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Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
46	21	n.d.	Report	Nixon's contributions to Republican representation in Congress. 11 pages.
46	21	n.d.	Other Document	Handwritten Republican workshop notes. 5 pages.

The implication promulgated by some political observers that Nixon was a drag on party success in the 1960 campaign does not bear up under examination of the election results. A study of House and Senate election returns clearly shows that Nixon contributed heavily to the increase in Republican representation in the Congress.

For example, in the Congressional races, where Republicans had their most conspicuous success, Nixon ran ahead of the elected Republicans in all but four of the 31 districts affected.

In the Senate races, Nixon ran ahead of the ticket in 19 of the 26 states where there was a genuine contest. He ran far ahead of such conservatives as Curtis, Dworshak, Mundt, Schoepel and Tower. In fact, the only Republican now in the Senate to run ahead of Nixon in 1960 who is generally designated as a conservative is Bridges. Nixon carried fourteen states where there was a Senatorial contest, but in only ten of these states was the Republican senatorial nominee successful. Moreover, Nixon ran ahead of the ticket in the nine states where both Nixon and the Republican candidate for Senator were defeated.

(Supporting data which follows is from The Congressional Quarterly)

## 1960 ELECTION RESULTS

A total of 280 Senate and House candidates ran five percentage points or more ahead of their party's Presidential ticket in their State or District, a Congressional Quarterly survey shows (#15, April 14, 1961, p. 636). Of the 280, 226 were Democrats (30 of them running without major party opposition) and 54 were Republicans (3 running without major party opposition). While 210 of the elected Democrats ran 5 percentage points or more ahead of Kennedy, only 53 out of the 133 elected Republicans similarly bested Nixon's record.

	<u>Ran Ahead</u>	<u>5% Ahead</u>	<u>10% Ahead</u>	<u>20% Ahead</u>
DEMOCRATS	331	226	70	19
REPUBLICANS	133	54	22	1

Regional breakdown of those who ran 5 percentage points or more ahead:

	<u>East</u>	<u>Midwest</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>Total</u>
DEMOCRATS	36	38	122	30	226
REPUBLICANS	24	14	3	13	54

## SUMMARY

### House Seats:

Republicans regained 26 seats which had been held by Democrats, but in so doing they also lost 5 seats making a net Republican gain of 21 seats. In 29 of the 31 states affected, Nixon ran ahead of the ticket and it has been conceded by impartial observers that he had considerable impact in getting additional Republican representation in the House. He clearly outdistanced Kennedy in this respect.

### Senate Seats:

Republicans regained 2 Senate seats and held 11. In 19 of the 26 states, where there was a genuine contest, Nixon ran ahead of the ticket. In 7 states where Republican Senatorial nominees were victorious Nixon ran behind, though he gained the electoral votes in 4 of these states.

Except for 2 avowed conservatives (Bridges and Thompson) Nixon led the ticket by percentage points ranging from 1.1% to 5.8%. There were only 3 states where Republican nominees were elected to the Senate but failed to give Nixon their electoral college votes. However, Nixon carried 4 states where the Republican nominees lost. In 9 states where both Nixon and the Republican nominees lost, Nixon ran ahead of the ticket by percentage points ranging from .8% to 12.8%.

REPUBLICAN GAINS IN 1960 HOUSE ELECTIONS

CALIFORNIA - 25th District

Nixon	194,271	57.0%
Rousselot, John - R	182,545	53.6%
Kasem, George - D	158,289	46.4%

COLORADO - 2nd District

Nixon	158,081	59.2%
Dominick, Peter - R	150,964	57.6%
Johnson, Byron - D	111,077	42.4%

CONNECTICUT - 2nd District

Nixon	90,681	48.2%
Seely-Brown, Horace - R	93,971	50.1%
St. Onges, William - D	93,515	49.9%

4th District

Nixon	167,778	53.4%
Sibal, Abner - R	160,654	51.3%
Irwin, Donald - D	150,205	48.0%

INDIANA - 5th District

Nixon	122,780	57.1%
Chambers, George - R	106,882	50.0%
* Roush, J. Edward - D	108,870	50.0%

6th District

Nixon	95,811	58.5%
Roudebush, Richard - R	84,662	52.0%
Wampler, Fred - D	78,247	48.0%

9th District

Nixon	80,310	56.6%
Wilson, Earl - R	71,402	50.6%
Hogan, Earl - D	69,761	49.4%

10th District

Nixon	107,446	58.1%
Harvey, Ralph - R	104,885	57.1%
Harmon, Randall - D	78,716	42.9%

11th District

Nixon	166,202	57.7%
Bruce, Donald - R	154,676	53.7%
Barr, Joseph - D	133,153	46.2%

\* Declared winner June, 1961

(Cont'd)

IOWA - 2nd District

Nixon	113,006	53.4%
Bromwell, James - R	108,137	52.6%
Wolf, Leonard - D	97,608	47.4%

KANSAS - 2nd District

Nixon	115,640	57.8%
Ellsworth, Robert - R	95,346	52.3%
George, Newall - D	86,905	47.7%

3rd District

Nixon	59,639	59.9%
McVey, Walter - R	49,429	51.2%
Hargis, Denver - D	47,127	48.8%

MAINE - 1st District

Nixon	91,135	55.6%
Garland, Peter - R	85,821	53.8%
Oliver, James - D	73,826	46.2%

2nd District

Nixon	76,120	54.5%
Tupper, Stanley - R	71,271	53.2%
Donovan, John - D	62,309	46.5%

MARYLAND - 6th District

Nixon	119,461	52.6%
Mathias, Charles - R	115,088	52.0%
Foley, John - D	106,098	48.0%

MINNESOTA - 3rd District

Nixon	150,829	48.8%
Mac Gregor, Clark - R	154,847	51.6%
Wier, Roy - DFL	139,908	46.6%

MISSOURI - 7th District

Nixon	129,106	65.0%
Hall, Durward - R	107,208	54.9%
Brown, Charles - D	88,162	45.1%

MONTANA - 2nd District

Nixon	83,071	52.3%
Battin, James - R	78,277	50.9%
Graybill, Leo - D	75,507	49.1%

(Cont'd)

NEBRASKA - 4th District

Nixon	92,989	65.4%
Martin, Dave - R	69,754	51.1%
McGinley, Donald - D	66,699	48.9%

NORTH DAKOTA - At Large

Nixon	154,310	55.4%
Nygaard, Hjalmar - R	127,118	53.8%
Anderson, Anson - D	109,207	46.2%

OHIO - 17th District

Nixon	102,529	63.9%
Ashbrook, John - R	79,609	53.0%
Levering, Robert - D	70,470	47.0%

OREGON - 4th District

Nixon	97,614	51.3%
Durno, Edwin - R	96,022	51.1%
Porter, Charles - D	91,947	48.9%

PENNSYLVANIA - 10th District

Nixon	81,193	45.8%
Scranton, William - R	97,012	54.8%
Prokop, Stanley - D	80,097	45.2%

19th District

Nixon	104,491	62.2%
Goodling, George - R	88,776	53.2%
Quigley, James - D	78,043	46.8%

SOUTH DAKOTA - 1st District

Nixon	135,381	57.9%
Reifel, Ben - R	126,033	54.8%
Fitzgerald, Ray - D	103,755	45.2%

VERMONT - At Large

Nixon	98,131	58.6%
Stafford, Robert - R	94,905	57.2%
Meyer, William - D	71,111	42.8%

WISCONSIN - 1st District

Nixon	103,540	55.0%
Schadeberg, Henry - R	97,662	52.7%
Flynn, Gerald - D	87,646	47.3%

SEATS HELD BY REPUBLICANS LOST IN 1960

IDAHO - 2nd District

Nixon	102,705	56.4%
Budge, Hamer - R	86,100	48.8%
Harding, Ralph - D	90,161	51.2%

NEW JERSEY - 8th District

Nixon	77,059	44.4%
Kennedy, Walter - R	74,165	43.8%
Joelson, Charles - D	88,100	52.0%

NEW YORK - 1st District

Nixon	216,655	57.0%
Wainwright, Stuyvesant - R	184,549	49.6%
Pike, Otis - D	197,667	50.4%

NEW YORK - 5th District

Nixon	80,598	51.1%
Archinal, George - R	68,631	46.5%
Addabbo, Joseph - D	79,088	53.5%

NEW YORK - 12th District

Nixon	61,680	46.3%
Dorn, Francis - R	64,899	49.6%
Carey, Hugh - D	65,996	50.4%



STATES CARRIED BY NIXON WHERE A REPUBLICAN WAS ELECTED SENATOR

<u>STATE</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN NOMINEE</u>	<u>NIXON % POINTS</u>
Colorado	Allott *	+ 1.1
Idaho	Dworshak *	+ 1.5
Iowa	Miller	+ 4.8
Kansas	Schoepfel *	+ 5.8
Nebraska	Curtis *	+ 3.2
South Dakota	Mundt *	+ 5.8
Kentucky	Cooper *	- 1.7
Maine	Smith *	- 4.6
New Hampshire	Bridges *	- 6.9
Wyoming	Thompson	- 1.4

STATES LOST BY NIXON WHERE A REPUBLICAN WAS ELECTED SENATOR

Delaware	Boggs	- 1.7
Massachusetts	Saltonstall *	-16.6
New Jersey	Case *	- 4.5

STATES CARRIED BY NIXON WHERE A DEMOCRAT WAS ELECTED SENATOR

Alaska	McKinley	+14.3
Montana	Fjare	+ 1.8
Oklahoma	Crawford	+ 4.4
Oregon	Smith	+ 7.2

STATES NOT CARRIED BY NIXON AND WHERE A DEMOCRAT WAS ELECTED SENATOR

Illinois	Witwer	+ 4.6
Michigan	Bentley	+ .8
Minnesota	Peterson	+ 7.0
Missouri	Hocker	+ 2.9
New Mexico	Colwes	+12.8
North Carolina	Hayes	+ 9.3
Rhode Island	Archambault	+ 5.7
Texas	Tower	+ 7.4
West Virginia	Underwood	+ 2.6

\* Incumbent

COMPARISON OF REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL NOMINEES

with

RICHARD NIXON'S VOTES

1960 ELECTIONS

ALASKA

Nixon	30,953	50.9%
McKinley	21,937	36.6%

COLORADO

Nixon	402,242	54.6%
* Allott	309,428	53.5%

DELAWARE

Nixon	96,373	49.0%
Boggs	98,874	50.7%

IDAHO

Nixon	161,597	53.8%
* Dworshak	152,648	52.3%

ILLINOIS

Nixon	2,368,988	49.8%
Witwer	2,093,846	45.2%

IOWA

Nixon	722,381	56.7%
Miller	642,463	51.9%

KANSAS

Nixon	561,474	60.4%
* Schoeppel	485,499	54.6%

KENTUCKY

Nixon	602,607	53.6%
* Cooper	644,087	59.2%

MAINE

Nixon	240,608	57.0%
* Smith	256,890	61.6%

MASSACHUSETTS

Nixon	976,750	39.6%
* Saltonstall	1,358,556	56.2%

\* Incumbent

(cont'd)

MICHIGAN

Nixon	1,620,428	48.8%
Bentley	1,548,873	48.0%

MINNESOTA

Nixon	757,915	49.2%
Peterson	648,586	42.2%

MISSOURI

Nixon	962,221	49.7%
Hocker	880,576	46.8%

MONTANA

Nixon	141,841	51.1%
Fjare	136,281	49.3%

NEBRASKA

Nixon	380,553	62.1%
* Curtis	352,748	58.9%

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Nixon	157,989	53.4%
* Bridges	173,521	60.3%

NEW JERSEY

Nixon	1,363,324	49.2%
* Case	1,483,832	55.7%

NEW MEXICO

Nixon	153,733	49.4%
Colwes	109,897	36.6%

NORTH CAROLINA

Nixon	655,420	47.9%
Hayes	497,954	38.6%

OKLAHOMA

Nixon	533,039	59.0%
Crawford	385,546	44.6%

OREGON

Nixon	408,060	52.6%
Smith (Elmo)	343,009	45.4%

\* Incumbent

(cont'd)

RHODE ISLAND

Nixon	147,502	36.4%
Archambault	124,408	30.7%

SOUTH DAKOTA

Nixon	178,417	58.2%
* Mundt	160,181	52.4%

TEXAS

Nixon	1,121,699	48.5%
Tower	926,653	41.1%

WEST VIRGINIA

Nixon	395,995	47.3%
Underwood	369,935	44.7%

WYOMING

Nixon	77,451	55.0%
Thompson	78,103	56.4%

\* - Incumbent

# Repub Workshop

Admit bias - my Repub interest tied completely to RN  
at young age have met + worked with many top men of time  
both bus. + pol. - Corp. pres's, Govs, Sens, (ab. off.)  
Pres Eisenhower, Kennedy, Hoover  
Univ Pres. Sproul-Hesling  
RN way above all in ability, intellect, etc  
Hatfield  
Rocky  
Brown  
Stanton  
Hanley  
Dicken  
Morton  
Ladd  
Leahy  
Rogers  
Flaming

First dispose of campaign criticisms - my feelings on them  
no point in discussing - but might be of interest to state

1- debates - Chmn committed before conventions - to Cong. Comm  
- betw conv. final decision time - Rep. 10 pts behind  
- legit crit. is of format - holding debates was unavoidable  
shldnt have let net pressure into snappy out.  
instead of debate in depth.  
were deliberately designed to entertain, not inform

2- 50 state - big city forces wld not have been chgd by physical pres.  
- breadth of campaign resulted in carrying more  
states + more Cong. dists than K  
- needed to free him into South - made Rep truly

3- religion - our Cath feds wanted us to use Bailey memo + fact of  
JFK's minister film to show Cath's being used  
but RN refused to discuss - matter of principle  
- even if he had - wouldn't have chgd vote

4- hit harder - was 1<sup>st</sup> + probly only 50 state camp. - physical  
- everyday hit on basic issue - piv init vs fed control  
- press didn't accurately reflect depth of speeches  
covered form but not enuf content  
- how many know of or read 12 posit papers  
too deep to cover in speech  
- had to get out faithful + sway undecided

5- spe sooner - geared to last 3 weeks - spe would have but  
didn't feel JFK serious threat - thus more effective  
than if canned speech

All probs trace back to need for strong party development  
esp. big cities

bring in all elements - young, Negro, labor, etc  
get away from social club - work for cause

no honest election if one party control in cities

Machines coop. with Dems - Meekhan Council  
Clean up voting by publicity + presence

RN plans to devote his time to public + party affairs

Concerned about how feeble org. is - esp. big cities

look at situation - in 60 vs 52 = outreg 3-2, 2-1 margin  
in Cong.

had  $\frac{1}{2}$  as many boys as 52 30 vs 14

153 long vs control in 52

$\frac{1}{4}$  as many state legs (26 vs 7)

592 rep vs 857  
1942 rep vs 2809

must win local + state -

esp boys of NJ, Mich, Pa. etc

party org more interested in courthouse than statehouse

We had to get 8-10 million Dems + 55-60% of Inds.

effect of press

need big crowds - etc not for cand. - but for <sup>psych.</sup> reaction

need to force coverage -

start now to develop relation - + inform

must have sound planning for events

use our critical facilities

in each discussion meeting praise or denunciation acts  
& publicize your action - make news every meeting  
this influences + gradually molds public opinion

member of minority party - must express in terms of other interests

take local action, don't wait for direction from Wash.

too many different elements - no real power

letter writing is effective

Get rid of non-partisan politics - make it bi-partisan

## my job in campaign

pre lim - set up offices, club org.

recruited and trained 18 adv men + 15 rally men

Campaign - tour mgr + chief of advance men

travelled w/ RN to all 50 - 64A + 75A = 140  
incl. previous (56 + 58) over 200 M. miles w/ RN

adv. man's job - outline procedure + details

Buffalo BBQ story

fire engine in road in Rockford - Beloit

Crowds for train non-stops

run thru typical schedule

" " AM check list

will attempt to be objective - but admit bias to RN

- also speak only for myself - no implications of anyone else's views

discuss campaign criticisms - don't mistake candor for apology

### 1 - Debates -

- Nat'l Chmn committed to long comms before conventions

TV nets wanted to obscure payola + rigging scandals

- poll in convention interlude showed K-J min. 10 pts ahead  
of any Rep. combination - we were ahead

- fair criticism is of format - not ~~whether~~ <sup>decision</sup> to hold them.

shldn't have let nets pressure into snappy entertainment  
instead of discussion in depth - classical debate

were deliberately designed to entertain, not inform

- had to get 8-10 mill Dems plus 55-60% of Inds. - almost did.

### 2 - 50 State

- big city forces wld not have been that changed by physical pres.  
Dem. machines, labor vote, minorities, economic factors  
plus weak Repub org.

- estab. Repub as truly national party - great strides in South  
wld not have carried more states + Cong dists than K.

### 3 - religion

- our Cath. friends wanted us to use Bailey memo - Caths being "used"

RN refused to discuss - principle - religion no bearing on capability

#### 4- Ike sooner -

- geared to last 3 weeks - more effective to build up
- Ike would have - but didn't feel K serious threat til end hence was more eff. fighter than with canned speech

#### 5- hit harder

- flat allegation, no pres. cand ever enunciated Repub. philosophy more clearly than RN
  - at least one speech each day - basic cleavage of philosophy individual American + private sector vs. rely on Fed. Govt.
  - major position papers - science, education, farm, tax, Communism etc.
  - press gave form, not enough content - no depth
  - this was probly first + only 50 state campaign perhaps events more heavy factor than philosophy - per Lubell
  - Peale - RN illness - Lodge - Alger = no control, hurt badly
- look at situation in '60 - vs 52 - Outreg 3-2, 2-1 margin in Sen, HR + Govs.
- 14 gov vs 30, 72 house control states vs 26
- 153 cong. vs control of House

#### Lessons -

- 1- overhaul primary system - too many disparities - candid wealth
  - 2- shorten campaign
  - 3- media need to examine their responsibilities:  
report in depth, unbiased, landslide prediction 3 wks early, experts on TV in East before polls closed 400-1 for K  
Willard Edwards - Ted White re Fallman
  - 4- importance of individual vote + prob of being cast + counted  
need to modernize ballot box machinery  
revise eligibility laws - count absentees same day  
discrepancies in makeup of ballot - Texas  
(in machine areas RN 40,000 ahead of K)  
fraud + fake counts  
Chicago 2nd W 50th p - 22 voters, 82 apps, 77 votes cast  
Anglia Cty P 27 Tex - 86 voters, 171 cast - 147K, 24N  
Fannin Cty Tex - K 3-1 - 6138 cast, 4895 eligible voters
- only way to prevent is before election day - organization
- 5- electoral college reform - prop. to cong. dist. - RN would have won



## Results

2/10 of 1% in 69 million votes - 2,000 in 2 states wld chg.  
each person can have a pet theory why we lost  
relate to ad. campaign eval.

if Rayburn right - worst depression since 32 - RN remarkable  
Carried 228 Cong Dist vs 206 for K  
gained 2 govts. 7 more 2-house states, 21 Cong.  
RN 2004 letters - more than 1K acc. to Sen PO

basic problem is Repub party organization

big city machines - no honest election if 1 party control  
must bring in all elements - young, Negro, labor, etc  
must now criticize Dems - don't concede  
abandoned platform

Bobby not legally competent

missile gap

McNamara's back pay

Call for increased discipline vs massive Fed handouts  
" " employer steps to curb dollar flow vs  
demand for min. wage raise

in all your meetings - pass resolutions of damn or praise  
& publicize them

we must win in local & state - Govs, etc

RN working on party org. Calif & Natl. - you can too.