

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>
49	38	12/15/1969	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Patrick Buchanan to the President. RE: New Jersey victory of William Cahill analysis. 3pgs.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N1 [47]	MEMO	From Flanigan to RN Re: Paris	12/4/69	C (NIXON)
N2 [48]	MEMO	From Buchanan to RN Re: Phillip's analysis w/ 2 copies attached	12/15/69	C (NIXON)
N3 [49]	MEMO	From Flanigan to RN Re: Revised list of candidates	12/9/69	C (NIXON)
N4 [49]	MEMO	Copy of N3	"	"

FILE GROUP TITLE

POF

BOX NUMBER

4

FOLDER TITLE

President's Handwriting Dec. 1 thru 15, 1969

RESTRICTION CODES

- A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
- B. National security classified information.
- C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
- D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.
- E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
- F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
- G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
- H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: President's Office Files

Box Number: 4

Folder: President's Handwriting December 1 thru 15, 1969

Document

Disposition

47 Retain Close Invasion of Privacy

48 Return Private/Political

49 Retain Close Invasion of Privacy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 15, 1969

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Kevin Phillips has done a comprehensive analysis (attached) of the New Jersey victory of William Cahill. The following seem to be inescapable conclusions: ✓

1. Cahill's massive victory (half a million votes) was brought about by his stitching together the Nixon vote and the Wallace vote -- and adding Silent Majority disenchanted Catholic Democrats.

2. Despite prodigious efforts to make inroads into the black community in New Jersey, the Jewish community and the McCarthy suburbanites -- Cahill's gains were modest at best -- and can not possibly explain his 500,000 vote margin, as compared with RN's 61,000 vote margin.

(note: Where RN's percentage of the New Jersey black vote ran from eight to ten per cent; Cahill's percentage was somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent. Since the total black vote is only one hundred thousand, this modest percentage increment cannot account for a tenth of Cahill's massive plurality. A similar situation exists among Jewish voters, where Cahill's modest increment over the President cannot explain any significant fraction of his half a million plurality.)

3. It was in those areas where Wallace ran quite strong that, both in terms of percentage and total vote, Cahill outscored the President's totals by thousands and thousands of votes.

Not only did Cahill -- in these areas -- get both the Nixon and Wallace vote -- but he got the Democratic vote that had been Wallace and had gone back to Humphrey.

Preservation Copy

② Be sure
my ~~file~~ it

H.O.
give a copy of
Phillips analysis to
David when he
comes in Friday.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS:

The Cahill race was considered by most observers to be a toss-up, a non-ideological contest between two men of rather close and largely liberal views. What made it a landslide were clearly the President's visit to New Jersey; probably as important or more important, the election eve speech, separating the country into the goats and The Great Silent Majority. We also believe that the direct appeal to the Catholic constituency (half of the Jersey electorate) was very helpful. In the three attached ads, especially the final one, run in Catholic diocesan newspapers -- went directly and unabashedly after the "Catholic" vote. Meyner (an apostate Catholic, a fact made known to the Catholic clerical community) attacked this approach and the GOP in New Jersey was squeamish about it -- until the returns came in.

Where is Cahill's victory? Half of New Jersey voters are Catholic; RN got 35 per cent of them, Wallace 10 per cent of them -- and Cahill 60 per cent of them. As Senator Goldwater used to say, "It's as simple as that."

THOUGHTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is crystal clear from the above where future victory for the President and the party in the Northeast lies. It lies in keeping the Republican party intact -- and in adding to it by the tens of thousands of "gut" conservative, predominantly Catholic, Silent Majority Democrats. Let the press squeal about a "Southern Strategy" all they wish. What they don't seem to realize is that in addition to adding Southern Protestants by the tens of thousands to the New Majority, we are making it a national one by adding as many Northern Catholics.

However, the manner in which the Republican National Committee seems to allocate its minority resources reflects the reverse of the political realities as I see them.

Our Catholic division, set up last spring at the direction of the President and the request of the Committee of Six, consists today of one girl -- full-time -- as compared with the RNC's heavy and permanent black auxiliary. Now, we should not simply fire blacks and hire Catholics - but we should recognize, again, where the ducks are. Southern Protestants and Northern Catholics, predominantly white, are the missing elements

H - I agree - get more to consider this
The Natl Committee always puts too much emphasis on groups we can't get

Next Paragraph

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in the Nixon Majority, waiting to join. (Note: Peter Flanigan's contacts with the Vatican seem to have been most beneficial; their press is good to the Administration; the Pope is effusive in his praise for the President; and all this is reflected in the American Catholic press.)

What we would like is the President's blessing to continue with our project, to expand it within the RNC if we feel it is justified. (Harry Dent would be in on this decision.) With a good running start we should have, by the early fall of 1970, clearly identified all the national Catholic press; we should have expanded our contacts in the Catholic communications world; and we should know every district and every state where a hard-sell Catholic approach can win over the swing votes. All of this experience and knowledge can be used in 1970 and put at the President's discretion in 1972. But we need a Presidential endorsement to cut through old ideas and new red tape.

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

Dent H - follow up hard on this target

RECEIVED COPY

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Very Persuasive

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PJ Buchanan *Dove*

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

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