

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> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 8 | 3 | 5/12/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Whitaker to Ehrlichman RE: the categorization of states and whether or not RN can win their electoral votes in the 1972 election. 3 pgs. |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066 Section 6-102
By Emp, Date 10-16-80

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

FROM: John C. Whitaker

JCW

Cole, Harper, Krogh, Morgan and I had one of those general discussions this morning about what we have to do to win in 1972.

One of the conclusions we arrived at was, that on a systematic basis, we have to figure out what "goodies" should be shoveled out to what States under the assumption that, if the election is close, then this activity will make the difference.

For example, a systematic study of the farm and Rocky Mountain States should be made of what reclamation projects go and which ones do not. On the other hand, an intensive farm study should be done in States that we have to win that we do not normally think of as farm states, i. e., New Jersey, which has very few farmers, but those few can make the difference.

The attached list (see Tab A) is our collective agreement in the following categories.

- A. "Must Win" to win
- B. "Sure Losers" so forget about them
- C. "Sure Winners" so forget about them
- D. "Should Carry" states - A great deal of intensive effort is required. A level of intensity equal to the "must win" states
- E. "Probably will Lose" states
- F. "Wallace states" we can't win if he runs, but need intensive work for an insurance cushion if Wallace does not run.

Note that the election will be won if we carry A and D.

1986
Electoral Votes
W-Won: L-Lost

1972
Electoral Votes

A. Must Win

| | | |
|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| W 26 | Illinois | 26 |
| W 26 | Ohio | 25 |
| <u>L 25</u> | Texas | 26 |
| W 40 | California | 45 |
| W 14 | Florida | 17 |
| W 13 | North Carolina | 13 |
| W 11 | Tennessee | 10 |
| W 9 | Kentucky | 9 |
| W 12 | Missouri | 12 |
| <u>W 17</u> | New Jersey | <u>17</u> |
| 193 | | 200 |

B. Sure Losers

| | | |
|------------|----------------------|----------|
| L 9 | Washington | 9 |
| L 7 | West Virginia | 6 |
| L 4 | Rhode Island | 4 |
| L 14 | Massachusetts | 14 |
| L 6 | Arkansas | 6 |
| L 8 | Connecticut | 8 |
| <u>L 3</u> | District of Columbia | <u>3</u> |
| 51 | | 50 |

C. Sure Winners

| | | |
|------------|---------------|----------|
| W 5 | Arizona | 6 |
| W 6 | Colorado | 7 |
| W 5 | Nebraska | 5 |
| W 13 | Indiana | 13 |
| W 3 | Vermont | 3 |
| <u>W 4</u> | New Hampshire | <u>4</u> |
| 36 | | 38 |

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Total Electoral Votes | 538 |
| Total needed to win | <u>270</u> * |
| Total won in 1968 | 302 |
| Total A & D in 1972 | <u>287</u> * |

1968
Electoral Votes
 W-Won: L-Lost

1972
Electoral Votes

D. Should Carry

| | | |
|------------|-----------------|----------|
| W 6 | Oregon | 6 |
| W 3 | Nevada | 3 |
| W 4 | Idaho | 4 |
| W 3 | Wyoming | 3 |
| W 4 | Utah | 4 |
| W 4 | Montana | 4 |
| W 4 | North Dakota | 3 |
| W 4 | South Dakota | 4 |
| W 7 | Kansas | 7 |
| W 8 | Oklahoma | 8 |
| W 9 | Iowa | 8 |
| W 12 | Wisconsin | 11 |
| W 12 | Virginia | 12 |
| W 3 | Alaska | 3 |
| W 8 | South Carolina | 8 |
| <u>W 3</u> | <u>Delaware</u> | <u>3</u> |
| 94 | | 91 |

E. Probably Lose

| | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------|
| L 10 | Minnesota | 10 |
| L 43 | New York | 41 |
| L 10 | Maryland | 10 |
| W 4 | New Mexico | 4 |
| L 29 | Pennsylvania | 27 |
| L 4 | Hawaii | 4 |
| L 4 | Maine | 4 |
| <u>L 21</u> | <u>Michigan</u> | <u>21</u> |
| 125 | | 121 |

F. Wallace States

| | | |
|------------|--------------------|----------|
| L 12 | Georgia | 12 |
| L 10 | Louisiana | 10 |
| L 10 | Alabama | 9 |
| <u>L 7</u> | <u>Mississippi</u> | <u>7</u> |
| 39 | | 38 |