bridge)	76.7%	23.3%	61%	32%	7%
50th Brooklyn (Bay Bridge)	73.9%	26.1%	60%	33%	7%
20th Queens (Cambria, Hollis, now the 23rd)	66.2%	33.8%	56%	36%	8%
61st Richmond (Staten Island was the 59th)	73.4%	26.6%	53%	38%	9%
25th Queens (Douglaston was the 22nd)	66.8%	33.2%	51%	44%	5%

The Black Vote

George McGovern and the Democratic Party continued their hold on black voters as evidenced by selected results in New York City. However, the GOP vote did increase by an average of 7% in these districts.

Assembly District	1972		1968		
	Nixon	McGovern	Nixon	HHH	Wallace
70th--South Harlem	16.9%	83.1%	10.9%	87.2%	.8%
72nd--Central Harlem	18.3%	81.7%	6.9%	91.3	.3%
78th--Crotona Park	13.7%	86.3%	8.7%	89.3%	.8%

The higher percentages received by the President almost match the black vote received by Senator Javits in his 1968 race.

<u>Assembly District</u>	<u>Javits, 1968*</u>	<u>Nixon 1972</u>
70	17%	16.9%
72	18%	18.3%
78	18%*	13.7%

* These totals do not include the small vote won by the Senator on the Liberal Party ticket

Jewish Vote

The districts below are heavily Jewish lower-middle and middle-income urban residential neighborhoods. However, these districts are undergoing change--becoming more Black and Puerto Rican--thus affecting year to year comparisons. Note, however, the rather constant increase in the Republican share of this vote.

Republican Share of the Total Vote for President

1964-1972

<u>Assembly District</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
76 Bronx (Morrisania--Tremont)	19%	22%	27.7%
61 Manhattan (Lower East Side-- now the 63rd A.D.)	17%	23%	32%
40 Brooklyn (East Flatbush-- Brownsville--East N.Y.)	8%	16%	24.9%
41 Brooklyn (Crown Heights-- East Flatbush)	18%	31%	51.1%
48 Brooklyn (Borough Park)	23%	32%	58.2%

Some selected precinct results in other Jewish areas reaffirm an increasing willingness to vote for the GOP.

Assembly District 27, precinct 24--Middle-income-Jewish

Nixon	330	56.7%
McGovern	250	42.9%
Other	2	.4%
Total	582	100%

Assembly District 47 precinct 8--Jewish

Nixon	302	42.7%
McGovern	406	57.3%
Other	0	0
Total	708	100%

Silk Stocking Analysis

Kevin Phillips attempted to show in his "Emerging Republican Majority" a trend away from the GOP in so-called silk-stocking Districts in the North-east United States. However, an examination of the 66th Assembly District which includes Park and Fifth Avenues shows a steady increase of the GOP share of the vote from the low point reached in 1964.

Assembly District	<u>1968</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1972</u>
26th--Manhattan	57%	28%	38%	48%

President Nixon's share of the vote in the 66th equaled his city-wide average of 48.4% of the vote although the vote for the President did not reach the % he garnered against JFK in 1960.

The City Vote for President—Complete

		MANHATTAN			McGovern		
		Nixon		Total	McGovern		Total
* A.D.		Rep.	Con.		Dem.	Lib.	
62	Lower Manhattan- Part Richmond	7,068	585	7,653	8,746	723	9,469
63	Lower East Side	9,053	862	9,915	19,371	1,655	21,026
64	Greenwich Village-West Side	15,554	1,617	17,171	35,270	3,907	39,177
65	East Side-Gramercy Park-UN	23,589	2,708	26,297	29,904	3,575	33,479
66	East, West Midtown	25,162	1,924	27,086	26,930	3,025	29,955
67	West Side-Lincoln Center	14,584	1,295	15,879	20,403	2,650	32,053
68	Yorkville-East Harlem	18,153	1,681	19,834	24,841	2,316	27,157
69	West Side (82-109)	10,157	942	11,099	33,660	3,728	37,388
70	South Harlem	4,025	374	4,399	20,440	1,143	21,583
71	West Side Fort Washington	8,765	878	9,643	24,104	2,297	26,401
72	Central Harlem	4,729	479	5,208	21,989	1,233	23,222
73	Washington Heights-Inwood	18,452	2,738	21,190	21,883	2,055	23,938
74	Upper Harlem- City College	3,136	357	3,493	27,156	1,532	28,688
Totals		163,427	16,440	179,867	323,997	29,850	353,847
McGovern's majority, 173,980.							

		BROOKLYN			McGovern		
		Nixon		Total	McGovern		Total
* A.D.		Rep.	Con.		Dem.	Lib.	
38	East New York—Part in Queens	9,458	1,432	10,890	4,357	296	4,653
39	Flatlands-Canarsie-East New York	10,891	2,558	13,449	21,786	1,369	23,155
40	East Flatbush-Brownsville- East N. Y.	3,300	935	4,235	11,979	730	12,709
41	Crown Heights-East Flatbush	18,127	3,491	21,618	19,249	1,323	20,572
42	Midwood-Sheepshead Bay	27,598	4,066	31,664	21,079	1,656	22,735
43	Flatbush-Midwood	14,459	1,634	16,093	20,388	1,568	21,956
44	Flatbush-Parkville	18,509	1,707	20,216	23,223	1,874	25,097
45	Sheepshead Bay-Neck Road	21,402	2,078	23,480	32,026	2,545	34,571
46	Coney Island-Sea Gate	18,586	1,538	20,124	26,251	1,887	28,138
47	Bensonhurst-Bath Beach	23,668	2,297	25,965	19,050	1,336	20,386
48	Borough Park	23,597	2,278	25,875	17,371	1,397	18,768
49	Fort Hamilton-Bay Ridge	31,303	2,661	33,964	9,722	560	10,282
50	Bay Ridge-Borough Park	28,610	3,031	31,641	10,604	567	11,171
51	South Brooklyn-Bay Ridge	22,345	2,303	24,648	12,909	845	13,754
52	Brooklyn Heights-South Brooklyn	14,512	1,580	16,092	16,089	1,467	17,556
53	Bedford Stuyvesant-Crown Heights	2,842	259	3,101	16,220	1,486	17,706
54	Bushwick-Brownsville	2,142	227	2,369	11,183	976	12,159
55	Bedford Stuyvesant-Bushwick	2,238	211	2,449	13,939	1,118	15,057
56	Bedford Stuyvesant	2,674	251	2,925	16,646	1,267	17,913
57	South Williamsburg-Fort Greene	7,845	930	8,775	12,770	2,329	15,099
58	Greenpoint-Williamsburg	15,795	1,916	17,711	8,232	2,252	10,484
59	Ridgewood-Bushwick	6,608	699	7,307	9,210	1,439	10,649
Totals		335,809	38,022	373,831	353,685	30,187	383,872
McGovern's majority, 19,141							

New York, New York
Page 5

* A.D. - Assembly District

THE BRONX

* A.D.	Nixon			McGovern		Total
	Rep.	Con.	Total	Dem.	Lib.	
75 Mott Haven-South Bronx	5,647	602	6,249	15,567	1,096	16,663
76 Morrisania-Tremont	7,340	637	8,027	19,671	1,247	20,918
77 Lower Bronx-Hunts Point	3,893	450	3,843	15,005	814	15,819
78 Crotona Park-Southern Boulevard	2,239	223	2,467	14,761	749	15,510
79 West Farms	2,854	260	3,114	12,773	698	13,471
80 City Island-Morris Park	30,807	5,608	36,415	9,489	757	10,246
81 Pelham Parkway-Co-op City	23,460	2,867	26,327	39,482	3,175	42,657
82 University Heights-Kingsbridge	13,264	2,375	15,639	16,621	1,211	17,832
83 Bedford Park	23,763	3,880	27,642	21,854	1,793	23,647
84 Highbridge-Riverdale	14,343	2,581	16,924	24,924	2,480	27,404
85 Parkchester-Pelham	20,164	3,836	24,000	20,400	1,393	21,793
86 Riverdale-North Bronx	23,107	3,687	26,794	18,426	1,371	19,797
Totals	170,380	27,061	197,441	228,973	16,784	245,757
McGovern's majority, 48,316						

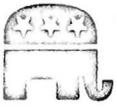
QUEENS

* A.D.	Nixon			McGovern		Total
	Rep.	Con.	Total	Dem.	Lib.	
22 Rockaway-Rosedale	19,079	3,058	22,137	19,659	1,652	21,311
23 Jamaica-Flayside	26,280	4,849	31,229	14,371	1,549	15,920
24 Douglaston-Little Neck	21,238	2,753	23,991	29,377	3,529	32,906
25 Little Neck-Bayside	30,501	6,186	36,687	16,380	1,848	18,228
26 College Point-Whitestone	22,501	3,379	25,970	24,390	2,696	27,086
27 Jamaica-St. Albans	18,012	2,449	20,461	24,189	2,525	26,714
28 Flushing-Forest Hills	21,247	2,531	23,778	29,242	2,910	32,152
29 Springfield Gardens- St. Albans	6,763	938	7,701	25,930	2,821	28,751
30 Middle Village-Glendale	20,992	3,101	24,093	17,508	1,623	19,131
31 Forest Hills-Richmond Hill	29,024	4,914	33,938	12,076	1,164	13,240
32 Woodhaven-Howard Beach	13,774	2,244	16,018	21,759	1,709	23,468
33 Maspeth-Elmhurst	32,768	6,024	38,792	8,930	839	9,819
34 Jackson Heights-Corona	15,957	2,143	18,100	16,030	1,402	17,432
35 Astoria-College Point	25,826	4,481	30,307	11,818	1,130	12,948
36 Long Island City-Woodside	20,190	2,488	22,678	12,923	1,291	14,214
37 Long Island City-Maspeth	26,967	4,281	30,348	9,961	868	10,830
38 Woodhaven	14,850	2,351	17,201	3,820	492	4,312
Totals	365,259	58,170	423,429	298,363	30,099	328,462
Nixon's majority, 94,967						

RICHMOND

* A.D.	Nixon			McGovern		Total
	Rep.	Con.	Total	Dem.	Lib.	
60 Tottenville-South Beach	31,448	7,923	39,371	9,779	918	10,697
61 New Brighton-Westerleigh	29,413	5,359	34,772	11,610	995	12,605
62 St. George-Tompkinsville	9,147	1,386	10,533	5,295	529	5,824
Totals	70,008	14,668	84,676	26,684	2,442	29,126
Nixon's majority, 55,550						

City	NIXON			McGOVERN		
	Rep.	Con.	Total	Dem.	Lib.	Total
	1,104,883	154,361	1,259,244	1,231,702	109,462	1,341,164



Republican
National
Committee.

November 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT 
RE: PRECINCT REPORT

The attached report contains 1972 Presidential election results for over 40 selected precincts around the country. The returns from these various precincts give an indication of voting trends in heavy Democrat areas as well as a number of ethnic, youth and blue collar precincts.

Election returns from selected precincts in Cuyahoga County, Ohio and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania are still unavailable but will be forwarded to you just as soon as they are obtained. Portions of these precinct returns will also be utilized in compiling the big city reports due to you beginning next week.

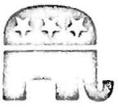
/jg
attachment

cc: Senator Bob Dole

1972 SELECTED PRECINCT VOTE RETURNS

Category	Description	State	County	City	Polit. Sub-Div.	Nixon	%	McGovern	%	Other	%
Democrat	Straight Demo, row houses	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 16, Prec. 5	170	37.2	278	60.8	9	2
	Heavy Demo, 2 to 1 HHH	Wisc.	Milwaukee	Cudahy	Ward 1, Prec. 1	959	46.7	1,030	50.2	61	3.1
	Heavy Demo, 2 to 1 HHH	Wisc.	Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Ward 3, Prec. 2	306	33.8	582	65.5	14	.7
Ethnic	Lower-middle Irish	Mass.	Suffolk	Boston	Ward 13, Prec. 7	287	34.3	541	64.8	8	.9
	Lower-middle Irish	Mass.	Suffolk	Boston	Ward 13, Prec. 8	293	31.6	627	67.7	5	.7
	Lower-middle Irish	Mass.	Suffolk	Boston	Ward 13, Prec. 9	305	34.8	565	64.7	5	.5
	Middle Irish	Mass.	Norfolk	Quincy	Ward 5	4,577	46.5	5,221	53.0	42	.5
	Middle-upper Irish	Mass.	Norfolk	Milton	Prec. 6	1,231	48.7	1,282	50.7	11	.6
	Mixed Irish	Mass.	Norfolk	Dedham	Prec. 4	1,175	46.1	1,350	53.0	22	.9
	Middle Italian	Mass.	Suffolk	Boston	Ward 1, Prec. 1	277	29.7	652	70.0	2	.3
	Middle Italian	Mass.	Suffolk	Boston	Ward 1	4,308	31.4	9,326	68.1	57	.5
	Middle Italian	Mass.	Suffolk	Boston	Ward 3, Prec. 1	381	36.8	642	62.3	10	.9
	Lower end Jewish	N. Y.	Bronx	--	A.D. 81, Prec. 37	141	28.8	345	70.4	4	.8
	Lower end Jewish	N.Y.	Bronx	--	A.D. 81, Prec. 42	152	32.2	314	66.5	6	1.3
	Lower end Jewish	N.Y.	Kings	--	A.D. 47, Prec. 8	302	42.7	406	57.3	--	--
	Middle Jewish	N.Y.	Kings	--	A.D. 44, Prec. 13	231	42.1	317	57.7	1	.2
	Middle Jewish	N.Y.	Queens	--	A.D. 27, Prec. 24	330	56.7	250	42.9	2	.4
	Middle Jewish	N.Y.	Queens	--	A.D. 28, Prec. 52	356	42.1	490	57.9	--	--
	Polish (95%)	Mich.	Wayne	Hamtramck	A.D. 19, Prec. 11	165	51.7	149	46.7	5	1.6
	Polish (95%)	Mich.	Wayne	Hamtramck	A.D. 19, Prec. 35	117	45.2	142	54.8	--	--
	Polish (95%)	Mich.	Wayne	Hamtramck	A.D. 19, Prec. 38	127	40.6	175	55.9	11	3.5
	Low Span.Amer.(85%)	Cal.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Prec. 923	138	35.8	241	62.4	7	1.8
	Low Span.Amer. (75%)	Cal.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Prec. 1,858	74	26.4	198	70.7	8	2.9
	Low Span.Amer.(86%)	Cal.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Prec. 2,720	51	19.5	204	78.2	6	2.3
	Low Span.Amer.(60%)	Texas	Bexar	San Antonio	Prec. 204	227	19.0	961	80.5	6	.5
	Low Span.Amer.(75%)	Texas	Bexar	San Antonio	Prec. 102	69	23.8	220	75.9	1	.3
	High Span.Amer.(74%)	Cal.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Prec. 4	266	70.0	105	27.6	9	2.4
	High Span.Amer.(63%)	Cal.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Prec. 24	335	70.4	135	28.4	6	1.2
	High Span.Amer.(54%)	Cal.	Los Angeles	Los Angeles	Prec. 27	225	71.9	87	27.8	1	.3
	High Span.Amer.(50%)	Texas	Bexar	San Antonio	Prec. 143	557	68.2	258	31.6	2	.2
High Span.Amer.(60%)	Texas	Bexar	San Antonio	Prec. 213	452	48.5	479	51.4	1	.1	
High Span.Amer.(60%)	Texas	Bexar	San Antonio	Prec. 226	786	47.7	856	51.9	7	.4	
Yankee WASP	Mass.	Essex	Manchester	--	1,620	56.9	1,215	42.7	9	.4	
Yankee WASP	Mass.	Middlesex	Weston	--	3,742	61.9	2,263	37.4	31	.7	
Yankee WASP	Mass.	Norfolk	Dover	--	1,802	69.5	778	30.0	11	.5	

Category	Description	State	County	City	Polit. Sub-Div.	Nixon	%	McGovern	%	Other	%
outh	Col.student(62%18-20)	Mich.	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	A.D.53,Ward 1,Prec.3	273	18.5	1,190	80.6	12	.9
	Col.student(47%18-20)	Mich.	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	A.D.53,Ward 1,Prec.8	233	26.1	796	73.4	5	.5
	Col.student(67%18-20)	Mich.	Washtenaw	Ann Arbor	A.D.53,Ward 2,Prec.3	317	26.6	864	72.6	9	.8
	Blue collar under 30	Mich	Oakland	Madison Heights	A.D.15,Ward 1,Prec.16	466	57.6	322	39.8	21	2.6
nion	\$10-14,000 income(UAW)	Mich.	Wayne	Garden City	A.D.33,Prec.4	450	60.0	254	33.9	46	6.1
	\$10-14,000 income(UAW)	Mich.	Wayne	Lincoln Park	A.D.30,Prec. 1	449	54.8	354	43.2	16	2.0
	\$10-15,000 income(B.Col.)	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 16,Prec. 6	266	44.0	325	53.8	13	2.2
	\$10-15,000 income(B.Col.)	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 17,Prec.4	263	42.1	353	56.5	9	1.4
	\$10-15,000 income(B.Col.)	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 19,Prec.22	421	57.0	300	40.6	17	2.4
	\$10-15,000 income(B.Col.)	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 19,Prec.23	543	60.6	337	37.6	16	1.8
	\$10-15,000 income(B.Col.)	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 20,Prec.17	523	65.9	266	33.6	4	.5
	\$10-15,000 income(B.Col.)	Penn.	Allegheny	Pittsburgh	Ward 20,Prec.18	308	63.7	166	34.4	9	1.9



Republican
National
Committee.

November 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: ED DeBOLT

The enclosed State House report reviews Republican fortunes in gubernatorial elections, other statewide constitutional offices and the state legislatures. Whereas President Nixon won by landslide margins in virtually every state, the results for GOP gubernatorial and state legislative candidates were mixed at best. Among Governors, the GOP dropped a net of one additional seat and now are a 31 to 19 minority. The GOP captured formerly Democrat-controlled State Houses in Missouri and North Carolina while losing GOP State Houses in Delaware, Illinois and Vermont. Three Republican incumbents (Evans, Moore and Ray) and four incumbent Democrat Governors were re-elected. Two GOP incumbents (Ogilvie and Peterson) were defeated. No Democrat incumbents lost re-election bids.

Among the State Legislatures, in the lower houses the GOP made significant gains in Alaska, Connecticut, Indiana, Missouri, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Utah and West Virginia while suffering setbacks in Minnesota, Oregon and South Dakota. In State Senate races, Republicans made good showings in Connecticut, Maine, New York and North Carolina while experiencing losses in Iowa, Ohio and South Dakota.

/jg
enc.

cc: Senator Bob Dole



Election Report

The Statehouses

POLITICAL/RESEARCH DIVISION Republican National Committee, Bob Dole, Chairman

1972 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

<u>State</u>	<u>Name*</u>	<u>Results</u>	
		<u>Total Vote</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Arkansas	Len E. Blaylock (R)	145,744	24.2
	DALE BUMPERS (D)	455,538	75.8
Delaware	Russell W. Peterson (R)	109,583	48.0
	Virginia M. Lyndall (A)	1,604	.7
	SHERMAN W. TRIBBITT (D)	117,274	51.3
Illinois	Richard B. Ogilvie (R)	2,226,207	49.3
	DANIEL WALKER (D)	2,291,540	50.7
Indiana	OTIS R. BOWEN (R)	1,193,631	57.2
	Matthew E. Welsh (D)	893,348	42.8
Iowa	ROBERT RAY (R)	705,778	58.5
	Robert D. Dilley (AI)	13,578	1.2
	Paul Frazenburg (D)	486,076	40.3
Kansas	Morris Kay (R)	332,357	37.3
	ROBERT DOCKING (D)	558,788	62.7
Missouri	CHRISTOPHER (KIT) BOND (R)	1,008,343	55.2
	Edward L. Dowd (D)	817,792	44.8
Montana	Ed Smith (R)	145,194	45.9
	THOMAS L. JUDGE (D)	171,209	54.1
New Hampshire	MELDRIM THOMSON JR. (R)	133,702	41.5
	Malcolm McLane (Ind.)	62,469	19.4
	Roger J. Crowley Jr. (D)	126,107	39.1
North Carolina	JAMES E. HOLSHOUSER (R)	762,681	51.1
	Arlis P. Pettyjohn (AI)	8,212	0.5
	Hargrove (Skipper) Bowles Jr. (D)	721,881	48.4
North Dakota	Richard F. Larsen (R)	131,658	49.1
	ARTHUR A. LINK (D)	136,583	50.9
Rhode Island	Herbert F. DeSimone (R)	185,841	47.0
	PHILIP W. NOEL (D)	209,982	53.0
South Dakota	Carveth Thompson (R)	121,838	40.0
	RICHARD F. KNEIP (D)	182,985	60.0
Texas	Henry C. Grover (R)	1,434,383	45.0
	DOLPH BRISCOE (D)	1,535,752	48.1
	Ramsey Muniz (LRU)	196,774	6.2
	Deborah Leonard (SW)	21,782	0.7

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Results</u>	
		<u>Total Vote</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Utah	Nicholas Strike (R)	144,885	30.4
	CALVIN L. RAMPTON (D)	331,198	69.6
Vermont	Luther F. Hackett (R)	81,062	43.5
	Bernard Sanders (LU)	2,003	1.1
	THOMAS P. SALMON (D)	103,129	55.4
Washington	DANIEL J. EVANS (R)	620,405	53.3
	Albert Rosellini (D)	542,654	46.7
West Virginia	ARCH A. MOORE (R)	413,865	54.7
	J.D. Rockefeller (D)	342,699	45.3

* NAMES IN CAPS INDICATE VICTORS

Minority Parties Key

A American
 AI American Independent
 Ind. Independent
 LRU La Raza Unida
 SW Socialist Workers

Constitutional Officers

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
Alabama	Governor George Wallace	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Jere Beasley	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. William Baxley	D	1974
	Sec. State (Mrs.) Mabel Amos	D	1974
	Treasurer Agnes Baggett	D	1974
Alaska	Governor William A. Egan	D	1974
	Lt. Governor H.A. Boucher	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. John Havelock	D	appointed by governor
	Commissioner of Revenue Eric Wohlforth	D	Appointed by governor
Arizona	Governor Jack Williams	R	1974
	Lt. Governor -		
	Attorney Gen. Gary K. Nelson	R	1974
	Sec. State Wesley Bolin	D	1974
	* Treasurer Ernest Garfield	R	1974
	* Note: Cannot seek re-election		
Arkansas	Governor Dale Bumpers	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Robert Riley	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Jim Guy Tucker	D	1974
	Sec. State Kelly Bryant	D	1974
	Treasurer Nancy Hall	D	1974
California	Governor Ronald Reagan	R	1974
	Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Evelle Younger	R	1974
	Sec. State Edmund G. Brown, Jr.	D	1974
Colorado	Governor John A. Love	R	1974
	Lt. Governor John Vanderhoof	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Duke W. Dunbar	R	1974
	Sec. State Byron Anderson	R	1974
	Treasurer Palmer Burch	R	1974
Connecticut	Governor Thomas J. Meskill	R	1974
	Lt. Governor T. Clark Hull	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Roger Killian	D	Appointed
	Sec. State Gloria Schaffer	D	1974
Delaware	Governor Sherman W. Tribbitt	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Eugene D. Bookhammer	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. W. Laird Stabler	R	1974
	Sec. State Walton Simpson	R	To be appointed in January
	Treasurer Mary D. Jornlin	R	1974
	Auditor F. Earl McGinnes	D	1974

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
Florida	Governor Reubin Askew	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Tom Adams	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Robert L. Shevin	D	1974
	Sec. State Richard Stone	D	1974
Georgia	Governor Jimmy Carter	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Lester Maddox	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Arthur Bolton	D	1974
	Sec. State Ben W. Fortson	D	1974
	Treasurer Bill Burson	D	1974
Hawaii	Governor John A. Burns	D	1974
	Lt. Governor George Ariyoshi	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Bertram Kanbara	D	Appointed
Idaho	Governor Cecil Andrus	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Jack Murphy	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. W. Anthony Park	D	1974
	Sec. State Pete T. Cenarrusa	R	1974
	Treasurer Marjorie Moon	D	1974
Illinois	Governor Daniel Walker	D	1976
	Lt. Governor Neil Hartigan	D	1976
	Attorney Gen. William Scott	R	1976
	Sec. State Michael Howlett	D	1976
	Treasurer Alan Dickson	R	1974
Indiana	Governor Otis Bowen	R	1976
	Lt. Governor Robert Orre	R	1976
	Attorney Gen. Theodore Sendall	R	1976
	Sec. State Larry Conrad	D	1974
Iowa	Governor Robert Ray	R	1974
	Lt. Governor Arthur Neu	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Richard Turner	R	1974
	Sec. State Melvin Synhorst	R	1974
	Treasurer Maurice Barringer	R	1974
Kansas	Governor Morris Docking	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Dave Owen	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Bern Miller	D	1974
	Sec. of State Elwill M. Shanahan	R	1974
	Treasurer Tom Van Sickle	R	1974
Kentucky	Governor Wendell Ford	D	1975
	Lt. Governor Julian Carroll	D	1975
	Attorney Gen. Edward W. Hancock	D	1975
	Sec. of State Thelma Stovall	D	1975
	Treasurer Drexel R. Davis	D	1975

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
Louisiana	Governor Edwin Edwards	D	1976
	Lt. Governor Jas Fitzmorris	D	1976
	Attorney Gen. William Ouste	D	1976
	Sec. of State Wade O. Martin	D	1976
	Treasurer Mrs. Evelyn Parker	D	1976
Maine	Governor Kenneth Curtis	D	1974
	Lt. Governor--none		
	Attorney Gen. Jas. Erwin*	R	1974
	Sec. State Joseph Edgar	R	1974
	Treasurer Norman Ferguson	R	1974
	* Attorney Gen. will be elected on January 3, 1973, by State legislature. John Lund (R) is prominently mentioned as successor		
Maryland	Governor Marvin Mandel	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Blair Lee	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Francis Burch	D	1974
	Sec. State Blair Lee*	-	-
	Treasurer John Luetkemeyer	D	1974
	*appointed by Governor		
Massachusetts	Governor Francis Sargent	R	1974
	Lt. Governor Donald Dwight	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Robert H. Quinn	D	1974
	Sec. State John F.X. Davoren	D	1974
	Treasurer Robert Crane	D	1974
Michigan	Governor William Milliken	R	1974
	Lt. Governor James H. Brickley	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Frank Kelley	D	1974
	Sec. State Richard H. Austin	D	1974
	Treasurer Allison Green	R	appointment
Minnesota	Governor Wendell Anderson	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Rudy Perpich	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Warner Spannaus	D	1974
	Sec. State Arlen I. Endahl	R	1974
	Treasurer Val Bjornson	R	1974
Mississippi	Governor W.L. Waller	D	1975
	Lt. Governor W. Winter	D	1975
	Attorney Gen. A.F. Summer	D	1975
	Sec. State Heber Ladner	D	1975
	Treasurer Brad Dye	D	1975

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
Missouri	Governor Christopher Bond*	R	1976
	Lt. Gov. William Phelps	R	1976
	Attorney Gen. John Danforth	R	1976
	Sec. State James Kirkpatrick	R	1976
	Treasurer James Spainhower	R	1976
	*Note 1st Republican Governor since 1940		
Montana	Governor Thomas Judge	D	1976
	Lt. Gov. William Christiansen	D	1976
	Attorney Gen. Robert Woodall	R	1976
	Sec. State Frank Murray	D	1976
	Treasurer Hallis Conner	R	No new election--abolishing office
Nebraska	Governor James Exon	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Frank Marsh	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Clarence Meyer	R	1974
	Sec. State Alan Beerman	R	1974
	Treasurer Wayne Swanson	R	1974
Nevada	Governor Michael O'Callaghan	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Harry M. Reid	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Robert List	R	1974
	Sec. State John Koontz	D	1974
	Treasurer Michael Mirabelli	D	1974
New Hampshire	Governor Meldrim Thomson	R	1974
	Lt. Governor--none		
	Attorney Gen. Warren Rudman	None	Appointed
	Sec. of State Robert L. Stark	R	Elected by legislature
	Treasurer Robert W. Flanders	R	Elected by legislature
New Jersey	Governor William Cahill*	R	1973
	Lt. Governor--none		
	Attorney Gen. George Kugler	R	
	Sec. State Paul Sherwin	R	
	Treasurer Joseph McCrane	R	
	*Attorney General, Sec. State and Treasurer are appointed by the Governor		
New Mexico	Governor Bruce King	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Robert Mondragon	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. David Norvell	D	1974
	Sec. State Betty Riorina	D	1974
	Treasurer Jesse Kornegay	D	1974
New York	Governor Nelson Rockefeller	R	1974
	Lt. Governor Malcolm Wilson	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Louis Lefkowitz	R	1974
	Sec. State John Lomenzo	R	Appointed
	Treasurer Arthur Levitt	D	1974

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
North Carolina	Governor Robert Holshouser	R	1976
	Lt. Governor James B. Hunt	D	1976
	Attorney Gen. Robert Morgan	D	1976
	Sec. State Thad Euer	D	1976
	Treasurer Edwin Gill	D	1976
North Dakota	Governor Arthur Link	D	1976
	Lt. Governor Wayne Sanstead	D	1976
	Attorney Gen. Alan I. Olson	R	1976
	Sec. State Ben Meier	R	1976
	Treasurer Walter Christiansen	D	1976
Ohio	Governor John J. Gilligan	D	1974
	Lt. Governor John W. Brown	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. William Brown	D	1974
	Sec. State Ted W. Brown	R	1974
	Treasurer Mrs. Gertrude Donahey	D	1974
Oklahoma	Governor David Hall	D	1974
	Lt. Governor George Nigh	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Larry Derryberry	D	1974
	Sec. State John Rogers	D	1974
	Treasurer Leo Winters	D	1974
Oregon	Governor Tom McCall	R	1974*
	Lt. Governor--none		
	Attorney Gen. Lee Johnson	D	1976
	Sec. State Clay Myers	R	1976
	Treasurer James Redden	D	1976
	* Governor cannot succeed himself		
Pennsylvania	Governor Milton Shapp	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Ernest Kline	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. J. Shane Cramer	D	1974
	Sec. State C. Delores Tucker	D	1974
	Treasurer		
Rhode Island	Governor Philip Noel	D	1974
	Lt. Governor J. Joseph Garrahy	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Richard Israel	R	1974
	Sec. State Robert Burns	D	1974
	Treasurer Raymond Hawksley	D	1974
South Carolina	Governor John C. West	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Earle E. Morris	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Daniel R. Mcleod	D	1974
	Sec. State O. Frank Thornton	D	1974
	Treasurer Grady L. Patterson	D	1974

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
South Dakota	Governor Richard Kneip	D	1974
	Lt. Governor William Dougherty	D	1974
	Attorney General Kermit A. Sande	D	1974
	Sec. State Lorna Herseith	D	1974
	Treasurer David Volk	R	1974
Tennessee	Governor Winfield Dunn	R	1974
	Lt. Governor John F. Wilder	D	elected by State Assembly
	Attorney Gen. David M. Pack	D	appointed by Governor
	Sec. State Joe C. Carr	D	elected by State Assembly
	Treasurer		
Texas	Governor Dolph Briscoe	D	1974
	Lt. Governor William Hobby	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. John Hill	D	1974 No Opposition
	Sec. State--to be appointed		
	Treasurer Jesse James	D	
Utah	Governor Calvin Rampton	D	1976
	Lt. Governor--none		
	Attorney Gen. Vernon Romney	R	1976
	Sec. State Clyde Miller	D	1976
	Treasurer David Duncan	D	1976
Vermont	Governor Thomas Salmon	D	1974
	Lt. Governor John S. Burgess	R	1974
	Attorney Gen. Kimberly Bcheney	R	1974
	Sec. State Richard Thomas	R	1974
	Treasurer Frank Davis	R	1974
	* Democrats picked up a governorship		
Virginia	Governor Linwood Holton	R	1973
	Lt. Governor Henry Howell	I-D	1973
	Attorney Gen. Andrew Miller	D	1973
	Sec. State Cynthia Newman	R	1973
	Treasurer--none		
	* 1st GOP Governor in the 20th century		
Washington	Governor Daniel J. Evans	R	1976
	Lt. Governor John Cherberg	D	1976
	Attorney Gen. Slade Gorton	R	1976
	Sec. State A. Ludlow Kramer	R	1976
	Treasurer Robert O'Brien	D	1976
West Virginia	Governor Arch Moore Jr.	R	1976
	Lt. Governor		
	Attorney Gen. Chauncey Browning*	D	1976
	Sec. State Edgar Heiskell *	R	1976
	Treasurer John Kelly	D	1976
	Auditor John Gates	R	1976
	* Attorney Gen. and Sec. State races are in process of re- counting votes		

<u>State</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Next Election</u>
Wisconsin	Governor Patrick J. Lucey	D	1974
	Lt. Governor Martin Schreiber	D	1974
	Attorney Gen. Robert Warren	R	1974
	Sec. State Robert Zimmerman	R.	1974
	Treasurer		
Wyoming	Governor Stanley Hathaway	R	1974
	Lt. Governor--none		
	Attorney Gen. Clarence Brimmer	R	appointed
	Sec. State Thyra Thomson	R	1974
	Treasurer James Griffith	R	1974

POLITICAL COMPOSITION OF STATE LEGISLATURES

State	UPPER HOUSE					LOWER HOUSE					TOTALS			
	Rep.	Dem.	Other	Rep. Change	Dem. Change	Rep.	Dem.	Other	Rep. Change	Dem. Change	Rep.	Dem.	Changes Rep. Dem.	
ALABAMA ¹	0	35	0	-	-	2	104	0	-	-	2	139	-	-
ALASKA	11	9	0	+1	-1	19	20	1	+10	-11	30	29	+11	-12
ARIZONA	18	12	0	0	0	38	22	0	+4	-4	56	34	+4	-4
ARKANSAS	1	34	0	0	0	1	99	0	-1	+1	2	133	-1	+1
CALIFORNIA ²	19	19	0	0	-2	29	51	0	-8	+8	48	70	-8	+6
COLORADO ³	22	13	0	+1	-1	38	27	0	0	0	60	40	+1	-1
CONNECTICUT ⁴	23	13	0	+6	-5	95	56	0	+18	-44	118	69	+24	-49
DELAWARE ⁵	11	10	0	-2	+4	21	20	0	-2	+4	32	30	-4	+8
DIST. COLUMBIA	NOT APPLICABLE													
FLORIDA ⁵	14	25	1	-1	-8	43	77	0	+5	-4	57	102	+4	-12
GEORGIA ⁵	8	48	0	+2	-2	28	152	0	+6	-21	36	200	+8	-23
HAWAII ⁶	8	16	0	-	-	16	35	0	-1	+1	24	51	-1	+1
IDAHO	23	12	0	+4	-4	51	19	0	+10	-10	74	31	+14	-14
ILLINOIS	30	29	0	+1	-1	89	88	0	-1	+1	119	117	0	0
INDIANA	27	23	0	-2	+2	73	27	0	+19	-19	100	50	+17	-17
IOWA	28	22	0	-10	+10	56	44	0	-7	+7	84	66	-17	+17
KANSAS ⁷	27	13	0	-5	+5	80	45	0	-4	+4	107	58	-9	+9
KENTUCKY ¹	15	23	0	-	-	23	72	0	-	-	43	95	-	-
LOUISIANA ⁸	1	38	0	0	0	4	101	0	+3	-3	5	139	+3	-3
MAINE	23	10	0	+5	-4	79	72	0	-1	+1	102	82	+4	-3
MARYLAND ¹	10	33	0	-	-	21	121	0	-	-	31	154	-	-
MASSACHUSETTS ⁷	7	33	0	-3	+3	52	188	2	-10	+10	59	221	-13	+13
MICHIGAN ⁹	19	19	0	-	-	50	60	0	-2	+2	69	79	-2	+2
MINNESOTA ¹⁰	31	37	0	-3	+4	57	77	1	-13	+12	88	114	-16	+16
MISSISSIPPI ¹	2	50	0	-	-	2	119	0	-	-	4	169	-	-
MISSOURI	13	21	0	+4	-4	66	97	0	+15	-15	79	118	+19	-19
MONTANA ¹¹	23	27	0	-2	-3	45	54	0	-10	+5	68	81	-12	+2
NEBRASKA ¹²														
NEVADA	6	14	0	-1	+1	15	25	0	-7	+7	21	39	-8	+8
NEW HAMPSHIRE	14	10	0	-1	+1	266	134	0	+15	-12	280	144	+14	-11
NEW JERSEY ¹	28	9	0	-	-	59	21	0	-	-	87	30	-	-
NEW MEXICO	12	30	0	-2	+2	19	51	0	-3	+3	31	81	-5	+5
NEW YORK	37	23	0	+5	-2	83	67	0	+4	-4	120	90	+9	-6

POLITICAL COMPOSITION OF STATE LEGISLATURES

State	UPPER HOUSE					LOWER HOUSE					TOTALS			
	Rep.	Dem.	Other	Rep. Change	Dem. Change	Rep.	Dem.	Other	Rep. Change	Dem. Change	Rep.	Dem.	Rep. Changes	Dem. Changes
NORTH CAROLINA	15	35	0	+8	-8	35	85	0	+11	-11	50	120	+19	-19
NORTH DAKOTA ⁵	41	10	0	+3	-1	79	23	0	+21	-17	120	33	+24	-18
OHIO	17	16	0	-3	+3	41	58	0	-13	+13	58	74	-16	+16
OKLAHOMA	10	38	0	+1	-1	26	75	0	+5	-3	36	113	+6	-4
OREGON	12	18	0	-2	+2	27	33	0	-7	+7	39	51	-9	+9
PENNSYLVANIA ¹³	24	26	0	0	0	107	96	0	+17	-16	131	122	+17	-16
RHODE ISLAND ¹⁴	13	37	0	+4	-4	25	75	0	+1	0	38	112	+5	-4
SOUTH CAROLINA	4	42	0	+2	-2	21	103	0	+10	-10	25	145	+12	-12
SOUTH DAKOTA ¹⁵	17	18	0	-7	+7	35	35	0	-10	+5	52	53	-17	+12
TENNESSEE	13	19	1	0	0	48	51	0	+5	-5	61	70	+5	-5
TEXAS	3	28	0	+1	-1	17	133	0	+7	-7	20	161	+8	-8
UTAH	16	13	0	0	+1	44	33	0	+13	-5	60	46	+13	-4
VERMONT ¹⁶	22	8	0	0	0	91	59	0	-3	+6	113	67	-3	+6
VIRGINIA ¹	7	32	0	-	-	34	76	0	-	-	31	108	-	-
WASHINGTON ¹⁷	19	30	0	-1	+1	41	57	0	-7	+6	60	87	-8	+7
WEST VIRGINIA	10	24	0	-1	+1	49	57	0	+11	-11	53	81	+10	-10
WISCONSIN	18	15	0	-2	+2	31	62	0	+4	-4	55	77	+2	-2
WYOMING	17	13	0	-2	+2	47	17	1	+4	-3	61	30	+2	-1
<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>789</u>	<u>1,132</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-2</u>	<u>-3</u>	<u>2,910</u>	<u>3,273</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>+109</u>	<u>-136</u>	<u>3,099</u>	<u>4,405</u>	<u>+107</u>	<u>-139</u>

FOOTNOTES

- 1 No 1972 State Legislature elections
- 2 Two vacancies will exist in new California Senate -- special elections will be held
- 3 One recount pending in the house
- 4 Lower house reapportioned; one senate seat vacant

- 5 State Legislature reapportioned
- 6 One vacancy in the upper house
- 7 One recount pending in senate
- 8 State Legislature elections - Feb., 1972

FOOTNOTES

9

No senate races in 1972

10

State Legislature divides conservative vs. liberal; Republicans are usually conservative

11

State Legislature reapportioned; one house seat being recounted

12

Uni-cameral, non-partisan legislature

13

One vacancy had existed in the house

14

Four recounts pending in the senate; seven recounts pending in the house

15

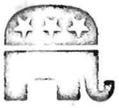
Lower house reapportioned

16

One recount pending in the senate; two recounts pending in the house

17

State Legislature reapportioned; four recounts pending in the house



Republican
National
Committee.

GS
Ask you
Stanley These
to C.D.?

November 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
BRUCE KEHRLI

FROM:  ED DeBOLT

RE: GOP TURNOUT ANALYSIS

Attached is a preliminary analysis of the approximate number of GOP voters turning out and participating in the 1972 presidential election in the requested states of Texas, Illinois, Georgia, Michigan, Mississippi and Delaware.

As a follow-up to this report we have dispatched a staff member into Delaware and Michigan to do a more detailed analysis of Republican voter turnout for this election on a selected county basis and in some cases even to the precinct level. In Delaware where partisan voter registration information is available and where voter lists may be available it is possible that we may have exact registered Republican voter turnout figures by early next week. I will advise you at that time of the status of that particular project.

In preparing the attached approximations of Republican turnout for approximations were calculated for each state. The number of Republicans registered was approximated by multiplying the most recent total of registered voters by the average Republican vote for President since 1960. The number of Republicans voting was calculated by multiplying the 1972 total presidential vote by the average Republican vote for President since 1960. The approximate number of Republicans voting was then divided by the approximate number of Republicans in a state resulting in an estimate of 1972 Republican voter turnout percentage.

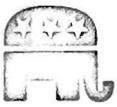
As I mentioned in my previous memo any Republican voter turnout approximations such as these are questionable at best due to the fact that partisan registration information is not available in any of these states except Delaware.

/st

cc: Senator Bob Dole

Preliminary Republican
Turnout Analysis

	GOP Average Vote % 1960 - 1972	- - - - - 1972 Approximations - - - - -			
		1972 Nixon Total Vote	GOP Regis.	GOP Turnout	GOP Turnout %
DELAWARE					
President	48.1	139,796	140,970	113,283	80.4
Senate	53.9		157,969	123,877	78.4
Governor	48.8		143,022	111,616	78.0
Average	50.3		147,418	116,372	78.9
ILLINOIS					
President	49.2	2,745,352	3,057,943	2,241,106	73.3
Senate	51.8		3,219,541	2,301,884	71.5
Governor	48.3		3,002,005	2,182,072	72.7
Average	49.8		3,095,235	2,243,761	72.5
MICHIGAN					
President	44.9	1,895,239	2,135,185	1,560,373	73.1
Senate	45.0		2,139,940	1,422,491	66.5
Governor	53.5		-----	-----	-----
Average	47.8		2,137,563	1,274,410	69.8
TEXAS					
President	47.9	2,272,656	2,442,900	1,637,761	67.0
Senate	48.6		2,478,600	1,554,684	62.7
Governor	37.0		1,887,000	1,179,816	62.5
Average	44.5		2,269,500	1,457,420	64.2
GEORGIA					
President	49.2	794,766	1,048,544	521,338	49.7
MISSISSIPPI					
President	50.9	498,680	445,375	323,770	72.7



Republican
National
Committee.

November 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: GORDON STRACHAN
BRUCE KEHRLI

FROM: ED DeBOLT

RE: GOP TURNOUT ANALYSIS

Attached is a preliminary analysis of the approximate number of GOP voters turning out and participating in the 1972 presidential election in the requested states of Texas, Illinois, Georgia, Michigan, Mississippi and Delaware.

As a follow-up to this report we have dispatched a staff member into Delaware and Michigan to do a more detailed analysis of Republican voter turnout for this election on a selected county basis and in some cases even to the precinct level. In Delaware where partisan voter registration information is available and where voter lists may be available it is possible that we may have exact registered Republican voter turnout figures by early next week. I will advise you at that time of the status of that particular project.

In preparing the attached approximations of Republican turnout for approximations were calculated for each state. The number of Republicans registered was approximated by multiplying the most recent total of registered voters by the average Republican vote for President since 1960. The number of Republicans voting was calculated by multiplying the 1972 total presidential vote by the average Republican vote for President since 1960. The approximate number of Republicans voting was then divided by the approximate number of Republicans in a state resulting in an estimate of 1972 Republican voter turnout percentage.

As I mentioned in my previous memo any Republican voter turnout approximations such as these are questionable at best due to the fact that partisan registration information is not available in any of these states except Delaware.

/st

cc: Senator Bob Dole

Preliminary Republican
Turnout Analysis

	GOP Average Vote % <u>1960 - 1972</u>	- - - - - 1972 Approximations - - - - -			
		<u>1972 Nixon Total Vote</u>	<u>GOP Regis.</u>	<u>GOP Turnout</u>	<u>GOP Turnout %</u>
DELAWARE					
President	48.1	139,796	140,970	113,283	80.4
Senate	53.9		157,969	123,877	78.4
Governor	48.8		143,022	111,616	78.0
Average	50.3		147,418	116,372	78.9
ILLINOIS					
President	49.2	2,745,352	3,057,943	2,241,106	73.3
Senate	51.8		3,219,541	2,301,884	71.5
Governor	48.3		3,002,005	2,182,072	72.7
Average	49.8		3,095,235	2,243,761	72.5
MICHIGAN					
President	44.9	1,895,239	2,135,185	1,560,373	73.1
Senate	45.0		2,139,940	1,422,491	66.5
Governor	53.5		-----	-----	----
Average	47.8		2,137,563	1,274,410	69.8
TEXAS					
President	47.9	2,272,656	2,442,900	1,637,761	67.0
Senate	48.6		2,478,600	1,554,684	62.7
Governor	37.0		1,887,000	1,179,816	62.5
Average	44.5		2,269,500	1,457,420	64.2
GEORGIA					
President	49.2	794,766	1,048,544	521,338	49.7
MISSISSIPPI					
President	50.9	498,680	445,375	323,770	72.7

Treter

MOR in field - wd to 10 days

Much ~~more~~ Ohio, Pa, Ind, Ill - RI of Iowa same, no gain

- All inter done 11/15
- 1 wk computer
- AMI for AMA
- 1 wk computer
- 1000 + 380

host legis Bradley - very close heat

Cal - AMAs

* NY - MOR campaign - increased percentage

MOR - NY - 11/73
long paid
interview study

* Treter to send letter - re major Rep defeat - a big party loss
- Lib's increased argu's

16 swing precincts
4 w/ 2 yr ago - to date
why Rep turn lower + 1st
2 indicate Rep turn lower

- Ohio - abstracts - all precinct voter data
- Turn disproportionate
- Toledo Rep wards - use 93-95% now turn 79-83.

- Dan Evans working on detail esp MI/Ohio -

Treter

Conty by Conty
and by Turn v.
RN strength

- 10 days / 2 wks
- can't get anything below conty level for 2 wks
- mid 12/1 - avail; imposs before

Analyses of after-Elle studies
Ind, Ohio, Mich + Ill
+ cover
turnout, etc

De Bolt - Staff Reg's + timing to
collect detailed info on
entire country.

By Law avail 12/15

- Most abstract of actual
results for countries when
certified due over course
of Elle
- Most sts will have collated

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/14/72

TO: LARRY HIGBY

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Attached is the original of the re-typed version of the most recent figures, as well as additional information on the key counties.

<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	691,253	215,098	918,621	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	394,948	194,039	609,996	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	3,433,568	8,210,512	13,945,000	10,466,215	78.0	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	3,487,458	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	326,906	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	1,861,950	4,607,302	7,542,000	6,215,331	74.1	61.0
100%	Indiana	1,401,547	705,808	2,107,355	3,509,000	2,842,195	74.1	60.0
100%	Iowa	706,578	494,863	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	57.8
100%	Kentucky	671,198	369,051	1,057,418	2,206,000	1,454,575	72.6	47.9
96%	Louisiana	758,962	377,489	1,194,938	2,339,000	1,784,890	66.9	51.0
100%	Maine	252,851	161,659	414,510	666,000	576,915	71.8	62.2
100%	Maryland	797,295	486,570	1,302,315	2,688,000	1,815,784	72.0	48.4

<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%	Massachusetts	1,105,072	1,324,526	2,429,598	3,955,000	2,775,538	78.4	61.4
95%	Michigan	1,895,239	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	68.4
100%	Nebraska	384,571	162,598	547,169	1,022,000	807,267	67.0	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	423,822	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
99%	New Mexico	233,036	138,856	380,515	636,000	505,432	75.3	59.8
99%	New York	4,180,446	2,907,598	7,088,044	12,773,000	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	185,239	394,405	673,000	531,847	74.0	58.6
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	163,814	137,569	301,383	434,000	391,727	76.9	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	44.5
100%	Utah	321,595	126,008	476,219	689,000	543,364	87.6	69.1
100%	Vermont	116,702	68,616	185,318	309,000	250,000	74.0	60.1
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	988,521	807,070	1,843,110	2,955,000	1,850,000	99.6	62.4
100%	Wyoming	100,630	44,348	144,986	225,000	138,936	104.3	64.4

KEY:

Total Turnout: Based on the unofficial total Nixon-McGovern-Schmit 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

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	44.0	78.0
Madison	38,045	12,258	52,119	120,897	86,153	43.0	60.0
Mobile	64,133	17,819	86,927	209,039	151,346	42.0	57.0
Montgomery	34,909	11,590	48,605	113,242	85,432	43.0	57.0
Arkansas							
Pulaski	57,576	33,611	89,609	198,611	145,780	45.0	61.0
Garland	15,602	5,207	21,112	40,245	32,623	52.0	65.0
Maryland							
Baltimore	170,378	67,620	241,854	433,303	322,691	73.8	54.9
Baltimore City	116,941	138,716	259,482	634,894	424,377	61.1	40.8
Michigan							
Genesie	85,747	73,896	162,449	285,176	225,923	71.9	56.9
Kent	103,450	67,427	174,684	274,814	227,196	76.8	63.5
Macomb	147,482	82,348	235,434	394,624	290,026	81.1	59.6
Monroe	23,263	17,726	42,448	75,754	55,663	75.4	62.7
Oakland	241,398	129,537	379,201	603,975	502,737	75.4	62.7
Wayne	535,523	514,007	1,065,659	1,840,584	1,484,384	71.7	57.8
Detroit City					873,761		
* New Jersey							
Hudson	137,202	88,440	225,642	451,022	289,142	78.0	50.0
Berges	284,518	146,509	431,027	646,497	519,776	82.9	66.7
Issex	163,989	151,804	315,793	667,453	429,762	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>
Wyoming							
Laramie	15,010	7,791	22,851	29,683	37,975	76.9	60.1
Delaware							
New Castle	100,681	70,190	172,956	261,914	215,092	80.4	82.1
Hawaii							
Honolulu	131,677	76,330	218,741	428,394	262,597	83.3	51.1
* Idaho							
Ada Canyon	33,679 18,383	11,753 5,630	52,013 26,857	76,987 42,696	71,895 34,700	72.3 77.4	67.6 62.9
Nevada							
Clark Washoe	53,046 33,529	36,790 17,138	89,836 50,667	184,340 86,780	116,611 63,526	77.0 79.8	48.7 58.4
* Nebraska							
Douglas Lancaster	97,960 40,950	46,726 23,203	144,686 66,153	202,750 92,186	263,665 122,730	71.0 72.0	55.0 54.0

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	85.9	59.0
Rutland	13,662	7,912	21,574	36,592	28,242	76.3	59.0
Windsor	12,420	6,594	19,374	30,765	24,225	80.0	63.0
Indiana							
Marion	203,076	101,974	305,398	538,700	452,195	77.9	56.6
Vanderburgh	49,059	22,139	71,221	119,947	109,972	64.8	59.3
Monroe	19,953	15,241	35,342	64,358	52,559	67.2	54.7
New Hampshire							
Hillsborough	65,274	34,739	101,359	152,153	131,858	76.9	66.6
Rockingham	38,825	21,998	61,496	92,217	81,359	75.6	66.7
Merrimac	25,354	11,737	37,440	57,203	49,126	76.2	65.5
* Massachusetts							
Middlesex	269,216	344,825	614,041	977,426	677,298	91.0	63.0
Essex	139,585	156,690	296,275	447,719	332,719	89.0	66.0
Norfolk	132,114	148,636	280,750	418,833	305,081	92.0	67.0
Worcester	123,934	140,845	264,779	449,638	311,629	85.0	59.0
* Iowa							
Black Hawk	31,096	21,721	53,635	91,072	65,588	81.8	58.9
Cerro Gordo	11,856	9,270	21,449	34,949	16,454+		61.4
Crawford	4,493	3,018	7,656	12,757			60.0
Lucas	2,851	1,759	4,688	7,417	1,001+		65.2
Marion	6,583	4,634	11,516	19,146	4,265+		60.1
Polk	70,329	59,327	132,645	199,072	154,455	85.9	66.6
Poweshiek	4,785	3,718	8,633	13,457			64.6

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	60.0	42.0
Knox	64,747	24,076	90,484	199,828	120,135	75.0	45.0
Shelby	161,810	81,063	247,717	489,344	374,591	66.0	50.0
South Carolina							
Greenville	46,360	10,080	58,355	166,496	87,691	66.5	34.4
Richland	39,667	18,699	59,212	168,375	88,205	67.1	35.1
Utah							
Utah	42,179	10,828	59,460	77,794	92,005	76.4	64.6
Weber	37,753	14,503	55,580	76,166	82,735	73.3	67.5
Salt Lake					296,772		
* West Virginia							
Cabell	29,299	14,103	43,402	58,894	79,330	73.0	54.0
Kanawha	64,072	38,393	102,465	136,304	163,480	75.0	62.6
Wood	25,114	10,230	35,344	53,872	59,847	65.6	59.0

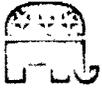
1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<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>
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
Wyandatte	34,112	28,405	64,968	127,480	82,265	79.0	51.0

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. Turnout 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.



Republican
National
Committee.

November 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO:

GORDON STRACHAN
BRUCE KEHRLA

FROM:

ED DEBOLT

In response to your request this morning, I have attached a listing of percentages of eligible voters actually registered for each of the 50 states and the selected counties as a follow-up to the initial voter turnout report submitted to you earlier this week.

All previous reports should be discarded as this report supercedes them and includes some up-dated election returns and minor corrections.

We are now in the process of preparing a report for each of the 15 major SMSAs (Cleveland, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, Washington, D.C., New York City, Baltimore, Dallas, Houston, St. Louis, Chicago, and Newark) which will include 1972 Presidential vote totals, voting age population, registered voters, turnout as a percent of registered voters, turnout as a percent of voting age population and percent voting age population registered for each county within the SMSA as well as the aggregate totals for each SMSA. The only major SMSA which cannot be reported on at this time is Boston, where vote totals are not available by counties and the release of the numerous township totals is in the distant future. This SMSA report will be sent to you by Noon tomorrow.

We are now in the process of conducting the initial research into obtaining the percentage of Republican voters who voted in the 1972 election, as you requested, from the states of Texas, Illinois, Georgia, Michigan, Mississippi and Delaware. There will be numerous problems in compiling this report. The major one being that Delaware is the only state of those 6 where there is partisan registration required. The other 5 states do not require registration by Party. Additionally, any analysis of 1972 voting trends are complicated by the additional 18 to 24 year old vote which was not a factor in previous races. The fact that the 1968 Presidential race included a significant third party effort also poses problems in making a significant partisan turnout report. We are now considering several approaches to this problem which include taking 10 year GOP Presidential averages and comparing them to voter turnout and registration figures. The same would be done with GOP Senate race

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center; 310 First Street Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 484-6500.

averages, GOP Governor races averages and the combination of all three. We are also looking at the possibility of identifying certain bellweather counties and utilizing past bedrock and creating 1972 bedrock information for those counties. Nevertheless, the problem will be difficult as it is mathematically impossible to come up with absolute figures for Republican turnout when there is no partisan registration list available and there are no voter lists available indicating Party preference. The one exception is Delaware where Party registration lists are available where it may be possible to send someone in to selected precincts to sit down and manually compare partisan registration lists with actual 1972 voter lists. By mid-afternoon Monday we will have an idea how expensive that operation would be and how long such a manual operation would take to complete.

Several other reports and projects are also being currently conducted as listed below:

-Report on the polls - by Wednesday of next week a preliminary polling report on any available post-election analyses will be issued as well as comparisons of the pre-election straw votes and polling trends with actual results. The week after Thanksgiving there will be an additional report on any available post-election surveys.

-On Tuesday of next week we will issue a short report on the election results of the statewide constitutional offices below the congressional level as well as a status report of the partisan lineup of the state legislatures following the 1972 legislative elections.

-There will be a precinct analysis of Presidential election results for 50 or more selected precincts consisting of youth, ethnic, blue collar and income characteristics which will be available by Wednesday of next week.

-Answer Desk - On Monday, November 27, we will send out the first post-election issue of Answer Desk which will focus on the activities of the dissident Democrats with special attention given to the DNC-Westwood battle and McGovern's recent statements as well as the ramifications of their current battles for congressional leadership positions.

November 17, 1972
Page 3.

-We will be working over the Thanksgiving holiday to prepare a series of big city election results with the first of those results due to you on Monday, November 27. Utilizing some of the information gathered for previous reports, we will prepare in-depth analyses of the Presidential election as it occurred in the major big cities and surrounding suburbs throughout the country.

If you have any additional questions or comments about these various reports and projects, please let me know.

/jg
cc: Chairman Bob Dole

Precincts	State	Nixon	McGovern	Total Turnout	Voting Age Population	Total Registered Voters	Turnout of Registered Voters		Turnout of Voting Age Population
							%	%	
95%	Alabama	691,253	215,098	918,621	2,274,000	1,769,845	77.5	52.0	40.0
76%	Alaska	44,577	25,580	75,891	200,000	150,000	75.0	50.0	37.0
100%	Arizona	394,948	194,039	609,996	1,239,000	861,812	69.6	70.0	49.0
96%	Arkansas	427,014	190,598	617,612	1,310,000	959,871	73.3	64.0	47.1
100%	California	4,546,396	3,433,568	8,210,512	13,945,000	10,466,215	75.1	78.0	58.0
98%	Colorado	585,324	325,448	929,309	1,558,000	1,219,591	78.3	76.2	59.6
96%	Connecticut	801,143	535,405	1,359,875	2,106,000	1,507,603	71.6	90.2	64.5
100%	Delaware	139,796	91,904	234,789	371,000	293,078	79.0	80.1	63.2
100%	Dist. Columbia	31,257	115,914	149,089	518,000	305,072	58.9	48.9	28.7
100%	Florida	1,752,230	690,546	2,442,776	5,105,000	3,487,458	68.3	70.0	47.8
93%	Georgia	794,766	264,864	1,059,630	3,104,000	2,131,188	68.6	49.7	34.1
100%	Hawaii	167,414	100,617	268,031	531,000	326,906	61.6	82.0	50.4
99%	Idaho	197,589	80,558	307,462	479,000	400,000	83.5	76.9	64.1
97%	Illinois	2,745,352	1,861,950	4,607,302	7,542,000	6,215,331	82.4	74.1	61.0
100%	Indiana	1,401,547	705,808	2,107,355	3,509,000	2,842,195	81.0	74.1	60.0
100%	Iowa	706,578	494,863	1,225,492	1,909,000	739,906+	38.8+		64.1
100%	Kansas	605,632	265,158	891,810	1,541,000	1,065,730	69.2	84.0	57.8
100%	Kentucky	671,198	369,051	1,057,418	2,206,000	1,454,575	65.9	72.6	47.9
96%	Louisiana	758,962	377,489	1,194,938	2,339,000	1,784,890	76.3	66.9	51.0
100%	Maine	252,851	161,659	414,510	666,000	576,915	86.6	71.8	62.2
100%	Maryland	797,295	486,570	1,302,315	2,688,000	1,815,784	67.6	72.0	48.4

<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%	Massachusetts	1,105,072	1,324,526	2,429,598	3,955,000	2,775,538	^{0/0} 70.2	87.5	61.4
95%	Michigan	1,895,239	1,411,175	3,366,338	5,874,000	4,755,423	81.0	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	62.7	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	84.1	81.0	68.4
100%	Nebraska	384,571	162,598	547,169	1,022,000	807,267	79.0	67.0	53.5
98%	Nevada	100,960	58,982	159,912	348,000	231,037	66.4	69.2	46.0
100%	New Hampshire	213,724	116,435	331,055	521,000	423,822	81.3	78.1	63.5
97%	New Jersey	1,769,487	1,058,557	2,852,405	5,025,000	3,667,329	73.0	77.8	55.8
99%	New Mexico	233,036	138,856	380,515	636,000	505,432	79.5	75.3	59.8
99%	New York	4,180,446	2,907,598	7,088,044	12,773,000	9,207,363	72.1	77.0	55.5
100%	North Carolina	1,052,165	437,652	1,514,178	3,463,000	2,357,645	68.1	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+	64.4+		56.6
100%	Oklahoma	745,810	242,957	1,011,634	1,812,000	1,247,157	68.8	80.2	55.8
100%	Oregon	483,229	390,867	920,200	1,500,000	1,198,996	79.7	76.7	61.3
100%	Pennsylvania	2,703,975	1,788,034	4,559,264	8,161,000	5,433,752	66.6	83.9	55.9
100%	Rhode Island	209,166	185,239	394,405	673,000	531,847	79.0	74.0	58.6
97%	South Carolina	468,572	189,560	668,188	1,706,000	1,033,688	60.6	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	163,814	137,569	301,383	434,000	391,727	90.3	76.9	69.4
100%	Tennessee	812,465	355,812	1,198,533	2,713,000	1,990,026	73.4	60.2	44.2
99%	Texas	2,272,656	1,146,470	3,419,126	7,681,000	5,100,000	46.7	67.0	44.5
100%	Utah	321,595	126,008	476,219	689,000	543,364	78.9	87.6	69.1
100%	Vermont	116,702	68,616	185,318	309,000	250,000	80.9	74.0	60.0
100%	Virginia	986,445	440,031	1,445,772	3,197,000	1,902,062	59.5	76.0	45.2
94%	Washington	679,156	475,553	1,175,597	2,371,000	1,973,895	83.3	59.6	49.6
98%	West Virginia	472,063	271,950	744,013	1,182,000	1,072,519	90.7	69.4	62.9
100%	Wisconsin	988,521	807,070	1,843,110	2,955,000	1,850,000	62.6	99.6	62.4
100%	Wyoming	100,630	44,348	144,986*	225,000	138,936	61.7	104.3*	64.4

KEY:

Total Turnout - In some cases figure is unofficial total for all parties; in other instances minor party figures were unavailable and total is sum of the Nixon-McGovern vote.

Minnesota - registration required only in communities of 10,000 or more.

Missouri - registration optional except in cities with populations of 400,000 or more and counties with 200,000 or more. Registration is not statewide.

North Dakota - Do not register voters.

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

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

+ Partial Registration

* Turnout was higher than registration because registration was open until Election Day.

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>
						%	
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	78.1	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	91.1	59.3
Monroe	19,953	15,241	35,342	64,358	52,559	81.1	54.7
New Hampshire							
Hillsborough	65,274	34,739	101,359	152,153	131,858	86.1	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+	41.1	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

<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	56.3	44.0	78.0
Madison	38,045	12,258	52,119	120,897	86,153	71.3	43.0	60.0
Mobile	64,133	17,819	86,927	209,039	151,346	72.4	42.0	57.0
Montgomery	34,909	11,590	48,605	113,242	85,432	75.4	43.0	57.0
Arkansas								
Pulaski	57,576	33,611	91,187	198,611	145,780	73.4	45.0	61.0
Garland	15,602	5,207	21,112	40,245	32,623	81.1	52.0	65.0
Maryland								
Baltimore	170,378	67,620	241,854	433,303	322,691	74.5	73.8	55.8
Baltimore City	116,941	138,716	259,482	634,894	424,377	66.8	61.1	40.8
Michigan								
Genesie	85,747	73,896	162,449	285,176	225,923	79.2	71.9	56.9
Kent	103,450	67,427	174,684	274,814	227,196	82.7	76.8	63.5
Macomb	147,482	82,348	235,434	394,624	290,026	73.5	81.1	59.6
Monroe	23,263	17,726	42,448	75,754	55,663	73.5	76.2	56.0
Oakland	241,398	129,537	379,201	603,975	502,737	83.2	75.4	62.7
Wayne	535,523	514,007	1,065,659	1,840,584	1,484,384	80.6	71.7	57.8
Detroit City					873,761			
* New Jersey								
Hudson	137,202	88,440	225,642	451,022	289,142	64.1	78.0	50.0
Berges	284,518	146,509	431,027	646,497	519,776	80.4	82.9	66.7
Issex	163,989	151,804	315,793	667,453	429,762	64.4	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
Knox	64,747	24,076	90,484	199,828	120,135	60.1	75.0
Shelby	161,810	81,063	247,717	489,344	374,591	76.5	66.0
South Carolina							
Greenville	46,360	10,080	58,355	166,496	87,691	52.7	66.5
Richland	39,667	18,699	59,212	168,375	88,205	52.4	67.1
Utah							
Utah	42,179	10,828	59,460	92,005	77,794	84.6	76.4
Weber	37,753	14,503	55,580	82,735	76,166	92.1	73.3
Salt Lake				296,772			
* West Virginia							
Cabell	29,299	14,103	43,402	79,330	58,894	74.2	73.0
Kanawha	64,072	38,393	102,465	163,480	136,304	83.4	75.0
Wood	25,114	10,230	35,344	59,847	53,872	90.0	65.6

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							
Brookings	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	59.7
Athens	9,735	9,977	19,915	42,575	25,500	59.9	46.8
Butler	49,981	21,042	73,081	155,758	98,691	63.4	47.0
Cleveland City					319,825		
Cuyahoga	329,567	316,263	680,077	1,214,412	883,984	72.8	56.0
Franklin	218,472	116,752	343,264	576,075	430,644	74.8	59.6
Greene	25,349	12,736	38,904	83,993	52,099	62.0	46.0
Hamilton	248,013	119,204	373,598	636,801	457,379	71.8	58.7
Cincinnati					208,086		
Montgomery	120,312	81,447	207,138	417,320	268,124	64.3	49.6
Mahoning	63,956	61,395	127,843	214,144	158,487	74.0	59.7
Shelby	9,089	4,721	14,703	24,646	17,768	72.1	59.7
Colorado							
Denver	122,025	97,972	223,373	375,480	301,692	80.3	59.0
* New York							
Bronx	197,441	245,757	443,198	1,053,437	703,902	66.8	42.0
Erie	251,869	203,939	455,808	774,650	596,692	77.0	59.0
Monroe	192,888	118,643	311,531	492,962	356,840	72.4	63.0
Nassau	440,219	253,095	693,314	992,377	828,799	83.5	70.0
New York	179,867	353,847	533,714	1,229,878			43.0
Cronodaga	153,521	56,081	189,602	324,134	237,328	73.2	58.0
Queens	423,429	328,462	751,891	1,517,183	1,039,869	68.5	50.0
Suffolk	516,623	131,991	448,614	714,964	526,506	73.6	63.0
Westchester	263,067	148,655	411,722	643,194	471,630	73.3	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>
%							
* Missouri							
Jackson	129,922	92,836	222,758	459,932			48.3
St. Louis	283,102	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
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	66.5	84.1
55.9							
Washington							
King	251,055	181,467	447,211	816,713	701,243	85.9	63.8
54.8							
* 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
39.9							
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			51.9
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
47.2							
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>
Kansas							
Sedgewick	83,949	34,220	122,701	239,103	156,975	65.7	78.2
Shawnee	43,727	20,383	69,249	239,103	83,388	34.9	29.0
Johnson	76,161	24,324	104,136	144,015	120,407	83.6	72.3
Wyandotte	34,112	28,405	64,968	127,480	82,265	64.5	51.0
Minnesota							
Hennepin	227,630	205,062	440,852	671,121	522,650	77.9	84.3
Ramsey	97,138	109,427	212,410	326,993			65.6
							64.6
Illinois							
Cook	1,197,818	1,006,793	2,204,611	3,840,387	3,140,500	81.8	70.2
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
Lake	78,332	41,371	119,703	258,885	165,357	63.9	72.4
Marion	10,755	6,968	17,723	27,962	27,740	99.2	63.9
Rock Island	36,684	32,159	68,843	115,441	100,000	86.6	68.8
Mississippi							
Harrison	28,889	4,744	36,640	91,212	58,000	63.6	63.0
Hinds	49,700	12,888	63,964	143,561	98,706	68.8	65.0

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	69,125	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
* California							
Yuba	6,433	4,433	12,164	29,154	15,320	52.6	79.4
Fresno	79,049	72,677	163,328	281,343	201,396	71.6	81.1
Mendocino	11,104	9,402	22,492	36,142	26,876	74.4	83.7
San Francisco	127,826	170,702	317,098	573,998	426,338	74.3	74.4
Marin	53,687	46,959	105,494	147,059	126,928	86.3	83.1
San Diego	365,644	203,722	605,470	973,656	725,501	74.5	83.5
Los Angeles	1,516,832	1,163,205	2,835,769	5,017,447	3,597,963	71.7	78.8
Orange	442,587	174,695	648,263	952,515	794,174	83.4	81.6
San Mateo	134,870	109,301	260,920	398,567	310,204	77.8	84.1
Tuolumne	5,894	4,596	11,107	16,500	13,205	80.0	84.1
Pennsylvania							
Pittsburgh City	89,769	104,468	197,759	372,191	266,298	71.5	74.0
Bucks	99,161	56,442	159,065	271,695	198,546	73.1	80.0
Delaware	175,480	93,759	273,446	422,164	335,711	79.5	81.0
Allegheny	317,281	281,283	611,808	1,156,055	920,875	79.7	66.0
Rhode Island							
Kent	38,826	27,890	66,821	97,712	88,824	90.9	75.2
Providence	124,557	124,037	249,152	421,705	343,901	81.6	72.4
Arizona							
Pima	71,798	55,349	129,738	245,367	179,950	73.3	72.1

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

SOURCE: Secretary of State
WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 18, 1972

REGISTRATION PROFILE
OF THE 50 STATES AND
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

September 28, 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>REGISTRATION REQUIRED</u>	<u>PARTISAN ENROLLMENT</u>
Alabama	Yes	No
Arizona	Yes	Yes
Arkansas	Yes	No
California	Yes	Yes
Colorado	Yes	Yes
Connecticut	Yes	Yes
Delaware	Yes	Yes
Florida	Yes	Yes
Georgia	Yes	No
Hawaii	Yes	No
Idaho	Yes	No
Illinois	Yes	No
Indiana	Yes	No
Iowa*	Yes	Yes
Kansas*	Yes	Yes
Kentucky	Yes	Yes
Louisiana	Yes	Yes
Maine	Yes	Yes
Maryland	Yes	Yes
Massachusetts	Yes	Yes
Michigan	Yes	No
Minnesota*	Yes	No
Mississippi	Yes	No
Missouri*	Yes	No
Montana	Yes	No
Nebraska	Yes	Yes
Nevada	Yes	Yes
New Hampshire	Yes	Yes
New Jersey	Yes	No
New Mexico	Yes	Yes
New York	Yes	Yes
Nevada	Yes	Yes
North Dakota	No	No
Ohio*	Yes	No
Oklahoma	Yes	Yes
Oregon	Yes	Yes
Pennsylvania	Yes	Yes
Rhode Island	Yes	No
South Carolina	Yes	No
South Dakota	Yes	Yes
Tennessee	Yes	No
Texas	Yes	No
Utah	Yes	No

<u>STATE</u>	<u>REGISTRATION REQUIRED</u>	<u>PARTISAN ENROLLMENT</u>
Vermont	Yes	No
Virginia	Yes	No
Washington	Yes	No
West Virginia	Yes	Yes
Wisconsin*	Yes	No
Wyoming	Yes	Yes
District of Columbia	Yes	Yes

* Indicates where registration is not required state-wide. The following is a brief description of the peculiarities of the state laws regarding partial registration.

Iowa. All independent cities with a population of 10,000 or more and all counties with a population of 50,000 or more are required to register.

Kansas. All 1st and 2nd class cities require voter registration. Most cities with a population of 5,000 or more qualify as a 1st or 2nd class city, although is not the major factor. The four largest counties require county-wide registration.

Minnesota. All cities with population of 10,000 or more require registration. Cities with less than 10,000 population have local option. All towns within 15 miles of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth must have voter registration.

Missouri. St. Louis City and 33 counties require county-wide registration, while 10 counties require only partial registration.

Ohio. All cities with a population of 16,000 or more require registration. Six counties have partial registration.

Wisconsin. All cities with a population of 5,000 or more require voter registration. Towns with a population of less than 5,000 have an option on registration; however, most localities do not require it. No counties, as a jurisdiction, require registration.

REGISTRATION CLOSING DATES

The following are the registration closing dates by state for the Presidential Election and state elections.

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NATIONAL ELECTION</u>	<u>STATE ELECTIONS</u>
Alabama	October 27	October 27
Alaska	October 7	October 7
Arizona	October 7	September 18
Arkansas	October 17	October 17
California	October 8	October 8
Colorado	October 6	October 6
Connecticut	October 14	October 14
Delaware	October 21	October 21
District of Columbia	October 6	October 6
Florida	October 7	October 7
Georgia	October 20	September 18
Hawaii	October 12	October 12
Idaho	November 7	November 4
Illinois	October 9	October 9
Indiana	October 9	October 9
Iowa	October 28	October 28
	(in areas that require registration)	
Kansas	October 17	October 17
	(in areas that require registration)	
Kentucky	October 10	October 10
Louisiana	October 7	October 7
Maine	Rural-November 7	Rural-November 7
	Town-November 13	Town-November 13
	City-October 23	City-October 23
Maryland	October 10	October 10
Massachusetts	October 7 (noon)	October 7 (noon)
Michigan	October 6 (8:00 p.m.)	October 6 (8:00 p.m.)
Minnesota	October 17	October 17
Mississippi	October 7	October 7
Missouri	October 10	Court case pending
	St. Louis-October 10	St. Louis-October 10
	Kansas City-October 11	Kansas City-October 11
Montana	October 8	October 8
Nebraska	October 27	October 27
Nevada	October 7	October 7
New Hampshire	Rural-November 6	Rural-November 6
	Town-November 1	Town-November 1
	City-October 28	City-October 28
New Jersey	October 10	September 28
New Mexico	October 9	September 26
New York	October 10	October 10
North Carolina	October 9	October 9
North Dakota	Not Applicable	Not Applicable
Ohio	October 10	October 10
Oklahoma	October 27	October 27
Oregon	October 7	October 7
Pennsylvania	October 10	October 10
Puerto Rico		
Rhode Island	October 7	October 7
South Carolina	October 7	October 7
South Dakota	October 20	October 20
Tennessee	October 7	October 7
Texas	October 7	October 7
Utah	October 28	October 28
Vermont	November 4	November 4
Virginia	October 7	October 7
Washington	October 7	October 7
West Virginia	October 7	October 7
Wisconsin	October 25	October 25
	Milwaukee-October 17	Milwaukee-October 17
Wyoming	October 24	October 24

Source: Secretaries of State, week of September 18, 1972



Republican
National
Committee.

GS
Anything ELSE
NEEDED Here?
B.

November 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: Bruce Kehrli
FROM: Ed DeBolt
RE: Presidential Election Returns --
for all states and key counties

The enclosed reports constitute the complete set of presidential election returns, registration statistics and voting population information for all fifty states and 150 major counties.

Let me know if you need additional information.

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	44.0	78.0
Madison	38,045	12,258	52,119	120,897	86,153	43.0	60.0
Mobile	64,133	17,819	86,927	209,039	151,346	42.0	57.0
Montgomery	34,909	11,590	48,605	113,242	85,432	43.0	57.0
Arkansas							
Pulaski	57,576	33,611	89,609	198,611	145,780	45.0	61.0
Garland	15,602	5,207	21,112	40,245	32,623	52.0	65.0
Maryland							
Baltimore	170,378	67,620	241,854	433,303	322,691	73.8	54.9
Baltimore City	116,941	138,716	259,482	634,894	424,377	61.1	40.8
Michigan							
Genesie	85,747	73,896	162,449	285,176	225,923	71.9	56.9
Kent	103,450	67,427	174,684	274,814	227,196	76.8	63.5
Macomb	147,482	82,348	235,434	394,624	290,026	81.1	59.6
Monroe	23,263	17,726	42,448	75,754	55,663	75.4	62.7
Oakland	241,398	129,537	379,201	603,975	502,737	75.4	62.7
Wayne	535,523	514,007	1,065,659	1,840,584	1,484,384	71.7	57.8
Detroit City					873,761		
* New Jersey							
Hudson	137,202	88,440	225,642	451,022	289,142	78.0	50.0
Berges	284,518	146,509	431,027	646,497	519,776	82.9	66.7
Issex	163,989	151,804	315,793	667,453	429,762	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>
Wyoming							
Laramie	15,010	7,791	22,851	29,683	37,975	76.9	60.1
Delaware							
New Castle	100,681	70,190	172,956	261,914	215,092	80.4	82.1
Hawaii							
Honolulu	131,677	76,330	218,741	428,394	262,597	83.3	51.1
* Idaho							
Ada	33,679	11,753	52,013	76,987	71,895	72.3	67.6
Canyon	18,383	5,630	26,857	42,696	34,700	77.4	62.9
Nevada							
Clark	53,046	36,790	89,836	184,340	116,611	77.0	48.7
Washoe	33,529	17,138	50,667	86,780	63,526	79.8	58.4
* Nebraska							
Douglas	97,960	46,726	144,686	202,750	263,665	71.0	55.0
Lancaster	40,950	23,203	66,153	92,186	122,730	72.0	54.0

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	85.9	59.0
Rutland	13,662	7,912	21,574	36,592	28,242	76.3	59.0
Windsor	12,420	6,594	19,374	30,765	24,225	80.0	63.0
Indiana							
Marion	203,076	101,974	305,398	538,700	452,195	77.9	56.6
Vanderbourgh	49,059	22,139	71,221	119,947	109,972	64.8	59.3
Monroe	19,953	15,241	35,342	64,358	52,559	67.2	54.7
New Hampshire							
Hillsborough	65,274	34,739	101,359	152,153	131,858	76.9	66.6
Rockingham	38,825	21,998	61,496	92,217	81,359	75.6	66.7
Merrimac	25,354	11,737	37,440	57,203	49,126	76.2	65.5
* Massachusetts							
Middlesex	269,216	344,825	614,041	977,426	677,298	91.0	63.0
Essex	139,585	156,690	296,275	447,719	332,719	89.0	66.0
Norfolk	132,114	148,636	280,750	418,833	305,081	92.0	67.0
Worcester	123,934	140,845	264,779	449,638	311,629	85.0	59.0
* Iowa							
Black Hawk	31,096	21,721	53,635	91,072	65,588	81.8	58.9
Cerro Gordo	11,856	9,270	21,449	34,949	16,454+		61.4
Crawford	4,493	3,018	7,656	12,757			60.0
Lucas	2,851	1,759	4,688	7,417	1,001+		63.2
Marion	6,583	4,634	11,516	19,146	4,265+		60.1
Polk	70,329	59,327	132,645	199,072	154,455	85.9	66.6
Poweshiek	4,785	3,718	8,633	13,457			64.6

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	60.0	42.0
Knox	64,747	24,076	90,484	199,828	120,135	75.0	45.0
Shelby	161,810	81,063	247,717	489,344	374,591	66.0	50.0
South Carolina							
Greenville	46,360	10,080	58,355	166,496	87,691	66.5	34.4
Richland	39,667	18,699	59,212	168,375	88,205	67.1	35.1
Utah							
Utah	42,179	10,828	59,460	77,794	92,005	76.4	64.6
Weber	37,753	14,503	55,580	76,166	82,735	73.3	67.5
Salt Lake					296,772		
* West Virginia							
Cabell	29,299	14,103	43,402	58,894	79,330	73.0	54.0
Kanawha	64,072	38,393	102,465	136,304	163,480	75.0	62.6
Wood	25,114	10,230	35,344	53,872	59,847	65.6	59.0

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

* 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>
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
Wyandatte	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

<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	455,808	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
Pennsylvania							
Pittsburgh City	89,769	104,468	197,759	372,191	266,298	74.0	53.0
Bucks	99,161	56,442	159,065	271,695	198,546	80.0	59.0
Delaware	175,480	93,759	273,446	422,164	335,711	81.0	65.0
Allegheny	317,281	281,283	611,808	1,156,055	920,875	66.0	53.0
Rhode Island							
Kent	38,826	27,890	66,821	97,712	88,824	75.2	68.4
Providence	124,557	124,037	249,152	421,705	343,901	72.4	59.1
Arizona							
Pima	71,798	55,349	129,738	245,367	179,950	72.1	52.9

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

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	79.6	63.9
South Dakota							
Brookings	5,182	4,701	9,913	16,618	13,491	73.5	59.6
Brown	8,134	8,216	16,451	25,633	21,600	76.2	64.2
Minnehaha	22,447	22,386	44,988	63,956	57,500	78.2	70.3

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

<u>State</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>ADDENDUM</u>		<u>Total Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Registered Voters</u>	<u>% Turnout of Voting Age Population</u>
			<u>Total Turnout</u>	<u>Voting Age Population</u>			
Illinois							
Winnebago	34,892	22,662	57,677	165,461	73,177	78.8	34.9
Pennsylvania							
Clarion	10,000	4,500	14,501	27,227	18,840	77.0	53.3
Cumberland	42,000	14,000	57,000	111,791	71,943	79.2	51.0
Lawrence	23,000	17,000	40,736	76,640	51,484	79.1	53.1
Mercer	27,804	18,162	46,992	89,318	58,976	79.7	52.6
Montgomery	173,213	91,581	267,394	438,095	329,648	81.1	61.0
Philadelphia	344,000	429,000	778,900	1,405,617	1,010,229	77.1	55.4
Philadelphia City	344,000	429,000	778,900	1,405,617	1,010,229	77.1	55.4
Washington	42,925	34,949	78,274	151,694	98,859	79.2	51.6
Westmoreland	85,000	58,000	145,700	265,408	178,479	81.6	54.9
Ohio							
Lake	40,492	26,558	69,123	128,239	89,900	76.9	53.9
Wyoming							
Natrona	15,649	6,514	22,163	37,975	28,109	78.8	58.4

1972 ELECTION RESULTS - KEY COUNTIES

* FOOTNOTES

RHODE ISLAND

For both counties, Total Turnout includes Nixon
McGovern, and Jenness votes only

GS FYI

**Committee
for the Re-election
of the President**

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

December 11, 1972

Dear Bob:

With respect to the attached bill, I understand that filming Presidential spots such as these are to be paid by the Senate candidates and not charged against the White House's account at the Committee.

Congratulations on your great victory in Michigan.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Odle, Jr.
Director of Administration

Mr. Robert M. Smalley
Administrative Assistant to
Robert P. Griffin
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

bcc: Mr. Bruce Kehrli

<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>% (Amount of Registered Voters</u>		<u>% (Amount of Voting Age Population</u>
							<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
95%	Alabama	691,253	215,098	918,621	2,274,000	1,768,845	77.5	52.0	40.0
76%	Alaska	44,577	25,580	75,891	200,000	150,000	75.0	50.0	37.0
100%	Arizona	394,948	194,039	609,996	1,239,000	861,812	69.6	70.0	49.0
96%	Arkansas	427,014	190,598	617,612	1,310,000	959,871	73.3	64.0	47.1
100%	California	4,546,396	3,433,568	8,210,512	13,945,000	10,466,215	75.1	78.0	58.0
98%	Colorado	585,324	325,448	929,309	1,558,000	1,219,591	78.3	76.2	59.6
96%	Connecticut	801,143	535,405	1,359,875	2,106,000	1,507,603	71.6	90.2	64.5
100%	Delaware	139,796	91,904	234,789	371,000	293,078	79.0	80.1	63.2
100%	Dist. Columbia	31,257	115,914	149,089	518,000	305,072	58.9	48.9	28.7
100%	Florida	1,752,230	690,546	2,442,776	5,105,000	3,487,458	68.3	70.0	47.8
93%	Georgia	794,766	264,864	1,059,630	3,104,000	2,131,188	68.6	49.7	34.1
100%	Hawaii	167,414	100,617	268,031	531,000	326,906	61.6	82.0	50.4
99%	Idaho	197,589	80,558	307,462	479,000	400,000	83.5	76.9	64.1
97%	Illinois	2,745,352	1,861,950	4,607,302	7,542,000	6,215,331	82.4	74.1	61.0
100%	Indiana	1,401,547	705,808	2,107,355	3,509,000	2,842,195	81.0	74.1	60.0
100%	Iowa	706,578	494,863	1,225,492	1,909,000	739,906+	38.8+		64.1
100%	Kansas	605,632	265,158	891,810	1,541,000	1,065,730	69.2	84.0	57.8
100%	Kentucky	671,198	369,051	1,057,418	2,206,000	1,454,575	65.9	72.6	47.9
96%	Louisiana	758,962	377,489	1,194,938	2,339,000	1,784,890	76.3	66.9	51.0
100%	Maine	252,851	161,659	414,510	666,000	576,915	86.6	71.8	62.2
100%	Maryland	797,295	486,570	1,302,315	2,688,000	1,815,784	67.6	72.0	48.4

<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%	Massachusetts	1,105,072	1,324,526	2,429,598	3,955,000	2,775,538	^{9/6} 70.2	87.5	61.4
95%	Michigan	1,895,239	1,411,175	3,366,338	5,874,000	4,755,423	81.0	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	62.4	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	84.1	81.0	68.4
100%	Nebraska	384,571	162,598	547,169	1,022,000	807,267	79.0	67.0	53.5
98%	Nevada	100,960	58,982	159,912	348,000	231,037	66.4	69.2	46.0
100%	New Hampshire	213,724	116,435	331,055	521,000	423,822	81.3	78.1	63.5
97%	New Jersey	1,769,487	1,058,557	2,852,405	5,025,000	3,667,329	73.0	77.8	56.8
99%	New Mexico	233,036	138,856	380,515	636,000	505,432	79.5	75.3	59.8
99%	New York	4,180,446	2,907,598	7,088,044	12,773,000	9,207,363	72.1	77.0	55.5
100%	North Carolina	1,052,165	437,652	1,514,178	3,463,000	2,357,645	68.1	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+	64.4+		56.6
100%	Oklahoma	745,810	242,957	1,011,634	1,812,000	1,247,157	68.8	80.2	55.8
100%	Oregon	483,229	390,867	920,200	1,500,000	1,198,996	79.7	76.7	61.3
100%	Pennsylvania	2,703,975	1,788,034	4,559,264	8,161,000	5,433,752	66.6	83.9	55.9
100%	Rhode Island	209,166	185,239	394,405	673,000	531,847	79.0	74.0	58.6
97%	South Carolina	468,572	189,560	668,188	1,706,000	1,033,688	60.6	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	163,814	137,569	301,383	434,000	391,727	90.3	76.9	69.4
100%	Tennessee	812,465	355,812	1,198,533	2,713,000	1,990,026	73.4	60.2	44.2
99%	Texas	2,272,656	1,146,470	3,419,126	7,681,000	5,100,000	66.4	67.0	44.5
100%	Utah	321,595	126,008	476,219	689,000	543,364	78.9	87.6	69.1
100%	Vermont	116,702	68,616	185,318	309,000	250,000	80.9	74.0	60.0
100%	Virginia	986,445	440,031	1,445,772	3,197,000	1,902,062	59.5	76.0	45.2
94%	Washington	679,156	475,553	1,175,597	2,371,000	1,973,895	83.3	59.6	49.6
98%	West Virginia	472,063	271,950	744,013	1,182,000	1,072,519	90.7	69.4	62.9
100%	Wisconsin	988,521	807,070	1,843,110	2,955,000	1,850,000	62.6	99.6	62.4
100%	Wyoming	100,630	44,348	144,986*	225,000	138,936	61.7	104.3*	64.4

KEY:

Total Turnout - In some cases figure is unofficial total for all parties; in other instances minor party figures were unavailable and total is sum of the Nixon-McGovern vote.

Minnesota - registration required only in communities of 10,000 or more.

Missouri - registration optional except in cities with populations of 400,000 or more and counties with 200,000 or more. Registration is not statewide.

North Dakota - Do not register voters.

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

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

+ Partial Registration

* Turnout was higher than registration because registration was open until Election Day.

OFFICIAL

VOTING FOR PRESIDENT

November 22, 1972

State	% of Prct.	Nixon Vote	% of Vote	McGovern Vote	% of Vote	Schmitz Vote	% 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		1,278,714		610,582				11/22
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	100	897,569		802,569		31,407		11/21
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	183,976		120,197		13,430		11/22
Nebraska	100	384,571	71	162,600	29	-	-	Nothing until 12/4 -AP
Nevada	100	115,750		66,016				11/22
New Hampshire	100	233,724		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

VOTING FOR PRESIDENT

OFFICIAL

State	% of Pret.	Nixon	% of Vote	McGovern	% of Vote	Schmitz	% of Vote	Date of Certification
South Carolina	100	1,054,889		438,705		9,039		Result of 2nd of 3 audits
South Dakota		174,109		100,384		5,646		Official results 11/24
Tennessee	100	2,456,048	60	1,546,959	38	80,766	2	Nothing until 11/21 - AP
Texas	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
North 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	813,147		357,293		30,343		11/22
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		46,622,734	60.9	28,648,135	37.44	1,238,217	1.62	

Total Votes Tabulated: 76,509,086

OFFICIAL

BOARDING 2008 PA 42283

State	% of Nixon	% of McGovern	% of Schlesinger	% of Wallace	Date of Certification
ALABAMA	100	1,054,889	438,105	9,039	Result of 2nd of 3 ballots Official results 11/24
ALASKA	100	174,109	100,384	5,646	
ARIZONA	100	2,254,048	0,546,050	30,166	Notified early 11-21-68
ARKANSAS	100	759,025	247,147	237,023	11-13
CALIFORNIA	100	483,229	390,867	46,104	Official start 11-17-68
COLORADO	100	2,703,978	4,738,034	61,235	Notified early 11-27-68
CONNECTICUT	100	209,156	285,239	48	Notified early 11-27-68
DELAWARE	97	428,372	187,550	10,355	Notified early 11-21-68
FLORIDA	100	163,814	337,868	45	Notified early 11-20-68
GEORGIA	100	812,484	355,817	30,256	Notified early 11-22-68
HAWAII	57	2,272,666	2,146,470	33	Notified early 11-22-68
ILLINOIS	99	321,595	026,008	28,616	Notified early 11-21-68
INDIANA	100	117,149	58,174		11-21
IOWA	100	986,440	440,030	19,296	Notified early 11-11-68
KANSAS	94	619,456	473,569	48,953	Notified early 11-17-68
KENTUCKY	96	472,033	271,950	35	12-01
LOUISIANA	100	989,021	607,070	47,079	Notified early 11-23-68
MAINE	100	100,630	44,348	30	Notified early 11-16-68
MASSACHUSETTS	99	46,767,312	60,975,726	37,415	1-6

Total Votes Tabulated: 76,732,718

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
1. New York, New York							
New York City	2,341,506	1,909,151	4,250,657	8,373,419			50.8
Bronx	197,441	245,757	443,198	1,053,437	703,902 (66.8)	63.0	42.1
Kings	373,831	383,972	757,803	1,871,211	1,132,754 (60.5)	66.9	40.5
New York	179,867	353,847	533,714	1,229,878			43.4
Queens	423,429	328,462	751,891	1,517,183	1,039,869 (68.5)	72.3	49.6
Richmond	84,676	29,126	113,802	203,358	145,375 (71.5)	78.3	56.0
Nassau	440,219	253,095	693,314	992,377	828,799 (83.5)	83.7	70.0
Rockland	62,353	34,246	96,599	147,817	118,517 (80.2)	81.5	65.4
Suffolk	316,623	131,991	448,614	714,964	526,506 (73.6)	85.2	62.7
Westchester	263,067	148,655	411,722	643,194	471,630 (73.3)	87.3	64.0
2. Los Angeles, Long Beach California							
Los Angeles	1,516,832	1,163,205	2,835,769	5,017,447	3,597,963 (71.7)	78.8	56.5
3. Chicago, Illinois							
Cook	1,197,818	1,006,793	2,204,611	3,840,387	3,140,500 (81.8)	70.2	57.4
DuPage	166,346	64,000	230,346	318,031	290,432 (91.3)	79.3	72.4
Kane	64,546	27,525	92,286	168,262	124,008 (73.7)	74.4	54.8
Lake	78,332	41,371	119,703	258,885	165,357 (63.9)	72.4	46.2
McHenry	36,114	12,090	48,312	73,598	64,265 (87.3)	75.2	65.6
Will	65,155	33,633	99,021	163,651	140,545 (85.9)	70.5	60.5

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
4. Philadelphia, PA	1,091,815	844,100	1,962,178	3,375,563	2,474,163 (73.3)	79.3	58.1
Bucks, PA	99,161	56,442	159,065	271,695	198,546 (73.1)	80.1	58.5
Chester, PA	72,415	31,087	105,912	191,574	130,864 (68.3)	80.9	55.3
Delaware, PA	175,480	93,759	273,446	422,164	335,711 (79.5)	81.5	64.8
Montgomery, PA	173,213	91,581	267,394	438,095	329,648 (75.2)	81.1	61.0
Philadelphia, PA	344,000	429,000	778,900	1,405,617	1,010,229 (71.9)	77.1	55.4
Burlington, NJ	70,805	41,520	110,846	218,090	136,583 (62.6)	81.2	50.8
Camden, NJ	111,935	75,202	193,324	313,328	246,344 (78.6)	78.5	61.7
Gloucester, NJ	44,806	25,509	73,291	115,000	86,238 (75.0)	85.0	63.7
5. Detroit, Michigan	924,403	725,892	1,680,294	2,839,183	2,277,147 (80.2)	73.8	59.2
Macomb	147,482	82,348	235,434	394,624	290,026 (73.5)	81.2	59.7
Oakland	241,398	129,537	379,201	603,975	502,737 (83.2)	75.4	62.8
Wayne	535,523	514,007	1,065,659	1,840,584	1,484,384 (80.6)	71.8	57.9
6. San Francisco, CA	648,449	697,624	1,430,419	2,273,893	1,771,204 (77.9)	80.8	62.9
Alameda	201,362	259,254	483,756	774,556	596,587 (77.0)	81.1	62.5
Contra Costa	130,704	111,408	263,151	379,713	311,147 (81.9)	84.6	69.3
Marin	53,687	46,959	105,494	147,059	126,928 (86.3)	83.1	71.7
San Francisco	127,826	170,702	317,098	573,998	426,338 (74.3)	74.4	55.2
San Mateo	134,870	109,301	260,920	398,567	310,204 (77.8)	84.1	65.5

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
7. Washington, D.C.-MD-VA	482,415	399,874	899,127	1,938,312	1,259,606 (65.0)	71.4	46.4
Dist. Columbia	31,257	115,914	149,089	518,000	305,072 (58.9)	48.9	28.8
Montgomery, MD	125,620	92,543	220,364	355,597	290,000 (81.6)	76.0	62.0
Prince Georges, MD	116,166	79,914	198,410	436,910	238,097 (54.5)	83.3	45.4
Alexandria City, VA	20,235	15,409	37,223	83,360	56,202 (67.4)	66.2	44.7
Fairfax City, VA	5,063	2,271	7,472	14,073	10,154 (72.2)	73.6	53.1
Falls Chrc. City, VA	2,967	1,895	4,943	7,795	6,523 (83.7)	75.8	63.4
Arlington, VA	39,406	25,877	67,774	137,487	90,870 (66.1)	74.6	49.3
Fairfax, VA	112,135	54,844	172,601	295,656	208,945 (70.7)	82.6	58.4
Loudoun, VA	9,417	3,941	13,367	23,882	18,402 (77.1)	72.6	56.0
Prince William, VA	20,149	7,266	27,884	65,552	35,341 (53.9)	78.9	42.5
8. Pittsburgh, PA.	488,902	405,801	914,312	1,718,920	1,293,516 (75.3)	70.7	53.2
Allegheny	317,281	281,283	611,808	1,156,055	920,875 (79.7)	66.0	53.0
Beaver	43,696	31,569	78,530	145,763	95,303 (65.4)	82.4	53.9
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
9. St. Louis, MO-ILL	486,991	388,954	883,362	1,615,106	1,148,121 (71.1)	76.9	54.7
St. Louis City, MO	69,744	113,782	183,526	446,358	263,917 (59.0)	69.5	41.4
Franklin, MO	13,795	7,464	21,259	36,781	29,757 (80.9)	71.4	57.8
Jefferson, MO	18,764	12,019	30,783	67,123	50,717 (75.6)	60.7	45.9
St. Charles, MO	25,682	11,033	36,715	57,970	48,500 (83.7)	75.5	63.3
St. Louis, MO	253,102	154,731	407,833	645,564	485,345 (75.2)	83.3	63.0
Madison, ILL	55,385	43,289	101,398	171,864	127,000 (73.9)	79.8	59.0
St. Clair	50,519	46,636	101,848	189,446	142,885 (75.4)	71.3	53.8

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
10. Baltimore, MD	420,200	255,758	685,010	1,433,385	985,991 (68.8)	69.5	47.8
Baltimore City	116,941	138,716	259,482	634,894	424,377 (67.0)	61.1	40.8
Anne Arundel	71,707	26,082	99,239	200,184	125,831 (62.9)	78.9	49.6
Baltimore	170,378	67,620	241,854	433,303	322,691 (74.5)	74.9	55.8
Carroll	16,382	4,262	21,192	48,559	27,623 (56.9)	76.7	43.6
Harford	25,141	8,737	33,878	76,098	47,187 (62.0)	71.8	44.5
Howard	18,651	10,341	29,365	40,347	38,282 (94.9)	76.7	72.8
11. Cleveland, Ohio	406,675	360,794	805,151	1,436,169	1,040,791 (72.5)	77.4	56.1
Cuyahoga	329,567	316,263	680,077	1,214,412	883,984 (72.8)	76.9	56.0
Geauga	15,606	7,325	23,552	40,253	28,225 (70.2)	83.4	58.5
Lake	40,492	26,558	69,123	128,239	89,900 (70.1)	76.9	53.9
Medina	21,010	10,648	32,399	53,265	38,652 (72.6)	83.8	60.8
12. Houston, Texas	417,442	239,464	656,906	1,325,463	964,722 (72.8)	68.1	49.6
Brazoria	21,045	11,350	32,395	71,920	48,628 (67.6)	66.6	45.0
Fort Bend	9,549	4,529	14,078	33,445	22,578 (67.5)	62.4	42.1
Harris	365,670	215,916	581,586	1,164,513	847,779 (72.8)	68.6	49.9
Liberty	6,111	3,311	9,422	22,661	15,450 (68.2)	61.0	41.6
Montgomery	15,067	4,358	19,425	32,924	30,287 (92.0)	64.1	59.0
13. Newark, New Jersey	425,805	292,571	720,337	1,318,357	918,716 (69.7)	78.4	54.6
Essex	163,989	151,804	315,793	667,453	429,762 (64.4)	73.5	47.3
Morris	114,469	50,937	159,016	257,069	195,434 (76.0)	81.4	61.9
Union	147,347	89,830	245,528	393,835	293,520 (74.5)	83.6	62.3

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
14. Minneapolis, St. Paul Minnesota	408,423	387,101	815,980	1,222,357			66.8
Anoka	29,546	28,031	60,475	90,042			67.2
Dakota	34,967	28,479	65,678	84,785			77.5
Hennepin	227,630	205,062	440,852	671,121	522,650 (77.9)	84.3	65.7
Ramsey	97,138	109,427	212,410	326,993			65.0
Washington	19,142	16,102	36,565	49,416			74.0
15. Dallas, Texas	357,424	151,556	509,224	1,057,849	744,993 (70.4)	68.4	48.1
Collin	17,667	4,783	22,595	44,917	33,112 (73.7)	68.2	50.3
Dallas	304,850	129,809	434,659	896,934	631,457 (70.4)	68.4	48.5
Denton	19,138	9,720	28,920	55,493	42,365 (76.3)	68.3	52.1
Ellis	8,779	3,839	12,626	32,249	19,159 (59.4)	65.9	39.2
Kaufman	5,100	2,795	7,907	23,402	15,000 (64.1)	52.7	33.8
Rockwall	1,890	610	2,517	4,854	3,900 (80.3)	64.5	51.9

Boston unavailable election/county level
 Minn - ^{some} counties no Regis.
 NY County - 1 where couldn't get

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
1. New York, New York							
New York City	2,341,506	1,909,151	4,250,657	8,373,419			50.8
Bronx	197,441	245,757	443,198	1,053,437	703,902 (66.8)	63.0	42.1
Kings	373,831	383,972	757,803	1,871,211	1,132,754 (60.5)	66.9	40.5
New York	179,867	353,847	533,714	1,229,878			43.4
Queens	423,429	328,462	751,891	1,517,183	1,039,869 (68.5)	72.3	49.6
Richmond	84,676	29,126	113,802	203,358	145,375 (71.5)	78.3	56.0
Nassau	440,219	253,095	693,314	992,377	828,799 (83.5)	83.7	70.0
Rockland	62,353	34,246	96,599	147,817	118,517 (80.2)	81.5	65.4
Suffolk	316,623	131,991	448,614	714,964	526,506 (73.6)	85.2	62.7
Westchester	263,067	148,655	411,722	643,194	471,630 (73.3)	87.3	64.0
2. Los Angeles, Long Beach California							
Los Angeles	1,516,832	1,163,205	2,835,769	5,017,447	3,597,963 (71.7)	78.8	56.5
3. Chicago, Illinois							
Cook	1,197,818	1,006,793	2,204,611	3,840,387	3,140,500 (81.8)	70.2	57.4
DuPage	166,346	64,000	230,346	318,031	290,432 (91.3)	79.3	72.4
Kane	64,546	27,525	92,286	168,262	124,008 (73.7)	74.4	54.8
Lake	78,332	41,371	119,703	258,885	165,357 (63.9)	72.4	46.2
McHenry	36,114	12,090	48,312	73,598	64,265 (87.3)	75.2	65.6
Will	65,155	33,633	99,021	163,651	140,545 (85.9)	70.5	60.5

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
4. Philadelphia, PA	1,091,815	844,100	1,962,178	3,375,563	2,474,163 (73.3)	79.3	58.1
Bucks, PA	99,161	56,442	159,065	271,695	198,546 (73.1)	80.1	58.5
Chester, PA	72,415	31,087	105,912	191,574	130,864 (68.3)	80.9	55.3
Delaware, PA	175,480	93,759	273,446	422,164	335,711 (79.5)	81.5	64.8
Montgomery, PA	173,213	91,581	267,394	438,095	329,648 (75.2)	81.1	61.0
Philadelphia, PA	344,000	429,000	778,900	1,405,617	1,010,229 (71.9)	77.1	55.4
Burlington, NJ	70,805	41,520	110,846	218,090	136,583 (62.6)	81.2	50.8
Camden, NJ	111,935	75,202	193,324	313,328	246,344 (78.6)	78.5	61.7
Gloucester, NJ	44,806	25,509	73,291	115,000	86,238 (75.0)	85.0	63.7
5. Detroit, Michigan	924,403	725,892	1,680,294	2,839,183	2,277,147 (80.2)	73.8	59.2
Macomb	147,482	82,348	235,434	394,624	290,026 (73.5)	81.2	59.7
Oakland	241,398	129,537	379,201	603,975	502,737 (83.2)	75.4	62.8
Wayne	535,523	514,007	1,065,659	1,840,584	1,484,384 (80.6)	71.8	57.9
6. San Francisco, CA	648,449	697,624	1,430,419	2,273,893	1,771,204 (77.9)	80.8	62.9
Alameda	201,362	259,254	483,756	774,556	596,587 (77.0)	81.1	62.5
Contra Costa	130,704	111,408	263,151	379,713	311,147 (81.9)	84.6	69.3
Marin	53,687	46,959	105,494	147,059	126,928 (86.3)	83.1	71.7
San Francisco	127,826	170,702	317,098	573,998	426,338 (74.3)	74.4	55.2
San Mateo	134,870	109,301	260,920	398,567	310,204 (77.8)	84.1	65.5

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
7. Washington, D.C.-MD-VA	482,415	399,874	899,127	1,938,312	1,259,606 (65.0)	71.4	46.4
Dist. Columbia	31,257	115,914	149,089	518,000	305,072 (58.9)	48.9	28.8
Montgomery, MD	125,620	92,543	220,364	355,597	290,000 (81.6)	76.0	62.0
Prince Georges, MD	116,166	79,914	198,410	436,910	238,097 (54.5)	83.3	45.4
Alexandria City, VA	20,235	15,409	37,223	83,360	56,202 (67.4)	66.2	44.7
Fairfax City, VA	5,063	2,271	7,472	14,073	10,154 (72.2)	73.6	53.1
Falls Chrc. City, VA	2,967	1,895	4,943	7,795	6,523 (83.7)	75.8	63.4
Arlington, VA	39,406	25,877	67,774	137,487	90,870 (66.1)	74.6	49.3
Fairfax, VA	112,135	54,844	172,601	295,656	208,945 (70.7)	82.6	58.4
Loudoun, VA	9,417	3,941	13,367	23,882	18,402 (77.1)	72.6	56.0
Prince William, VA	20,149	7,266	27,884	65,552	35,341 (53.9)	78.9	42.5
8. Pittsburgh, PA	488,902	405,801	914,312	1,718,920	1,293,516 (75.3)	70.7	53.2
Allegheny	317,281	281,283	611,808	1,156,055	920,875 (79.7)	66.0	53.0
Beaver	43,696	31,569	78,530	145,763	95,303 (65.4)	82.4	53.9
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
9. St. Louis, MO-ILL	486,991	388,954	883,362	1,615,106	1,148,121 (71.1)	76.9	54.7
St. Louis City, MO	69,744	113,782	183,526	446,358	263,917 (59.0)	69.5	41.4
Franklin, MO	13,795	7,464	21,259	36,781	29,757 (80.9)	71.4	57.8
Jefferson, MO	18,764	12,019	30,783	67,123	50,717 (75.6)	60.7	45.9
St. Charles, MO	25,682	11,033	36,715	57,970	48,500 (83.7)	75.5	63.3
St. Louis, MO	253,102	154,731	407,833	645,564	485,345 (75.2)	83.3	63.0
Madison, ILL	55,385	43,289	101,398	171,864	127,000 (73.9)	79.8	59.0
St. Clair	50,519	46,636	101,848	189,446	142,885 (75.4)	71.3	53.8

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
10. Baltimore, MD	420,200	255,758	685,010	1,433,385	985,991 (68.8)	69.5	47.8
Baltimore City	116,941	138,716	259,482	634,894	424,377 (67.0)	61.1	40.8
Anne Arundel	71,707	26,082	99,239	200,184	125,831 (62.9)	78.9	49.6
Baltimore	170,378	67,620	241,854	433,303	322,691 (74.5)	74.9	55.8
Carroll	16,382	4,262	21,192	48,559	27,623 (56.9)	76.7	43.6
Harford	25,141	8,737	33,878	76,098	47,187 (62.0)	71.8	44.5
Howard	18,651	10,341	29,365	40,347	38,282 (94.9)	76.7	72.8
11. Cleveland, Ohio	406,675	360,794	805,151	1,436,169	1,040,791 (72.5)	77.4	56.1
Cuyahoga	329,567	316,263	680,077	1,214,412	883,984 (72.8)	76.9	56.0
Geauga	15,606	7,325	23,552	40,253	28,225 (70.2)	83.4	58.5
Lake	40,492	26,558	69,123	128,239	89,900 (70.1)	76.9	53.9
Medina	21,010	10,648	32,399	53,265	38,652 (72.6)	83.8	60.8
12. Houston, Texas	417,442	239,464	656,906	1,325,463	964,722 (72.8)	68.1	49.6
Brazoria	21,045	11,350	32,395	71,920	48,628 (67.6)	66.6	45.0
Fort Bend	9,549	4,529	14,078	33,445	22,578 (67.5)	62.4	42.1
Harris	365,670	215,916	581,586	1,164,513	847,779 (72.8)	68.6	49.9
Liberty	6,111	3,311	9,422	22,661	15,450 (68.2)	61.0	41.6
Montgomery	15,067	4,358	19,425	32,924	30,287 (92.0)	64.1	59.0
13. Newark, New Jersey	425,805	292,571	720,337	1,318,357	918,716 (69.7)	78.4	54.6
Essex	163,989	151,804	315,793	667,453	429,762 (64.4)	73.5	47.3
Morris	114,469	50,937	159,016	257,069	195,434 (76.0)	81.4	61.9
Union	147,347	89,830	245,528	393,835	293,520 (74.5)	83.6	62.3

1972 ELECTION REPORT

AGGREGATE REPORT ON THE TOP 15 SMSA's

<u>SMSA/Counties</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>
14. Minneapolis, St. Paul Minnesota	408,423	387,101	815,980	1,222,357			66.8
Anoka	29,546	28,031	60,475	90,042			67.2
Dakota	34,967	28,479	65,678	84,785			77.5
Hennepin	227,630	205,062	440,852	671,121	522,650 (77.9)	84.3	65.7
Ramsey	97,138	109,427	212,410	326,993			65.0
Washington	19,142	16,102	36,565	49,416			74.0
15. Dallas, Texas	357,424	151,556	509,224	1,057,849	744,993 (70.4)	68.4	48.1
Collin	17,667	4,783	22,595	44,917	33,112 (73.7)	68.2	50.3
Dallas	304,850	129,809	434,659	896,934	631,457 (70.4)	68.4	48.5
Denton	19,138	9,720	28,920	55,493	42,365 (76.3)	68.3	52.1
Ellis	8,779	3,839	12,626	32,249	19,159 (59.4)	65.9	39.2
Kaufman	5,100	2,795	7,907	23,402	15,000 (64.1)	52.7	33.8
Rockwall	1,890	610	2,517	4,854	3,900 (80.3)	64.5	51.9

Cal - 1968 - 60%
72 - 58%

Jacal Salo~~na~~^m - Pol Sci at MIT

The Parties -

20th Cen. Fund

Fred Sontag

Fooling w/ info for 1 mo. +
can't tell; cnty by cnty
alterations

Teeter

- 1) Big Cities - ~~low turnout,~~
- 2) Rural areas - ~~low, but unres~~
~~spotty trends; 0~~
- 3) ~~Ohio~~ No difference bet those
sts wh/ were highly
soft / org and those not highly
Org. Ohio v. Tenn.
- 4) Nat'l Turnout ~~58%~~ 54-56%
above 60 in 3 previous dec
- drop off in 80s not
near as great as in
No big sts
ex - in 1960 Ala - 31%
64 " - 36%
68 " - 53%
72 " - 44%
So deviation fr/ 34%
are not great

Imp 5)

So turnout higher proper
than rest of country
- in 72 the difference decreased
80's - 68 turn held up
in 72

6) Turn did not fall off near
as much where there
were hotly contested
st wide races

Ill +

Mich - 68 - 66%

72 58%

Ohio - no st race 63% in '68
56 in '72

Pa - 65 (68) to 55 (72)
no st wide races
in Pa

7) Rep turnout
somewhat lower & down

8) Ohio Precincts
Core Repub Precincts - Turn
as % of Regis
ave turn 91-93% - '68,
64'
in '72 - 85%

9) The Rep T/S dropped off
more than regular Reps
- Suburban upper end
T/S - Reason: apathy

d
slide

Def RN going to win by
20% — also didn't
like letter card + proba
can't show that Watergate
influenced

- 10) anti-McG so intense
1st thing to mind re McG
- 60-65% whatever
they thought of McG was
bad
- Hated McG enuf to vote for,
but many hated only
enuf to stay home

- 11) [Dem turn lower, but
Inds + Reps grilly lower
not just Dems lower,
argues for a pathos
motio.
Very very fierce contested
local races be/8s
have shifted Govs
to next years.

12) Post Elec survey - dropped.
leaf of delay - can't
remember TV or mail

13) Sur Res Center - 4-5 - no's -
Apr.

→ 14) Fred Carrier w/ Gallup -
conclusion re Turnlow
- but little info -
- mostly leaf R.N.
assumed a winner
- Gallup will put
out monthly book

15) AMPAC - post-elec surveys
avail after Jan 1
- Cal + Colo
- did NY - but too short
to be really useful

16) N.M. - a Dem st
1972 - 59.8
low turn | 60 - 62 | Flat | no
64 62 | variance
68 61

contain 60, 64, 68, 72
border + SW 60
Miss, N.M., Tenn

- Sts w/ just low turn
stayed low, so the
big drop was in the
historically higher turnout
states such as Mich, Minn,
Ohio, NY. wa/ indicates
the turnout lower in big
index sts

60-67
64-65
68-60
72-57

60-76
64-76
68-74/72-64

17) all post-elec surveys
overst turn by 10-12%

18) But in Ohio, Rep party
will pull off names
of those known not
to vote + then they
will be surveyed by
Teeter
- expected back 1st wk
in Jan.

19) Absence of local Races +
apathy.

20) There was no Ori turnout
area -

Fore 21) Organ's people claim held turn up.

22) Tues - a 50 st term
of 50 st present avail
- when avail

Post Lee

Benham

1) - higher prop^{ort} of youth + they vote lower
- lowered the total

2) lower int in Lee gently
- Gall? How are you in Lee

3) since '60, % dropping + increasing mobility
disenfranchises

→ 4) Demog of youth - lowering age to 18 least likely

Hard to do

5) Wallace - most ardent couldn't vote for him

6) Me G lost his - most ardent his disenfranchised after the Convention + his activities

7) Gently low morale of Dem party - many losses set on hands

→ 8) Reps turned out but trend toward Dems - normal non-P line trouble

Sten Anderson re lawyer's ^{12/12}
position
D - info re Ore lawyer
from Gemery.

Fri mtg for Kopp-
Mide Harrigan

Stacks -
Do this every
week
H
FU
11/20

~~GS~~
When is
11/20
B

Hfa
11/23

ACTION MEMO

We need a complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election.

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

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

ACTION MEMO

We need a complete analysis of the Republican vote and the Republican Party performance in the election.

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

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

11/13/72

HZU
11/29

ACTION MEMO

HIGBY

Give me the report on the California voter turnout percentage versus the national percentage. Also, what was the Republican vote turnout throughout the country and what was the voter turnout in the South versus the rest of the country?

**HRH
11/10/72**

HRH:kb

November 20, 1972

Memorandum

To: Bob Haldeman

From: Charlie ^{McWhorter} McWhorter

Re: Post Election Comments

I am sure you have noticed that some political pundits and others have been trying to detract from the significance of the President's victory by suggesting that it was a "lonely landslide" and suggesting he should have done more to assist GOP local candidates. In my opinion, this position cannot be justified. I think we should stress the following points:

1. The President created a favorable political climate in which all GOP candidates could run with maximum advantage from the President's leadership. This is an unprecedented achievement in modern American politics and demonstrates the commanding strength of the President's centrist position. Our local and state candidates have never had, even under Eisenhower, an incumbent President who did more to create a favorable political climate in both domestic and foreign affairs, and that is more important than dashing around trying to prop up sagging candidates who are in trouble in spite of the President's leadership.
2. The President did campaign personally for six Republican challengers (Ga., Ky., N.C., N.M., Okla. and R.I.) and in support of Bob Griffin, Chuck Percy and John Tower. In addition, the President had taken the time to visit all 50 states at some point during his first Administration. By concentrating emphasis on voter registration and voter contact activities, all GOP candidates were helped by the national campaign efforts.
3. It is increasingly difficult to develop strong national trends on a partisan basis because of the tendency of voters to split their ticket. The fact that the President could receive 61% of the total vote at a time when the overall national Republican support was considerably less than 50% demonstrates the strength which the President gave to our campaign this fall and the great personal political achievement it represents.
4. As a party the GOP has a great many problems as it faces the future, but this is not an extraordinary or unusual situation. Rather, it should be pointed out that whatever problems face our party, the likelihood of getting them resolved on a satisfactory basis is greatly enhanced as a result of the President's campaign this fall. In other words, any impartial examination of the political situation would indicate that, in facing its future, the GOP's greatest strength is the example and leadership of Richard Nixon.

5. I think it is important to keep in mind what future writers will say about the 1972 elections. It can be described as "a landslide", one in which the President got over 60% of the vote, one in which the electoral vote was 521-17, or one in which the President won "49-1". While all of these are accurate descriptions, I think we should consider which one should be stressed. Personally, I was impressed that the FDR victory in 1936 seems to be one in which everybody recalls that he carried all but two states - Maine and Vermont - but very few people remember the percentage of his vote or the exact electoral count. For this reason, it occurs to me that the most likely political interpretation of the 1972 campaign may well be the "49-1" description. If that is true, perhaps that is the description which we should be emphasizing. After all, 49 to 1 is a good score in any game.

cc: Herb Klein

DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

November 8, 1972

Dear Gordon:

I know how hard (and long) you worked on the political side of the President's re-election effort.

Congratulations to you on a job very well done - and for helping with one of the most magnificent outcomes in political history.

Your friend,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'DLC', written over the typed name.

Dwight L. Chapin

Mr. Gordon Strachan
The White House
Washington, D.C.

(F)

November 8, 1972

STRAIGHTWIRE

Honorable Donald Dwight
Mrs. Charles Malone
Co-Chairmen
Massachusetts Committee for the
Re-Election of the President
77 Franklin Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02110

While Massachusetts did not come in the Presidential
winner column for us last night, I know the tremendous challenge
we faced in the Bay State, and we are all heartened by the
gains we made over the returns of four years ago. I am deeply
grateful for your remarkable spirit and dedication to our
cause. You and all who worked with you have my heartfelt
appreciation and warm wishes always.

RICHARD NIXON

RN:AVH:RLE:baw

November 8, 1972

STRAIGHTWIRE

Honorable Otto A. Wahrab
Chairman
Republican State Committee
No. 524
73 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02109

The Presidential election news heartens all who worked so hard for victory. Although Massachusetts did not show up in the winner column, I know the tremendous challenges you faced, I am well aware of the gains we made over 1968 in the Presidential race. I am deeply grateful for your wonderful spirit and dedication to our cause which contributed so importantly to our successful outcome across the nation. With my appreciation to you= and to all who worked so hard for our success,

RICHARD NIXON

RN:AVH:RLE:baw

November 8, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Here is a preliminary report on the fund-raising efforts in your campaign.

The campaign budget, which was originally fixed at \$40,000,000, gradually crept up to \$43,000,000, and I suspect that by the time all of the bills are in it will amount to as much as \$45,000,000. In addition, we should have a reserve fund of \$1,000,000 or \$2,000,000 to take care of continuing legal expenses, final reports, necessary refunds, and other items which ought to be provided for.

Our fund-raising was inhibited by a series of events that we did not face in 1968:

1. The many investigations and legal matters related to the Watergate and its aftermath occupied more than half of my personal time during the last fifteen weeks of the campaign, which made it impossible for me to be wholly effective.
2. The continuing lead of 25 points in the various polls during the campaign caused many people to assume that we would not need much money to win.
3. The Democrats kept up a constant barrage of statements from the beginning of the year until election day to the effect that we had more money than we needed, and these statements were frequently printed in the press, and even sometimes repeated by individuals working on our side of the campaign.

Despite all of these serious handicaps, I believe I can tell you that we have raised enough money to pay the campaign costs in full and have some reserve, unless there are major surprises still to come in the unpaid bills.

The President
page two

There will be one notable change, however, from 1968. As a result of the circumstances I have described, a larger proportion of our contributions will have come from individual contributions of larger amounts. The small contributors who normally might have given in greater numbers were apparently influenced by the Democratic propaganda to the effect that we didn't need money. Nevertheless, we will have had at least 500,000 contributors.

I congratulate you on a perfect campaign and a magnificent win!

Sincerely,

Maurice H. Stans

MIS:AC:ft

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN 
SUBJECT: ANALYSIS OF WHY MCGOVERN LOST

Attached is a fairly detailed political analysis of why McGovern did not win in 1972. The reason for this exercise is to offer up the response to the commentary which will maintain that McGovern lost not because of his ideology but because of himself. I. e., it will be argued that extreme liberalism is still a valid political phenomenon but that McGovern was the wrong candidate to carry the colors.

There are many ways to respond to this, and I have done so with an analysis of the many different factors of the McGovern movement. However, each time we return to the basic reason: that McGovern was trying to sell an unpopular, unwanted ideology to the American people.

Eagleton will get a great deal of blame from some -- but McGovern was tarred way before Eagleton. It began in California where HHH tied the albatross around McGovern's neck, and we took it from there. Labor didn't walk out because of Eagleton, but because of the McGovern platform.

Right on down the line, it is simple to disprove the argument that we were in a personality contest. Make no mistake about it, the contest was between drastically differing political philosophies -- and the left got a good licking in a fair contest.

Whether you measure it by polls, the actual results, or by sentiment in certain areas, McGovern was tied down to the thinking which America didn't want. Vietnam dovishness, welfarism, isolationism, pacifism, permissiveness, and a host of other gut issues found McGovern on the far left -- objectively on the far left.

To say that he ran a bad campaign or that he bungled the Eagleton affair or that he made too many mistakes misses the fundamental reason for the rejection of McGovern. The attached tries to chronicle the McGovern defeat, and in my judgment, should provide enough for some of our people to move out to columnists and opinion-makers. I think the President -- in his post-election analysis -- should make an important effort to knock down in advance some of the stories we will see. This memo might give him some ideas in that direction.

Ken Khachigian
November 7, 1972

POLITICAL MEMORANDUM
WHY MCGOVERN LOST

A massive effort must be taken after the election to head off the liberal establishment effort to detract from RN's election victory. That effort will take many tacks -- such as RN didn't bring in a Congress; people voted against McGovern not for Nixon, etc. However, the liberal apologists will push one line extra hard: the defeat was not for the ideas of left-liberal movement but rather for the bearer of those ideas.

They will argue that liberalism is still viable -- that we still need busing, and all the other liberal schemes, and that they need only wait until they get a standard bearer who won't make the same mistakes McGovern did. The following analysis serves to debunk that viewpoint, and, it seems to me, should be put out as much as possible to counter all the opinion contra. This memorandum focuses on why McGovern lost -- any analysis of the high points of the RN victory should be taken up in a separate memorandum.

THE CENTRAL POINT TO MAKE

To those who argue that McGovern had bad strategy and bad tactics and that he made too many mistakes to run a good campaign, we have one basic response: the tactics of the liberal movement are the logical outgrowth of the liberal ideology. That is, don't blame McGovern per se, blame the philosophy. Elitism, close-mindedness, moral righteousness, viewing things as good versus evil and the penchant for overstatement are all

fundamentals of the liberal-left political ideology. If McGovern ran a bad campaign -- don't blame his strategy because the strategy is the ideology. The personal flaws of McGovern were bred of the flaws of his political philosophy.

Thus, McGovern could change his mind on central issues, and then with a straight face defend his credibility. This hurt his standing with the voters, but being trained in the narrow view as he has, he sees his position only in moralistic terms, or, as PJB put it, as the true believers.

People rejected the McGovern philosophy pure and simple. If the questions of his credibility and wishy-washyness arose, it was only because of his approach to public policy -- one in which he could cut aircraft carriers back from 16 to 6 and still maintain with a straight face that this would not affect the strength of the sixth fleet. That is the underlying problem with the left radicals, i. e., that the wild things they propose really won't disjoint things important to citizens or voter blocs.

But there are other things to look at in terms of what McGovern did wrong, and I'll take them in sequence.

THE PARTY REFORM

It is not for nothing that the Democratic Party reform was promulgated under the "McGovern Commission." This is where we underestimated McGovern. Immediately, he saw the potential of these guidelines -- they

served his purposes perfectly. The reforms brought precisely those people into the process who would directly further his candidacy. Moreover, it was only McGovern at that point who saw that the complexity of the rules would be baffling to those who did not know them, and he hired the fellow who knew the rules best to be his delegate counter -- Rick Stearns.

His opponents did not see soon enough the potential of having a tight solid base which could bring victory in a field of many candidates. Therefore, McGovern moved quickly to pre-empt the party's left wing, and knowing that and with tight organization and his left flank protected, he could conceivably get the nomination. To that extent the liberal-left issues were winners for McGovern in the early stages of the game.

PRIMARIES

McGovern made it through the primaries with skill, luck, and, later, with a little help from his friends in the media. New Hampshire was a Muskie disaster, and McGovern was clever in making his loss out to be a victory. McGovern's first score. McGovern was wiped out in Florida in what should have been the first test of the McGovern political philosophy -- but it was not reported that way. It was said that McGovern never expected to win Florida. Nevertheless, his views on gutting the space program, support for massive busing, and a few other positions surely were important in the Florida defeat.

Next came Illinois where McGovern wisely worked more on getting a foothold while avoiding a direct test with Muskie. This strategy -- a good one -- brought him to Wisconsin which he targeted from the beginning as his strongest state with the youth-lust and an excellent organization. There the tight-knit support for his radicalism and an excellent youth turnout gave him a victory. Moreover, the Republicans helped by crossing over for McGovern and Wallace. If only Democrats had voted, HHH would have won. Yet Wisconsin was the key for McGovern and most importantly it knocked Lindsay out and gave McG an unexposed left flank.

From Wisconsin on, it was not very difficult for McG. He took Rhode Island because there was only about a 10% Democrat turnout -- and the tight organization, getting the liberals and doves out, did it again. Then came Massachusetts and Pennsylvania with Muskie mercilessly caught in between HHH and McG. By this time the press was necking in the back seat with McGovern, and Massachusetts was a cinch while HHH kept Muskie at bay in Pa. Again, the organization also went to work in Pa. to pick up some delegates -- what proved to be a good strategy for McG; he nickel-dimed his opposition. Throughout, McGovern was assisted by low voter turnouts coupled with his zealots going to the polls in droves. April 25th served to put Muskie over the side -- a hapless victim on a fast track.

Through Ohio, Indiana, Tennessee, and North Carolina, in my judgment, the press effectively protected McGovern. He didn't do real well in any of these states -- except Ohio -- yet they only said it was because he didn't try. Yet, by then they should have known that the McGovern ideology was like death in those states. Moreover, in Ohio he was basking in the media glow which did not mention his radical positions at all, but rather how he represented "the alienated and discontented." That left McG free to use his excellent TV spots to bilk the voters of their support. They only saw a nice guy on the tube, not a radical.

Nebraska was the beginning of the end for McGovern. For the first time, his opposition began to hammer effectively at the McGovern leftism. Abortion, amnesty, pot, welfare and defense all became problems. It was too late for HHH to have much of an impact, but the seeds were planted. The threat that Offutt Air Base in Omaha would be closed by McGovern was the first big hit.

By this time in Oregon and California, McG had the only effective organization and a huge public relations advantage. The media was busy explaining why they were wrong about the early primaries, and in deference to McG were giving him every break possible. Michigan and Maryland were in between, but McG avoided media setbacks because the Wallace shooting knocked everything else off the front page. Yet those two states were another hint that McGovern represented the wrong side of the political spectrum. That story was lost in the Wallace tragedy.

By the time McGovern got out to the West Coast, the regular Democrats found out that they were in the process of being had by McGovern. But it was too late. The Dem party had been infiltrated by the McGovern guerillas, and there was no time for pacification. (Maybe the fact that McGovern seemed to think more of the Communists in Vietnam than their opponents colored his political strategy: he was the Viet Cong of the Democratic party).

Thus, McGovern won the California, South Dakota, New Mexico and New Jersey primaries all on the same day -- a tribute to irreversible momentum. (As McGovern said that night: "I can't believe I won the whole thing" -- neither could his fellow Democrats who probably swore that night that they would do anything to try to stop him.) But California was the true turning point in the 1972 presidential campaign and it turned on issues, not on McGovern's personality or bad tactics.

McGovern saw a 20 point lead in the polls drop to 4%. In short, he was devastated by the HHH one-man shredding machine. The issues caught up with him, and HHH was able to articulate them in his hammering staccato fashion as no other figure in American politics could do. Those three national debates -- which could not be filtered by the writing press or Frank Reynolds and his gang -- were the real Waterloo for McGovern. Vast attention was given to the welfare plan, the defense plan, the Vietnam bug-out, the fact that McGovern had voted against Jewish interests. HHH

was vicious and relentless and he did for us what we could have never done for ourselves. Moreover, he did to McG what Rockefeller did to Goldwater: he labelled McGovern.

Luckily for McG the next primary was New York, and he couldn't lose it because there was no preferential vote -- only delegate selection. Thus, the small left-wing delegate machine moved on, aided and abetted by only a little over a 10% voter turnout.

THE MEDIA IN THIS PERIOD

McGovern got more than his share of breaks from the press in the early days. They covered for his radical positions by writing tons of essays on populism and anti-politicians and alienated voters. Moreover, McGovern's staff was being given the kid-glove treatment. Stories followed on the McG "wunderkinder." Caddell (whose poll information has been so spectacularly bad, yet universally praised) was made out to be Gallup and Harris rolled into one. Stearns, Grandmason and Pokorny (who Sidey eulogized with the prairie sod in his ears) were "master strategists" -- and oh so young! Mankiewicz was quoted from coast to coast -- the man with the quick wit and fast repartee (in my opinion Mankiewicz is an absolute political lightweight who covered up with a quick wit -- he gave monumentally bad advice).

These "kids" began to believe their press clippings and probably thought it was a good time to screw the old-liners. I would guess that the boys in

the clubhouse didn't appreciate either their treatment or the stories they read about the "kids." Their duty was to win elections and not worry about ideology. The McG people believed that winning elections was a part of the ideology -- that the two were intertwined, and that their radicalism was the wave of the future. But give the devil his due -- the organization worked well and played the delegates and the convention states like violins.

THE CONVENTION

The Convention also had to be quite harmful to McGovern. By this time McGovern was tarred on the issues, but it was too late to stop him -- he really had it wrapped up after California. Nevertheless, the leftism was fully exposed on national television, and the shock for some probably has not yet worn off. The spectacle of the abortion people, the libbers and the homosexuals was too much. McGovern was seen, finally, to be the radical that his positions made him out to be, and this hurt.

Then came the compromises -- putting the abortion, women's lib, and other minority planks over the side -- along with George Wiley and Gloria Steinem. It was time to kiss and make up with Daley, though Daley would resist. But the sum total was a picture of just another politician, one who would make deals to win and compose his principles -- or at least certain principles.

But McGovern walked out of that convention a radical. For all intents and purposes he could not escape that label through November. It was not because of mistakes in his strategy or flaws in his tactics and it was not George McGovern the man or personality. It was his position on the political spectrum -- he was on the left, and he believed in his ways.

EAGLETON

I think the death blow was already delivered before the Eagleton affair. It only confirmed everything which had already been building up against McGovern. Those who argue that Eagleton was the turning point don't know what they're talking about. Eagleton was extremely important in terms of harming McGovern's credibility and trust. But even before Eagleton the seeds were planted -- Eagleton merely made it harder for McGovern. Without the Eagleton affair, McGovern would have still been weighted by his positions.

Blaming the Eagleton affair will be a liberal cop-out and a McGovern staff cop-out. Eagleton did not make McGovern lose a 20 point lead in the California balloting. We have got to stop the myth of the Eagleton thing before history writes that it was this and only this which cost McG his crack at the Presidency. It just ain't true. There was a Gallup after the Dem convention and before Eagleton which saw RN gaining three points. McGovern was already on the way down.

RADICALISM -- THE FATAL FLAW

Hubert Humphrey was always thought to be a radical. He had radical ideas, like McGovern. But the people around HHH were not radical. He had pals all around him -- cigar-chomping boys who prowled the back rooms. McGovern was surrounded by radicals -- all those damn hippy kids and free love adherents, etc. McGovern's politics were caught up in the culture of the "movement" and only made his radicalism seem worse.

These were not flaws of the man or his tactics -- again, they were basic defects of the radical liberal movement. McGovern thought that the kooky people around him were logical extensions of his new politics, of the coming home of America, and of the revolutionary basis of his candidacy. I would think that McGovern never did see what was wrong in saying that Henry Wallace was still "right," that the Soviets would treat him as a "friend" and not test him; or question why the Rubin and Hoffman endorsements were bad.

His friends -- Galbraith, Schlesinger, Steinem, et al. -- all came from the closed club of liberal intelligentsia which saw the historical movement through its own narrow vision. These were not casual campaign mistakes, they were the most profound of judgmental errors. McGovern misread the mood of the country and refused to admit it because liberal intellectuals always think they have a monopoly on wisdom. (I'm quite serious about this -- I never knew a liberal college professor who was otherwise, and McG is a former college professor)

THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign itself was marred by the same fundamental flaws of ideology. I don't believe at all that it was a tactical error for McGovern to campaign in the early days on Vietnam and some of the most leftish positions. I think he believed that his surrender policy in Vietnam (he was actually to the left of the Viet Cong in his proposals) was the right position and probably the politically expedient position. The income redistribution plan and some of the other way-out ideas were still in his speeches in early September, although not explicitly. And throughout, there was Vietnam, where McGovern grew to higher reaches of sell-out. He dumped his \$1000-per-person plan for a \$4000-per-four-persons plan and gave out detailed explanations of how this would work.

Basically, I don't think that McGovern forsaked his radicalism. He simply tried to make it sound not all that bad in the campaign. Sure, he made some stupid mistakes, but the singular mistake was the belief that he could sell to the steelworker in the fall what he spoonfed to the students in the winter -- a disrespected political philosophy.

Finally, the McGovern campaign tactics and language were classics in New Left politics. The pure smear, the overstatement, the disruption, the Hitler analogy, the fostering of discord and the planting of fears -- all permeate the liberal ideology. When liberals disagree, the first charge

they make is "fascist" or "Hitler." It is reflexive. It is the formbook liberal tactic -- to many liberal politicians, the ideology imbues the form -- the substance is the form. And in the end you cannot fault McGovern for his tactics without really faulting his ideological base.

NOTES

It might be said that McGovern lost the election because of the way he won the nomination. He sold his soul to the left and had little inclination to seek salvation. That massive political error cannot be laid alone to ineptitude -- it is no less than a major misreading of American values and the cultural ethos of our country.

The polls showed over and over again that the public resented McGovern "running down America." And while Haynes Johnson traveled the country talking about alienation, he missed the fact that Americans are basically at peace with themselves, satisfied with their lives, and optimistic about the future. What he saw was good old American skepticism -- the "show me" attitude -- and he mistook it for a penetrating anomie and social listlessness,

Not only did the polls show McGovern misreading the country's mood, they also showed that McGovern misread the public's perception of the correct position on the issues. Harris found out in the summer that the President had the preferable position on 15 out of 16 issues. This shows an unusually high perception of McGovern's radical views -- moreover, this was

a huge jump over the period in the primaries where McGovern was viewed as benign. This confirms that McGovern was hurt deeply by HHH's efforts in California and that that was the most harmful point in the McGovern candidacy.

It was not that McGovern played the wrong strings -- he was playing the tuba in a string orchestra. He was out of syncopation; out of tune; and blaring fortissimo while the public wanted pianissimo.

In a nutshell, McGovern was wrong from the start. His radical politics took a good shellacking from the American public -- a deserved repudiation of alien ideas. Let's not blame it on his political amateur standing -- after all, he did some quite intelligent politicking at times -- let's put the blame where it belongs: on the elitist, leftward movement in America which was born of Kennedy, raised in the Great Society and cut down by the grocer's son who saw the excesses and called 'em like he saw 'em.