

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 64 | 6 | 10/19/1962 | Newspaper | "A Look Back: Traveling in Nixon's Wake" in the Watsonville Register-Pajaronian. Not scanned. |
| 64 | 6 | 11/11/1962 | Letter | Letter from Leonard Valuikas to Mr. Richard Nixon regarding his loss in the governorship election to Mr. Brown. 3 pages. |
| 64 | 6 | 02/13/1962 | Report | Progress Report on the General Campaign Organization. Includes a supplement to the progress report. 5 pages. |
| 64 | 6 | 11/09/1961 | Newspaper | "Nixon Goes for Broke" in the Reporter by Bruce Bliven. Not scanned. |
| 64 | 6 | n.d. | Newspaper | Multiple newspaper clippings regarding Nixon's campaign. Articles not scanned. |
| 64 | 6 | 08/06/1962 | Newspaper | Newspaper clipping of the "Tower Ticker" with attached note regarding Governor Pat Brown and Nixon competition. 1 page. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 64 | 6 | 04/18/1962 | Letter | Letter from Peter M. Flanigan to Robert E. Haldeman regarding the "mystery of the \$2,500." Includes personal note from Haldeman. 2 pages. |
| 64 | 6 | 07/03 | Newspaper | "Nixon Summons California G.O.P.: Goal Is an Organization for '62 and '64 Campaigns" by Gladwin Hill. 1 page. |
| 64 | 6 | 11/14 | Newspaper | "Shell Takes a Flying Leap at Brown's Chair" by Robert Blanchard, Times Sacramento Bureau Chief. Article not scanned. |
| 64 | 6 | 11/17/1961 | Newspaper | "A Look at Nixon's Campaign Aide" by Ruth Montgomery, S.F. Examiner. 1 page. |
| 64 | 6 | 05/11/1962 | Newspaper | "Nixon Hits Brown's Political Tactics" by Henry Love and "Nixon Tells Youth Role in Nation." Articles not scanned. |
| 64 | 6 | 05/11/1962 | Other Document | Hoffa-Teamster Endorsement of Brown - Remarks of Richard Nixon at Reception at Home of George Foreman, Arcadia. 1 page. |
| 64 | 6 | 12/26/1962 | Memo | Memo to Richard Nixon from "DH" re: requested information regarding elections around the nation. 8 pages. |

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|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 64 | 6 | 11/1961 | Newspaper | Newspaper clippings regarding Nixon's campaign. Clippings not scanned. |
| 64 | 6 | n.d. | Other Document | misc. page regarding reform Democrats in New York City. 1 page. |

Copy

902 West 3¹/₂th Street
Los Angeles 7, California

Los Angeles, November 11, 1962

Mr. Richard M. Nixon
1035 Pacific Mutual Building
923 West 6th Street
Los Angeles 1⁴, California

Dear Dick:

I felt as bad as you did on November 7th. I have been a staunch supporter of you since 1952 when I came to California. Without any question whatever, you were better qualified for the presidency of our country in 1960 than Mr. Kennedy, and you were better qualified for the governorship of California than Mr. Brown this year. What were the main reasons for the loss of both elections?

Two days after this year's elections I met a number of volunteer workers who really worked hard for you and other Republican candidates. Among other things, of course, we talked for a while about your loss of the governorship of California. Our conclusions were as follows: Mr. Nixon lost this year's elections (as he did two years ago) because he ignored the labor and the minorities (negroes and nationalities).

I am in no position to say much about the labor. One thing that I know is that Dick and his staff really neglected the nationalities. The nationalities were in position to put you, Dick, in the White House in 1960, and this time to send you to Sacramento as Governor of California. You just had to give a little more cooperation, you had to show a little more interest in these people. As you know, approximately 20 - 25% of all the votes (about 25% in California) come from the nationality groups. These people cannot be ignored or neglected if one wants to have them on his side.

I am not saying these things to hurt your feelings. I am very much interested in build-up and strengthening of the GOP. I hope that more of our Party's leaders will see the light and do something concrete about it.

Mr. Richard M. Nixon
November 11, 1962 - Page Two

During the period of 1952 - 1960, I had given you tens of opportunities to appear before various nationalities' gatherings. Each and every time you just were "too busy" to meet these people. In 1960 we begged you "Mr. Nixon, give us at least some five or ten minutes of your time. We want to take some pictures with nationality leaders for all our newspapers and magazines." You did not give us one single minute of your time during your campaign in California in 1960. It came 1961 and 1962, I told Bob (Mr. Haldeman) and I wrote you, urging not to repeat the same errors and mistakes that were done in 1960. All my suggestions and recommendations were ignored almost completely. Your campaign staff people thought that they knew all the answers. There was not one single soul from the nationalities on your campaign staff; the strategy committee never consulted anyone from the nationalities; the schedule committee ignored completely our recommendations. After a long fight and a great pressure by us, the campaign management agreed that you would meet leaders from various nationality groups on October 24th. Your staff people were pushing us around during this get-together with you. They told us that you did not want to meet more than two from each and every group. (Some of the groups had more than two representatives.) I gave an ultimatum to one of your boys. I told him "Either Dick meets all of us or there will be no get-together with him at all." Finally, you met all of us (representatives from some twenty nationality groups - some seventy individuals all together), and this meeting lasted for some 8 - 10 minutes. All the time was spent for taking pictures. Only one print was made for each group. Almost all groups needed more than one print for their newspapers. We begged for more prints but we could not get any additional ones.

These are just some of the facts. There were many more shortcomings. Several times I mentioned these and similar shortcomings of your campaign in my letters to you and Bob. So, you should have been aware of these facts.

In your "last press conference" on November 7th you told the American people that members of your campaign staff are "magnificent people." I would

Mr. Richard M. Nixon
November 11, 1962 - Page Three

say only some of them. I have a great admiration for you. I firmly believe that you are a very honest man, a very able man and a great American but you lacked some good advice from your associates. Some of them thought that they had all the answers to all the questions, and we could not reach you with our suggestions and recommendations through this so-called "iron curtain" of some of your advisers. In my opinion, nobody else but they ruined you as far as the political life is concerned.

You indicated several days ago that you would take a long vacation from politics. ~~But we cannot do that!~~ WE MUST GO AHEAD AND MAKE THIS PARTY OF OURS AS A MAJORITY PARTY NOT ONLY IN CALIFORNIA BUT ALSO THROUGHOUT OUR NATION.

I shall mail copies of this letter to some of our Party's functionaries. I hope that they will find enough time to read it and do something in this particular area that was neglected until now by the GOP and you, Dick.

What should we do about the nationalities? Can we win these people for the GOP?

Following are my recommendations for the future action in this particular field:

1. The Republican National Committee should get immediately an expert (or several experts) in this field and to prepare a two-year master plan for strengthening of the GOP movement among the nationality people throughout the country.
2. The same thing should be done by the Los Angeles County Central Committee as well as State Central Committee.
3. The Republican National Committee, the Los Angeles County Central Committee and the State Central Committee should have experts (at least one each) working full time in this particular field from NOW until the election day in 1964.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Leonard Valiukas

Bob:

You were in a position this time to send Dick to Sacramento but you did not want to listen to us, you did not give enough cooperation.

You, people, were repeating the 1960 errors & mistakes.

R.

RN -

2-13-62

File Copy
DW.

Bob Haldeman

Progress Report

GENERAL CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

- Northern California Chairman - A. Downey Orrick
- Northern California Finance Chairmen - Paul Davies and Art Dolan
- Executive Committee, Steering Committee and Operating Committee all appointed and active generally on weekly meeting basis.
- WIN Program - under way with Bob Steel directing.
- Area Chairmen - appointed and active in all 8 areas.
- County Chairmen - appointed for 25 of the 48 Counties per attached list; balance will be completed by end of Feb.
- County Finance Chairmen and General Steering Committees being set up immediately after appointment of County Chairmen.

- Southern California Chairman - H. C. (Chad) McClellan
- Southern California Finance Chairman - Maurice Stans
- Executive Committee and Steering Committee appointed and meeting weekly.
- WIN Program being developed under staff director, Norton Norris.

con't.

Bob Haldeman

Progress Report - page 2.

- **County Chairmen - appointed for 2 of 8 Counties per attached list; balance will be appointed by end of month.**
- **County Finance Chairmen and General Steering Committees being set up immediately after appointment of County Chairmen.**

Task Forces

- **selected for Water, Agriculture and Education, and are developing programs in these areas. Balance of basic Task Forces to be completed by March 15th.**

Committees for which leadership now organized include:

**Veterans
Farmers
Doctors
Lawyers
Sportsmen
Podiatrists
Veterinarians
College organization**

- **specific announcements to be made over next 4 weeks.**

con't.

Bob Haldeman

Progress Report - page 3.

Nixon-for-Governor Statewide Committee

- Membership and support pledges now total approximately 30,000.
- Mailing to entire group goes out this week with membership cards and pins and material for each member to use in signing up 25 additional members. This program to be actively expanded in the next two months. Membership based upon \$1.00 contribution with special card and pin for each member securing 25 additional members.

Basic Headquarters organization and staffing now completed and all scheduled programs under way.

- Field organization program, including registration drive, Republican canvass and Precinct organization now under way in all Counties where Chairman has been announced -- under direction of Headquarters staff, John Kalmbach, Field Director.
- Additional programs to get under way between now and March 15th :
 - Study group program on neighborhood basis for utilization of top level volunteers;

con't.

Bob Haldeman

Progress Report - page 4.

- Election Board training program for male volunteers;
- Speakers Bureau;
- Possible unique telephone recruitment and fund-raising program for tapping presently inactive volunteer sources.

Newsletter and accompanying material being mailed to full list this week.

Legislative liaison established with Howard Thelin; Congressional liaison established through Bob Haldeman.

County Chairmen and GOP organization liaison to be developed by Yvonne Smith.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA - NIXON COUNTY CHAIRMEN

(appointments as of 2-13-62)

| <u>County</u> | <u>Chairman</u> |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Alameda | Robert McKeen |
| Amador | Mrs. Herman Rauh |
| Alpine | Stuart Merrill |
| Calaveras | Theodore Kravitz |
| Colusa | George Lodi |
| Contra Costa | Mrs. Ruth Jacobus (Co-Chairman) |
| El Dorado | Swift Berry |
| Fresno | Don Franson |
| Glenn | Chester W. Walker |
| Lake | Edward Robey |
| Mariposa | Tom McSwain |
| Mendocino | W. K. (Bill) Williams |
| Monterey | Frank Reiser |
| Placer | Dr. Nicholas Bailey |
| Solano | E. Ray Crabtree |
| San Benito | George Anderson |
| San Francisco | Alan Nichols |
| San Joaquin | Robert M. Eberhardt |
| San Mateo | Eugene J. Brenner |
| Santa Cruz | Charles Watkins |
| Siskiyou | Rod Baumbach, Jr. |
| Stanislaus | Dr. Grant Bare |
| Sutter | Tom Miller |
| Tuolumne | Ray T. Edwards |
| Yuba | Dr. Robert Hall |

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA - NIXON COUNTY CHAIRMEN

(appointments as of 2-13-62)

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| Orange | Walter Schmid |
| San Diego | Admiral Leslie Gehres |

Bob Haldeman

Supplement to Progress Report

Several other activities are under way, but not for public release:

- Key Program, involving complete network Statewide on County basis of volunteers to handle letters to editors, publishers, broadcasters etc; monitoring activity by volunteers back-stopped by staff for all key TV newscasts.

- Public Relations Advisory Board - meeting weekly, includes Dick Moore, Ted Braun, Kai Jorgensen, Bob Finch, Herb Klein, Charlie Farrington and Bob Haldeman.

- Strategy Committee - still to be set up.

- Valley Knudsen and her women's activity program will be launched immediately following the February 21st luncheon.

TIGER HALDEMAN

1- PAGE 18

Aug. 6th 1962

CHI

TOWER TICKER

THE MORNING LYON-UP: Gov. Pat Brown of Cal. dashed off a note to a Chicago pal that wound up with, "This Nixon bunch is the toughest political opposition I've ever come across."

*detached from a letter
from a Chicago correspondent*

Bob -

- still want to hold up ack. --

for picture?

A handwritten scribble or signature consisting of several overlapping, curved lines, possibly initials or a name, located below the text.

BOB HALDEMAN

46 William Street
New York 5

April 18, 1962

*hold for
pic -
then we'll
ack*

Mr. Robert E. Haldeman
c/o Richard M. Nixon
1035 Pacific Mutual Building
523 West Sixth Street
Los Angeles 14, California

Dear Bob:

I have finally solved the mystery of the \$2,500. You will remember that Bill Shay had the money. He works for Jack Wrather, who is a member of Dick's Businessmens Committee. I believe you will find a check from Shay, delivered through Wrather, for \$1,500. Wrather suggested to Shay that he hold up on the other \$1,000 for a while. I told Shay yesterday that he ought to give the remaining \$1,000 now, which he agreed to do through Wrather when the latter returns next week.

If for some reason you cannot find a check already in for \$1,500, and do not get another one for \$1,000 within the next couple of weeks, let me know and I will call again.

I went to Bachrach last week to get new pictures worthy of your flattering request. I am debating whether I should send the results of that effort or instead, the shot of Nixon lecturing me on campaign strategy.

Love to Jo and the kids.

Yours,



Peter M. Flanigan

NIXON SUMMONS CALIFORNIA G.O.P.

Goal Is an Organization for
'62 and '64 Campaigns

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, July 3 — A swarm of California Republican leaders will converge on West Los Angeles next week for a conference with Richard M. Nixon. They will meet at the temporary home the former Vice President has rented among those of movie executives.

The group will include state organization chiefs, state legislative and Congressional figures, and leaders of the party's several volunteer organizations.

The purpose of the meeting, called for July 11 by Mr. Nixon, is to attempt to fill an organizational vacuum surrounding the G. O. P.'s titular leader and the nation's liveliest out-of-office political figure.

To maintain his national standing, it is generally agreed, the 1960 Republican Presidential candidate must either run for Governor next year or master-mind an impressive Republican assault on the second-term designs of Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown.

This is considered a prereq-

Continued on Page 11, Column 4

NIXON SUMMONS CALIFORNIA G.O.P.

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

quisite to any pretensions of party leadership or candidacy in the 1961 national campaign.

Springboard Is Amorphous

The 48-year-old quaker lawyer confronts these agenda from about as amorphous an organizational springboard as ever supported a politician of his prominence.

This is due partly to peculiarities of California politics, partly to Mr. Nixon's personal leanings toward lone-wolf operations.

The state's political evolution, stressing nonpartisanship and bipartisanism, has largely eliminated patronage and political machines. Party organizations are divided by law into uncoordinated segments. Voter allegiances are un dependable.

Consequently, any political aspirant is essentially a one-man show, bolstered mainly by pick-up teams of personal cronies in his bids for electoral support.

It was on this basis that Mr. Nixon came out of nowhere in 1946 to begin his rocket-like rise. It is largely on this basis, in spite of eight years as White House second-man, that he faces 1962 and 1964.

Mailing List Organization

"Nationally," a man close to past Nixon operations remarked last week, "there is nothing but a lot of mailing lists that could be resurrected to give semblance to any organization."

On the state level, Mr. Nixon's main implement is a rather weak and fragmented underdog party organization leaning on him as a rallying point about as much as he can lean on it.

Its chairman John Krehbiel, a Los Angeles insurance man, and the national committeeman, Joseph Martin Jr., a San Francisco lawyer, are known as dependable Nixon collaborators. But the Los Angeles County organization, "the tail that wags the dog," is headed by Julius (Jud) Leetham, an energetic and personable lawyer who, while not anti-Nixon, was not Mr. Nixon's choice for the job.

Both the state Legislative and Congressional contingents, preoccupied with their individual constituencies, and seat-for-force are strong for Mr. Nixon as party standard-bearer. But they like a number of party functionaries, have been recurrently exasperated by his personal

Mr. Nixon has been trying to strengthen the state organization, first through fund-raising for staff augmentation and secondly by flushing out the membership.

Two of four scheduled \$100-a-plate dinners have yielded money to help install Fred Hafner, recruited from the public relations field, as an executive director.

On membership, two Los Angeles lawyers, Richard St. John and Charles Bakaly, have set about, at Mr. Nixon's instigation, to revive the lapsed 1960 campaign state network of Nixon clubs as "Republican clubs."

In this and other strategic groundwork Mr. Nixon has had assistance from his original political mentor, Murray Chotiner, the lawyer who was forced from campaign-managing onto the sidelines in mid-1956 in an influence-peddling tumpus.

Mr. Chotiner is on the Republican state executive committee, and the collaboration has been quietly revived since Mr. Nixon's return here last February.

Has Small Personal Staff

In his day-to-day operations, Mr. Nixon's "organization" consists first of a small personal staff, and secondly of a curious nationwide network of long-time aides most comparable to Sherlock Holmes' "Baker Street Irregulars," the runners who materialized magically when there were specialized chores to be done.

His law office staff is headed by his long-time personal secretary Rose Mary Woods, chief buffer between "the boss" and the outside world.

A small separate "political office," underwritten by the state party organization, is managed by his former Washington correspondence secretary, Lois Gaunt, James Golden, a former Secret Service man who at first helped Mr. Nixon in such things as travel arrangements, has left his employ.

Heading the Irregulars and serving informally as Mr. Nixon's chief intermediary, is his former administrative assistant and campaign chief, Robert H. Finch, a Los Angeles lawyer and savings-and-loan executive.

"Ask Finch what Nixon thinks about so-and-so" has become the watchword among politicians.

Runs Local Teams

Mr. Finch is the quarterback who, on Mr. Nixon's political forays about the country, summons into action one echelon after another of a "team" of unpaid but faithful political technicians.

Herbert G. Klein, former press secretary, intermittently leaves his San Diego newspaper job to help out. H. Robert Haldeman, of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency, is usually in action on advance-man work.

Spotted across the country are "alumni" who pitch in on all sorts of local-arrangements and eyes-and-ears chores.

Charles McWhorter, a New York lawyer for American Telephone and Telegraph, escorted Mr. Nixon to the recent Eisenhower dinner in Hershey, Pa. Ned Sullivan, a Yankers real estate man, took him from there

back to an appearance in New York.

Everett Hart, a New York advertising man, is another of the Irregulars. In Cincinnati, there is Sherman Unger, a lawyer in Chicago, James C. Worley, a vice president of Sears, Roebuck, in Seattle, John Blumhagen, a lawyer.

The Irregulars get no more than reimbursement of their expenses, sometimes not even that. Their motivation, a Nixon estimate hazarded, is a mixture of belief in Mr. Nixon's and the party's political future, an interest in making contacts, political business or both, and, in some cases, friendship.

Ruth Montgomery

A Look at Nixon's Campaign Aide

WASHINGTON — Republican politicians are cocking an eyebrow at the announcement that former Vice President Richard M. Nixon has appointed Robert Haldeman as his gubernatorial campaign manager.

Haldeman, a youthful Madison Avenue buckster, directed field operations for the Nixon-for-President campaign, and in so doing managed to excite the wrath of practically every top GOP Senator and state chairman.

It is not news that the political pros were furious with Dick Nixon during the closing weeks of last fall's campaign. Such longtime Nixon supporters as Senator Styles Bridges and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield were heat-

edly complaining that they could not even get through to the candidate.

Haldeman drew a large share of the blame. One prominent state chairman put it this way: "That last campaign was the most stupid I have ever seen. Haldeman sent in droves of young kids to schedule meetings all around me, without even informing me of it. They stripped the party leaders of all dignity and prestige. I was so humiliated and embarrassed that I almost lost my self-respect."

Sometime after President Kennedy's inauguration, this GOP state chairman wrote a letter to Nixon stating that he expected to be in Los Angeles on a given date. To his surprise he received a warm reply, saying that Nixon would like to see him.

On arriving in Los Angeles he telephoned Nixon's office, expecting to get the run-around to which he had become accustomed during the campaign. Instead, Nixon's long-time girl Friday, Rose Woods, told him he was expected, and please to come right over.

In reminiscing about the incident, the politico confessed: "I put the phone down and said to myself: 'I've got my self-respect back, so to h--- with it.' I didn't show up for the appointment!"

Such bitterness is fairly widespread in the party. The cut is so deep with the top professionals that there is little likelihood of Nixon being given the nod for the presidential nomination in 1964.

Certainly the news that Haldeman has taken over the top spot formerly held by Bob Finch will not help him with GOP out-of-state leaders.

HOFFA-TEAMSTER ENDORSEMENT OF BROWN
REMARKS OF RICHARD NIXON
AT RECEPTION AT HOME OF
GEORGE FOREMAN, ARCADIA
FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1962

I am shocked that Pat Brown has in effect now charged President Kennedy with using "smear" tactics in his 1960 primary campaign. Brown owes an immediate apology to the President of the United States.

When I commented on Brown's receiving the Hoffa-Teamster endorsement, I used John Kennedy's exact words in exactly the same context.

Brown's stable of 51 tax supported press agents should have reminded him that Kennedy made the same statement about Hubert Humphrey when Humphrey received the Hoffa-Teamster endorsement in the West Virginia primary two years ago. Why did not Brown charge "smear" then?

Brown should know, as President Kennedy knows, and I know, that Hoffa is the political dictator of the controlling clique of the Teamsters Union. Brown should also know this because he had the Hoffa-Teamster endorsement 4 years ago.

Halderman

MEMO

TO: RN

FROM: DH

December 26, 1962

The following is a summary of the elections around the nation which you requested.

The '62 mid-term voting was the heaviest it has been in thirty years. Approximately 47% of the potential voters went to the polls. 1958 (the third heaviest voting) had a turnout of 43.4%.

SENATE RESULTS

There were 39 senatorial contests in 1962. Democrats were victorious in 25, giving them a net gain of 4 seats.

Democratic gains were made in the following states:

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-------|--------------|-------|
| Connecticut | Ribicoff | 51.3% | Seeley-Brown | 48.7% |
| Indiana | Bayh | 50.3% | Capehart | 49.7% |
| Maryland | Brewster | 62.2% | Miller | 37.8% |
| New Hampshire | McIntyre | 52.3% | Bass | 47.7% |
| South Dakota | McGovern | 50.1% | Bottum | 49.9% |
| Wisconsin | Nelson | 52.7% | Wiley | 47.3% |

Republicans picked up previously held Democratic seats in Colorado, and Wyoming.

| | | | | |
|----------|----------|-------|---------|-------|
| Colorado | Dominick | 54.0% | Carroll | 46.0% |
| Wyoming | Simpson | 57.6% | Hickey | 42.4% |

The following states now have both Republican senators: Colorado, Delaware, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, New York and Vermont.

The Republican seniority now belongs to Aiken. Wiley was defeated in a contest in which his advanced age was one of the major issues.

Senator Hill of Alabama was nearly unseated by James D. Martin who received 49.1% of the vote. Martin is an outspoken conservative and his showing against Hill may signal a warning to Southern "liberals" in Congress.

Ribicoff won by only 27,000 votes, far below his record majority of 246,000 when he won the governorship in 1958.

Senator Morton won a surprisingly big victory over Wilson Wyatt with Morton receiving 52.6% of the votes.

In Massachusetts, Kennedy's victory was surprising only by its size (55.6%, Lodge 42.0% and Hughes 2.4%).

In New Hampshire, McIntyre capitalized on a bitter Republican Party split and upset Perkins Bass for the remaining four years of Styles Bridges' seat. Senator Cotton, at the same time, won an easy re-election in spite of the party split. The incumbent Senator (interim appointee), Maurice J. Murphy, Jr. was defeated in the State Primary.

In New York, Javits' vote was an 889,000 triumph over Donovan, who was regarded as a totally colorless campaigner.

In Pennsylvania, Senator Clark survived the Republican sweep by defeating Van Sandt 51.3% to 48.7%.

In South Carolina, Senator Olin Johnston defeated newspaperman William W. Workman, Jr., although Workman set a record for a state-level Republican candidate by receiving 42.6% of the vote.

In Utah, Senator Bennett defeated Representative David King by getting 52.4% of the vote over his Administration-supported opponent.

Two former Senators will be members of the House of Representatives in the 86th Congress. They are Claude Pepper who was defeated in 1950 by Senators and unsuccessfully sought nomination in the Senate in 1958. He represents Florida's new Third District, Northern Dade County. The other is Representative Alton A. Lennon of North Carolina who was an appointive member of the Senate from 1953 to 1954. He has served in the House, representing the Seventh District, since 1956.

GOVERNORS

The lineup of Governors prior to the '62 elections was: Democrats, 34; Republicans, 16. There were 35 gubernatorial elections in 1962. Democrats won in 20 of these. Republicans won or were leading in 15. The outcome of the Minnesota race between Halvarg and Anderson has undergone one recount, which gave the election to Anderson by approximately 30 votes. It is now undergoing a second recount.

The second closest race was in Rhode Island where Republican Governor Chaffey retained the governorship by 398 votes.

The Republican successes in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan are thought to be highly significant in the '64 elections. These three states rank third, fourth (tied with Illinois) and seventh in the number of electoral votes, with a total of 76 in all.

In January, there will be Republican governors in two

or three states with Democratic Senators over 70 (Arizona and Ohio), and there are no Republican Senators over 70 in states that have Democratic governors.

In New York, Rockefeller's less impressive victory may have further ramifications as a result of more careful study. One thing contributing to the lack of impressiveness of his win is the fact that the upstate Tamney Hall people did not campaign actively for Morgenthau in order to weaken Wagner's control of the Party.

Rockefeller ran last among Republican winners on the state-wide ticket. The Conservative Party candidate, David H. Jaquith, received 119,000 votes, again reducing Rockefeller's plurality. Rockefeller received 54.3% of the votes and Morgenthau 45.7%.

In Pennsylvania, Scranton carried the Republicans into control of both houses of legislature, giving the state its first one-party government since 1953. His victory was by 55.5% of the vote, over Dilworth's 44.5%.

In Ohio, DiSalle waged an unusually vigorous campaign, but was beaten by Republican State Auditor James Rhodes by 555,000 votes (Rhodes received 58.9% of the vote).

In Michigan, Romney's plurality was 78,000 votes or 51.4%. His victory ended 14 years of Democratic administration. The campaign was waged primarily on an attack against Swainson as being representative only of a single special interest group - organized labor.

In Massachusetts, Governor Volpe was defeated by 3,000 votes when Endicott Peabody won by 50.1%.

In Oklahoma, a Democratic split and grassroots Republican organization carried Henry Bellmon to a Republican victory by 76,000 votes over W. P. Atkinson. Bellmon becomes the first Republican Governor since Oklahoma became a state in 1907.

In Texas, former Secretary of Navy, John Connally staved off Jack Cox's determined bid with Cox seeking to picture Connally as a stooge of Lyndon Johnson.

In summary, the Democrats upset Republican incumbents in Massachusetts, Iowa, New Mexico, Vermont and Hawaii.

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-------|--------|-------|
| Massachusetts | Peabody | 50.1% | Volpe | 49.9% |
| Iowa | Hughes | 52.4% | Erbe | 47.6% |
| New Mexico | Campbell | 53.0% | Mechem | 47.0% |
| Hawaii | Burns | 58.3% | Quinn | 41.7% |
| Vermont | Hoff | 50.1% | Keyser | 49.9% |

In New Hampshire, Democrat King received 58.1% while Pillsbury got 41.9%, a result of a party feud within the New Hampshire Republican Party.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Prior to the '62 elections, Democrats held 263 seats and Republicans 174. As a result of the 1962 elections, the Democrats have 259 seats and the Republicans 176.

Republican leaders had, prior to the elections, expressed a hope to gain 44 additional seats, which was the number necessary to take control. Privately they were saying that they expected to pick up 10 to 20 seats.

Sixty-five members of the new Congress will be newcomers, 35 Democrats and 30 Republicans.

There were 4 Birchers who lost in the election: Hiestand, Rounsavot, Richardson and six-term Representative Walter Rogers (Democrat, Texas) but Rogers was defeated by another Bircher, Jack Beale (Mayor of Amarillo).

The Democratic party made its most important gains in the West with strong results showing in California from the Democratic gerrymander. Gerrymandering in other states misfired or backfired. Republicans failed to make any new gains in New York due to a gerrymander which they hoped would net them four new seats. The gerrymander in North Carolina backfired completely, giving the Republicans two seats instead of reclaiming the single Republican as it hoped to do. Gerrymandering in West Virginia also failed to defeat the State's single Republican member.

The new lineup in the Congress is, of course, primarily important for the effect it will have on the Administration's program. Of 69 members leaving the House because of election defeat, primary defeat, retirement or resignation (40 Democrats and 29 Republicans) Kennedy's supporters on key issues could be classified as follows:

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Hard-core Kennedy supporters | 14 |
| Generally support Kennedy programs | 11 |
| Sometimes support Kennedy programs | 4 |
| Generally or always oppose Kennedy | 40 |

Of the 67 new members who will enter the House in January, (36 Democrats and 31 Republicans), Kennedy supporters may be classified as follows:

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Hard-core Kennedy support expected | 24 |
|------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| General support of Kennedy expected | 3 |
| Partial support of Kennedy expected | 2 |
| General or total <u>opposition</u> expected | 38 |

These figures would show a net gain of 10 in hard-core supporters and a net loss of 2 opposition Members. However, when applied to special issues the lineup for the Administration does not look spectacular:

Rules Committee: The President lost 33 Members who backed him on enlargement of the Rules Committee during the 87th Congress. He gains 27 new supporters for his program in the new Congress, this is a net loss of 6. The proposal carried in 1961 by a vote of 217 to 212, and a switch of three votes would have reversed the outcome. This will be a touch and go issue in the new Congress.

School Aid: The President lost 22 Members who backed him on the 1961 school bill. He picked up 27 supporters, making a hypothetical gain of 5 Members on this issue, but it would take 37 votes to switch the outcome of the Roll Call on the bill in 1961.

Tax: The President loses 34 Members who supported passage of his tax bill in 1962. The pickup of 27 new supporters means a hypothetical loss of 7 on this issue, but it would have taken 12 votes to defeat the bill in 1962.

Urban Affairs: The President needed 58 switched votes to give him an Urban Affairs Department. He lost 20 supporters of the proposal and with the 27 new supporters, he has a net gain of 7 supporters - far short of what he needs.

Farm Bill: The President lost 35 members who backed him on the first farm bill which died on a 215 to 205 Roll Call. The new projections of 27 supporters would mean that the same bill would lose by a wider margin.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE NEW YORK ELECTION

The Democratic Party, so seriously split over the Wagner stature as state leader, conducted an all-out campaign only for Arthur Levitt, Wagner's opponent for Mayor in 1961. Levitt won by 800,000 votes.

Rockefeller faces continued harassment from the Conservative Party which received more than 50,000 votes, (the legal requirement) and is now guaranteed ballot status until the gubernatorial elections in 1966. They are expected to intervene in the presidential, municipal and gubernatorial elections by threatening to place independent candidates in the field or to support Republican as well as Democratic candidates who accept features of their ultra-right program.

Rockefeller did, however, pick up back-handed support of the Central Labor Union who decided to endorse no candidates in 1962. Previously they had always endorsed the Democratic ticket; and Harry Van Arsdale, president of Central Labor Union, threw his support to Rockefeller. This change was in large part due to Wagner's earlier fumbling of the minimum wage problem and other labor issues, including the teacher strike and later the strike of hospital workers. Rockefeller moved at this time to garner support from both.

There was a considerable amount of urging prior to the Democratic Convention which nominated Morgenthau for Wagner

to oppose Rockefeller. As things turned out, he probably acted very shrewdly in not doing it. The reform Democrats were obviously not in complete control of the situation in New York City, was further hampered by Eleanor Roosevelt's incapacity, and had not even attempted to regroup the upstate forces, which demonstrated that they were still loyal to the old group and would have preferred a candidate like James Farley.