

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>
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of contributions to various Democratic politicians. 4 pgs.
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of contributions given by various unions to Democratic candidates for political office. Not scanned.
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of contributions given by various unions to Democratic candidates for political office. 4 pgs.
18	6	11/7/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Allin to Higby RE: projected election figures generated by the press. 9 pgs.

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18	6	11/5/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Background memo on the 1970 Congressional campaign. 4 pgs.
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	List of United States governors predicted to be elected in 1970. 1 pg.
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Projected House of Representatives changes in the wake of the 1970 election. 1 pg.
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	List of Senators expected to be elected in 1970. 2 pgs.
18	6	11/17/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Klein to Haldeman RE: Cabinet officers and other prominent figures as speakers in the 1970 campaign. 8 pgs.

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18	6	11/17/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: voter turnout in Maryland for Beall. 1 pg.
18	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Copy of a letter from Kevin P. Phillips to Mitchell RE: enclosed documents on the 1970 election in Maine, Tennessee, and Vermont, the youth effort in North Dakota, New Mexico, and Utah, and Agnew's campaign schedule. 13 pgs.
18	6	10/13/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Ruwe to Haldeman RE: states to be visited by RN in the 1970 campaign season. Handwritten notes on original added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
18	6	11/5/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Background memo on the 1970 Congressional campaign. 4 pgs.

	Unions (COPE)	DSC ¹	NCEC ²	McG ³	S. A. ⁴	TOTAL
Gore	\$22,850	\$ 9,000	\$20,000	\$40,000		\$91,850
Moss	26,700		20,000	40,000	\$1,000	87,700
Tydings	17,200	10,000	5,000	3,000	100	35,300
Hart	15,250	10,000	20,000	25,000		70,250
Burdick	18,250	1,000	15,000	29,000		63,250
Williams	53,300		15,000	25,000	1,100	94,400
McGee	24,540	10,000		25,000		59,540
Montoya	21,100	9,000		1,000		31,100
Muskie	23,750		5,000	1,000		29,750
Cannon	11,100	6,000			1,200	18,300
Proxmire	22,400	9,000	5,000	14,000		50,400
Symington	1,200	5,000	5,000	1,000		12,200
Mansfield	5,000		5,000	1,000		11,000
Jackson	11,800			1,000	1,000	13,800
Byrd	14,650				1,000	15,650
Hartke	12,570	10,000		1,000	1,100	24,670
Kennedy	6,700			1,000		7,700
Metzenbaum	9,500			10,000		19,500
Tunney	12,800			10,000		22,800
Stevenson	6,000		15,000	25,000		46,000
Hoff	13,100		25,000	15,000		55,600

¹ Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

² National Committee for Effective Congress

³ 1970 Campaign Fund (McGovern)

⁴ Savings Association Pol. Education Committee

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UNIONS (Giving through their C.O.P.E.'s)	CORE	MOSS	TYDINGS	HART
	Tennessee	Utah	Maryland	Michigan
Amalgamated Pol. Educ. Comm.	2350-	1000-		
American Federation of Musicians		500-		
Boilermakers/Blacksmiths		500-		
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way				1000-
Bro. of Painting, Paperhangers, etal			300-	
Building & Construction Trades		500-	500-	
Carpenters Legislative Improvement		2100-	500-	2000-
Comm. for Good Gov't. (UAW)		1000-	500-	
AFL-CIO C.O.P.E.				
C.O.P.E. see #1 below	12000-	10000-	2500-	5000-
D.R.I.V.E. (Teamsters)	2000-	1000-	2500-	
Engineers Pol. Educ. Comm.				
Firemen & Oilers				
Bro. of Electrical Workers		200-	700-	1000-
I.L.G.W.U.		1000-	1000-	1200-
Laborers Political League				500-
Machinists Non-Partisan Pol. League		1500-	200-	600-
Marine Engineers		1000-	2500-	1000-
Maritime Action Comm.	3000-	3000-		
Nat'l. Maritime Union			200-	
Oil, Chem. & Atomic Workers		100-		
Railway Clerks		2050-	1000-	500-
Retail Clerks			400-	
Seafarers Int. Union			1400-	100-
Sheet Metal Workers				
Textile Union Workers				
Transportation Pol. Educ. League	1000-	1250-	500-	1200-
U.A.W.	2500-		2500-	1150-
United Plant Guards				
United Steel Workers				
✓ SUB-TOTAL	22850-	26700-	17200-	15250-
<u>Other Important Contributions</u>				
✓ Democratic Senatorial Campaign Comm.	9000-		10000-	10000-
✓ Natl. Comm. for Effective Congress	20000-	20000-	5000-	20000-
✓ 1970 Campaign Fund (McGovern)	40000-	40000-	3000-	25000-
Council for a Livable World				
✓ Savings Assoc. Pol. Educ. Comm.		1000-	100-	
✓ TOTAL	\$91850-	87700-	35300-	70250-
#1 C.O.P.E. gave to State C.O.P.E.				
We assume it goes to help these key candidates.				

1970 CAMPAIGNS (Key S

These figures are not c
represent giving in 19

BURDICK	WILLIAMS	McGEE	MONTOYA	MUSKIE	CANNON	PROXMIRE
North Dakota	New Jersey	Wyoming	New Mexico	Maine	Nevada	Wisconsin
	4200-		500-			1000-
	1100-		200-			1500-
100-			100-	100-	400-	200-
1000-	1000-			300-	500-	500-
2500-	4000-	2200-	2500-	2000-	400-	2000-
						2500-
7500-	10000-	10000-	7500-	15000-		10000-
	5000-		1000-	500-	1000-	
				200-		
500-	1000-	700-		600-	200-	700-
250-	2100-	900-	1000-	300-	600-	500-
1500-	2500-	2000-	500-		500-	
200-	5500-	2700-	2000-	1000-	400-	
	1500-			1000-	1500-	
	3000-	1500-	3000-		2000-	
	200-					300-
	100-					
700-	5000-	600-	1000-	1000-		1000-
	400-	400-			1100-	500-
1000-				1000-		
			1000-			1000-
	1200-			450-		
800-	500-	1740-	500-	300-	1500-	500-
2200-	2700-	2000-	300-			
	2500-				1000-	200-
18,250-	53,300-	24,540-	21,000-	23,750-	11,000-	22,400-
1000-		10,000-	9000-		6000-	9000-
15000-	15000-			5000-		5000-
29000-	25000-	25000-	1000-	1000-		14000-
	1100-				1200-	
63,250-	94,400-	59,540-	31,100-	29,750-	18,300-	50,400-

enate Races)

omplete and

69 -- 1970

SYMINGTON	MANSFIELD	JACKSON	BYRD	HARTKE	KENNEDY
Missouri	Montana	Washington	West Virginia	Indiana	Massachusetts
		500-	500-		
		2000-	600-	2500-	
	5000-	1000-	1000-	5500-	500-
		100-	150-	500-	
1000-			500-		
				1000-	
200-		500-	1000-	70-	
		200-	3000-	1000-	
		500-		2000-	1000-
1200-	5000-	11,800-	14,650-	12,570-	6700-
5000-				10000-	
5000-	5000-				
1000-	1000-	1000-		1000-	1000-
		1000-	1000-	1100-	
12200-	11,000-	13,800-	15,650	24,670-	7700-

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 7, 1970

file

FILE COPY

TO: Larry Higby

FROM: Mort Allin

Subject: A Representative Sampling of Election Predictions
by Press

Received	Copies
Date/Time	Initials

House Predictions

Dem. Gains

Mears (AP)	12
Kirk (B Sun)	few
Apple (NYT)	6
Winters (Sun)	15-30
Sperling	Little change
Lawrence	Little change
Phillips	below 20-30
Louis Bean (Phila. Ev. Bull.)	20
Hope (Star)	±
Miller (Knight)	10-15
Averill-Foley (LAT)	Little change
Evans-Novak	5
Childs	10-11
Thomasson	10-12
Weaver (NYT)	-3 to +10
^	
Average	13-14

Senate

GOP Gains

Mears	1-3
Kirk (Balt. Sun)	several
Hinden (Newsday)	+ few
Apple (NYT)	1-3 (or -1)
Winters (Balt. Sun)	2
Lawrence	±
Bean (Phila. Ev. Bull.)	2-3
Broder	±
Sperling	±
Hope	±
Kraft	"indents" for GOP
Perry (Nat'l. Observer)	2-4
Miller (Knight)	2-3

Senate (continued)

GOP Gains

Pearman (K. C. Star)	3
Storin (Globe)	small gain
Averill	1-2
Phillips	3-5
Childs	3-4
Evans-Novak	1
Average	2-3

Governors

Dem. Gains

Mears (AP)	4-6
Hinden (Newsday)	4-5
Apple (NYT)	5-8
Sperling (CSM)	1-7
Phillips	3-5
Averill (LAT)	5
Gilbride (AP)	4-7
Witcover	7
Average	4-6 GOP loss

Specific Key Senate Races - Consensus opinions

Victors: Chiles, Adlai Stevenson, III, Tunney, Brock, Symington, Williams, Prouty, Cannon, Fannin, HHH.

Toss-ups: Ohio, Texas, Indiana, Conn., Utah, New York, South Dakota, Maryland

We did better than predicted in the House, exactly as predicted in the Senate, but lost twice as many as expected in Governorships.

Predictions 11/2

Media

	News Week	US News	News Repub	NYT	Star	Broad	E/W	K Phillip	Green
California	0	0	0	0	?	0	0	0?	0
Connecticut	?	+	0	?	?	?	+	?	?
Florida	0	?	?	0	0	0	0	0?	0
Illinois	00	0	0	0	0	0	00	0	00
Indiana	?	?	?	?	+	+	0?	0	?
Maryland	0	??		0?	0	0	0		0
Minnesota	00			00	00	00	00		00
Missouri	00	???		00	0	00	00	0	00
Nevada	0	?		00	0	00	00		00
New Jersey	0	??	?	0	0	00	0	?	0
New Mexico	0	??	0?	00	0	00	00	?	0
New York	0	?	0?	?	?	?	+	0	?
North Dakota	0	??	0?	0	+	0	0	+	?
Ohio	?	+	0?	+	+	?	0	+	?
Tennessee	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
Texas	0	+		+	+	+	+	?	+
Utah	0	+	0	0	?	0	0?	+	?
Vermont	?	0	?	+	+	+	+	0	+
Wyoming	00	??		00	0	00	00		00

Bruce Winters (11/1) Sun: At the national level, GOP chances may be better than (tradition would suggest but unlikely to gain control of Senate, Dem majority "may not be changed by more than a seat or two) In the House "the lineup may be favorably shifted 15 to 30 seats to the Dems." Overall "an apprehensive electorate will deny the GOP the Senate prize it thought it had won this spring, but it may hedge the bet by improving prospects for a Congressional takeover in two years.

Congressional Quarterly (11/1) Sun: 10 contests too close to call. In Md. Mandel and Tydings were favored.

Ernest Ferguson (11/1) Sun: "N. J. is about to witness 1970's most impressive political comeback by a man and a party": Williams and the Dems come back from the Cahill sweep.

Thomas O'Neill (11/1) Sun: - very critical - "The raucous mob (San Jose) probably achieved the reelection of Murphy."

Joe Kraft (11/1) Post: Republican tide, GOP to make inroads putting GOP in better position for future. Way station on road to better show in '72. Facing a bad turn to economy -- or in VN -- hard to see how RN can be defeated in '72.

Broder (11/1) Post: RN unlikely to get Senate. Instead RN likely to hear he made only "minor inroads on the supposedly vulnerable Dem majority" while Dems held or boosted margin of control in the House. Thus, ... seems likely to result as negative or nebulous, from RN's viewpoint, as the campaign itself.

Paul Hope (11/1) Star: Dems to retain Senate control, continued Dem House control by same margin. Chances are GOP will lose some governorships.

Warren Weaver (11/1) Times: House almost certainly ^{will} leave unchanged relative strengths. Almost certainly RN would hail such a result because ruling party usually loses 41.

George Meany (is quoted by David Lawrence, (10/29) Times Pic: as predicting a shift of 3 or 4 House seats either way and maybe 2-3 Senate seats either way. Gaylord Nelson is quoted as seeing it possible of a net gain or loss.

Lawrence himself says " a gain by the GOP would be regarded as a surprise, and a maintenance of the present margins in both Houses is more or less expected by leaders in the two camps."

Robert Pearman (10/29) Kansas City Star: guesses the GOP would win in Conn., Ohio, Indiana, Tenn., New Mex., and California. The Dems would take Fla., N. Dakota, Texas and Utah. (Overall a net gain of 3 GOP seats.)

JDN (10/28): Holmes Alexander predicted any surprises would be of candidate to the right of center. "In this atmosphere Barry Goldwater could win national election in a walk."

Ray McHugh (Copley Wash Bureau) in the 10/29 Jackson Daily News predicted GOP wins in Ohio, Fla. Senate seats.

UPI -- Raymond Lahr in (10/28) Arizona Republic "knowledgeable political strategists of both parties agreed the GOP stands a good chance of coming close to RN's goal of seizing the Senate." Not to win political control but ideological control.

Louis Bean (In 10/31) Phil. Evening Bulletin: predicted a Dem gain of 20 seats in the House and a loss of 2-3 in the Senate.

Milton Viorst (10/29) Star: From the polls "it seems clear that enough of them (RN's favorites) will be defeated to confirm that the majority of voters in the nation have not swung to conservative Republicanism." 13 too close to call, 243-179 without the 13.

Richard Reeves (11/1) Times main forecast: More than most the elections are coming to an end in a blaze of uncertainty. Dems seem sure to pick up Governorships. Some GOP cling to belief gain party control. Dems thought might add seat or 2. A bad showing for GOP -- particularly where Veep turned up -- could make RN think twice about the '72 ticket. If 1970

proves a "bust for the social issue and the Southern strategy, RN has shown he can quickly adapt himself to new realities as well as old myths."

Times: Brock in Tenn.
 Burdick in N. Dakota
 Taft in Ohio
 Indiana - ?
 Utah -- close

Roth - 10/28 Rocky by -- 17 -- according to polls.

Miami Herald poll: 61-39 Chiles.

Deakin - 10/25: "If Dems retain control Sen., add to their present House contingent and gain some gov'ships, RN's prestige will suffer a sharp blow that inevitably will increase his leg. diffs."

Deakin - 10/16: Col. Dispatch -- 48.4% -- Metz -- 43% Taft.

Doyle - 10/28: Wisc. GOP in trouble.

Thimmesch - 10/3: RN figured he could tip enough races that he'd have a GOP Senate and a friendlier House. Thus there'd be a mandate in the Nixon direction. Doubtful he succeeded and he lost some prestige on VN and Mideast -- did so well there that neither was possible.

Neil Gilbride - 11/3 (AP): Dems appeared likely to recapture governorship from the GOP in a fear of the nation's 10 most populous states. Their best chances are in Ohio, Fla., Penn., and to retain Texas. The GO seems certain to hold Calif., probably NY, Michigan, and Massachusetts. Dems are also likely to take governorship in Ark., N. Mex. and S. Dakota -- while losing Conn. and Tenn.

(CSM) Sperling - 10/13: The GOP may lose at least one, and perhaps as many as 5 governorships. GOP losses in Ohio and Arkansas could be nearly cancelled out by a GOP victory in Conn. But GOP losses in

Ala., Fla., Nebraska, N. Mex. - would be more significant. The GOP has 2 major disadvantages -- GOP incumbents hold all but 11 of 30 seats -- thus they are vulnerable and 2, there is unhappiness over local issues. Hence if the GOP holds its governorships it would be a major GOP victory.

10/26 Columbus Dispatch: Two incumbent GOP Congressmen who represent central Ohio still hold commanding leads in the second C. D. poll. But Devine's lead over Goodrich has shrunk from 37.4% to 26.1.

10/27 Cleveland Plain-Dealer: The Ohio Senate race is as close as a poll can show with both candidates holding 40%. But a breakdown shows Taft may hold an ever-so-slight edge on Metzbaum. The poll also showed 1.4% for Kay and 18.3% undecided.

10/28 Gallup poll (Chic. Sun-Times): Dems are holding their lead in the race for House seats: in early Oct. Dems would receive 50% of the vote for House seats, 44% for the GOP with 6% undecided.

10/25 Chic. Sun-Times: A state-wide poll shows Byrd with 42%, Rawlings 38% and Garland 20%.

10/25 Chic. Sun-Times: St. Clair county prefers Stevenson 2 to 1; 64.9% with 35.1% for Smith.

10/27 Miami Herald: Chiles 60% -- Gramer 30%. Stevenson 58% -- Smith 42%. HHH 56% -- MacGregor 43%.

10/12 L. A. Times: GOP have the odds against them in what could be their last big opportunity to capture the Senate. Benton is even better financed than Bush and at the moment is rated a slight favorite. The GOPers regarded as shoo-ins for re-election are Hruska, Scott, Stevens, and Roth. Va.'s Byrd is rated the favorite over his two challengers. Chances for a Cross victory are less than 50-50.

10/18 Philip Carter Wash. Post: With the help of the WH, Thurmond and a plurality of white voters Watson has a chance of winning.

10/27 J. J. Kilpatrick: Cramer will make it to the Senate.

10/26 Harry Bodine: Sen. Harold Hughes predicted a repeat of the 1958 mid-term Dem upset. During that election VP Nixon delivered a slashing attack on the opposition much the way VP Agnew has been doing. In 1958, the WH toned RN down, but it didn't help the GOP, it sustained one of the heaviest mid-term losses in US politics.

10/29 Evans & Novak: quotes a Goldberg aide who said: "Arthur's such a bad candidate that if he wins it'll be the sympathy vote that does it."

10/25 Iowa poll in Des Moines Register: RN still leads 4 possible Dem contenders by margins of 14 to 24% points.

RN 46% -- EMK 32% -- Wallace 4%.

RN 48% -- HHH 25% -- Wallace 6%.

RN 45% -- Muskie 29% -- Wallace 6%.

RN 47% -- Lindsay 23% -- Wallace 5%.

In approval ratings RN's popularity has changed little since May. Approval of RN's job handling in Sept.; 57%; May 59%. Disapproval rating in Sept. 30%; May 32%.

10/28 Richmond News Leader, John Farmer: says in an ordinary year Metzgerbaum couldn't beat Taft but this year it may be possible.

10/27 David Broder: If Minnesota voters reject HHH the candidate instead of endorsing HHH the institution it will be the upset of the year.

Kilpo 10/27 -- Texas Sen. too close to call. -- Some mild gains for conservative Republicans but not much.

Means 11/3 -- Both sides can claim victory -- GOP -1 to 3 in Senate -- Dems upwards of dozen in House -- plus 6 State Houses -- "If GOP gains even just one Senate seat, they have won a symbolic victory in reversing the trad'l pattern, although this involves ignoring fact that they fell far short of their origin expectors. But if Dems add to House

numbers, they won't suffer defeat -- Local variables the key this year -- Mismatch -- no clear guidelines likely .

White 10/24: Campaign is "a national referendum on the foreign and military policy leadership of RN. ... Meaningful dove losses (4) would amount to a presidential vindication. "

Bryce Nelson LA Times 10/28: Symington now ahead by 7-8.

R. Wilson 10/24: Only w/ the greatest of luck and the presence of an as yet undetected landslide can RN win the 6 or 7 needed -- doesn't look good. Everything has to break his way. RN can't win much but could lose a lot.

Clymer, Baltimore Sun 10/24: Lowenstein leads despite leftist label -- but close.

Beckman CT - 10/22: WH optimistic about Taft and Brock -- good chance for Kleppe; Rowdy close. Also feel Prouty and Weicker will do it. RN visit to California hoped to pull Murphy through.

Stanley Hinden -- in a Newsday Analysis (10/29) -- sees close Senate races and "indications are that there will be little change." He also foresaw a net loss of 4-5 governorships.

Wm. S. White said (Oct 23, Birmingham News) that if the GOP picked up four seats, RN's efforts would have been worthwhile. If no net gain the whole campaign would have been a disaster for RN, perhaps even deeper than that suffered by Truman in 46.

Thomas O'Neill (10/28 Sun): says indicators show "only a limited shifting of party strength on each side. "

November 5, 1970

Pol ✓

BACKGROUND MEMO

NOTES: Re: 1970 Congressional Campaign

Before the President entered the campaign and urged his Cabinet Officers to make an intensive effort - about 6 weeks prior to the election - all of the private polls we had for each of the key states indicated that our Senatorial candidate was behind in every state except Tennessee. On the basis of these polls the indications were that we would end up with a net loss of one seat in the Senate and a net loss of 30 seats in the House.

The reason the President went out on the campaign trail was as he said during the campaign that the major issues in the Senate were being decided by a majority of one or maybe two votes and he couldn't leave a situation where the President was being undercut week after week, especially in the area of foreign policy. Also, if we had lost 30 seats in the House there would have been no possibility at all of winning control of the House in 1972, which continues to be a long-range objective.

Looking at history we find, of course, that Eisenhower in 1954 and 1958, lost 57 and 13 House seats respectively. A Republican Administration with any kind of economic slow down will always face

a disaster at the polls.

During the campaign in four of the key states the Democratic Senator accused the Administration of sitting on the new unemployment figures and that they would be 6 1/2%. They also said that the Administration was planning to close key bases in each of those states which was not true. The losses in those states and throughout the West are clearly due to the economy. The problem of 10% unemployment in Los Angeles and Orange Counties for example, is virtually insurmountable.

In other words when the decision was made to go out and campaign, the purpose was to avoid an unmitigated disaster.

We were of course disappointed regarding the Governorships. The President had predicted a loss of eight, instead we lost probably 11. These losses are an indication of what might of also happened in the Congress and Senate had we not gone out to fight.

Some of the Governorship losses were unavoidable - the Ohio scandal, the Florida party fight, the problems in Pennsylvania, the tax problems of Tiemann in Nebraska, the conflict of interest problems of Farrar in South Dakota, etc.

In terms of political significance for 1972, however, it doesn't mean a damned thing. In 1960 we only had 14 Governors, yet the President carried 26 states (this was the lowest number of Governors that any party ever had). We lost two major states - New York and Illinois where we had Republican Governors - and we won two major states - Ohio and California where we did not have Republican Governors.

Having a Governor of our Party would help a bit but basically the Governors don't play the political game now. They have become more non-partisan. There are no strong state political machines in most cases. Naturally we would have preferred not to lose the Governorships, but losing them will not hurt us particularly for the long haul.

A rather remarkable statistical fact is that this election equalized the Republican representation in the House, Senate, and Governorships. Where we have only 28% of the population registered as Republicans, the Republican Party controls 41% of the House seats, 42% of the Governors, and 45% of the Senate seats.

Without the economic drag, we would have carried both Houses. Our foreign policy position is a tremendous asset to the Administration and the Party.

Looking ahead to 1972 with the war over and no new war underway, with a nuclear agreement of some sort, and with the economy up, we should be in excellent shape.

It's important to separate national elections from state elections. When you do so and look only at the national picture, this was a remarkable showing. We gained two actual seats in the Senate plus Buckley and Benson ideologically. The House is also remarkable vs. the average loss. Except for Teddy Roosevelt in 1902 and FDR in 1934, no President has gained seats in the House during an off-year election.

Peace and the economy are the only issues that matter, none of the other issues that were so thoroughly discussed, really make any difference.

It is important to recognize the outstanding work the President did especially going into the places that were not sure winners. For instance, MacGregor had no chance at all, but he's a great guy who was making a tremendous fight. Danforth is an outstanding man who should have had a boost and got it. Nebraska and Arizona both looked like sure things but we still hit them just in case, and it's a lucky thing we did.

The President has never felt that you should just play it safe or like Johnson in 1966, stay out all together. He felt he had a responsibility to fight for good people and he went out and did it.

The President has always had the feeling that if people fight for you, you've got to go out and fight for them. It was imperative, especially in the Senate, to be sure that we didn't loose seats and it appeared quite probable that we would if we didn't make a major effort.

The President campaigned only four week days, a couple of evenings, and three Saturdays and it paid off where it counted in the Senate.

HOUSE	Paul Hope	NY Times	Evans-Novak	Post
Alabama	0			0
Alaska	? -1		-1	-1
Arizona	0			0
Arkansas	0			0
California	+2	+1	+1	+1-2
Colorado	+1			-1
Connecticut	+1	0	-1	+1
Delaware	+1			0
Florida	0			0
Georgia	0			0
Hawaii	0			0
Idaho	0			0
Illinois	-1			0
Indiana	-2	-1	-2	0
Iowa	0			0
Kansas	0			0
Kentucky	? -1			? -1
Louisiana	0			0
Maine	0			0
Maryland	-1			-2?
Massachusetts	? +1			-1?
Michigan	? -2			0
Minnesota	-1		-2	-1, 2?
Mississippi	0			0
Missouri	? +1			0
Montana	0			0
Nebraska	0		-1	-1?
Nevada	0			0
New Hampshire	0			0
New Jersey	+1		+1	0
New Mexico				0
New York	+1 or 2	+1	+3	+3
N. Carolina	0			? +1, 2
N. Dakota	-1			-1
Ohio	0			? -1, 2
Oklahoma	0			0
Oregon	0			0
Pennsylvania	0			? -1
Rhode Island	0			0
S. Carolina	-1			0
S. Dakota	-1			-1
Tennessee	0			0
Texas	0			? +1, 2
Utah	-1			? -1
Vermont	0			0
Virginia	0	+1	+2	+1(? +2)
Washington	0			0
W. Virginia	0			0
Wisconsin	0	-1	-1	? -1
Wyoming	0			0

Senate	All	E-N	Phillips	Broder	Hope-Star	Perry-NO	Post	Alexander	Childs	Pearman Kansas City Star	Ted Knapp Scripps	Cong. Qrtly.
ALASKA	Stevens									Stevens	Stevens	Stevens
ARIZ		Fannin	Fannin	Fannin	Fannin		Fannin			Fannin	Fannin	Fannin
CALIF		Tunney			?		?			Murphy	Tunney	?
CONN		Weicker			?	?	?			Weicker?	?	Weicker
DEL	Roth									Roth		
FLA		Chiles			Chiles	Chiles	Chiles			Chiles?	Chiles	?
HAW	Fong									Fong		
ILL		Adlai III		Adlai	Adlai		Adlai		Adlai	Stevenson	Adlai	Adlai
IND		Hartke		Roudy	?		Roudy			Roudebush	?	?
ME	Muskie									Muskie		
MAR		Tydings		Tydings	Tydings		Tydings		McCl	Tydings	Tydings	Tydings
MASS	EMK								Keam	Kennedy		
MICH	Hart									Hart		
MINN	HHH									HHH		
MISSI	Stennis									Stennis		
MO				Stu	Stu	Stu	Stu		Stu	Symington		Symington
MONT	Mansfield									Mansfield		
NEBR	Hruska									Hruska		
NEV		?		Cannon	Cannon		Cannon			Cannon	Cannon	Cannon
NJER		Williams			Williams		Williams			Williams	Williams	Williams
NMEX		?		Montoya	Montoya		Montoya			Carter	Montoya	?
NYORK		Buckley			?		?			Ottinger	?	Ottinger
NDAK		Burdick			Kleppe		Burdick			Burdick	Burdick	?
OHIO		Metz		Taft	Taft		?			Taft	Taft	Taft?
PENN	Scott									Scott		
RI	Pastore									Pastore		
TENN		Brock -		Brock	Brock		Brock	Brock	Brock	Brock	Brock	?
TEX		Bush -		Bush?	Bush?	?	Bush			Benston	?	?
UTAH		Moss	?		?		Moss			Moss	Moss	?
VT		Prouty		Prouty	Prouty		Prouty		Prouty	Prouty	?	?
VIR	Byrd									Byrd		
WASH	Jackson									Jackson		
WVA	Byrd									Byrd		
WIS	Proxmire									Prox.		
WYO				McGee	McGee	McGee	McGee			McGee	McGee	McGee

	Perry-NO	Post	Alexander	Childs	Pea Kansas City Star	Ted Knapp Scripps	Cong. Qrtly.	Douglas Bedell Phil. Bul.	Storin Boston Globe	Times N. Y.	Times L. A.	UPI	AP	Mankiewicz Braden 11/3
					Stevens	Stevens	Stevens				Stevens			
		Fannin			Fannin	Fannin	Fannin	Fannin	Fannin		Fannin			
		?			Murphy	Tunney	?		Tunney	Tunney	Tunney			
	?	?			Weicker?	?	Weicker		Weicker	?	?			?
					Roth									
	Chiles	Chiles			Chiles?	Chiles	?	Chiles	Chiles	Chiles	Chiles			Chiles
					Fong									
		Adlai		Adlai	Stevenson	Adlai	Adlai		Adlai	Adlai	Adlai			Stevenson
		Roudy			Roudebush	?	?		Roudy?	?				Hartke
					Muskie									
		Tydings		Blair	Tydings	Tydings	Tydings	?	?	Tydings	Tydings			Tydings
				Kenn	Kennedy									
					Hart									
					HHH									
					Stennis									
	Stu	Stu		Stu	Symington		Symington		Symington		Symington	Symington		Symington
					Mansfield									
					Hruska									
		Cannon			Cannon	Cannon	Cannon		Cannon		Cannon	Cannon		
		Williams			Williams	Williams	Williams		Williams	Williams	Williams			Williams
		Montoya			Carter	Montoya	?				Montoya			
		?			Ottinger	?	Ottinger			?	?		?	Ottinger
		Burdick			Burdick	Burdick	?		Kleppe	Burdick	Burdick			Burdick
		?			Taft	Taft	Taft?		Taft	Taft	?		Taft	Metzenbaum
					Scott									
					Pastore									
		Brock	Brock	Brock	Brock	Brock	?		Brock	Brock?				Gore
	?	Bush			Benston	?	?	Benston	Benston?	Bush?				Bush
		Moss			Moss	Moss	?			Moss				
		Prouty		Prouty	Prouty	?	?		Prouty	Prouty	Prouty	?		Prouty
					Byrd									
					Jackson									
					Byrd									
					Prox.									
	McGee	McGee			McGee	McGee	McGee		McGee		McGee			McGee

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Novmeber 17, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: Herbert G. Klein *HK*

The attached listing is a final summary of our speaker placement activities during the campaign. As you can see, we had extensive Cabinet-level presence in all the Key States.

The scheduling operation was coordinated by Nick Ruwe. Nick, Ed Barner and Peter Amis each scheduled four or five Cabinet-level speakers. Dick Howard worked entirely on the scheduling and advancing of the First Family after his return from Madrid.

In addition to almost daily contact with the campaign managers, in the Key States, Ruwe's operation distributed speech material and political briefings to the speakers. We understand from the speakers, that these items were extremely helpful. These were prepared with help from Jim Keogh and staff, Lyn Nofzier, Ken Khachigian of my staff, and, of course, with my input.

One problem continuously hindered the effectiveness of the scheduling operation - the lack of adequate transportation for Cabinet officers. The Defense Department would not provide planes to Cabinet officers for political trips, and the RNC was not able to respond to the various requests, and commercial transportation always wasted an excessive amount of time. A solution to this problem should be considered before 1972, or we will lose the effectiveness of our speakers during that campaign. The cost, naturally is another factor, but perhaps we could do more with corporate airplane loans.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CAMPAIGN APPEARANCES

ALASKA

September	16	Blount	Fairbanks
	21	Blount	Juneau
	22	Blount	Ketchikan
October	7	Hickel	Anchorage
	8	Hickel	Anchorage
	9	Hickel	Fairbanks
	10	Hickel	Fairbanks
	20	Hickel	Alaska
	21	Hickel	Anchorage

CALIFORNIA

September	17	Finch	California
	18	Finch	California
	19	Finch	California
	21	Finch	California
	23	Hardin	Los Angeles
	24	Hardin	Los Angeles
	25	Hardin	California
	26	Hickel	San Diego
	28	Finch	Sacramento
	28	Hickel	California
	29	Finch	California
	29	Hickel	California
	30	Laird	San Francisco
October	1	Kennedy	San Francisco
	3	Finch	Vallejo - Los Angeles
	4	Finch	California
	5	Klein	California
	6	Klein	Los Angeles - San Diego
	7	Tricia	Anaheim
	8	Mitchell	San Francisco
	9	Stans	San Francisco
	10	Stans	Los Angeles

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd.)

October	11	Hickel	Tulare County
	14	David	Los Angeles
	17	Hodgson	California
	18	Hodgson	California
	20	Richardson	San Francisco
	22	Romney	Palm Springs
	22	Finch	Palo Alto
	23	Finch	Los Angeles
	23	Volpe	San Francisco
	24	Finch	Ventura
	25	Finch	California
	27	Finch	San Diego
	28	Finch	Los Angeles
	28	Blount	Los Angeles
	29	Klein	Los Angeles
	29	Dole	California
	30	President & Mrs. Nixon	California
	31	Mrs. Nixon	California
	31	Klein	Sacramento
November	1	Kennedy	Los Angeles
	2	Klein	San Diego

CONNECTICUT

October	3	Tricia	Danbury
	8	Finch	Connecticut
	9	Finch	Connecticut
	12	President & Mrs. Nixon	Connecticut
	12	Klein	Connecticut
	16	Dole	Connecticut
	21	Dole	Connecticut
	29	Hickel	Connecticut
	30	Richardson	Connecticut

DELAWARE

September	24	Dole	Dover
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FLORDIA

September	26	Julie & David	Tallahassee
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FLORIDA (Cont'd.)

October	13	Attorney General & Mrs. Mitchell	Florida
	16	Volpe	Florida
	22	Mrs. Nixon	Florida
	25	Stans	Florida
	26	Romney	Miami
	27	Dole	Florida
	31	Blount	Tuscaloosa

ILLINOIS

September	17	Volpe	Chicago
	19	Dole	Bloomington
	21	Hodgson	Peoria
October	4	Julie and David	Chicago
	9	Kennedy	Chicago
	11	Kennedy	Chicago
	13	Klein	Illinois
	15	Richardson	Chicago
	22	Laird	Chicago
	25	Rumsfeld	Chicago
	26	Hodgson	Chicago
	27	Hodgson	Chicago
	28	Hodgson	Springfield
	28	Hickel	Springfield
	28	Stans	Springfield
	28	Hardin	Springfield
	30	Romney	Illinois
November	2	Kennedy	Illinois

INDIANA

October	13	Klein	Indianapolis
	16	Mitchell	Indiana
	17	Hardin	Indiana
	18	Hardin	Indiana
	19	Hardin	Indiana
	19	Hodgson	Indiana
	21	Volpe	Indiana

INDIANA (Cont'd.)

October	22	Dole	Indiana
	26	Dole	Indiana
	27	Hardin	Indiana
	28	Mrs. Nixon	Indiana
	29	Finch	Indiana
	29	Volpe	Indiana
November	1	Tricia	Indiana

MARYLAND

October	1	Hickel	Annapolis
	16	Finch	Maryland
	17	Mrs. Nixon	Hagerstown
	21	Rumsfeld	Maryland
	29	Volpe	Maryland
	30	Stans	Maryland

MICHIGAN

September	15	Finch	Lansing
October	3	Stans	Detroit
	6	Romney	Detroit
	10	Romney	St. Clair
	19	Mrs. Nixon	Michigan
	28	Volpe	Michigan

MINNESOTA

September	10	Hickel	St. Paul
	16	Stans	Minneapolis
October	8	Laird	Duluth
	14	Tricia	Minneapolis
	16	Richardson	Minneapolis
	17	Stans	Minnesota
	18	Finch	Minneapolis
	19	Mrs. Nixon	Minnesota
	20	Romney	Minneapolis
	28	Richardson	Minnesota

MISSOURI

October	1	Blount	Kansas City
	2	Blount	Kansas City
	2	Dole	Missouri
	3	Blount	Kansas City
	9	Rumsfeld	Missouri
	16	Klein	St. Louis
	17	Julie & David	Missouri
	19	Dole	Missouri
	20	Finch	Missouri
	22	Stans	Missouri
	23	Klein	Missouri
	27	Hardin	Missouri
	28	Hickel	Missouri

NEVADA

October	7	Mitchell	Reno
	19	Hickel	Nevada
	20	Mrs. Nixon	Carson City
	26	Finch	Nevada
	28	Dole	Nevada

NEW JERSEY

September	24	Finch	Newark
	29	Hodgson	Atlantic City
October	6	Volpe	Atlantic City
	14	Volpe	New Jersey
	21	Julie & David	New Jersey
	26	Tricia	New Jersey
	26	Volpe	New Jersey
	30	Hardin	New Jersey

NEW MEXICO

October	13	David	Albuquerque
	18	Hickel	Albuquerque
	22	Klein	New Mexico
	30	Dole	New Mexico

NORTH DAKOTA

October	24	Dole	North Dakota
	27	Hickel	North Dakota
	29	Tricia	North Dakota

OHIO

September	4	Volpe	Columbus
	12	Hardin	Versailles
October	5	David	Cincinnati
	14	Stans	Canton
	17	Dole	Ohio
	19	Finch	Dayton
	21	Romney	Ohio
	28	Volpe	Ohio
	28	Tricia	Ohio
	29	Hickel	Ohio
	31	Tricia	Cleveland

SOUTH DAKOTA

October	27	Hickel	South Dakota
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TENNESSEE

September	28	Blount	Nashville
October	22	Stans	Tennessee

TEXAS

October	6	Finch	Dallas
	8	Kennedy	Wichita Falls & Dallas
	8	Stans	Dallas
	9	Laird	San Antonio
	9	Kennedy	Dallas
	10	Dole	Texas
	16	Klein	Dallas
	17	Hickel	Houston
	21	Finch	Dallas
	22	Volpe	Houston

UTAH

September	25	Hodgson	Salt Lake City
October	2-4	Kennedy	Provo
	4-5	Finch	Salt Lake City
	6	Finch	Salt Lake City
	21	Tricia	Provo & Ogden
	21	Klein	Salt Lake City
	28	Hardin	Utah
	29	Hardin	Utah
	29	Kennedy	Utah

VERMONT

September	26	Finch	Brattleboro
October	24	Hickel	Vermont

WYOMING

September	26	Dole	Wyoming
	28	Stans	Cheyenne
October	1	Kennedy	Wyoming
	2	Kennedy	Wyoming
	28	Mitchell	Wyoming
	29	Tricia	Wyoming
November	1	Finch	Wyoming

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

BOB HALDEMAN

SUBJECT: Maryland Vote

Dave Markey, from Senator-elect Beall's office, advises me that the industrial area, which the President visited in Maryland, did very well for Beall in the election. The 5th Legislative District, which is known as the Essex Area, went 13,000 to 8,000 for Beall. The registration there is 28,600 Democrats to 6,260 Republicans. In the 6th Legislative District, the Sparrows Point Area, Beall carried 10,000 to 7,000. The registration there is 24,840 Democrats to 4,870 Republicans. In the 7th Legislative District, which is the Dundalk Area, it was a Beall-Tydings standoff with each getting about 8,600 votes. The registration there is 25,240 Democrats to 4,000 Republicans.



Harry S. Dent

KEVIN P. PHILLIPS
5115 MOORLAND LANE
BETHESDA, MARYLAND

(301)654-7128

Sunday

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Per my last letter, some further enclosures.
Please let me know any further details you might have when
you get back.

I was disgusted to hear that welfare announcement.
As you might imagine, I have a few more columns' worth of opinion
on that mess.

As before, I hope that this finds you with time
enough for golf, and that you and Mrs. Mitchell have been
enjoying your West Coast stay.

Sincerely,

Kevin

Re: Maine

In 1964, Senator Muskie won re-election by a vote of 253,000 to 127,000. This success was considerably swollen by a) heavy straight Democratic voting by Republicans in protest against the Goldwater candidacy, and b) the staying at home of 10-20% of the Yankee Republican electorate who couldn't bear the thought of choosing between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Under these circumstances - and despite a steady registration trend to the Democrats - Muskie is unlikely to do so well as in 1964. The enclosed xerox of a mid-August poll of Yankees in Hancock County, Maine, shows Muskie down from his 1964 lead over the GOP candidate. The reason: a combination of trending away from Muskie (mostly by persons who cast protest ballots in 1964) and heavier voting by Yankee Republicans who stayed home in 1964. This is not a big trend, but it is a factor nevertheless.

Muskie's 66% of the vote will probably slip to the 60% range because of the above trends and a lighter-than-presidential year turnout in the Catholic milltowns that fuel Maine Democratic pluralities. However there seems little doubt that Muskie will be re-elected handily.

It would not seem wise for the Administration to look like it is too interested in the Maine race. GOP candidate Bishop should be given personal ammunition against Muskie, so that when the results are totaled and Muskie wins, say, by 91,000 votes and 61% of the total, nobody is embarrassed by too much intervention but at the same time, there will be grounds to spread the word that the bloom is off Muskie's appeal.

The enclosed poll shows that the "Southern Strategy" is very unpopular among Maine's Yankee Republicans, 55% of whom think that the Administration pays too much attention to the South. The Machiasport situation and Bath shipyards contract are particularly embarrassing. If any oil free trade zones are to be announced shortly, it would be useful to do so before the election.

Another useful idea might be a "Northern New England Regional Commission" like that for Appalachia. Industrial obsolescence and redundancy is cruel in upper New England - towns with 10-20% unemployment are common - and such a move would be well-received. It would also provide a rebuttal to the "Southern Strategy" innuendo, and also help bolster 1972 prospects in the one part of New England that is winnable. Prouty and Bishop would be bolstered.

Some kind of ethnic appeal or cultural recognition should be extended to upper New England's French-Canadians; that would really be hitting the Democrats from the rear.

1970 Maine Election Questionnaire

1. For whom do you plan to vote in November's Senate election? (Circle one.)
45% 50% Don't know - 5%
A) Edmund Muskie (Democrat) B) Neil Bishop (Republican)
2. For whom did you vote when Edmund Muskie last ran for the Senate in 1964? (Circle one.)
35% 32% 30%
A) For Muskie B) For his Republican opponent C) Don't know/Didn't vote*
3. Whom did you support for President in 1968? (Circle one.)
70% 23%
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) Hubert Humphrey (Democrat)
C) George Wallace (Independent), Don't know, Didn't vote — 7%
4. Whom did you support for President in 1960? (Circle one.)
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) John F. Kennedy (Democrat)
C) Don't know/Didn't vote
5. Do you plan to vote for President Nixon in 1972? (Circle one.)
50% 17% 33%
A) Yes B) No C) Don't know
6. Do you think that the Nixon Administration pays too much attention to the South and not enough to New England? (Circle one.)
55% 33% 12%
A) Yes B) No C) Don't know

* Many Yankee Republicans in Maine did not vote in 1964 because of disaste for Sen. Goldwater and Johnson

poll of 42 random-selected
Yankees, Hancock Co. (Down East) Maine
Aug 10-15.

Re: Tennessee

Analysis of the Tennessee primary vote suggests that Congressman Bill Brock is a probable victor over Albert Gore.

Tennessee can be divided politically into three parts (see enclosure). Brock will carry Republican East Tennessee by a large majority, Dixiecrat (and anti-Gore) West Tennessee by a small majority, and lose moderate Middle Tennessee, but not by enough to elect Gore.

The key to Tennessee victory is the Wallace vote. The bulk of it appears to have gone against Gore in the primary, and the state's Wallace Party leaders are vehemently anti-Gore. Social issues continue to outweigh economic issues.

Brock's major weakness is his economic conservatism. Were it not for Gore's record of unSouthernism and unpatriotism, Brock's economic record could be fatal. This can be approached from several directions.

- A) Appalachia - Brock voted against the Appalachia program which is important to East Tennessee. Tex Ritter used this issue with some effect in the primary, giving Gore some juicy anti-Brock quotes. Brock should find a way to equivocate on Appalachia, or come up with some programmatic alternative to justify his "no" vote. One idea: that the Appalachia program does not include all poor parts of Tennessee, leaving out the Tennessee River counties in the west-central part of the state, as well as other poor areas, and therefore urge a broader program that helps all needy Tennessee areas.
- B) Conservative Voting Record on Social Security, Medicare, Income Tax, etc - Brock should prepare immediately, for heavy distribution in all poor sections of the state, one page handbills explaining in simple language how he has supported Social Security, Medicare, tax reform and cheap power (TVA) and pledging even more effort in the future.

Most of Tennessee's country and western music stars were active in Tex Ritter's primary campaign. They have not yet come around to Brock (nor to Gore). For one thing, neither Brock nor Gore has supported the music industry with respect to certain copyright and other objectives they have. Inasmuch as the country music people can be of tremendous assistance with Wallace-leaning voters in the South and Border states in this campaign and that of 1952, I strongly recommend that their desires be ascertained and granted to the maximum feasible extent. This year, they could be of great assistance in Tennessee, Florida and Texas, where country and western musicians are a major campaign asset (especially to take the edge off country club types like Brock and Dush).

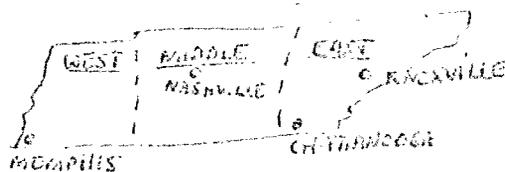
Albert Gore can be expected to campaign against Brock with a never-ending stream of folksy gibes and populist economics, but Gore's cocktail party liberalism offers a chance to rebut his folksy image. Brock's office

has already responded favorably to the suggestion that the society pages of the Washington newspapers be researched back to 1965 for a complete list of the parties attended by Gore, the menu (the Frenchier the better) and the society types and Northern liberals in attendance. This way, Gore's "common touch" can be rebutted; if Brock cannot play this sort of game well himself, then a surrogate candidate should hit at Gore's liberal society circuitry.

Key area not to bother with "unSouthern" policies - West Tennessee (see map).

A last point to make regards Tennessee GOP factionalism. The East Tennessee counties that opposed Brock in the primary are old Baker organization strongholds. Presumably they will be okay in the general election because Brock's people now feel that Baker is cooperating, but it might be useful for the message to be passed to Baker that people will be watching for the usual GOP majorities in the First Congressional district strongholds.

Finally, I would not recommend that the Vice-President go to Tennessee. Outside interference does not seem necessary, and there is the chance that Gore could stir up sympathy and/or a backlash. The Vice-President could do the job just as well by saying that he's not going to Tennessee because he thinks the people down their "can kill their own skunk themselves."

The Political Regions of Tennessee

East Tennessee is solidly Republican; Brock just needs the usual majority and should get it. In Middle and West Tennessee, much of the anti-Gore primary vote should go to Brock - many of the voters will be Wallaceites - and that should do it. The heavy Brock primary vote and anti-Gore primary vote in West Tennessee suggests that Brock will be able to forge a majority in that section, albeit a fairly small one. If so, then his East Tennessee majority can be expected to exceed Gore's Middle Tennessee majority and he will win. Needless to say, the fulcrum of anti-Gore feeling in Western Tennessee is social, racial and regional.

Past Votes and 1970 Projections by Region

	West Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	East Tennessee	State
Kuykendall (1964)	21,000 Demo. Majority	111,000 Demo. Majority	55,000 Rep. Majority	77,000 Demo.
Baker (1966)	7,000 Rep. Majority	28,000 Demo. Majority	125,000 Rep. Majority	99,000 Rep.
GOP-Crockett Primary Lead Over Gore (1970)	56,000 Combined	26,000 Combined	88,000 Combined	
Projected Brock	10-25,000 Rep. Majority *	35-50,000 Demo. Majority	75-100,000 Rep. Majority	25-90,000 Rep. M

* Unusual GOP strength in West Tennessee anticipated because of a) intensity of "Southern"-based enmity towards Gore and b) local popularity of Brock runningmate Winfield Dunn, who played major role in building GOP in West Tennessee's Shelby County (Memphis)

Re: The Vermont Senate Race

Six years ago, Winston Prouty won election to a second term by a margin of 88,000 to 76,000. This year he faces a much stronger candidate, former governor Philip Hoff, and polls indicate the election will be tight.

A comparison of Prouty's 1964 vote with Hoff's 1966 gubernatorial victory suggests that the two men will be fighting for an independent and liberal Republican electorate based in the cities and larger towns. Many of these people voted for Prouty in 1964 but Hoff in 1966. Indeed, Hoff's gains over the Democrat who ran against Prouty correlate with the vote cast in the 1966 GOP gubernatorial primary for a liberal Republican (defeated). Liberal Republican and independent votes hold the key to a Hoff or Prouty victory.

Signs of liberal Republican breakaway in the November election are already building. The incumbent lieutenant-governor, Tom Hayes, is the liberal Republican who was defeated in the 1966 primary. This year, he is again running for governor in the GOP primary and he threatens to bolt if he doesn't make it, calling incumbent Governor Davis a captive of big business. Prouty would be affected by a liberal bolt against Davis.

Prouty is running almost at 1964 levels in the small Yankee towns, a good sign (see enclosed poll). Hoff is not going to do nearly as well in these areas as he did in 1966.

But the Prouty problem will lie in the liberal Republican areas: Bennington and vicinity, Brattleboro, Rutland, areas of Burlington, Barre and some of the major towns.

To this end:

Suggestions

1. Congressman Robert Stafford, a moderate with great appeal (especially in his home area - Rutland) should be induced to campaign for Prouty, especially in the urban areas of southern Vermont.

2. Lieutenant governor Hayes, who has no financial safe harbor to shelter in after his likely defeat, should receive a talking-to about a federal job or future in order to prevent a damaging break on his part with Governor Davis (which could not help but extend to Prouty).

3. Prouty should be given any possible federal contracts or awards to make affecting Burlington or urban south Vermont.

4. The College Young Republicans should be geared up for a Prouty effort in south Vermont (where affluent intelligentsia liberalism is on the upswing) to counteract the image of Prouty as a crusty old Yankee with no youth appeal. This is one area where college organizations could be a major boost.

5. It does not look like Vermont is going to be too hard-pressed by this winter's oil shortage, but it would be good for the President to go to New England for some fuel re-assurance conference or something in which he could a) demonstrate intense concern; b) announce some new import program; or c) announce a new way of handling the import quotas to be allowed so that the import tickets are not just bonuses to Big Oil but go where they will do the most good. An oil extravaganza (public-relationswise) oriented towards New England consumers would be a good idea now that the oil interests have been re-assured of retention of the quota system. This would also affect Maine, Mass and Conn.

6. The French Canadian vote in upper New England is taken for granted by the Democrats at a 6, 8 and 10-1 ratio. It is worth trying to break up. The Vice President could profitably add French Canadians to his list along with Chicanos and Indians; they are in little better shape throughout parts of New England. A little cultural attention and recognition would go a long way.

Speakers

I don't think out-of-state speakers serve the purpose in Vermont. The best thing for Prouty would be strong assistance from Stafford (and Aiken, of course, if he would).

Re: Vermont (Addendum)

Prouty's office people advise that they have received no financial aid from White House or national party, and that some of their contributors are holding up until Washington gives the word.

They further state that the Prouty campaign is not yet really organized, while Democrat Hoff has a tightly-knit, effective organization.

Jack Gleason is out of town but will advise re Prouty funds problem/lack of coordination.

1970 Vermont Election Questionnaire

1. For whom do you plan to vote in November's Senate election? (Circle one.)
84% 13% Don't know - 3%
A) Winston Prouty (Republican) B) Philip Hoff (Democrat)
2. For whom did you vote when Winston Prouty last ran for the Senate in 1964? (Circle one.)
84% 7% 9%
A) For Prouty B) For his Democratic opponent C) Don't know/Didn't vote
3. For whom did you vote when Philip Hoff last ran for Governor in 1966? (Circle one.)
26% 61% 13%
A) For Hoff B) For his Republican opponent C) Didn't vote
4. Whom did you support for President in 1968? (Circle one.)
87% 10%
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) Hubert Humphrey (Democrat)
C) George Wallace (Independent), Don't know - Didn't vote - 3%
5. Whom did you support for President in 1960? (Circle one.)
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) John F. Kennedy (Democrat)
C) Don't know/Didn't vote
6. Do you plan to vote for President Nixon in 1972? (Circle one.)
71% 10% 19%
A) Yes B) No C) Don't know
7. Do you think that the Nixon Administration pays too much attention to the South and not enough to New England? (Circle one.)
14% 65% 16%
A) Yes B) No C) Don't know

mid-August poll of Yankee voters (non-Yankees excluded)
in Orange County, Vt., the state's
banner GOP county
(Sample - 34 random-selected
Yankee voters, all Orange County voters)

To: JNM

Re: North Dakota, New Mexico, Utah
Senate races: youth effort therein

I strongly believe in the enclosed project outlined by Morton Blackwell (Executive Director of the College Young Republicans) to mobilize local, home-state student manpower in these three races where a few thousand votes could make the difference.

Morton tells me that the President had a long conversation a month or so ago with Rob Pollack, President of the College YRs, in which he said that he wants the college YRs to get into the Senate races. These would be the most productive.

According to Morton, topflight references for this type of effort can be had from Louie and Lee Nunn, Bob Hitt (RNC) and Charlton Lyons, among others.

The YRs are already starting their operation in New Mexico and they have worked out tentative arrangements with Burton's people in Utah, but they need guarantees that the money to pay organizers will be available - and they need to know as soon as possible so that the organizers can be sent in.

The total cost would be about \$20,000, and in my opinion worth more than a quarter of a million dollars worth of Harry Treleaven commercials. At present, they just don't have the money - and that is why White House intervention is necessary.

If this can be approved, it would be useful to have one of Haldeman's people tell Blackwell as soon as possible.

As I said, I think that Blackwell is a very capable individual and knows what he is doing.

Re: Young Republican Campaign Effort

With the enthusiastic cooperation of the New Mexico and Utah candidate's organizations, Morton Blackwell of the national YR's is already out in the two states laying the groundwork for a substantial youth effort on behalf of Burton and Carter.

The operation can be extended quickly to North Dakota as per the previously submitted blueprint, but they will need guarantees of financing before the necessary commitments can be undertaken.

Re: Agnew Scheduling

Apart from any local organizational vicissitudes, the following is a general suggestion of chilly ideological climates viz a foray by the Vice-President.

Probably unproductive: Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Minnesota, Hawaii, Rhode Island

Dubious: Connecticut, New York, Michigan, Oregon, Washington

In general, Agnew should be used in places where the Administration is trying to tap a Southern-type or blue-collar Democratic trend to the GOP. Thus the ruling out of the first seven.

Specific states where Agnew would help Senate candidates are Indiana (to counter Roudebush's increasing irritation of conservatives); Texas (to bolster Bush's rightist appeal); Illinois (to bolster Smith among Chicago area law and order ethnics); Maryland (to bolster Beall in Baltimore area, especially Baltimore County); California and Florida; and conceivably New Jersey if he can be zeroed in on the Catholic industrial/backlash areas.

Agnew would seem useful, but for less specific reasons, in the Rocky Mountain states, North Dakota and Alaska - useful more for publicity purposes/media coverage of local campaign.

He would be useful in Missouri if Danforth looks like he has a prayer; Ohio is questionable, depending on Taft's feelings; and Delaware would not be negatively affected.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN

FROM: Nick Ruwe *

With the announcement of the President's swing through Connecticut and this Saturday's upcoming political swing the situation has developed that several candidates or their managers are now declining offers of the First Family or Cabinet members on the basis of holding out hope that the President will visit their states. As an example, John Wold is declining offers in the hope that the President will go to Wyoming. For certain reasons, we know that the President will not go to Wyoming.

No doubt there are some states where the President will not go and a list of these would be very helpful.



cc: Mr. Finch
Mr. Klein

P. will go to:

<i>Vt</i>	<i>Fla</i>
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Ill</i>
<i>Pa</i>	<i>Tex</i>
<i>Wisc</i>	<i>Calif</i>
<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Utah</i>
<i>ND</i>	
<i>Mo.</i>	<i>+ maybe</i>
<i>Tenn</i>	<i>N.M.</i>
<i>Ind</i>	<i>New.</i>
<i>Md.</i>	<i>S.D.</i>

He will not go to any other states.

Family should go to:

<i>NJ</i>	<i>and</i>
<i>Ohio</i>	<i>Mass.</i>
<i>Tenn</i>	<i>Wyoming</i>
<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Mich.</i>
<i>Md.</i>	<i>NC. (Cong)</i>
<i>Fla</i>	<i>SC (Gov)</i>
<i>Ill</i>	<i>SD (Gov)</i>
<i>Tex</i>	<i>Pa (Gov)</i>
<i>Calif.</i>	

November 5, 1970

BACKGROUND MEMO

NOTES: Re: 1970 Congressional Campaign

Before the President entered the campaign and urged his Cabinet Officers to make an intensive effort - about 6 weeks prior to the election - all of the private polls we had for each of the key states indicated that our Senatorial candidate was behind in every state except Tennessee. On the basis of these polls the indications were that we would end up with a net loss of one seat in the Senate and a net loss of 30 seats in the House.

The reason the President went out on the campaign trail was as he said during the campaign that the major issues in the Senate were being decided by a majority of one or maybe two votes and he couldn't leave a situation where the President was being undercut week after week, especially in the area of foreign policy. Also, if we had lost 30 seats in the House there would have been no possibility at all of winning control of the House in 1972, which continues to be a long-range objective.

Looking at history we find, of course, that Eisenhower in 1954 and 1958, lost 57 and 13 House seats respectively. A Republican Administration with any kind of economic slow down will always face

a disaster at the polls.

During the campaign in four of the key states the Democratic Senator accused the Administration of sitting on the new unemployment figures and that they would be 6 1/2%. They also said that the Administration was planning to close key bases in each of those states which was not true. The losses in those states and throughout the West are clearly due to the economy. The problem of 10% unemployment in Los Angeles and Orange Counties for example, is virtually insurmountable.

In other words when the decision was made to go out and campaign, the purpose was to avoid an unmitigated disaster.

We were of course disappointed regarding the Governorships. The President had predicted a loss of eight, instead we lost probably 11. These losses are an indication of what might of also happened in the Congress and Senate had we not gone out to fight.

Some of the Governorship losses were unavoidable - the Ohio scandal, the Florida party fight, the problems in Pennsylvania, the tax problems of Tiemann in Nebraska, the conflict of interest problems of Farrar in South Dakota, etc.

In terms of political significance for 1972, however, it doesn't mean a damned thing. In 1960 we only had 14 Governors, yet the President carried 26 states (this was the lowest number of Governors that any party ever had). We lost two major states - New York and Illinois where we had Republican Governors - and we won two major states - Ohio and California where we did not have Republican Governors.

Having a Governor of our Party would help a bit but basically the Governors don't play the political game now. They have become more non-partisan. There are no strong state political machines in most cases. Naturally we would have preferred not to lose the Governorships, but losing them will not hurt us particularly for the long haul.

A rather remarkable statistical fact is that this election equalized the Republican representation in the House, Senate, and Governorships. Where we have only 28% of the population registered as Republicans, the Republican Party controls 41% of the House seats, 42% of the Governors, and 45% of the Senate seats.

Without the economic drag, we would have carried both Houses. Our foreign policy position is a tremendous asset to the Administration and the Party.

Looking ahead to 1972 with the war over and no new war underway, with a nuclear agreement of some sort, and with the economy up, we should be in excellent shape.

It's important to separate national elections from state elections. When you do so and look only at the national picture, this was a remarkable showing. We gained two actual seats in the Senate plus Buckley and Benson ideologically. The House is also remarkable vs. the average loss. Except for Teddy Roosevelt in 1902 and FDR in 1934, no President has gained seats in the House during an off-year election.

Peace and the economy are the only issues that matter, none of the other issues that were so thoroughly discussed, really make any difference.

It is important to recognize the outstanding work the President did especially going into the places that were not sure winners. For instance, MacGregor had no chance at all, but he's a great guy who was making a tremendous fight. Danforth is an outstanding man who should have had a boost and got it. Nebraska and Arizona both looked like sure things but we still hit them just in case, and it's a lucky thing we did.

The President has never felt that you should just play it safe or like Johnson in 1966, stay out all together. He felt he had a responsibility to fight for good people and he went out and did it.

The President has always had the feeling that if people fight for you, you've got to go out and fight for them. It was imperative, especially in the Senate, to be sure that we didn't loose seats and it appeared quite probable that we would if we didn't make a major effort.

The President campaigned only four week days, a couple of evenings, and three Saturdays and it paid off where it counted in the Senate.