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Massachusetts
Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

77 FRANKLIN STREET, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02110 (617) 482-7990

LIEUT. GOV. DONALD R. DWIGHT, *Chairman*

ADELE MALONE, *Co-Chairman*

GREGORY W. GALLAGHER, *Executive Director*

October 27, 1972

JACK E. ROBINSON Black Vote Division

Mr John Wilks
National Committee For The Re-Election Of
The President
1730 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W
Washington, D.C.



Dear John;

The following is a progress memoranda for the month of
October 1972 regarding the Massachusetts efforts in behalf of
the re-election of the President (Black Vote Division).

- October 8, 1972 Jack E. Robinson spoke with Black Students at the Boston University Martin Luther King Center in behalf of the Presidents administration. (see publication WATU WAZURI)
- October 15-16 10 members of the Black Vote division of Massachusetts attended a 2 day conference in Washington D.C. at the Hotel Wellington hosted by the National Black Vote Division
- October 21, 1972 Jack E. Robinson traveled to Binghamton N.Y to debate Livingston Wingate at the New York State conference of NAACP Branches in bne-half of the Presidents Administration
- October 21, 1972 The Presidents Brother visits the Black Community and cuts the ribbon to officially mark the opening of the Black Headquarters (see publication THE BOSTON GLOBE dated October 22, 1972)
- October 22, 1972 JACK E. ROBINSON traveled to Tarrytown, N.Y with members of the Massachusetts delegation in a assembly at Governor Rockefeller's estate to hear and meet the President.

October 22, 1972

ALL HEADQUARTERS AND AREA CHAIRMEN ASSIGNED:

ROXBURY MASSACHUSETTS	JAMES E. JONES CHAIRMAN 649 Warren Street Roxbury, Mass
MATTAPAN, MASSACHUSETTS	WILLIAM H. TAYLOR CHMN. 1156 Blue Hill Avenue Mattapan, Mass
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS	LUCIUS WILDER CHAIRMAN 971 Tremont Street Boston, Mass
SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS (In hdqtrs office)	DR. WILLIAM JONES CHMN. Hdqtrs; 1176 Main Street Springfield, Mass
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS (In hdqtrs office)	MRS JAN SCHUYLER CHMN. 525 Main Street Worcester, Massachusetts
MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS (Out of Home)	MRS MADELINE D. KELLEY CHMN 164 Jerome Street West Medford, Mass

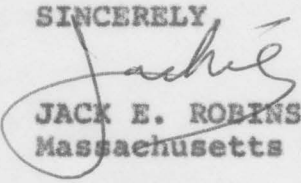
I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO KEEP THE BLACK VOTER EFFORTS SPOTLIGHTED
IN THE LOCAL MEDIA AS MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO
SERIOUSLY LOOK AT THE PRESIDENTS RECORD IN BEHALF OF BLACK PEOPLE
AND I THINK THAT WE ARE GETTING THE MESSAGE ACROSS.

October 24, 1972 THE BOSTON GLOBE " Blacks can swing results"

October 26, 1972 THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR "Nixon team targets
25% of the Black Vote"

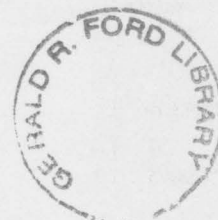
I EXPECT TO VISIT WESTERN, MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW BRITAIN, CONNECTICUT
PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY AND GIVE OUR EFFORTS A JOLT IN THOSE RESPECTIVE
AREAS.

SINCERELY


JACK E. ROBINSON
Massachusetts Black Vote Division

cc; Paul Jones
Robert Brown
Stan Scott
Edwin Sexton

Lieut. Governor Dwight
Gregory Gallagher
Adele Malone



(A)

Proposal

Committee for the Re-election of the President/Fund Raising

Place: Missouri Arena, St. Louis, Missouri

Proposed Date: Saturday October 28, 1972

Projected Gross Income: (Low) \$68,955.00

To be obtained from ticket sales of 17,781 admission tickets in the following price categories:

52 Penthouse Boxes at \$100.00 ea.	\$ 5,200.00
3141 Parquet Tickets at \$5.00 ea.	15,705.00
5474 Arena Circle Tickets at \$4.00	21,896.00
8718 Upper & Arena Loge Tickets at \$3.00 ea.	26,154.00
Total	<u>\$ 68,955.00</u>

Estimated Cost:

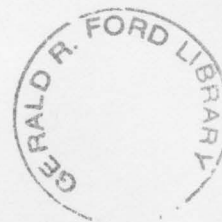
All expenses to include:

A. Organizing Expenses	
B. Publicity	
C. Entertainment	
D. Arena Rental	
F. Missouri State Taxes	\$ 27,500.00

Projected Net Income \$ 41,455.00

The above income and cost projections are estimated. They are in line with cost quotes received in July.

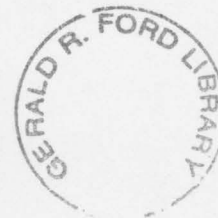
These cost estimates can be itemized upon request.



FOR RELEASE: Sunday
October 29, 1972

Contact: K. H. Williams
(205) 251-5289

NATIONALLY PROMINENT BLACK BUSINESSMAN
URGES BIRMINGHAM BLACKS TO SUPPORT NIXON



Sam Harris, Acting Chairman of the Black Businessman's Committee to Re-elect the President addressed a large segment of this city's black leadership Sunday afternoon at the 16th Street Baptist Church. Mr. Harris, President of a Management Consulting firm with offices located in eight (8) states including Alabama, continuously stressed the need for blacks to begin to exercise mature judgment in making political decisions. Using the theme Political Maturity, Mr. Harris continuously admonished the audience against contributing to the perpetuation of political servitude as reflected in the blind support of a single political party.

Harris, who himself is admittedly not a Republican indicated that blacks must begin to think of their own self interest, first. "In this way indicated Harris, "we as blacks, can look at both major parties in terms of 'what have you done for us lately and how much more will you do tomorrow". He said over and over again that "only by use of this criteria can American Blacks display the kind of political maturity required to elicit any meaningful responsiveness or accountability from either party". Harris indicated

that it was on this basis that he concluded that the only mature vote that a black person could cast on November 7th should be for President Nixon. In support of his conclusion, he recited from the record of the Nixon Administration's accomplishments in contrast to the previous Administration.

He cited what he referred to as "unprecedented gains for blacks and other minorities under the President's leadership." He also made passing reference to the non-issue-issues of the campaign including bussing in education and the 'quota system' in employment. According to Harris, it is not only immature, but irresponsible for blacks to look no further than the President's words about bussing or quota's since the record clearly shows that more school integration has taken place under this Administration than all others combined.

At one point, Harris in a very serious mood, said that President Nixon has been more honest toward blacks than any other president. He cited the President's own words, i. e., Watch what I do and not what I say. Harris concluded his remarks by noting "The President has done more for you and me than he promised and I might add, more than we deserve, based upon the fractional support that we gave to him in 1968." We owe him for his vote of confidence in us. More importantly though, we owe ourselves the right to make demands upon the President. Given Mr. Nixon's pragmatism, he will respond to our demands if more than one-fourth of our numbers



demonstrate that we have freed ourselves from political bondage. K. H. Williamson, spokesman for the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club, which sponsored Harris' address, said: he is a very insightfull young man, more of whom we as black people desperately need.



SAMUEL E. HARRIS

President, Sam Harris Associates, Ltd.

Mr. Harris has had a broad range of experience in designing and managing a tremendous variety of projects. He has helped research, design, develop and manage a great number of local, regional, and national Economic Development Projects. He has always held many different kinds of staff, management, and consultant positions within the organizations he has served. He is recognized as one of the country's major black economists. His knowledge of the many disadvantaged groups, their problems, and their aspirations is deep and sure. This knowledge stems from the kinds of jobs he has held since he started working. He has been to many agencies, including the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Commerce, the New York City Manpower and Career Development Agency, Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration and Development and Service Corporation, Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, and the National Business League. Before forming SHA, Ltd., Mr. Harris' experience included:

DEPUTY DIRECTOR: Project Labor Market, New York University. He designed, developed, executed, and managed a comprehensive research effort to analyze, evaluate, and produce summary recommendations on the economic and human resource development needs of New York City.

SPECIAL CONSULTANT: to the Assistant Secretary and Director of the Economic Development Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce. He was assigned program design and development responsibilities for designated Development Regions and designed and conducted decision-making model simulation exercises for EDA's Office of Regional Economic Development staff.

DIRECTOR OF MANPOWER AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: United Planning Organization (the D. C. Community Action Agency). Managed and directed the Agency's 250-man Manpower and Economic Development Division. Planned and executed activities to alleviate the most significant economic and employment problems confronting the City's disadvantaged.

DIRECTOR OF THE UPO SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTER: Designed, organized, and managed the business assistance services made available to potential SBA borrowers. Mr. Harris compiled the best record of operational effectiveness among all 43 SBDC directors.



ECONOMIC PLANNER: Washington Action for Youth. Designed and developed business, manpower, and consumer development projects.

DIRECTOR OF HOUSING AND RESEARCH: Washington Urban League. Responsible for overall research and planning activities and the development of agency position papers related to social problems, generally concerning housing.

INSTRUCTOR: Howard University, Washington, D. C. Lectured classes in economic principles, money and banking, and social sciences.

EDUCATION: B.A. Labor Economics, Michigan State University; M.A., Economic Development, with minor in Industrial Psychology, Michigan State University; Graduate Study, Urban Planning, New York University.

Founder and Board Chairman of the National Association of Minority Consultants and Urbanologists; Member of the National Advisory Council for Black Economic Development to the U. S. Small Business Administration; Board member District of Columbia Reconstruction and Development Corporation.

Born: St. Louis, Missouri, July, 1935. Married - 3 Children



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1972

FOR BOB BROWN

FROM JEANNE EHRLICHMAN



SAN DIEGO

Black People

ARE TIRED OF PROMISES,
AND MORE PROMISES,
AND MORE PROMISES.

McGOVERN PROMISES

--UTOPIA, THE MOON, ANYTHING FOR VOTES

The same promises made between 1932
and 1968 by Democrats.

NIXON HAS DELIVERED FOR ALL MINORITIES:

Civil Rights -- \$600 Million

Black Policy Makers
150 Vs 63 for LBJ

Education -- \$200 Million

Housing -- \$10.9 Million
to file suits against
discrimination

Courts -- 15 Judges

Business -- \$452 Million

Military -- First Black Admiral

Established Office of Minority Business Enterprise

Sickle Cell

Vote: Nixon

November 7.

Join:

"Turncoats For Nixon" 714-239-0165/238-1532

DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS FOR BLACK PROGRESS

In San Diego County



WHAT HAS McGOVERN DONE FOR THE BLACKS?

The 1957 Civil Rights Act: This was the first Civil Rights Law to be enacted since the days of reconstruction. McGovern was absent on the votes leading to the passage of this bill in the House.

• 1959, the Rooney Amendment: An amendment to the Justice Department Appropriations Bill extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission. McGovern was absent and did not take a stand for the Record.

• Civil Rights Act of 1960: When it was up for final House approval, McGovern was absent, and did not take a stand for the Record.

1962, Governor's Conference: Houston. The Atlanta Constitution reported that McGovern offered two major concessions to the South. One was a promise to push for a change in the 1965 Voting Rights Act which requires Southern states to submit re-apportionment plans to the Justice Department.

• 1960, the McDonough Amendment: Prohibited the Federal National Mortgage Association from purchasing housing where discrimination was involved. McGovern voted against it.

• 1964 Civil Rights Act: McGovern joined 22 other Senators in supporting a last-ditch effort to emasculate the voting rights provisions of the Act.

1968, Riot 'Punishment' Measures: This legislation sought to disqualify anyone convicted of participating in a riot from federal employment for six years. A thinly-veiled effort to punish Blacks who had participated in the disturbances that followed Rev. Martin Luther King's assassination. McGovern voted for it.

• 1960, Powell Amendment: Part of the School Construction bill requiring that facilities built under the Act be open to all students regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or religion. McGovern voted against it.

WHY NOT REPUBLICANS?



The attitude and philosophy of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, two of the founders of the Democratic Party, is part of the concept that was built into the Democratic Party regarding the issue of slavery. There were various political groups in the 1700 and 1800's that were opposed to this Democratic attitude. The Whig Party was formed from political groups that opposed Andrew Jackson...they wanted high protection tariff to encourage the growth of American industry.

Thomas Jefferson ended the slave trade, but his attitude toward and philosophy of the black man is of major importance to the black people as the President and a scientist of natural history. This attitude and philosophy was strongly embedded in the Democratic party and minds of many citizens.

(1) He was troubled about the black race, which he had seen so close at hand in servitude, and this is significant in the fact that he did not discuss the Negroes in his natural history sections, but in connection with the practical question of emancipation. Doubtful of the natural equality of endowment of the blacks with their masters, he already believed that the Indians were equal to white men in native powers of mind and body. (See Jefferson notes on Virginia.)

This doubt of the Negro's ability was part of the philosophy of many Democratic leaders that followed Jefferson's ideals. Banneker's (Black) letter to Jefferson urged him to apply his theories of equality to Black as well as White. This is the response of Benjamin Banneker (Free Negro) to Jefferson and his fellow Democratic ideals:

"I apprehend you will embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail with respect to us (Negroes)."

1829-1837

Andrew Jackson, Democrat, provided leadership "in the name of all the people" for his slogan "Let the People Rule". Where did the slave fit into the philosophy of this president and founder of the Democratic party?

Looking at his deeds while in office, I say his philosophy was summed up just before his death June 8, 1845, when he fell unconscious and awakened to see his weeping slaves crowded about him. "Oh, do not cry," Jackson told them, "be good children and we will meet in Heaven." While President he had no time for children's affairs as he had to run the affairs of the state.

1837-1840

President Van Buren, Democrat, defended the Thomas Jefferson ideals.

1841-1845

President John Tyler, Democrat, displayed great devotion to the principles of Thomas Jefferson.

1845-1849

President James K. Polk, Democrat, carried out every item of his 4-goal

political program: (1) The Tariff, (2) Independent Treasury, (3) The Oregon Dispute and (4) Acquired California. However, regarding the social problems of the Nation (1) Slavery, (2) Child Labor in factories and (3) Poverty of Immigrants, he showed a lack of concern.

1849-1850

President Zachary Taylor, Whig, urged admission of California and New Mexico into the Union as free states. Debates in Congress came close to bringing on the Civil War. President Taylor refused to compromise on admitting California and New Mexico into the Union.

1850-1853

President Millard Fillmore, Whig, approved the Compromise of 1850. The Whigs started to split over this and did not nominate him again.

1853-1857

President Franklin Pierce, Democrat. He supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act which made slavery possible in a large area of the West. This act provided the issue that really created the Republican Party. When the Whigs split, the Northern Whigs went Republican while the Southern Whigs went Democrat.

In the election of 1856, the Democrats tried to avoid the slavery question. The Republicans openly fought slavery with such slogans as "Freedom, Free-men and Fremont".

1857-1861

President James Buchanan, Democrat. As President, in his strict interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, he insisted that the Constitution protected slavery and the laws must be obeyed. In the Lincoln-Douglas debates in Illinois on the moral wrongness of slavery, Senator Douglas, an Illinois Democrat, said: "Let popular sovereignty decide expansion of slavery", knowing that only white slave owners controlled the vote in the slave states. Abraham Lincoln, an Illinois Republican, said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

1861-1865

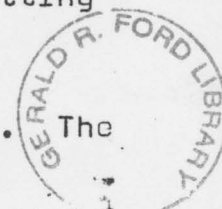
President Abraham Lincoln, Republican. The 13th. Amendment brought an end to the slavery issue and was the beginning of the Black man's entry into the political world and a major step in the black man's progress.

The 13th., 14th., and 15th. Amendments were the keystone of the rise from slavery to our present position and was brought about by a Republican President. A Republican Congress and the uncompromising fight of Thaddeus Stevens, the fighting Republican from Pennsylvania, "in his relentless battle for equality of man before his Creator."

By the 1940's the majority of Negroes were voting Democrat. Why? Why, against all logical reasons do a majority of the black citizens have a negative attitude against the very party whose actions had ended slavery and given them the right to vote?

1932-1944

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democrat. The real attitude of the Democrat toward the Negro can best be said in the words of this man who led the



Democratic Party for twelve long years. His response to Mrs. Jean Dixon, when she told him of her vision of seeing Negroes on roof tops and blood in the streets was "Don't worry, we have our colored people under control!"

To all Blacks with open minds...Why are you supporting the Democratic Party when, historically and factually, they have not been the advocate champions in the rise of our people from slavery to free men and women? How can we say we don't want any voice or don't wish to be actively involved in government affairs when the Republicans are in power? In reality, the Republicans have been in Federal Power for 12 years out of the last 20 years and, unlike the German-American, French-American, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Irish-Americans, Greeks, etc. who are represented in both parties, the Afro-American has elected to belong to one party and therefore he has had no participation in these twelve years. Then we say the Republican Party is not responsive to our Black views. How can they be responsive to our views when we elect not to be represented in the Republican Party when Republican policies are being formed?

THE NEW REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE



[November 1972]

Nixon gets more black support in 1972

Washington.

It is good that President Nixon got improved support from black voters in last week's election, though the quality of rhetoric over his

cal prostitutes and fools" by black Democrats, including Julian Bond of the Georgia Legislature.

Sammy Davis, Jr., got the worst of it—scores of hate letters, a bad press and a

gional office of the Office of Economic Opportunity when he was director.

Increasingly, the loudmouths among Democratic black leaders are betrayed to be rhetoricians and little

performing black in the United States Congress is also the loudest mouth — Walter Fauntroy, Jr., who declared that Senator George S. McGovern would reward blacks with jobs on a quota

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1972



MEMORANDUM FOR: C. THOMAS WILCK
FROM: STAN SCOTT *SS*
SUBJECT: Election Headquarters Media Credentials

Would appreciate election headquarters credentials for the below listed representatives of the minority print and electronic media.

Mr. Simeon Booker--writer
Mr. Maurice Sorrell--photographer
Ebony-Jet Magazines
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Paul Wyche--writer
National Black News Service
51 D Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Mr. Moses J. Newson--writer
Baltimore Afro-American
628 North Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Miss Ethel Payne--writer-announcer
Sengstacke Publications
1712 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Art Carter--writer
Mr. Samuel E. Courtney--photographer
Washington Afro-American
1800 11th Street, N. W.

Mr. Larry Dean--announcer
Miss Abbey Kendricks--announcer
Mutual Black Network
World Center Building
918 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

William O. Walker--editor-
publisher
Cleveland Call and Post
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. Warren Brown--national
political writer
Ebony-Jet Magazines
Chicago, Illinois

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HERB KLEIN ✓
KEN CLAWSON

FROM: STAN SCOTT *SS*

SUBJECT: Radio Actuality Operation



In accordance with our election day plan to feed actualities to minority-oriented radio stations, I recommend that we use the following format.

Mutual Black Network--feeding 70 radio stations--and Black Audio Network, disseminating to 88 radio stations in every major market, informed me that they have the capability to accept feeds from election headquarters every hour on the hour, starting at 11 a.m. Doug Edelson, anchorman at Westinghouse Broadcasting in New York (WINS RADIO-AN ALL-NEWS STATION COVERING THREE-STATE AREA OF NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY AND CONNECTICUT), is interested in receiving our minority-oriented actualities as well as live interviews of top Administration officials via telephone, starting at 2 p.m. Use of Mutual Black Network and Black Audio Network will assure national coverage.

Black surrogates available for interviews will include Sammy Davis, Jr., Floyd McKissick, Alderman Orville Pitts, Mayor Robert Blackwell, Robert J. Brown, Paul Jones, Assistant Sec. Samuel Jackson, Dr. Ethel Allen, Rev. William Borders and Jim Brown.

Carlos Conde has informed me that Henry Ramirez, Phillip Sanchez and Mrs. Ramona Banuelos will be available for interviews with Spanish speaking radio stations on the West Coast.

In coordination with the Re-Election Committee's Scott Peters and Al Snyder, I recommend that we start the minority radio actuality feeds at 11 a.m., and feed every hour on-the-hour after the initial feeds. My office will work with Al Snyder to fill any request for minorities in his Radio-TV Talk Show Operation. Westinghouse Broadcasting is interested in continuous feeds, and I will coordinate this phase of the operation with Al Snyder.

- 2 -

Would appreciate comment ASAP. In the absence of comment, I will move ahead and initiate the plan.

cc: Scott Peters
Al Snyder
Al Abrams
Tom Wilck



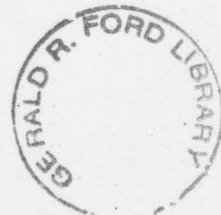
ELECTION NITE COVERAGE

November 7-8, 1972

At 10:00 Chancellor said NBC calculation indicates RN will win "the most spectacular landslide election in the history of US politics. It may be the largest margin in history."....By 3:00 RN was holding to a 62-37 lead which would top LBJ's record-setting margin of '64. And all states except Mass. and D.C. were in RN's column in another record. A tremendous personal victory for RN w/effect on state races varied. Allott, Caleb Boggs, Margaret Smith, Jack Miller lost Senate seats. Helms, Scott, Bartlett, Domenici won in Senate and Tower held his seat. House GOP gain seen as less than 10. Nets emphasized how widely predicted apathy didn't materialize and there was begrudging respect paid to accuracy of polls.

Ted White said RN has discovered something that others have not fully appraised: the working class culture; the work ethic. RN was with it; he recognized the ~~cx~~ culture cleavage. Blue collars went 3 to 2 for RN; for first time ~~x~~ ever a majority of catholics voted GOP. RN repudiated the rhetoric of the elite and knew how to talk to this blue collar group in a way which McGovern was never able. ~~xx~~ RN perceived what McG. never did. Eagleton and the demogrant were problems for McG, but his perception of U.S. was a more serious one. White said McG. ~~xx~~ saw a revolutionary situation; a period of social upheaval, but this just isn't the case. Severid noted Scammon's view that U.S. politics is played within the thirty-five yard lines and once you get into the end zones you are in trouble.

White said McG/ was for continuing the experiments of the 60's; ~~manipulating~~ manipulating the cities, etc. People are tired of being experimented with, White asserted and the GOP spoke to this desire for slow-down. Severid and White agreed that public does not like elites and RN ~~xxk~~ realized this quite clearly as he used the old words like patriotism and work ethic quite successfully. (Three cheers for Teddy White)

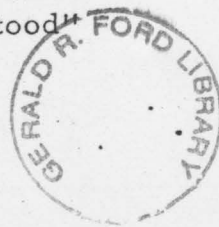


Chancellor said that Nixon's history of politics is "one of the most remarkable stories in US politics". He has run for national office as many times as anyone ever has. Brinkley said you would have to be middle-aged in order to be able to remember when the Pres. was not running. Newman said that while it is a tremendous triumph for Nixon, it is also a tremendous defeat for McG. Not merely a defeat, but a humiliation" and it may be more interesting to hear what McG has to say than what Nixon has to say. Utley said Dole is not exactly enthusiastic tonight because Rep. Sen. candidates aren't doing that well.

Analysis: Newman remarked that if Jack Miller can be knocked out in Iowa it means that the Dems had a real opportunity everywhere which they missed. Mackin reported that the Pres.'s coattails helped Ind. gubernatorial candidate Bowen and WVa's Moore and that these are "examples of how Nixon's running so well has helped other Reps." Keiker said everybody agrees coattails do exist but nobody is sure exactly how they work. Nixon has a theory that he helps other Reps. not by campaigning but by getting a large popular vote and everybody seems to agree with this thesis. Chancellor said that he didn't necessarily agree. He said there has been a "curious kind of aloofness" in the Nixon campaign. CRP didn't use Nixon's name and did not say Republican and this worked enormously well for Nixon. Maybe Nixon thought a rising tide would raise all the boats. It didn't. Utley said that Sen. Boggs who had asked Nixon for TV ads to help is behind. Dancey reported from McG headquarters that the crowd is "sober, discouraged and almost bemused". He said McG went to sleep earlier and "so while Nixon was winning the most spectacular victory in the history of the US politics, McG was sleeping".

Nothing like it since '36, said Cronkite but despite RN's great sweep he's not carrying in many on his coattails. Cronkite noted neither side made net gains in Senate, but added that it was a "smashing landslide" for RN -- a man who lost in '60, barely won in '68 and has now piled up a majority that may go down as the greatest in history.

Italian journalist Luigi Brazini with Severeid said the only foreign affair touched by either candidate was VN and he feels RN has ahead of him some of the greatest problems in foreign affairs -- Japan, India, Bangladesh. Severeid asked if RN was popular in Europe and Barzini said no foreign President is popular but RN is "understood" (audio poor so sections were not picked up).



Cronkite, summing up, said we have seen an historic landslide with Mike Wallace adding that the pollsters were right. A Yankelovich pollster's statement struck him -- the pollster said she was impressed that 73% of the people were tired of people attacking patriotism and America's traditional values. Wallace saw this as a good part of the reason RN took the East but Cronkite sharply interjected -- but, Mike, who was making such attacks? Wallace repeated the data to the visceral Cronkite and said he was sure people perceived McG supporters and the Dem convention as party to such attacks. Cronkite changed subjects and noted the South went solidly GOP and asked Mudd if this portends a period of GOP domination. Mudd said we won't know until local races are in and added it's interesting to note the changing population in the South -- values changing, suburbs growing, increased GOP registration. He listed all the Southern GOP Senators and governors but said the most striking thing is the way loyal Dems cut loose from McG. It worked for conservative Dems but not for moderates like Spong. Cronkite added that the slide started in '48 when HHH pushed civil rights.



Rather, noted the Dem detachment in the South holds true in part in the Midwest. In Minn Mondale worked for McG but he didn't work that hard. Maybe its a great transitional change, counter revolution of Middle America -- rejecting the bankrupt policies of the '60s and returning to normalcy and change -- they^{see}/McG as radical. Rather added that blue collar guys said no to their bosses and split their tickets and Daley is in deep trouble. A shift to the middle.

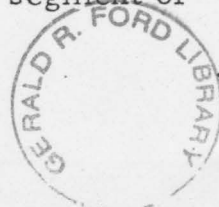
John Hart said the pollsters were conservative nationwide. Field found 14% margin in Calif. but it may be more. In Calif. the GOP went after the Dem vote and there was a big effort to get out this vote. He added that out of all that happened he felt the handling of Eagleton hurt McG the most among the new vote in Calif.

Cronkite said that on a battlefield, chessboard or campaign the strategy is to control the center and RN has not only done that but totally dominated it. It was a smooth, well-financed campaign with the emphasis on the office. McG alienated many, had campaign embarrassments and the Dems also bet on a big turnout that did not occur. Cronkite didn't know if it was voter apathy or protest. RN will likely turn to domestic issues with a new drive to capture Congress being high on his list. He concluded by noting the Dem will regroup and are in better shape than the GOP in '64 for they control Congress.

In NBC wrapup, Chancellor said there was an extraordinarily small turnout - 75M when 85M would've been normal; and "it'll keep the experts busy for quite awhile". And he said that if current trends in House races continue, it'll be a distinct disappointment for GOP.

Utley said the "story of the election is that nothing worked for McG.", and "the only issue all along was McG." Chancellor agreed. He said RN didn't campaign a lot -- altho GOP will argue vociferously that the issues were raised, "there was no dialogue." He said the mood of US is moving "a little right", because public felt the pace of social change was too fast.

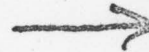
Brinkley said even if McG had been a great orator, he couldn't have won as the GOP more accurately reflected US mood. He said the Wallace vote went to RN contributing heavily to his win, and David said that, just because one finds the Wallace type views distasteful, as many do, one shouldn't ignore them, as they obviously represent a good segment of opinion.



Mackin said the backlash is back. Busing and welfare "are code words for a basic underlying concern about race"... She added that early in the campaign, and "rather unfaily", McG got stuck w/the image of being for the 3 A's acid, amnesty, abortion, and then there was the Eagleton affair, said Cassie.... Brinkley said McG, rightly or wrongly, became associated in public mind w/radicals, freaks, higher taxes and more welfare. And a majority of nation is against all of those issues when they're combined.

Chancellor said McG was true to a set of principles in the primaries, but not later. Many voters saw "2 men in 1" and didn't know what to make of it", said John. (NB: Little, if any, credit in the preceding "analysis" to RN strengths of the year.)

NBC closed w/rock-soul music version of God Bless America. Seemed very much out of place.



In an earlier observation, Chancellor says election has all of elements of landslide because of 2 reasons: Money, and Time spent by CRP on personal visits and calls, with a note that MacGregor cut 3 1/2 million from the advertising budget for the personal contact effort. Severeid said it's been

Most odd election. A not terribly popular leader of minority party winning huge victory. Incumbent on the offensive; opponent on defensive - both untraditional and unexciting. Severeid said polls have taken suspense out of this election. They ^{low} like a heavy smog over it. A close finish would cut the pollsters down to size. He noted 10 landslides since Civil War of 57 percent and up have usually brought in lots of hill candidates.

May not be true tonight. RN would be pleased with numerical majority in Sen but will settle for an ideological one. He has not had much trouble from the House and the court is already ideological for RN so if he gets the Sen it would reduce checks and balances considerably of the Executive. A Sen GOP would assure no big adventurous social experiments. In conclusion Severeid conceded country would get a quiet, cautious period - apparently what it wants.

91 A later Severeid and White commentary dominated by Teddy's discussion of flight back from WH. He felt the surprise was a mild one. It is like the Yankees. This is the smoothest rolling polit. train with the longest distance runner in politics around. The WH aides expected 60% at the most; whatever over that, there will be elation rather than surprise. He said RN, a sportsman, might have liked a tougher tussle, although he ^(wife) and Severeid agreed that McG was the easiest ^{felt you had to be} to run against. WH feels it won at the Dem convention. White emph. RN is totally devoid of bitterness, as Teddy feels he should be, but others on the staff are very bitter over McG's charge of a lie on the peace talks and White said you could not be around RN's people without absorbing the absolute confidence that peace is at hand. They feel McG knows this and if there has been any fraud, it has been on McG's side. He again emphasized that RN does not personally feel this way.

Discussing the big turnout considering all the talk of apathy, White said the campaign deeply stirred people and although patriotism isn't the type of word one uses these days, the public was disturbed about McG on amnesty etc, much more so than they were on Watergate. These were old emotions stirred and therefore the analysts are somewhat surprised. Sev. said it must be something big that happened when you consider this big victory for this unpopular man.



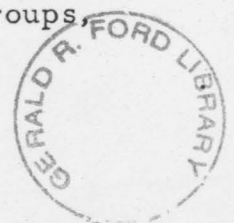
CBS went from RN at Shoreham to a 15 minute HHH-Mondale interview -- one of their very few interviews of nite. It was noted several times, by Cronkite, HHH, local reporter and Mondale himself that the Sen. had an overwhelming victory and that he's a '76 possibility. HHH boomed him; he boomed himself and the 2 of them got in lots of traditional Dem rhetoric. They denied party was a shambles or that US was headed to right altho HHH conceded Dems did have some "imagery" problems this year. Observer totally unable to understand justification for length of interview or subject matter discussed.

Even Sevareid was a bit bemused by the HHH clip -- we heard lots of HHH on healing Dem wounds, but more important is what RN does, said Eric. He said RN is stronger than party; got some ideological change on Hill, will make new appointments to Court and Cabinet; VP is well-positioned tho Connally isn't in such good shape. Sevareid foresees lots of RN travel and White pointed to RN's interest in foreign affairs and his feeling that he's made some real starts but wants to do more re: Europe and Mideast especially.

Sevareid feels inflation will be a great worry to RN and there'll be a slowdown in domestic programs w/new shape to them. White speculated that there may be a new AG; an elevation of Richardson; and Rocky coming aboard. A sharper domestic outline could bring more Hill successes, said White.

Sevareid feels an early move to clear up Watergate, get-rid of the taint, is in order And White said that is the one "shadow" on RN victory. Many close to him want it cleared up, said Teddy who is convinced such a move will be of high priority.

Reasoner noted "real radicalism" in US has come historically from Midwest, w/Smith adding that McG has a "little" of that populism, approaching isolationism, in him. Noting they'd have to eventually analyze election, HKS said McG just "didn't hit tone US wanted, this time." Many Dems must be asking what result would be if Muskie or HHH had run. Smith thought HHH would have lost, but not so badly. HHH wouldn't have made mistakes McG did, and would have recouped quicker from any made, said HKS, noting McG's "exclusionary" principle which was a bad part of campaign. McG is only man to run in democracy by excluding groups, said HKS.



Asked what happened to all McG youth evidenced in Miami, Nancy Dickerson on local ABC said cadre is still there and some of them told her that race was worth it as it proved somebody who's a nobody could be candidate; plus they brought VN to an end sooner. Dickerson predicted Dem regulars who were handled "so badly" will try to purge McGites. ... Have to concede this has been pollsters' year, said Nancy -- as "irritating" as they've been, must "begrudginly" give them their due.

Election was "crushing personal blow and dreadful defeat" for McG, said Dickerson, but despite his landslide, RN "does not really have a mandate." RN's support is "really very soft" and because voters felt him lesser of 2 evils.



Joe McCaffrey on local ABC disagreed w/Dickerson and says RN has a mandate for whatever he wants or feels should be done. He believes RN is more conservative than we've seen in past 4 years and will become more conservative in 2nd term. McCaffrey noted Dems still have good control of Hill, altho House is traditionally conservative. He added the Dems are leaderless, and EMK or someone would have to rally them around. Perhaps HHH can do the rallying, he added on 2nd thought, as EMK might be '76 candidate but can't now offer what's needed to patch up Dems.

McCaffrey believes the GOP is set up well for '76 and perhaps the VP more than anyone else. He sees the VP as the odds-on favorite for nomination.

Noting MacGregor said not to expect dramatic changes in next term, Dickerson said indications are RN will "do less" domestically; that tax increase is inevitable tho "great effort" will be made to keep spending down. RN will devote efforts to foreign policy, w/the Mideast of great concern, and one can only hope VN agreement will come soon. Noting many accuse RN of not getting more in agreement than he could have 3 years ago and that conservatives are upset, Dickerson hoped RN can placate conservatives same way he did on China.

Dickerson had more opinions than most of the network boys w/ exception of White/Sevareid and they were on only 3-4 times. At another point she said RN was seen little and heard less in campaign -- "The Greta Garbo" of US politics.... Brinkley said one McG problem is that RN would never leave the WH. Instead, he sent out "spear carriers" -- surrogates -- like Butz. McG couldn't get RN to respond to his attacks. Instead the surrogates would respond and it angered McG who yelled: "I'm not running against Earl Butz." And Chancellor recounted the cartoon (Osrin?) which had McG throwing his hands up in frustration at a WH Jewish gardener being put on TV to answer charge that McG had Jewish vote.



FROM THE WH, 1701, ETC

With arrival of RN at Shoreham, Chancellor noted this was the happy RN compared to the solemn RN in the Oval Office.... Jarriel said even tho RN was very confident he was cautious -- had nothing to say to reporters on plane on return to DC. Note of cottage cheese for lunch; dinner at WH; to hotel at 11:00 when Calif polls closed. Jarriel said atmosphere at WH is "quiet" and among staff no attitude of great victory, more a normal working night.

Reasoner called both RN's and McG's speeches conciliatory. McG's didn't have bitterness possibly expected after smashing defeat, and RN's was not gloating.... Jarriel outside Shoreham hoping to have word w/RN noted crowd of several hundred who appeared and cried "bravo" when RN arrived. Jarriel said RN could go to bed earlier than he could for past elections, altho there might be WH celebration. Film of RN and PN getting in limo as Jarriel noted RN had no opportunity to stop and he was accompanied by close aides who had worked behind scenes. He said RN's campaign was difficult to argue with.

Reasoner, noting LBJ had 3 TVs in each room while RN reportedly doesn't watch TV and relies on short staff summaries, said RN is still more aware of coverage than any other Pres. He must get a lot of summaries and/or be informed very fast, or he does watch some TV. Smith added RN had discussed w/him a comment he had made on VN.

Early in evening, Cronkite said most extensive campaign in history has availed Dems of very, very little. A landslide trend has developed very early. Schorr at Shoreham noted rosy predictions there with Klein prediction of 48 for RN and Dent saying 49. Schorr said the WH aides attribute this to the heavy turnout, considerably better than '68. Schorr noted Dent expects several southern Dems to switch to reorganize Hill if needed. Dent denied any deals, but some "nominal Dems in South" may switch, said Schorr. Michel Clark at Shoreham said only plans there were for victory. She noted the bands, lots of young people and big screen with all the nets. Considerable crowd visible on screen... Cronkite laughed considerably when they flashed to the Shoreham at the announcement of P win and no reaction. "Either they haven't gotten the word, or they've been expecting it all along". (Actually, NBC announced the win 1/2 hour before.) Cronkite pointed out that Landon defeat in '36 was the worst and that he voted today and he hoped RN would erase his record. Dan Schorr and Michelle Clark interviewed MacGregor... Schorr noted that RN and the VEEP will be at the Shoreham at 11:30 pm to celebrate and noted that there is some question whether McGovern concession is even necessary... MacGregor said he is particularly encouraged.. by the



voting in Cleveland which is a microcosm and RN will get more than 60% which is a strong show of confidence. Schorr noted that Herb Klein said RN would take 48 states... MacGregor sees him winning 49 but considers it almost impossible for RN to take Massachusetts. M. Clark asked if there would be more emphasis on domestic issues in the second term. MacGregor said it is not a case of more emphasis but that he will be more effective with the Congress more responsive. Mac Gregor sees no mandate for any particular course; RN is for "change that works" and there'll be numerous options for this pragmatic Pres to pursue.

Early on ABC Schoumacher described MacGregor as very nervous at the Shoreham. MacGregor said he was encouraged -- better than he thought and Nixon's strength in places such as Cleveland showed he would have a strong base in urban areas. He sees it as a personal victory as far as his programs were understood and people knew of Nixon's hopes and ideals.

Schoumacher questioned about Hill races, and MacGregor indicated that if GOP does not do well in Hill contests then the candidates are not as articulate as Nixon was on basic GOP policies. The worst MacGregor expected was 40 states or 55%. Asked how he would feel if he were McG, MacG said he knows defeat because he was beaten by HHH although not as bad as McG is being beaten. In the next 4 years he sees Nixon's leadership in both foreign countries and the Congress as more effective and Nixon will take a pragmatic problem solving approach.



NBC's

Petit interviewed MacGregor - Mac said we are doing slightly better than we expected though we were conservative in our estimates - Mac commented that when he watched RN sign SALT in Moscow he told his wife that RN has just earned reelection and he will get it if we don't throw it away and I don't think we have.

Mac said there was no special effort made in the South; in fact we spent less money per capita than in northern states.

David Schoumacher interviewed John Ehrlichman who was all smiles. Because of all the good news, Schoumacher decided to ask whatever happened to Watergate? Ehrlichman said apparently nothing. He said he understands Senator Dole's concern for the Republican Party, but the President seeks a new American majority that transcends party, and reflects broad-based approval of RN policies. Ehrlichman thinks the big win will help the President's programs in Congress, especially on key domestic issues and he does not concern himself with winning in '76.

Ehrlichman interview as John pointed out that Schorr's contention that we could have gotten welfare if we had compromised on that with Ribicoff was not true. Ribicoff did not have the votes and the session was almost over.



Finch, who was called RN's oldest friend ^{by Schorr,} who ran the unsuccessful '68 campaign. Finch recalled the tension of '68 compared with the relaxed optimistic air on the plane this time. He recalled '60 which looked like a JFK sweep and then became a cliff hanger. Finch called the win an enormous opportunity for the GOP in light of the way RN has taken the issues and the leadership to the country. He

Attributed lack of coattails to overriding importance of foreign policy which is a Pres. respon. Emph. RN did all he could with film and other efforts to help GOP Hill candidates. Interview was interrupted when Shoreham screen flashed CBS prediction of NY for RN. -- a prediction which Cronkite denied had ever been made.

Schorr introduced Kleindienst by saying no cabinet member had had more trouble laid at his doorstep than the AG. Kleindienst effectively monopolized 90% of the air time by emphasizing that the process of justice will continue election or not and that the Dept. will move whenever there is evidence just as was done on Watergate. Asked about a "wild rumor" that they may move against CRP on campaign spending, Kleindienst said there were 1200 complaints and that all would be studied closely in all the campaigns. He agreed with Ehrlichman who had earlier said on CBS that the chips

will fall where they may on Watergate, that "reprehensible" act into which RN had immediately ordered an FBI inquiry in June. The full course of justice will expend itself.

When asked ^{on ABC} if he were a genius in his own time Dole gave 99% of the credit for tonight's victory to the President, and 1% to the millions of others who helped him. He said he's waiting to see the effect filter down to the House ~~xxxxxx~~ races. He was not critical, but mentioned that he "did not see the word Republican around here tonight". When Harry Reasoner asked what about the effect on Senate races, Dole said he doesn't blame the President who sent letters, made tapes, and visits to various states. When asked if it was the new American Majority Party that was winning ~~xxx~~ tonight, and if the victory would last only four years, Dole conveniently could not hear the question.

- Connally on ABC interview says that the election shows the confidence the people have in Nixon in the areas of foreign relations and peace in the world and the courage to meet domestic problems. The reason for the unprecedented sweep is McG misjudged the US people. He noted Nixon

couldn't win just with GOP votes. Says he sees message to both parties that is the people are not standing by traditional party ties but for the man who is responsible, uses reason and logic and will stay in the middle ground. JBC said he would stay out of the public life probably. Smith said he hoped not bec. in this staid admin. there were only two splashes of color: HAK and JBC.

Connally, in ~~an~~ interview said Dems for Nixon try to focus on the real ~~issues~~ - U.S. security and international relations. He did not know how much of the victory was attributable to his effort. However, he said no one can say this is a Rep. victory. The Pres. is head of a party that has 25% of the voters yet he won a very large victory. Obviously millions of Dems and Independents switched over. He added to say that Nixon is winning just bec. of Wallace support is a misreading. He said the Pres. coattails are not very long and that people were sending a message to both parties -- we'll elect a man of outstanding qualities regardless of party. Most politicians aren't giving voters credit for being intelligent and sophisticated. He said he is a Dem but "I say with great pride I supported Nixon because he is the best man for the job". He added that he did not do it in order to get a job and he does not want a job. However he does not want to read himself out of political activity in the future. Gov. Wallace said the future of the Dem party lies with those who represent the average citizen. Said in the future the average citizen not the elitist liberals should take over the Dem party. He is recuperating and feels good now and will definitely take part in the restructuring of the Dem. party. snf hr does not rule out running for Pres. in 76. Sincerely hoped the Pres. will be able to solve our problems.



Schorr and Black reporter Michel Clark interviewed Sammy Davis who said he was "So happy" "and so jubilant" over the outcome and the mandate for RN. Obviously they were bothered by the black criticism, he said, but we know where it came from and he and the other black celebs for RN have sincere convictions. Davis hopes RN will now deal with domestic and intercity problems the way he has handled foreign affairs. He called RN "very sincere and Honest!" Davis then stole the show from the interviewers when he began shaking hands from the booth, a cause of some frustration. Michel Clark, with some hostility, said Davis had not explained how a long-time Dem could go for RN. He emph. how many leading Dems had had the doors slammed in their face by McG people →

and that blacks in the Admin. have never had the Oval Office door closed to them. When Clark emph. how few black faces there were in GOP, Davis came back strong and said there weren't many with McG either and that there were more blacks at the Shreveport than one ever expected before. He emph. how blacks should go with the Admin. which will do them the most good. Very effective performance by Sammy in light of questions.

FROM McG HQ

ABC
Sioux Falls - last time McGovern seen ^{he} was "remarkably serene", not like a man believing in the polls. McGovern had hoped there would be a "spiritual seizure" on booths - agrees with RN the poll that counts is the vote. Bottom line on felling in Sioux Falls is that McGovern is at peace with himself and has worked very hard and is waiting now for what Am. people have determined.

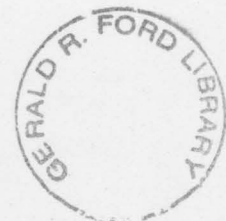
Frank Reynolds wondered what McGovern would say tonight. He recalled the story of a black man who predicted the election would "break McGovern's heart, because Americans are not as decent as he." McGovern had argued with this man's view and . . . Reynolds predicted that even in defeat McGovern would not blame the country but will come out and express love for the country. The crowd was described as spirited but waiting only for McGovern's concession statement.

11:20 - Frank Reynolds - Sioux Falls hotel lobby waiting for McG to go to armory where 5,000 are to greet him. He supposes he will get same warm recep. Shriver got. Assumes this will be a concession but he does not know if McG sent the Pres a telegram yet. Sure that McG's statement will not be a standfast, there is still a chance to his supporters as McG "obviously has reached the conclusion that was quite apparent early in the evening"

only to SD - ... with nobody in the coliseum there, not because McG lacks friends, said reporter, but because of the USSS sweep. Note of unusually active McG day and purchase of 2 pairs of shoes. Cronkite joined with Brinkley in foreseeing probable record for RN, perhaps surpassing LBJ.

In Sioux Falls, Morton said there was no whooping at the "defeat Party," but ~~neig~~ neither was there any depression. There was some festivity over ^{let's} State wins and enough balloons to make the place look Republican. Several ~~S.D.~~ S.D. McG backers said they thought the race would be lots closer. Cronkite called it a runaway.

SD report with McGovern headquarters described as having a picnic or church social atmosphere rather than election night. Were surprised with big losses in Ill and Ohio which he had visited so often. The certain air of serenity about McG was said to continue as he was asleep. McG said if PA and NY go to RN, things will be a little wicked. There was no one in the hall across from McG's hotel where celebration was planned.



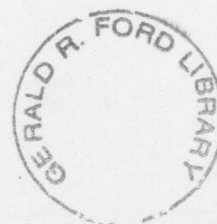
NBC's John Dancy in the empty McG Hdqters concluded McG had remained the "professor" thruout the campaign -- cool, detached. He was able to look at it all and had told Dancy that no matter what happens he believes someone will pick up the ball and run in '76. Dancy believes McG had the effect of dripping water.

Reasoner/Smith (1:40) see McG's future in the Senate if he can retain his seat, but not as Dem leader, noting Adlai and HHH failed to become leader. Smith said no one is more able pol than HHH, too. Reasoner doesn't see McG as a Goldwater altho there is a tendency to compare them and said he doesn't know if McG can be content; as BG has been, to be the quiet, thoughtful man from SD. Goldwater didn't really have strong urge for WH, either, said Reasoner.

Smith is interested in seeing if McG's reform movement will die, and Reasoner said it's obvious Dems don't represent majority. Smith added Dems chose only minorities they wanted for quotas and omitted Poles for example. He said Dem Conv. representation had a "smell" to it and the "odor never left."

Noting Shriver's vigor and youthfulness, Smith, tho, doesn't see what he can do or aim for in Md. Reasoner believes Shriver has been waiting for this but thinks Shriver doesn't feel he's had a fair chance.

Shriver on ABC on "what went wrong" said Dems evidently couldn't clarify issues and convince public to change admins. of course, he'd campaigned for only 85 days and maybe that wasn't enough time to convince public of need for more justice, of peace (and peace-making, not war-making dept.) and perhaps issues were too complicated. Of course, RN had more money and TV time and had PR power of WH which is probably why incumbent usually wins. Re: his projected Ohio and Mich. wins, Shriver said he was repeating what Dem pros there told him and he was mistaken.



Nancy Dickerson found Gary Hart playing touch football and outlining the three blows which felled the McGovern campaign.

1. The debates in California with Humphrey
2. The shooting of Governor Wallace
3. The Eagleton fiasco.

Nancy added many feel that the Democratic Convention also hurt because of the way it portrayed the Democratic party as one of hippies and radicals.

A : at 7:15 that
Mankowitz said projected wins were no surprise as they expected Pres. to win 4 states projected. Polls still open in crucial states - he does not believe in ABC projection that the Pres will take Ohio as it is too early - Only 900 votes counted. Frank very sour and upset w/early forecasts. Salinger said he is watching crucial states NY, Ill, Cal and if McG fails in NY there is "obviously a serious problem".

It appears the Pres. is holding up stronger than the polls indicated, Mankowitz sees no national trend for such judgment and he is surprised that anyone was daring to make such a statement.

Mankowitz is going to Sioux Falls because all cases where Dems were considering filing lawsuits have been decided and with some success such as in Detroit where polls will be kept open late.

Mankowitz said there is scattered irregularity that seems to be assuming a pattern

Following interview HK Smith announced "something McG's aides won't like" that Pres is projected winner in Ill.



FROM REGIONS, STATES, CITIES

Rather said RN has marched through the mid-west breadbaskets like a combine. Only Minnesota stands in the way of a complete sweep. Rather called Miller's defeat an upset of the first order and it could be the most interesting story of the night outside of RN's ~~last~~ landslide. Quoting an un-named GOP Senator from the West, Rather said RN's coattails were "surprisingly small", "extremely short." The Senator said it will be hard to explain

at the Lincoln Day Dinners how RN won so big, but the GOP hill minorities continue.

In the West, Hart emphasized the surprisingly high ~~tax~~ totals of Spanish-speaking for RN: 62% in Colorado, compared to 39% in 1968. And, 55% of Chicanos in New Mexico, where the first GOP Senator since 1928 won.

Cronkite said it is remarkable and almost direct reversal from 1960. In 1960, RN lost white collar vote two to one, this year, reversed. Blue collar 3 to 2, almost more than JFK took it. He is winning in all income brackets except for the real poor. JFK took the east, south and West this year RN is sweeping Nation wide with large margins in East and a staggering 71% in the South.

12% of 8200 in CBS survey were new voters -- 48 -RN 50-McG great disappointment for McG who was hoping for overwhelming youth vote -- but it is not the case. Walter noted all the great McG registration plans for youth.

At 7:10 -- Roger Mudd said building blocks for solid GOP sweep in South falling into place and it should go from Ky to the Gulf. Rather referred to Ind. as the most Southern of the midwest states; "the one-time bastion of the KKK" as he reported how heavy it was for RN with definite coattail effect on governor and House.



Kraker,

said the GOP seems to be getting the white man's vote".

Chancellor commented that RN does not appear to be getting the Wallace vote.

Chancellor then stated that the so called solid dem. South appears to no longer be such. He noted from 1880 to 1964 that the GOP almost did not get a single Southern state. The Solid South began to break with HST when he lost 4 southern states to the States Rights party; it broke a little more with Goldwater in 64 who carried 5 states. This year McG did not bother at all with the South knowing it was a lost cause. It may be, said Chancellor, that it is a lost cause for the Dems for a long time.

On NBC Herb Klein predicted a record vote ... President would carry 48 states. Mankiewicz said reports are encouraging ... long night ... close election. Developing theme on NBC is to compare President's vote this time to combined Wallace/Nixon vote in 68' ... just about the same .. Democratic vote about same as in 68; thus the Wallace factor makes the difference.



HKS noted "remarkable" fact that RN was winning in big cities. Reasoner pointed out RN city vote was about as polls predicted. Smith surmised answer to '68 question of who Wallace hurt most was RN, and Reasoner noted that Dems "hurt most" with blue-collar -- or loosely Labor -- w/RN carrying 54% labor vote in Ill. and 57% in Ind. Reasoner found it interesting RN 1st man -- GOP -- to take NYC since Coolidge. Smith says the Pres. a Repub., is running ahead in NYC which is "simply remarkable." Hard to realize.

Chancellor said looks like Dems will lose NY City for first time since Coolidge. And RN lead in Cleveland is a "great surprise." Chancellor on blue-collar -- RN winning high income precincts and McG winning low income areas. But a big reason for RN lead is his winning over of the blue collar voter.

Brinkley said interesting to recall that Rizzo was at the WH a while back for 45 min. and came out with \$52M in federal aid. We calculate that is \$1,150,000 per minute, said David.

"Would you believe it, Walter, RN has a chance to carry Chicago! I can't remember when a Republican last had a chance to carry Chicago. If it holds up, it will be the critical wounding of the Daley machine, if not its death." "It is incredible", said Rather. Said RN in Ill., Ind., and Ohio has been the "political equivalent of a laser beam, a complete wipe out of the opposition." Then noted one of the liberals in the Dem House leadership, Andy Jacobs, was defeated on the coattails. ... Rather noted later that Dems had Chicago by slight margin but Cook Co. was heavily RN and Daley's wards just haven't delivered which means Hanrahan, the "protector of the machine" is in real trouble and his fate could mean life or death to Daley's operation.

ABC^{at} 7:47

Projected Ill. to Nixon with comment that McG's camp is not going to like that. Reasoner first said it was a surprise then changed to say not really a surprise, but a really significant state. The others they have projected including a new one, Va., were expected. Nixon is holding his steady lead. Reasoner said it is not a good night for Mankowitz, Salinger and others in the McG camp.



Reasoner talking of meaningful popular vote in Ohio and Tenn., commented that no one has ever won Tenn. by 70% of vote there..... With Mass. to McG Cronkite said the '36 Landon defeat will not be exceeded -- "small consolation" said Mudd. He added that the GOP win in Texas - first time since '66 -- will have a tremendous impact on that state's GOP.

ABC noted Nixon lost Md. in '68 which was a humiliation for the Veep. Called projected win Veep's revenge. Chancellor also called victory in Md. "Agnew's Revenge" bec. the Pres. lost Md. in '68. Newman said that although the Pres. may do awfully well things can turn out differently in the House races. Chancellor remarked that the Pres. won La. and "completed his march across the South."

Smith says Arkansas is a state where McG had everything going for him -- endorsed by all public officials - but not a typical Southern state. Hard to predict and he lost it. The reasons for McG's win in Mass. - liberal tradition, both Senators, one a democrat and one a republican follow that pattern and most anti-war state (citing statewide referendum).

Regarding SD, Smith says would be quite a humiliation if McG lost it as no candidate has lost home state in recent history.

ABC (1:20) felt RN took Alaska because of his support "w/both feet on the ground" for the pipeline, while McG was lukewarm.



STATE RACES

Might learn from this vote that the coattail effect may not exist and may have been a myth this year -- and perhaps always, said Brinkley. Ike couldn't help and RN hasn't either. RN refused to endorse some southern GOPs. Chancellor agreed w/this demythologizing of coattails and noted that FDR victory of 1936 only brought in 14 Congressmen. Local CBS coverage: had Carl Rowan and James Kilpatrick discussing coattails effect. Kilpatrick said coattails was vastly overrated and Rowan agreed pointing out that Baker is winning by a landslide but Nunn is in trouble, Kil. said looks like while RN is getting the Wallace vote and Rowan used this to say RN has adopted most of Wallace's positions.

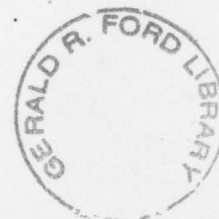
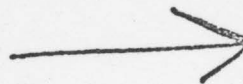


Kiker said RN is getting 65% of the South but not doing well in Sen. However, in the House which went to the Dems in 68 by 64% this year appears to be a 50-50 split which could be "very significant" bec. Southerners tend to reelect whom they elect. Chancellor commented that in the South it used to be easy to vote the straight ticket but now for example in Ga. you must use 2 levers and in Ala. it takes a

distinct effort to go from RN and then switch to the other.

Reasoner said Nixon's coattails are not working. Smith agreed was the case 9/10 of contests but pointed out NM and NC. Smith talked of air of sophistication and maturity in making decisions and said Nixon did not extend his coattails very long. Noted in South it was easier to split tickets esp. in Ala. and Ga. Smith said a candidate is taking a long shot if he depends on coattails.

1. Pollster Plesser said on filmed AEC interview that results were showing reverse coattails. People were voting GOP for the first time but then boomeranging to the Dems for state candidates. It was almost like a penance was due. He sees the above average turnout as favorable to and benefitting P and doubts that the White House is surprised at the reverse coattails.



ABC's Tuckner says RN went to Illinois to help Ogilvie but he has a problem of taxes and the Dems are encouraging ticket-splitting. ABC called it a close race and Reasoner says he is surprised any Gov can be re-elected with the problem of taxes. He was not very optimistic that revenue sharing would be much of a long-term help.

Kiker in interviewing Dent pressed the theme that the Southern congressional

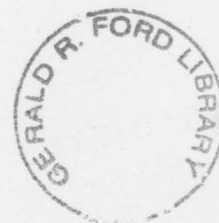
Rep. candidates aren't running as well as the Pres. in the South. Dent said he did not expect big inroads in the South in Sen. races but he did expect the GOP would pick up as many as 10 House seats and he predicted that between '72 and '76 Southern^{ers} were increasingly^{going to} register Republican. Chancellor said the South is voting as a region for the Pres, and he said there are many Wallace voters for RN. Among the factors that influenced the vote nationwide were the Pres's trips to Russia and China and the social issues and that bussing worked strongly for the Pres. in Michigan. Too early to say how Vietnam affected the vote. Percy in interview said that sweeping victory is wonderful tribute to a fine Nixon administration and that he intended to serve his 6 years in the Sen.

by ABC

Percy on interview^{with} note that margin was not the same as he was given in the polls. Seemed disappointed. Has no plans for national politics other than serving in the Sen and noted many other good GOP politicians. When asked of conflict with Nixon Percy said that they had had some differences but he enthus. supported Nixon and would issue statement of congratulations. He hopes that Nixon will carry out domestic programs as enthus. as he has foreign policy to build the U.S. at home. Smith with

(GWS)

a difficult question of who he supports in WVA, Percy said officialy he was neutral but he would leave it to Smith to decide where his sentiments are.

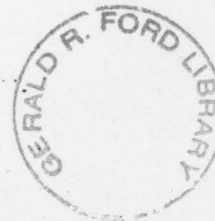


NBC interview with Tower. Do you think RN pulled you in with his coattails? Tower responded that RN assisted, but also said that he had been an active Senator who had done a lot for his constituents and that the people of Texas agreed with his views. Tower believed that there was a lot of positive support for him. Interviewer trying to get Tower to say that only RN's big victory contributed to his projected win.... ABC's Donaldson (1:24) w/report on "accidents in politics" which make it such an "exciting business." He likened Scott's win to that of VP's rise in Md. thanks to divided Dems.

ABC interview w/Helms in which Helms said RN contributed substantially to his campaign and he was grateful for RN's appearance Sat. He said he didn't know what was meant by "coattails" as he saw NC choosing clear-cut choice toward conservatism.

Hatfield on ABC said w/in GOP there is diversity in viewpoint and philosophy and GOP has a commitment to US to speak these divergent views. Hatfield now believes he can do more for US re: peace and other views in Senate than he could as gov.

Brooke on ABC got some "nos" from audience when he said he will continue his independent thought and judgment and will support RN when he thinks RN is right, but oppose RN when he thinks RN is wrong. Brooke said winning was not only important thing, but reuniting US and healing wounds.



ABC

In an interview with Blount he said he had a great organization, good strategy, complete support from the President but he just didn't win. When asked to explain the big margin he said disarmingly "the people of Alabama didn't vote for me." In a separate interview with Barefoot Sanders he admitted that the President's coattails were hurting in Texas, but there is still a strong democratic tradition which he refused to term a "penitance vote".

OTHER VOICES

on ABC that

Gov. Wallace said election going as polls predicted ... race in South is going like he thought it would ... asked how it was to be sitting on sidelines ... the Governor felt both candidates had talked about the issues he raised in 68' which indicates US public is moving positions he advocated ... asked why he endorsed Sparkman when the two had not been close, he said he and Sparkman had been close or more friendly than question indicated & but that Blount is a very fine man but had never supported Wallace's efforts ... Wallace said if results continue as they are it means the Democratic party will come back but with those that expressed his viewpoint then he noted GOP platform adopted items that Democrats rejected.

Wallace in ABC interview says big vote means that South thinks about the platform and the many & - Dems put wrong things in platform on defense, bussing and law and order. Democratic Party must be re-structured for the average man. Election results have rejected the elitist democrats.



AIP 's Schmitz on ABC : . . . very bitter again of lack of campaign coverage of his race saying that it had campaign between Nixon . . . who had broken all of his campaign promises and . . . McGovern who would make all of the promises he would break. He maintains the first time he has been on ABC News was tonight.. Deny Shoemaker. Schmitz said he has a lot better chance of winni ng than the Republic has of surviving,

Dr. Spock interviewed by Douglas Kiker. Spock ~~hoped~~ hoped at least that his participation would increase the size of ~~his~~ his movement. He said the RN landslide is ~~is~~ very bitter. Kiker said 'but doesn't that tell you something'? Spock responded that there was polarization everywhere. Kiker closed by saying that Spock maintains his sense of humor ~~and~~ though.

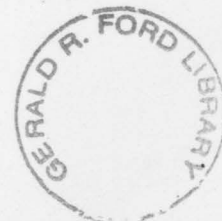
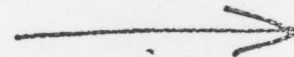


TABLE-PRES 11-8
PRESIDENTIAL TABLE BY UPI
AT 5:31 A.M. EST

STATE-PCT	NIXON-PCT	MCGOVERN-PCT
ALA-85	641,864-76-E	200,252-23
ALASKA-41	20,543-59-E	12,051-35
ARIZ-84	349,351-65-E	170,865-32
ARK-88	391,810-69-E	177,267-31
CALIF-68	3,034,134-55-E	2,346,034-42
COLO-92	543,402-63-E	304,529-35
CONN-95	763,880-60-E	507,331-39
DEL-100	139,796-70-E	91,807-39
DC-100	29,697-21	106,974-79-E
FLA-100	1,750,503-72-E	690,414-28
GEO-78	662,564-75-E	228,864-25
HAW-100	166,533-63-E	99,886-37
ILL-85	2,401,908-59-E	1,115,417-55-E
IND-96	1,331,474-67-E	679,365-33
IOWA-96	671,990-58-E	475,807-40
KANS-91	531,228-68-E	231,006-30
KY-100	670,241-64-E	367,559-35
LA-89	676,790-66-E	307,853-30
MAINE-97	240,694-62-E	152,177-38
MASS-86	921,961-45	1,115,417-55-E
MICH-69	1,450,634-56-E	1,102,714-43
MISS-94	694,369-51-E	638,958-47
MO-92	470,743-79-E	120,036-20
MONT-78	1,22,295-63-E	606,568-37
NEBR-98	127,772-57-E	87,324-39
NEV-87	374,811-70-E	161,568-30
NHAM-96	103,504-64-E	59,802-36
NJER-94	204,186-65-E	110,948-34
NMEX-97	1,688,316-63-E	1,007,190-37
NYORK-93	228,464-62-E	136,614-36
NCAR-96	4,058,130-60-E	2,785,743-40
ND AK-80	1,024,032-70-E	419,922-29
	139,269-62-E	82,700
OH O-90	2,206,224-60-E	1,426,011-39
OKLA-98	728,505-74-E	236,107-24
ORE-80	390,337-54-E	300,338-41
PENN-98	2,649,759-60-E	1,754,890-39
RI-99	203,161-53-E	184,455-47
SOCAR-95	466,280-71-E	184,680-28
SODAK-84	113,011-53-E	100,366-47
TENN-99	796,467-67-E	346,505-29
TEX-86	1,86,142-67-E	963,754-33
UTAH-89	276,542-68-E	107,771-27
VT-97	112,428-64-E	64,933-36
VIR-99	973,799-69-E	430,789-30
WASH-82	553,925-57-E	390
WVA-87	421,956-63-E	251,659-37
WIS-99	976,394-54-E	801,657-44
WYO-96	96,102-70-E	42,156-30
TOTAL	41,407,945-61	25,402,640-33

SNIMITZ, AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY, 970,883-1 PCT.
SPOCK, PEOPLES PARTY, 57,795-0 PCT.

INDICATED ELECTORAL VOTE

NIXON 521
MCGOVERN 17
SCHMITZ 0
SPOCK 0

UPI 10-03 06:12 AES

W/88%

in,

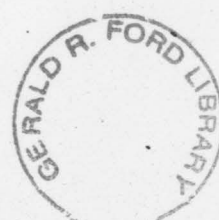
RN has

41.7 M for 61%

and

McG has

25.7 M for 38%



NBC declared RN the winner at 8:30 CBS waited til 8:52 and ABC held til 9:21. The early NBC call was still over an hour later than the '64 prediction which gave it to LBJ.

Leads from the wires: "RN won re-election by overwhelming McG in one of the most lopsided presidential elections in history." (UPI)

"RN swept to towering re-election, burying McG beneath one of history's greatest landslides." (AP)

UPI says "RN roared back from the depths of personal humiliation at the polls just a decade ago to demolish the vaunted old Dem coalition and hand McG the worst drubbing any presidential candidate of his party has suffered since 1864." "RN carried his native state of Calif., exactly 10 years after he suffered a humiliating defeat for Gov and announced he was bowing out of politics." (UPI)

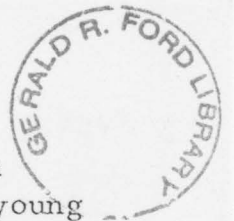
"RN carried the Empire State in a landslide, and became the first GOP candidate with a chance to win the city of NY since Coolidge in 1924." (AP)

"RN soared to his greatest personal triumph, but his landslide re-election confronts him with at least two more years of divided government as Dems kept firmly in command of Congress." (AP)

"RN crushed McG's WH aspirations under an avalanche of votes and won a historic second-term landslide. But his personal triumph was marred by continued Dem domination of Congress and the state-houses. RN's victory gave him freedom to pursue his cherished foreign policy goals and shattered the national Dem party's reform leadership. But the democrats will be in a position to block his domestic proposals. For the Chief Executive, the last race of his 26-year old political career was his greatest triumph, a personal victory of nearly unprecedented dimensions." (UPI)

UPI says that "at the pinnacle of his political power and having said he will never face the electorate again, RN is expected to turn his attention to history rather than political tactics. Given his overwhelming vote, RN undoubtedly will intensify his personal diplomacy and probably seek to remake much of the post WWII power structure."





In the House, the GOP gain stood at 9. And Dems gained 2 in Senate as well as a 31st statehouse w/Walker beating Ogilvie. 2 young GOP candidates became 1st from La. and Miss of their party to come to House -- Treen and Lott.... McCloskey won -- and so did Abzug.

"The voters who gave RN his landslide also elected a Congress overall as firmly in Dem hands as those with which RN dealt during his first term."

Risher analysis leads: "It was perhaps characteristic that when the greatest victory of his political career was unfolding, RMN was alone with a yellow legal pad jotting down his thoughts. As state by state fell into his column, an aide, HRH, telephoned him the news. Occasionally he'd leave his chair in the Lincoln sitting room to chat with his family clustered around a TV next door, but the only time he joined watching was when McG appeared to concede. This passion for planning ahead has characterized his 4 years and is one of the chief reasons for his unprecedented victory." Risher says RN "is a man with remarkable sense of the ebb and flow of public sentiment and the overwhelming impression is that he carefully orchestrated events over the past 4 years as only an incumbent can to bring his popularity to a peak now."

And for AP Mears leads an analysis: "RN has his mandate, but not his New Amer Majority. He has his 4 more years, and a Dem Congress. For as RN buried McG beneath one of history's greatest landslides, his own GOP actually lost seats in the Senate and gained but a handful in the House." Mears says this "was in part the product of the way RN chose to design his campaign, it was in part the result of a vote that clearly was a repudiation of McG as a candidate, not a repudiation of the Dem party." The AP writer says RN's successful fashioning of landslide was "scant comfort to such as Smith, Boggs, Miller, and Allott, losers all while RN was scoring personal landslides in their states." But Mears points out RN visits to NM, NC, Okla, Ill, and his Va strength helped w/5 other seats.

UPI's Feinselder leads: "RN's enormous victory was so singularly personal that in the long run it may create serious problems for his party and ignite smoldering bitterness among Republicans. RN planned his victory that way, deliberately, he sat on his coattails. Given the option between endangering the size of his landslide or spending some of his effort to elect Republicans to Congress, RN chose a go-it-alone, close-to-the-vest strategy. So sweeping was his victory, so far ahead of his party did he run, that he is now both independent of the GOP and master of it.... His goal now is history, not partisan victory. His interests will not always coincide with those of his party." The UPI Hill reporter says that nowhere was RN's strategy more obvious than in the South.... In Ga, Ky, La, Ala, RN's

coattails, hardly offered, carried no pull....RN may have occasional second thoughts about the wisdom of his course, considering the chairmen he might have had in Senate.

UPI lists the following as possible explanations of McG's loss: Eagleton; RN's defusing of VN; the wounding of Wallace; Nixon to pick up the Alabaman's 1968 votes; McG's allegedly "radical" programs; his unpopularity among Mid-road Dems; the possibility that no one could have beaten RN this year. But consider one more. "Perhaps he was right in his evangelist message, but the people were content in their old ways. His message was not for them." Very sympathetic analysis.



AP's Mears begins his "What Happened?" by saying that "McG's quest for WH was doomed by the blunders of its infancy, errors that all his campaigning could never undo. Demogrant and Eagleton were biggest problems, says Mears. It was the image of radicalism on one hand and indecision on the other that appeared the central McG problem."

Missouri's Gov fell to GOP for the first time in 32 years and GOP another in NC. But Dem victories in Del, Vt., Ill offset the GOP gains.

UPI says high Admin officials say NVN tried to use the US election to force the US to end all military action in Indochina without adequate safeguards.

Transcripts of commentaries available by calling 2709 after noon.

#



Popular Vote Totals

	Votes	Pct
Nixon	43,167,507	61
McGovern	26,718,898	38
Schmitz	993,957	01
Spock	6,598	00

Electoral Vote Won

States-Votes

Nixon 49-521
 McGovern 5-7
 Needed to win: 270 of the 38 votes from the 0 states and District of Columbia.
 0813aES 11-08

105A

ELECTION 11-8

1ST LD 065A

BY STEVE GERSTEL

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- PRESIDENT NIXON, POLLING MORE VOTES THAN ANY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN HISTORY, CRUSHED GEORGE S. MCGOVERN TUESDAY IN A NEAR-RECORD LANDSLIDE THAT SOLIDIFIED HIS PERSONAL LEADERSHIP. BUT, ONCE AGAIN, HIS REPUBLICAN PARTY FAILED TO CONTROL CONGRESS.

WITH MORE AMERICANS VOTING THAN EVER BEFORE, NIXON SWEEP MCGOVERN SIDE IN EVERY JURISDICTION BUT MASSACHUSETTS AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN PILING UP 521 OUT OF 538 ELECTORAL VOTES.

IT WAS THE WORST DEFEAT EVER DEALT A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

THE NIXON MARGIN RIVALED LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S 1964 RECORD OF 61.3 PER CENT OF THE VOTE -- BIGGEST EVER. NIXON RECEIVED THE GREATEST POPULAR PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN EVER CAST -- MORE THAN 44 MILLION. JOHNSON GOT 43.1 MILLION EIGHT YEARS AGO.

WITH 94 PER CENT OF THE PRECINCTS COUNTED AT 9:15 A.M., EST, NIXON WAS LEADING MCGOVERN BY A TOTAL OF 44,025,652, TO MCGOVERN'S 27,374,791. JOHN SCHMITZ HAD 980,680 AND BENJAMIN SPOCK HAD 69,536.

IN VICTORY, NIXON ONCE AGAIN ECHOED THE THEMES OF STATESMAN AS OPPOSED TO POLITICIAN, URGING THE NATION TO WORK WITH HIM FOR WORLD PEACE IN THE FINAL FOUR YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC'S SECOND CENTURY.

HE SAID HE HAD TRIED TO "CONDUCT MYSELF IN THIS CAMPAIGN IN A WAY THAT WOULD NOT DIVIDE OUR COUNTRY" -- SEEMINGLY A CONCESSION THAT A DELIBERATE STAND ABOVE PARTISANSHIP WAS HIS GOAL, EVEN IF IT COST HIS PARTY CONTROL OF CONGRESS.

JANUARY, WHEN HE WAS INAUGURATED --

LOST THE PRESIDENCY IN 1960 BY THE THINNEST MARGIN OF ANY CANDIDATE THIS CENTURY. AND FOUR YEARS AGO WHEN HE WON THE WHITE HOUSE WITH ONLY 43.4 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE.

TWO YEARS AFTER HE "HOLITICS UPON LOSING A BID FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP OF CALIFORNIA WITH THE COMMENT "YOU WON'T HAVE NIXON TO KICK AROUND ANY MORE ..."

BUT HIS STRATEGY OF RUNNING AS PRESIDENT RATHER THAN AN ALL-EMBRACING PARTY LEADER LEFT ITS CASUALTIES AS A RESULT OF MASSIVE TICKET-SPLITTING. DEFEATED WERE SUCH GOP NAMES AS SENS. MARGARET CHASE SMITH OF MAINE, SEN. GORDON ALLOT OF COLORADO, JACK MILLER OF IOWA AND CALEB BOGGS OF DELAWARE.

INSTEAD OF PICKING UP THE DIME SEATS THEY NEEDED TO CONTROL THE SENATE, THE REPUBLICANS LOST GROUND IN THE SENATE, WITH THE DEMOCRATS INCREASING THEIR MAJORITY BY TWO TO 57 TO 43. THE REPUBLICANS MADE A FEW INROADS IN THE HOUSE, BUT FELL SHORT OF THE 39 INCREASE THEY NEEDED FOR CONTROL. IT APPEARED THE NEW HOUSE WOULD BE 243 TO 192 IN FAVOR OF THE DEMOCRATS.

MCGOVERN WAS ACQUIESCENT IN CONCEDED DEFEAT BEFORE MIDNIGHT OF ELECTION DAY BUT FIRMLY HIS RESOLVE TO CONTINUE AS THE "LOYAL OPPOSITION." HIS VOICE STRAINED, AND HIS BROW FURROWED, HE TOLD A

LATE NIGHT RALLY IN SIOUX FALLS, S.D., "THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION THAT WE PUSTED THIS COUNTRY IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE AND I THINK EACH OF US PREFERENCES THE TITLE OF PEACEMAKER TO ANY OTHER TITLE IN THE LAND."

AS WITH CONGRESS, NIXON'S SWEEP FAILED TO TRANSFER ITSELF TO THE GOVERNORS CONTESTS. THE DEMOCRATS PICKED UP ONE MORE STATEHOUSE, INCREASING THEIR TOTAL TO 31, TO 19 FOR THE REPUBLICANS. THE BIGGEST WEAME IN ILLINOIS WHERE DANIEL WALKER OUSTED REPUBLICAN GOVGM RICHARD V. OGILVIE.

IN HIS VICTORY NIXON SCORED HEAVILY IN NEW YORK, CHICAGO, PHILADELPHIA, PITTSBURGH, SAN FRANCISCO, AND LOS ANGELES. WHERE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC FORCES AMONG BLUE COLLAR WORKERS, JEW AND CATHOLICS DESERTED THE PARTY. WHILE HE DIDN'T CARRY SOME OF THESE, HE MADE SEVERE INROADS INTO NORMAL DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES.

T. N. NEWSTADT ALSO RETURNED TO THE PRESIDENTIAL POSITION OF PROMINENCE AND POWER FROM WHICH SOME HAVE SPECULATED HE WILL TRY FOR THE TOP SPOT ON THE TICKET FOUR YEARS FROM NOW.

PICKUP 15TH PGH 065A: THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC
 UPI 11-08 09:39 AES



104A

WORLD 11-8

DAY LD

SS INBERATTENAB

ESIPENT NIXON'S LANDSLIDE RE-ELECTION VICTORY OVER SEN. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN DREW ALMOET UNIVERSAL ACCLAIM FROM WORLD LEADERS TODAY.

PARTICULARLY HAPPY WAS FOREIGN MINISTER TRAN VAN LAM OF SOUTH VIETNAM WHO TOLD NEWSMEN, "WE ARE SURE WE WILL HAVE A VERY GOOD FRIEND IN THE PERSON OF PRESIDENT NIXON. I AM VERY HAPPY TODAY. IT IS A VERY HAPPY DAY NOT ONLY FOR A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BUT FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE."

MCGOVERN HAD PROMISED HE WOULD, IF ELECTED, WITHDRAW ALL AMERICAN TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM AND END ALL SUPPORT TO THE REGIME OF PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU.

IN RUSSIA, WHERE SOVIET PAPERS MADE IT CLEAR KREMLIN LEADERS FAVORED NIXON'S RE-ELECTION, THE AMERICAN ELECTION RESULTS WERE RELEASED IN BRIEF DISPATCHES BY THE OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY TASS.

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE REACTION FROM CHINA OR NORTH VIETNAM BUT REACTION WAS FAVORABLE IN ASIAN NATIONS ALLIED WITH THE UNITED STATES. IN LATINAMERICA, WHERE NIXON IS NOT GENERALLY CONSIDERED POPULAR, THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE EDITORIAL REACTION ALTHOUGH NEWSPAPERS BANNERED THE MAGNITUDE OF HIS VICTORY.

EASTERN EUROPE REACTED POSITIVELY TO NIXON'S RE-ELECTION, ALTHOUGH SOME COMMUNIST COMMENTATORS ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF DUPLICITY IN HIS CAMPAIGN.

"NIXON WAS REELECTED BECAUSE HE RECOGNIZED THE REALITIES OF THE WORLD," SAID ERVIN RETI, FOREIGN EDITOR OF THE HUNGARY COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER ESTI HRLAP.

"ALTHOUGH HE HESITATED ON PEACE IN VIETNAM, PEACE NEVER SEEMED AS NEAR AS IT DOES NOW," RETI SAID.

IN BELGRADE, WRITER-PHILOSOPHER MILOVAN DJILAS, A FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF YUGOSLAVIA, SAID:

"VIEWED FROM EAST EUROPE, NIXON'S VICTORY IS A POSITIVE ONE, BECAUSE HIS POLICIES ARE AIMED AT COOPERATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST."

RADIO SOFIA, IN A FIRST COMMENTARY, SAID NIXON'S VICTORY WAS DUE TO HIS "VERY CUNNING AND SPECTACULAR MOVES" IN FOREIGN POLICY, INCLUDING HIS TRIPS TO MOSCOW AND PEKING.

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN PARIS SAID, "PRESIDENT (GEORGES) POMPIDOU IS EXTREMELY HAPPY OVER PRESIDENT NIXON'S RE-ELECTION FOR BOTH PERSONAL AND POLITICAL REASONS" AND SAID THE TWO LEADERS COULD CONTINUE "THE EXCELLENT, CORDIAL" RELATIONS THEY HAD ENJOYED IN THE PAST.

LAOTIAN PREMIER PRINCE SOUVANNA PHOUMA, VISITING PARIS, SAID HE TOO WAS GLAD NIXON HAD WON. "AFTER THIS SUCCESS," SOUVANNA SAID, "I AM CERTAIN THAT PEACE IS NEAR (IN INDOCHINA)."

BELGIAN PREMIER GASTON EYSKENS NABLED HIS CONGRATULATIONS TO THE WHITE HOUSE AND WISHED NIXON SUCCESS IN ESTABLISHING A DURABLE PEACE IN THE WORLD.

FOREIGN MINISTER NORBERT SCHMELZER OF HOLLAND SAID NIXON'S VICTORY WAS "DEFINITELY IMPRESSIVE" AND DESCRIBED THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT AS "A MAN OF NO ILLUSIONS WHO SEEKS FOR PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS."

SECRETARY GENERAL JOSEPH LUNS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) SAID NIXON'S VICTORY WAS "MAGNIFICENT" AND "PARTICULARLY WELCOMED IN EUROPE." MCGOVERN HAD SAID HE WOULD WITHDRAW SOME OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS STATIONED IN EUROPE IF ELECTED.

WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT SAID NIXON'S WIN WAS "OF EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE FOR WORLD PEACE." THE SOVIET UNION HAS GIVEN SUPPORT BOTH TO NIXON'S AND BRANDT'S RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

IN A TELEGRAM TO THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, BRANDT SAID, "YOUR VICTORY FILLS ME WITH CONFIDENCE THAT OUR COMMON EFFORTS TOWARD STILL CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, TOWARD A DEEPENING OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN EUROPE FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL PEOPLE IN THE WEST AND IN THE EAST CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY CONTINUED."

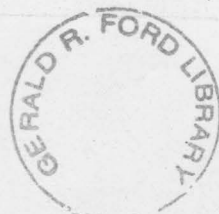
A FOREIGN MINISTRY SPOKESMAN IN MADRID SAID "THE REELECTION OF PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN RECEIVED WITH GREAT SATISFACTION BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT."

TUNISIAN PRESIDENT HABIB BOURGUIBA IN A CABLE TO THE WHITE HOUSE PRAISED NIXON'S MOVES "IN FAVOR OF PEACE."

EVEN JAPANESE BUSINESSMEN, PRESSED TO HELP EVEN THEIR COUNTRY'S TRADE BALANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES, WERE PLEASED THAT NIXON HAD BEEN KEPT IN OFFICE.

"I COULD FEEL AT EASE ON HIS REELECTION," SAID FUJI BANK CHAIRMAN YOSHIZANE IWASA, "BECAUSE I KNOW THE WAY THE PRESIDENT DOES BUSINESS WITH US."

UPI 11-0 09:26 AES



DAYID

BY NORMAN KEMPSTER

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- AFTER FOUR YEARS OF RELATIVE STABILITY, THE SECOND NIXON ADMINISTRATION WILL BRING CHANGES IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CABINET, BEGINNING WITH A NEW SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

MELVIN R. LAIRD HAS SAID HE WILL LEAVE THE PENTAGON ON INAUGURATION DAY, JAN. 20, ALMOST AS CERTAIN TO DEPART EARLY IN PRESIDENT NIXON'S SECOND TERM IS GEORGE ROMNEY, SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT (HUD).

A REPLACEMENT IS LIKELY FOR LABOR SECRETARY JAMES D. HODGSON AND ATTORNEY GENERAL RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST ALSO MAY BE ON THE WAY OUT. ADMINISTRATION SOURCES SAID CABINET CHANGES ARE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN BUT FINAL DECISIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN MADE.

OF THE 11 CABINET POSTS, FOUR WERE UNCHANGED DURING NIXON'S FIRST FOUR YEARS. ONLY ONE DEPARTMENT, TREASURY, HAD AS MANY AS THREE SECRETARIES. THE REST HAD TWO.

JOHN B. CONNALLY WHO QUIT AS TREASURY SECRETARY TO LEAD DEMOCRATS FOR NEXCOIN THE CABINET NEXT YEAR, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY NOT AT THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

OTHERS WHO MAY FIGURE IN THE NEW CABINET INCLUDE GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER OF NEW YORK; GEORGE BUSH, AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS; AND CLARK MACGREGOR, WHO QUIT AS NIXON'S CHIEF CONGRESSIONAL LOBBYIST TO BECOME THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER.

FORMER NAVY SECRETARY JOHN CHAFEE AND FORMER POSTMASTER GENERAL WINTON BLOUNT ARE OTHER POSSIBILITIES. BOTH RESIGNED FROM THE ADMINISTRATION TO RUN UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR THE SENATE.

TREASURY SECRETARY GEORGE P. SHULTZ, WHO HELD THREE CABINET-LEVEL JOBS DURING NIXON'S FIRST TERM, COULD BE SHIFTED AGAIN. THE FORMER LABOR SECRETARY AND MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET DIRECTOR IS CONSIDERED ONE OF THE BEST ADMINISTRATORS IN NIXON'S CIRCLE.

LAIRD'S PROBABLE SUCCESSOR AT THE PENTAGON IS DEPUTY DEFENSE SECRETARY KENNETH RUSH, FORMER AMBASSADOR TO WEST GERMANY. OTHER POSSIBILITIES ARE CONNALLY AND CHAFEE.

ROBERTS THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM P. ROGERS WANTS TO LEAVE HIS POST. NIXON'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER HENRY A. KISSINGER HAS EMERGED AS THE PRESIDENT'S TOP FOREIGN POLICY-MAKER, A SITUATION WHICH HAS CAUSED RESENTMENT AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT. BUT ROGERS IS ONE OF NIXON'S OLDEST FRIENDS AND HE IS THOROUGHLY LOYAL TO THE PRESIDENT. IF NIXON WANTS TO KEEP ROGERS IN THE POST, ROGERS IS EXPECTED TO STAY.

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Ticket Splitting--State Races 490

By TERRY RYAN

-Associated Press Writer

The ticket splitting that marred President Nixon's landslide re-election Tuesday reached down to state office and legislative races. Republicans gained ground in a few of the nation's state house although Nixon carried 49 states.

In several states, the pattern was a Nixon win by lopsided margins but gains or only minimal losses by Democrats in state legislatures or other state posts.

Some Republicans undoubtedly rode into office on Nixon's strength.

But while Nixon became the first Republican presidential candidate to capture Pennsylvania since 1956, Democrats easily won races for state treasurer and auditor, the only other statewide contests.

"It shows that the coattail theory is no longer relevant," said Republican Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa.

The President carried all of Florida's 67 counties as he amassed a staggering 75 per cent of the state's presidential vote. But the GOP gained only two seats in the state senate, six in the assembly, and failed in a determined bid to take control of the legislature.

Democrats in Ohio captured the state House of Representative even as Nixon won 60 per cent of the state's presidential vote. Five incumbent Ohio Democratic congressmen, all strong McGovern supporters in a state where he campaigned heavily, were re-elected.

Ticket splitting in Congressional races surfaced in state after state.

Nixon carried New Jersey by a 5-1 margin, but all the state's Democratic congressmen won re-election with ease. New York fell into the Nixon column, but the Democrats lost only one of their 39 congressional seats.

Near complete returns early today indicated the GOP actually suffered a net loss of two U.S. Senate seats despite the Nixon landslide. The Republicans gained 9 house seats, far less than the 4 they needed to take control or even the 15 to 20 they talked about winning a week ago.

In the Democratic landslide of 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson carried the party to increases of one seat in the Senate and 37 seats in the House.

In gubernatorial contests, returns indicated the Democrats would add one more state house to their already solid majority. Delaware and Vermont went solidly for Nixon but elected Democrats to replace Republicans as governor.

Illinois offered a classic example of ticket splitting. Nixon carried the state and Republican Sen. Charles Percy squeezed by with a narrow victory. But Democrat Daniel Walker unseated incumbent Republican Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie.

Most ticket splitters clearly were people who voted for Nixon then switched to Democratic candidates in state races.

Proving that it works both ways, Massachusetts voters went solidly for McGovern then turned around to hand Republican Sen. Edward W. Brooke another six years in Washington.

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Landslides 350

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Only three times in the recent past has there been a presidential landslide approaching the magnitude chalked up by President Nixon over Democratic challenger George McGovern.

The usual definition of a presidential landslide is a victory with 60 per cent or more of the popular vote.

With more than 75 per cent of the nation's voting units counted early today, Nixon had more than 60 per cent of the popular vote.

Lyndon B. Johnson won 1.1 per cent of the popular vote in defeating Barry Goldwater in 1964, with 43,126,506 votes to 27,176,799. It was the highest percentage of the total vote captured by a presidential candidate since popular vote records were first kept in 1824.

Johnson's 5.9-million vote plurality was the largest margin in a presidential election. He carried all but six states and officially won the presidency by an electoral vote of 486 to 2.

Franklin D. Roosevelt carried all but two states - Maine and Vermont - in his crushing defeat of Alf Landon in 1936. It was the nearest anyone has come to carrying every state in modern political history.

He had 57,711,612 votes to Landon's 6,681,913 and he won 522 to 8 in the Electoral College.

Warren G. Harding was the only other Republican swept into the White House in true landslide fashion. He captured 60.3 per cent of the vote in defeating James M. Cox in 1920. He won 404 electoral votes to 27 for Cox, with a popular vote of 16,152,200 to 9,473,333.

Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected with 56.5 per cent of the popular vote in 1952 and 7.4 per cent in '60.

George Washington set the standard for presidential landslides. The Electoral College unanimously chose him president in 1789 and 1792.

James Monroe was elected president in 1800 by a vote of 231 to 1 in the Electoral College. One vote was cast for John Quincy Adams, Monroe's secretary of state and a fellow member of a coalition then known as the Democratic Republican party.

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Voter Turnout 30

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The large number of Americans ever to vote in a presidential election went to the

28th-1s Tuesday, but the percentage of potential voters casting ballots was the lowest since 1948. With the votes from 90 per cent of the nation's precincts tabulated, 69,906,983 votes had been recorded. At this rate, when the remaining precincts are counted, an estimated 77 million votes will have been recorded.

The previous record vote was 72 million in 1968.

The Census Bureau has reported that there are 48 million citizens over 18 years of age who were eligible to vote this year.

Included in that 48 million figure were an estimated 1.5 million 18- to 20-year-olds enfranchised when the 26th Amendment lowered the voting age in federal elections to 18.

The estimated turnout of 77.5 million voters means that only about 56 per cent of the potential electorate cast ballots in the presidential contest.

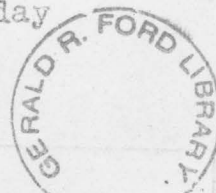
The turnout is the lowest since 1948 when 2 per cent of the voting age population went to the polls. Harry S. Truman was elected president in that election.

The percentage of potential voters casting ballots 63 per cent in 1952, 60 per cent in 1956, 64 per cent in 1960, 62 per cent in 1964 and 61 per cent in 1968.

The Census Bureau had estimated that 85 million Americans would vote Tuesday. The estimate hinged on the bureau's assumptions that there were 140 million people in the total eligible electorate and that the turnout of those eligible would equal the 61 per cent of 1968.

Though the turnout did not reach the Census Bureau estimate, the number of people voting did reach an all-time high. That fact may account for the long lines and delays reported Tuesday from polling places in many parts of the country.

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-Democrats-Future 4\$8 \$ takes 38
By DON McLEOD
-AP Political Writer

WASHINGTON AP - With George McGovern buried beneath an election landslide engineered in part by fellow Democrats, a brutal and costly fight for control of the party is inevitable.

The struggle pits Old Guard Democrats against the McGovern allies who rode to power, along with McGovern, on the vehicle of party reform.

The reforms became a sore point with labor leaders, Southern office-holders and old-line party regulars who found it more difficult to control the selection of national convention delegates.

But the reforms, called the McGovern guidelines because he launched the special commission that drafted them, are only part of the power struggle that began last spring.

And no matter which faction ends up on top, the reforms are likely to survive. The deck is stacked in their favor despite the enormity of McGovern's defeat.

But a move toward party realignment was assured. Such Old Guard stalwarts as Alexander Barkan, chief political operative for the AFL-CIO, and Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who has complained of a party takeover by "left-wing fringe elements," have been lobbying for it.

The first fight is set for one month from Thursday when the Democratic National Committee meets in Washington. The first target will be party Chairman Jean Westwood, who was hand-picked for the job by McGovern.

Barkan, Jackson and a bevy of hopefuls for her job have vowed a fight, but Mrs. Westwood, first woman ever to head a major party, is just as determined to stay.

Mrs. Westwood foresaw the onrushing McGovern defeat and has been preparing for her own survival by cultivating the national committee members who will decide whether she stays or goes.

The committee has been enlarged to give extra weight to the larger and more liberal states, so a conservative reaction seems unlikely.

Selection of the last \$5 committee members remains to be done. The choice was deliberately put off until after the election to give disaffected Democrats a chance to move the committee back their way in the event of presidential defeat.

Banking on those \$5 committee seats, a coalition of labor leaders and party regulars resentful of McGovern's new faces hopes to restore something of the old order.

Despite the stunning proportions of McGovern's crash, there is nothing to indicate that all his followers would automatically surrender.

The reform element of the party—which still holds the machinery of control—is not likely to reward those it blames for the worst defeat in the party's history.

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With the campaign over McGovern's staff, which generated much of the abrasion between the Old Guard and the new, will draft from the picture, and the center of power will shift to the national committee.

But the committee is generally a moderate group unlikely to rush backward to smoke-filled rooms and boss-picked delegations.

If Mrs. Westwood is ousted as chairman, her replacement is likely to be a moderate moving toward reconciliation, not one of the angry Old-Guard.

The McGovern reform rules, which opened the way for women, young people and racial and ethnic minorities to increase their representation, have become something of a symbol in the party power struggle, but their role has been greatly exaggerated.

After all, it was really power which was at issue. It was losing control over the party processes that angered the old pols more than the idea of reform, and it is desire to regain this power which pits them against the reforms.

They are not likely to succeed in overturning the reforms soon. The new reform commission was appointed by Mrs. Westwood and is not likely to roll back the guidelines.

The national committee can ignore the reform commission and draw up new rules, but the ultimate decision is up to the next convention, four years from now.

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Shriver 3 0

-By LAWRENCE L. KNUTSON

-Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON JAP. - Sargent Shriver, who believes he and George McGovern were "not clear enough in explaining ourselves" in the 1972 presidential campaign, says he might seek elective office again.

The Democratic vice presidential candidate conceded defeat to a large group of supporters of the McGovern-Shriver ticket at a Washington hotel Tuesday night.

Asked if he would run for elective office again, Shriver said:

"Yes, I would, if there was an appropriate office to run for."

He didn't say what he considered appropriate, but his supporters chanted: "Seventy six, seventy six, seventy six, . . ."

Shriver, brother-in-law of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., traveled 80,880 miles and delivered 100 speeches in the three months after he replaced Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., as McGovern's vice presidential candidate.

"These 18 days have been the most rewarding of my life," he told his supporters, "Never have I so fully realized the greatness of the American people."

"I think it must be clear the choice was not made clear to the voters," he told newsmen later, "To that extent our campaign was ineffective. We were not clear enough in explaining ourselves, . . ."

Shriver, his face sombre and grim, stared intently at a television set as his running-mate, Sen. McGovern, stood before an audience in South Dakota and conceded the race to President Nixon.

In his own concession speech, Shriver said: "I am sure I will be able to go on in the service of my country and all mankind."

Later, he appeared to complain that his efforts in the campaign were not employed effectively.

"I spoke very seldom on college campuses. I think I should have been on college campuses far more than I was," he said.

On every campus he visited, the vote was turned around, Shriver said.

Shriver was surrounded Tuesday night by his family, with whom he has campaigned nearly nonstop since August. During his concession speech Shriver's eyes met those of his 7-year-old daughter Maria, who smiled at her father and then bowed her head and choked back tears.

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MCGOVERN 11-8

BY GENE CARLSONM

SIoux FALLS S.D. (UPI) -- HIS PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRATIONS CRUINED, GEORGE MCGOVERN FOUND CONSOLATION IN THE BELIEF THAT HIS EFFORTS BROUGHT THE UNITED STATES CLOSER TO PEACE.

MCGOVERN CONCEDED THE ELECTION TUESDAY NIGHT IN THE TOWN WHERE HE ANNOUNCED HIS PRESIDENTIAL BID 22 MONTHS EARLIER. HIS FACE SHOWED A LITTLE STRAIN UNDER THE TELEVISION LIGHTS. HIS WIFE, ELEANOR, WAS NEAR TEARS, AND THEIR YOUNGEST DAUGHTER, MARY, DABBED AT HER EYES WITH A HANDKERCHIEF DURING THE NINE-MINUTE SPEECH.

"THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION AT ALL THAT WE HAVE PUSHED THIS COUNTRY IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE, AND I THINK EACH ONE OF US LOVES THE TITLE OF PEACEMAKER MORE THAN ANY OFFICE IN THE LAND," MCGOVERN SAID. "WE WILL PRESS ON WITH THAT EFFORT UNTIL ALL THE BLOODSHED AND ALL THE MORROW HAVE ENDED ONCE AND FOR ALL."

EARLIER TUESDAY, MCGOVERN SAID THAT HE WOULD NEVER RUN FOR PRESIDENT AGAIN AND EMPHASIZED THAT "I REALLY MEAN IT." HE SAID HE WOULD RUN AGAIN FOR THE SENATE WHEN HIS TERM EXPIRES IN 1974. HE PLANNED TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON ABOUT NOON TODAY AND TO FLY THURSDAY TO THE VIRGIN I LANDS FOR A VACATION OF A WEEK TO 10

DAYS.

THE SOUTH DAKOTA SENATOR AND HIS FAMILY LISTENED TO THE RETURNS AT THEIR SIOUX FALLS MOTEL. IT BECAME OBVIOUS NIXON WAS THE WINNER WHEN ILLINOIS WITH ITS 26 ELECTORAL VOTES SLID INTO THE PRESIDENT'S COLUMN. MCGOVERN THEN DROVE IN NEAR FREEZING TEMPERATURES TO MAKE HIS CONCESSION AT THE SIOUX FALLS COLISEUM BEFORE ABOUT 2,500 SUPPORTERS, MOST OF THEM YOUNG PEOPLE.

MCGOVERN WAS CONGRATULATING THE PRESIDENT ON HIS VICTORY.

"I HOPE THAT IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS YOU WILL LEAD US TO A TIME OF PEACE ABROAD AND JUSTICE AT HOME," MCGOVERN SAID. "YOU HAVE MY FULL SUPPORT IN SUCH EFFORTS."

MCGOVERN DENIED "OPPOSITION" DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS BUT WARNED THAT "WE DO NOT RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF POLICIES THAT WE DEPLORE."

"BUT WE DO LOVE THIS COUNTRY AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO BECKON IT TO A HIGHER STANDARD," MCGOVERN SAID.

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NKIEWICZ, MCGOVERN'S CHIEF POLITICAL ADVISER, INDICATED MCGOVERN WOULD EXERT THE LEADER'S TRADITIONAL PREROGATIVE OF ACTING AS TITULAR HEAD OF THE PARTY UNTIL A NEW STANDARD BEARER EMERGES.

"HE DOESN'T HAVE TO RETAIN ANY LEADERSHIP," MANKIEWICZ SAID. "HE HAS THE LEADERSHIP."

MANKIEWICZ SAID NO SINGLE CHANGE OF TACTICS WOULD HAVE SAVED THE DEFEAT.

"WE WERE OVERWHELMED. NOTHING WOULD HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE," HE SAID.

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EAGLETON 11-

BY WESLEY G. PIPPERT

SIoux FALLS, S.D. (UPI) -- GEORGE MCGOVERN'S STRETCH RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY BEGAN IN THE BLACK HILLS IN LATE JULY. IT PROBABLY ENDED THERE, TOO.

IN A RUSTIC LODGE IN THE FIRST FLUSH AFTER THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, THOMAS F. EAGLETON REVEALED TO THE NATION THAT HE HAD A HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRIC PROBLEMS.

CALMLY, MCGOVERN STOOD AT HIS RUNNING MATE'S SIDE DURING THE ANGUISHED NEWS CONFERENCE AND EXPRESSED HIS SUPPORT IN COMPASSIONATE TERMS.

WHEN CONTROVERSY CONTINUED TO BUILD OVER EAGLETON'S FITNESS, MCGOVERN POSTED A PRESS NOTICE ON THE MOTEL WINDOW SAYING HE SUPPORTED HIS RUNNING MATE "1,000 PER CENT."

BUT THE VERY NEXT NIGHT, MCGOVERN WENT TABLE TO TABLE AT THE SYLVAN LAKE LODGE AND LET REPORTERS KNOW THAT HE WAS HAVING SERIOUS SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT EAGLETON'S PLACE ON THE TICKET.

AND ON THE FOLLOWING MONDAY NIGHT, IN A CAPITOL CLOAKROOM IN WASHINGTON, MCGOVERN ASKED EAGLETON TO LEAVE THE TICKET--NOT, HE SAID, BECAUSE EAGLETON HAD A HISTORY OF MENTAL PROBLEMS BUT BECAUSE THE DISCUSSION OF IT THREATENED TO DOMINATE THE ENTIRE CAMPAIGN.

EAGLETON EMERGED AS A SORT OF NATIONAL FOLK HERO. MCGOVERN EMERGED AS THE VILLAIN.

MCGOVERN'S SENSE OF DECENCY, HIS SENSE OF CANDOR, HIS SENSE OF SINCERITY ALL CAME UNDER A CLOUD. THE DOUBTS INFECTED OTHER PARTS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

MCGOVERN SOUGHT TO PUT THE ISSUE BEHIND HIM. HE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT IT HAD BEEN THE COST TRYING PART OF HIS PUBLIC CAREER. HE SAID HE HAD ACTED IN EAGLETON'S INTEREST IN STANDING BEHIND HIM BUT THEN THE NATIONAL INTEREST FORCED HIM TO TAKE STEPS TO ENSURE FULL DISCUSSION OF THE VITAL ISSUES OF VIETNAM, THE ECONOMY AND MORAL LEADERSHIP.

IN THE CATERPILLAR PLANT IN PEORIA, ILL. IN SEPTEMBER, MCGOVERN SAT DOWN AND TALKED WITH A YOUNG WORKER ON A 20 MINUTE SUPPER BREAK. ASKED ABOUT EAGLETON AND MCGOVERN AGAIN EXPLAINED HIS POSITION. THE YOUNG MAN PERSISTED. HE MENTIONED SEN. HAROLD E. HUGHES OF IOWA WHO HAD BUILT A GREAT PUBLIC CAREER DESPITE THE FACT THAT HE HAD BEEN AN ALCOHOLIC.

"BUT HE NEVER TRIED TO HIDE IT," MCGOVERN SAID QUIETLY.

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DEMOCRATS 11-8
(ANALYSIS)

BY RAYMOND LAHR

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- DEMOCRATS SURVEYED THE WRECKAGE OF THEIR WORST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION DEFEAT IN HISTORY TODAY AND WONDERED WHO COULD REPAIR IT AND HOW.

THE DEPTH OF THE DEFEAT IS STILL TO BE MEASURED, BUT IT CERTAINLY WILL CREATE TENSIONS LASTING FOR WEEKS, MONTHS OR POSSIBLY YEARS.

SKILLED CRAFTSMEN WILL BE NEEDED FOR THE REBUILDING AND TO EASE THE TENSIONS WHICH RIPPED THE NATIONAL PARTY STRUCTURE. BUT THEIR JOB MAY BE EASIER THAN THAT WHICH DANCED THE REPUBLICANS AFTER THEIR LANDSLIDE DEFEAT IN THE 1944 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WHICH CARRIED DEEP INTO LOCAL OFFICES, CONGRESS AND THE STATE LEGISLATURES.

DESPITE THE DIMENSIONS OF NIXON'S VICTORY, THE DEMOCRATS RETAINED CONTROL OF CONGRESS AND A MAJORITY OF THE GOVERNORSHIPS, ALTHOUGH REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS REMAIN IN OFFICE IN HALF OR MORE OF THE 10 MOST POPULOUS STATES. NIXON MAY HAVE WON A GREAT PERSONAL VICTORY, BUT HE COULD NOT LEAD HIS PARTY TO MAJORITY STATUS.

HOW THE DEMOCRATS TRY TO RESTORE UNITY WILL DEPEND MUCH ON THEIR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE, SEN. GEORGE S. MCGOVERN. IF HE PERSISTS IN OFFENDING DOMINANT DEMOCRATS IN THE SOUTH, THE BIG CITIES AND MAJOR SEGMENTS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, PEACE IN THE PARTY MAY BE FAR AWAY.

CIVIL WAR INSIDE THE GOP AFTER THOMAS E. DEWEY'S UNEXPECTED LOSS IN 1948 AND BARRY M. GOLDWATER'S DIASTER IN 1964 LED TO THE REPLACEMENT OF THEIR NATIONAL PARTY CHAIRMEN. DEMOCRATIC CRIES FOR THE OUSTER OF MRS. JEAN WESTWOOD, MCGOVERN'S PARTY CHAIRMAN, ARE PREDICTABLE RESULTS OF MCGOVERN'S DEFEAT.

A NUMBER OF POWERFUL DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS, IN GOVERNORSHIPS AND STATE CHAIRMANSHIPS OBJECTED TO SOME OF THE MAJOR REFORMS ADOPTED BY THE MCGOVERN-DOMINATED 1972 CONVENTION, ALTHOUGH SOME WERE WIDELY ACCEPTABLE WITHOUT SERIOUS DISPUTE. THE REFORM MOVEMENT CANNOT BE REVERSED, BUT IT IS SUBJECT TO CHANGES.

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SHRIVER 11-8

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- HOARSE AND VISIBLY WEARY AFTER 90 DAYS OF HEAVY CAMPAIGNING, SARGENT SHRIVER TOLD CHEERING DEMOCRATS THAT HE AND GEORGE MCGOVERN "STILL SCORED A VICTORY" DESPITE THEIR CRUSHING DEFEAT AT THE POLLS.

"THE BANNER WE RAISED IN THIS CAMPAIGN WAS THE BANNER OF TRUTH," SHRIVER TOLD A CROWD OF SEVERAL HUNDRED DURING A MIDNIGHT APPEARANCE AT THE POLLS. "RAISING THAT STANDARD IS OUR VICTORY."

THE CROWD WAS SILENT WHEN SHRIVER SAID HE HAD SENT PRESIDENT NIXON A TELEGRAM CONGRATULATING HIM ON HIS VICTORY. BUT THEY CHEERED LOUDLY WHEN SHRIVER TOLD THEM HE HAD TOLD NIXON HE "PRAYED" THE PRESIDENT'S NEXT TERM WOULD BE "FRUITFUL, PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FOR THE GOOD OF ALL MANKIND."

EARLIER SHRIVER TREATED PARTY FOR CAMPAIGN STAFF MEMBERS AT HIS NEARBY ROCKVILLE, MD., ESTATE. DESPITE THE RETURNS, THERE WERE SKITS, SONGS AND CAVIAR AND SHRIVER CONTRIBUTED TO A BUOYANT MOOD BY BOUNDING FROM GUEST TO GUEST PUMPING HANDS AND CRACKING JOKES.

HIS WIFE, THE FORMER EUNICE KENNEDY, ALSO KEPT SMILING. "SHRIVER IS A FINE GUY," SHE SAID WHEN SHE HEARD THAT

MASSACHUSETTS, HER HOME STATE, HAD GONE FOR MCGOVERN-SHRIVER.

WHILE NURSING A BEER, SHRIVER CONFESSED THAT HE HAD NO ILLUSIONS WHEN MCGOVERN ASKED HIM TO BE THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

"I KNOW HE WASN'T HANDING IT TO ME ON A SILVER PLATTER," SHRIVER SAID. "BUT I DID MY BEST. IF YOU ARE DOING SOMETHING YOU LIKE AND BELIEVE IN, WHAT ELSE CAN YOU DO?"

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-Congress Lead add

-WASHINGTON Congress Lead A04 add: 43.

With only seven of the 435 House races undecided, Republicans had made a net gain of 11, compared with the 41 needed to take control. And some of the new Republicans replace conservative Southern Democrats who generally had voted with the administration,
-The Senate, etc. 4th graf eliminating third3
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-Senate List 288

WASHINGTON JAP - Here are the winners of the 33 Senate elections Tuesday: X-indicates re-elected

Alabama-John Sparkman x, Dem.
Alaska-Ted Stevens x Rep.
Arkansas-John L. McClellan x, Dem.
Colorado-Floyd K. Haskell, Dem.
Delaware-Joseph R. Biden Jr., Dem.
Georgia-Sam Nunn, Dem.
Idaho-James A. McClure, Rep.
Illinois-Charles H. Percy x, Rep.
Iowa-Dick Clark, Dem.
Kansas-James B. Perason x, Rep.
Kentucky-Walter Huddleston, Dem.
Louisiana-J. Bennett Johnston Jr., Dem.
Maine-William D. Hathaway, Dem.
Massachusetts-Edward W. Brooke x, Rep.
Michigan?Undecided,
Minnesota-Walter F. Mondale x, Dem.
Mississippi-James O. Eastland, x, Dem.
Montana-Lee Metcalf x, Dem.
Nebraska, Carl Curtis x, Rep.
New Hampshire-Thomas J. McIntyre x, Dem.
New Jersey-Clifford P. Case x Rep.
New Mexico-Pete V. Domenici, Rep.
North Carolina-Jesse Helms, Rep.
Oklahoma-Dewey Bartlett, Rep.
Oregon-Mark O. Hatfield x, Rep.
Rhode Island-Claiborne Pell x Dem.
South Carolina-Strom Thurmond x Rep.
South Dakota-James Abourezk, Dem.
Tennessee-Howard Baker x, Rep.
Texas-John Tower x Rep.
Virginia-William L. Scott, Rep.
West Virginia-Jennings Randolph x, Dem.
Wyoming-Clifford P. Hansen x, Rep.
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Governors List 0

WASHINGTON AP - Governors elected Tuesday:

Arkansas-Dale Bumpers x, Democrat
Delaware-Sherman W. Tribbitt, Democrat
Illinois-Daniel Walker, Democrat
Indiana-Otis R. Bowen, Republican
Iowa-Robert D. Ray x, Republican
Kansas-Robert B. Docking x, Democrat
Missouri-Christopher S. Bond, Republican
Montana-Thomas L. Judge, Democrat
North Carolina-James Holshouser Jr., Republican
North Dakota-Arthur A. Link, Democrat
Rhode Island-Philip W. Noel, Democrat
South Dakota-Richard F. Kneip x, Democrat
Texas-Undecided
Utah-Calvin L. Rampton x, Democrat
Vermont-Thomas Salmon, Democrat
Washington-Daniel J. Evans x, Republican
West Virginia-Arch A. Moore Jr. x, Republican
x-denotes incumbent
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Congress-Women 350, two takes 650

-By FRANCES LEWINE

-Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON AP - Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, 74-year-old Maine Republican, a powerful figure in Congress for over three decades, was toppled in a major election upset Tuesday, while losing out in the Senate, which now becomes an all-male bastion, women captured five new seats in the House and seemed to have returned all but one of the 10 incumbent congresswomen who ran for re-election.

Only Rep. Louise Day Hicks, 50, D-Mass., was in trouble as late election returns were counted. She was trailing Boston city councilman John Joseph Moakley, 4, a Democrat who ran as an independent. Mrs. Hicks campaigned against busing of school pupils.

With Mrs. Hicks, there would be women in the House.

One of the women, Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan, D-Mo., is in line for chairmanship of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and will be only the third woman to serve as a House committee chairman. Rep. Sullivan was elected to her 11th term Tuesday and is the dean of congresswomen.

Female newcomers to the House include two black lawyer-legislators, California assemblywoman Yvonne Brathwaite, 39, of Los Angeles, who was vice chairman of the Democratic National Convention, and Texas State Sen. Barbara Jordan, 3, of Houston.

There will be three black women congresswomen, all Democrats, in the 93rd Congress, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, D-N.Y., the first, was re-elected to a second term.

The other new congresswomen are Brooklyn lawyer Elizabeth Holtzman, 31, Democrat; Maryland lawyer and Circuit Court Clerk Marjorie Holt, 51, Republican, and Patricia Schroeder, 32, Democrat, a Colorado lawyer and a founder of the Women's Political Caucus in Colorado.

Altogether, 67 women ran for Congress in 24 states, most of them from minor parties. And most went down to defeat.

Among incumbents, Rep. Bella Abzug, D-N.Y., succeeded in gaining a second term, defeating Patricia Ryan, widow of Rep. William F. Ryan.

Mrs. Ryan, 43, had made an issue of 40-year-old lawyer Abzug's activist style, contending she alienated powerful legislators, Mrs. Abzug piled up 4,580 votes to Mrs. Ryan's 47, 28,

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WASHINGTON Congress-Women AO62WX take Two: 47,528. 380

The most surprising defeat was that of silver-haired Sen. Smith, whose age and health were underlying issues in her try for a fifth term.

She was beaten by Rep. William D. Hathaway, 48, who gave up a House seat he held eight years.

Hathaway, a Harvard graduate, was thought not to have much chance against Mrs. Smith because she had built up a political and sentimental constituency through the years in her home state. She always had won big.

The loss means the Senate will have no woman member for the first time since '94.

The other current woman senator, Elaine S. Edwards, D-La., who had been appointed to fill the vacancy after the death last summer of Sen. Allen Ellender, D-La., did

not run for a full

The only other major-party candidate for the Senate, West Virginia Republican State S

The other current woman senator, Elaine S. Edwards, D-La., who had been appointed to fill the vacancy after the death last summer of Sen. Allen Ellender, D-La., did not run for a full term.

The only other major-party candidate for the Senate, West Virginia Republican State Sen. Louise Leonard,

3, was easily defeated by Sen. Jennings Randolph.

The Republicans will have two women in the House, Mrs. Holt of Maryland and Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, who was unopposed for a fourth term.

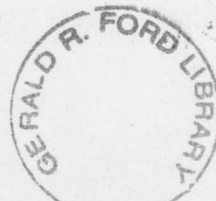
Democrats picked up four new seats for a House total of at least 12. It would be 3 with Mrs. Hicks.

Democratic incumbents re-elected are: Reps. Ella Grasso of Connecticut, Patsy Mink of Hawaii, Martha Griffiths of Michigan, Shirley Chisholm and Bella Abzug of New York, Leonor K. Sullivan of Missouri, Edith Green of Oregon and Julia Butler Hansen of Washington.

In winning her upset victory in Colorado, Mrs. Schroeder beat freshman Republican Rep. James D. McKeivitt. She campaigned in Colorado's 1st District on environmental, domestic and congressional-reform issues, and will be Colorado's first woman in Congress.

Mrs. Holtzman had little difficulty in her race in Brooklyn's 16th District after she upset veteran Rep. Emanuel Celler in the primary. She's a Radcliffe and Harvard Law School graduate and worked as an assistant to New York Mayor John Lindsay.

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Minority Candidates 400, two takes 500
By BOB GREENE
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON JAP - The Congressional Black Caucus gained more political clout in Tuesday's election as at least 12 of the 3 incumbents and three newcomers captured seats in the 93rd Congress.

The biggest surprise victory was in Georgia's 5th District where Andrew Young, a former aide to the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., defeated Republican Rodney M. Cook to become the first black from the Deep South elected to the House since 1901.

Young, executive vice president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, won in a district that includes most of Atlanta and several affluent and predominantly white suburbs.

In California's 7th District, Rep. Ronald V. Dellums, Democrat, was in a close race with Republican Peter Hannaford.

The other newcomers are Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of Los Angeles, who was vice chairman of the '73 Democratic National Convention, and Barbara Jordan of Houston, president pro tempore of the Texas Senate. Their election, along with the re-election of Rep. Shirley Chisholm, D-N.Y., raises to three the number of black women in the House.

Among the black incumbents returned to office was Michigan's Charles Diggs, who is expected to chair the House District of Columbia Committee.

The only successful black Republican in Tuesday's congressional election was Massachusetts' Edward Brooke, who easily won his bid to return to the Senate.

Two other black Senate hopefuls—John LeFlore of Alabama and Thomas Dennis of Michigan, both minority-party candidates—were soundly beaten.

Like blacks, Spanish-surnamed incumbents had little trouble retaining their seats.

In Texas, Ramsey Muniz of the La Raza Unida party, while never threatening to win, threw the gubernatorial race into a virtual deadlock.

Republican Henry Grover and Democrat Dolph Briscoe battled neck and neck throughout the night with the lead changing virtually with every report. Muniz won five per cent of the vote.

Black Caucus members winning re-election were Augustus F. Hawkins, California; Walter E. Fauntroy, District of Columbia; Ralph Metcalfe and George Collins, Illinois; Parren Mitchell, Maryland; John Conyers and Diggs, Michigan; William Clay, Missouri; Shirley Chisholm and Charles Rangel, New York; Louis Stokes, Ohio, and Robert Nix, Pennsylvania.

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WASHINGTON Minority Candidates A064WX take two: Pennsylvania, 100 Spanish-surnamed incumbents who held on to their seats include Henry Gonzales, D-Tex.; Eligio de laGarza, D-Tex.; Edward Roybal, D-Calif.; Manuel Lujan, R-N.M., and Herman Badillo, D-N.Y.

Black hopes for victory in Tennessee were dashed when Republican Rep. Dan Kuykendall turned back a bid by Democratic state Sen. J. O. Patterson Jr.

Kuykendall captured the all-Memphis 8th District, which was realigned by a Democratic legislature in an effort to defeat the Republican incumbent.

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Begich-Boggs 80
WASHINGTON JAP - Reps. Nicholas Begich, D-Alaska, and Hale Boggs, D-La., missing for more than three weeks since their light plane disappeared in Alaska, won re-election Tuesday.

Begich won a second term as Alaska's only House member over Republican Donald E. Young. Boggs, the House Democratic leader, was unopposed for his seat in the New Orleans District.

Boggs' majority-leader role will have to be filled, at least on a temporary basis, when the 93rd Congress begins in January. But until the two are finally declared lost, their congressional seats will remain empty.

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Michigan Election 340
By HUGH MORGAN

Associated Press Writer

DETROIT AP - Republican Senate whip Robert Griffin rode a surge of antibusing sentiment and popularity for President Nixon to victory over Democratic challenger Frank Kelley in the Michigan U.S. Senate race today.

President Nixon, picking up strong support from Detroit suburbs where busing for racial balance is a hot issue and from throughout outstate Michigan, seized Michigan's 21 electoral votes.

With 84 per cent of the precincts reporting, Griffin had 1,495,308 or 2 per cent of the vote. Kelley had 1,39, ' or 47 per cent of the vote, with minor party candidates getting one per cent.

With 84 per cent of the precincts reporting, Nixon had ,659, 30 votes to ,557, 76 for Sen. George McGovern. American Independent candidate John Schmitz had 43,833 votes in a state captured by Alabama Gov. George Wallace in the Democratic presidential preference primary in May.

The state's congressional lineup of 2 Republicans and 7 Democrats seemed likely to hold. All 18 incumbents were leading. One seat in the Detroit suburbs had no incumbent.

House Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Grand Rapids easily won re-election, turning back the same Democratic challenger he beat in 1978, Grand Rapids attorney Jean McKee.

Michigan voters approved putting the state on Daylight Saving Time during the warm weather months. However, statewide referendums to liberalize abortions, to remove property taxes as a central means of supporting schools, and to remove the constitutional ban on graduated statewide income taxes failed.

Busing became a volatile issue in Michigan when U.S. District Court Judge Stephen Roth ordered cross-district busing between heavily black Detroit and 52 suburbs. The order was stayed pending an appeal.

Griffin, who turned 49 Monday, hit hard on the busing issue during his campaign, noting he had sponsored in the Senate a proposed amendment outlawing busing.

Kelley, who is the state's attorney general, also argued against busing, saying his appeal was what got the court order on busing delayed.

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CONGRESS 11-8

DAY LD

BY FRANK ELEAZER

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- FIGHTING OFF A FLOOD OF REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL BALLOTS, DEMOCRATS EARLY TODAY NAILED DOWN CONTINUED FIRM CONTROL OF CONGRESS.

PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO HAD HOPED THAT VOTERS IN HANDING HIM A HISTORIC ENDORSEMENT WOULD SLAP A GOP LABEL ON THE SENATE AND POSSIBLY ALSO THE HOUSE, INSTEAD SAW FOUR OF HIS SENATE STALWARTS TURNED OUT AND THE CHAMBER'S DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY STRENGTHENED.

IN TUESDAY'S VOTING REPUBLICANS MADE GAINS IN THE HOUSE BUT ALSO TOOK LOSSES, WITH A NET PICKUP OF ONLY 25 PER CENT OF THE SEATS THEY NEEDED TO TAKE CHARGE.

WITH SOME RACES NOT FINALLY SETTLED, IT APPEARED THE MAKEUP OF THE 93RD CONGRESS, CONVENING JAN. 3, WILL BE:

SENATE -- (CURRENTLY 54-43).

HOUSE -- 244 DEMOCRATS, 191 REPUBLICANS. (CURRENTLY 256-179).

L. CHAIRMAN SCOTT (D-ARK.) AVOIDED

MENTION OF UNDERDOG PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE GEORGE MCGOVERN, REPUBLICANS HAD RELIED HEAVILY ON NIXON'S COATTAILS TO HELP CARRY THEM IN.

BUT SO FAR AS MOST OF THEM WERE CONCERNED, NIXON MIGHT AS WELL HAVE CAMPAIGNED IN SHIRTSLEEVES. TICKET-SPLITTING, NOT COATTAILING, WAS THE ORDER OF ELECTION DAY.

FICKLE VOTERS IN COLORADO, MAINE, IOWA AND DELAWARE, WHILE VOTING OVERWHELMINGLY TO GIVE NIXON ANOTHER FOUR YEARS, REFUSED TO GIVE ANOTHER SIX TO REPUBLICAN SENS. GORDON ALLOTT, MARGARET CHASE SMITH, JACK MILLER, AND CALEB BOGGS. ALL ARE LOYAL NIXON SUPPORTERS. ALLOTT AND MRS. SMITH, FURTHERMORE, -- 43 0-45 9 5-3 ENATE GOP LEADERSHIP TEAM.

IN KENTUCKY AND SOUTH DAKOTA, WHERE REPUBLICAN SENATORS WERE RETIRING, ELECTORS IGNORED NIXON'S PLEAS AND REPLACED THEM WITH DEMOCRATS.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LEDGER -- AND HERE PRESIDENTIAL COATTAILS APPARENTLY HELPED -- VIRGINIANS RETIRED MODERATE DEMOCRATIC SEN. WILLIAM SHONG AND VOTED IN CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN REP. WILLIAM SCOTT. SENATE SEATS BEING VACATED BY DEMOCRATS FROM OKLAHOMA AND NEW MEXICO WERE FILLED BY REPUBLICANS -- EX-GOV. DEWEY F. BARTLETT AND ALBUQUERQUE LAWYER PETE V. DOMENICI. AND IN NORTH CAROLINA REP. NICK GALIFIANAKIS, WHO BEAT INCUMBENT SEN. B. EVERETT JORDAN IN THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, LOST A CLOSE ONE TO CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN BROADCASTER JESSE A. HELMS.

IN THE HOUSE, REPUBLICANS GRABBED SCATTERED DEMOCRATIC SEATS FROM NEW YORK TO NEVADA, WHILE DEMOCRATS STOLE REPUBLICAN SEATS (ON A SMALLER SCALE) FROM FLORIDA TO CALIFORNIA. FEW INCUMBENTS WERE DEFEATED.

REPUBLICANS CAME OUT AHEAD -- BUT BY NOWHERE NEAR ENOUGH SEATS TO TAKE CONTROL EITHER DIRECTLY OR, AS GOP LEADERS HAVE HINTED THEY MIGHT, BY SUBVERSION OF DISSIDENT DEMOCRATS WHO MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO CROSS THE AISLE WHEN THE NEW CONGRESS CONVENES.

ALL HOUSE LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES WERE RE-ELECTED, INCLUDING REP. HALE BOGGS OF LOUISIANA, THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER WHO HAS BEEN MISSING ON AN ALABAMA CAMPAIGN PLANE TRIP SINCE OCT. 16 WITH ATASKA REP. NICK BEGICH. BEGICH ALSO WAS RE-ELECTED. IF THE TWO ARE NOT FOUND SOON, SPECIAL ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD TO REPLACE THEM AND HOUSE DEMOCRATS WILL PICK A NEW LEADER.

AMONG TUESDAY'S HOUSE WINNERS WERE REPS. PAUL N. (PETE) MCCLOSKEY, R-C

LIF., AND JOHN ASHBROOK, R-OHIO, WHO HAD CONTESTED NIXON'S RENOMINATION FROM THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT; AND REPS. WILBUR D. MILLS, D-ARK., AND SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, D-N.Y., WHO WANTED THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION BUT IN THE END SUPPORTED MCGOVERN.

REP. BELLA ABZUG, THE HAT-WEARING TOUGH-TALKING DEMOCRAT FROM NEW YORK, ONCE COUNTED OUT BY REDISTRICTING, IS BACK FOR A SECOND TERM. LOUISE DAY HICKS, THE ORIGINAL ANTI-BUSER FROM BOSTON, IS NOT.

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CONGRESS 11-8

1ST ADD DAY LD CONGRESE WASHINGTON 082A XXX IS NOT.

REP. WILLIAM ANDERSON, D-TENN., WHO ONCE DEFENDED THE BERRIGAN BROTHERS AND CRITICIZED J. EDGAR HOOVER, PAID THE PRICE TO REPUBLICAN ROBIN L. BEARD. REP. FRED SCHWENGEL, R-IOWA, UNOFFICIAL HISTORIAN OF THE CONGRESS, LOST TO DEMOCRAT EDWARD MEZVINSKY.

AMONG THE BIG CROP OF FRESHMAN HOUSE MEMBERS WILL BE THREE FROM NENT BLACKS, ALL DEMOCRATS: BARBARA JORDAN OF HOUSTON, ANDREW YOUNG OF ATLANTA, AND YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE OF LOS ANGELES, THE LATTER OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION FAME.

ELECTION DAY'S BIG UPSETS CAME IN THE SENATE, WHERE REPUBLICANS ALLOTT, BOGGS, AND MILLER HAD UNTIL RECENTLY BEEN CONSIDERED SHOO-INS, AND WHERE FRESHMAN DEMOCRAT SPONG ORIGINALLY HAD BEEN SEEN AS A COMER. MAINE'S MRS. SMITH, 74, HAD BEEN AROUND SO LONG SHE WAS VIEWED AS A FIXTURE, A POINT THAT WAE USED AGAINST HER BY DEMOCRATIC REP. WILLIAM HATHAWAY, WHO IS 48.

ALLOTT, 65-YEAR-OLD CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE GOP POLICY COMMITTEE, WAS TOPPLED BY DEMOCRAT FLOYD HASKELL, A TAX ATTORNEY WHO OPPOSED BRINGING THE 1976 WINTER OLYMPICS TO NOLORADO, WHILE ALLOTT SUPPORTED IT.

BOGGS, 63, WAS TAKEN BY DEMOCRAT JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR., WHO IS 29 AND WILL MAKE IT TO THE REQUISITE 30 JUST IN TIME TO TAKE BOGGS' SENATE SEAT IN JANUARY.

DICK CLARK GOT THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION TO OPPOSE SEN. MILLER ALMOST BY DEFAULT WHEN HIS BOSS, REP. JOHN C. CULVER, DECIDED MILLER COULDN'T BE BEATEN. CLARK BEAT HIM BY WALKING ALL OVER IOWA.

OF THE SENATE'S 100 SEATS, 33 WERE UP FOR ELECTION THIS TIME. WINNERS INCLUDED SEN. JOHN SPARKMAN, D-ALA.; TED STEVENS, R-ALASKA; JOHN LOM MCCLELLAN, D-ARK.; CHARLES H. PERCY, R-ILL.; JAMES B. ~~OKERSEN~~ ~~WISSE~~ ~~KAROBERT~~ ~~WARD~~ ~~CHIFBIN~~, R-MICH.; WALTER F. MONDALE, D-MINN.; JAMES O. EASTLAND, D-MISS.;

LEE METCALF, D-MONT.; CARL T. CURTIS, R-NEB.; THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, D-N.H.; CLIFFORD P. CASE, R-NGMJ.; MARK HATFIELD, R-ORE.; CLAI BORNE PELL, D-R.I.; STROM TTURNER, R-S.C.; HOWARD HOM BAKER, R-TENN.; JOHN G. TOWER, R-TEX.; JENNINGS RANDOLPH, D-W.VA.; AND CLIFFORD P. HANSEN, R-WYO.

HOUSE MEMBERS ELECTED TO THE SENATE, IN ADDITION TO HATHAWAY AND SCOTT, WERE REPS.; AMES A. MCCLURE, R-IDAHO AND JAMES ADOUREZK, D-S.D. OTHER SENATE NEWCOMERS ARE DEMOCRATS SAM NUNN OF GEORGIA, WADFER "DEE" H DDLESTON OF KENTUCKY AND J. BENNETT JOHNSTON J LOUISIANA9

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WALLACE 11-8

BY BESSIE FORD

MONTGOMERY, ALA. (UPI)--GOV. GEORGE WALLACE REMINDED DEMOCRATS TUESDAY NIGHT THAT HE HAD PREDICTED DISASTER FOR A PRESIDENTIAL TICKET HEADED BY GEORGE MCGOVERN.

"I WARNED THEM AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION THEY WERE GOING TO LOSE THE ELECTION. THE PREDICTION I MADE HAS COME TRUE. I WANT TO SEE THE PARTY TAKEN BACK AND GIVEN BACK TO THE AVERAGE MAN."

WEARING A GRAY SUIT, WALLACE TWIRLED HIS BLACK-RIMMED SPECTACLES BETWEEN A THUMB AND FOREFINGER AND SAID HE WANTED TO REMAIN ACTIVE. ONE HAND OFTEN STRAYING TO THE RIGHT SIDE OF HIS ABDOMEN WHERE BULLETS FROM AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ENTERED HIS BODY AND LEFT HIM PARALYZED FROM THE WAIST DOWN.

"THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE PEOPLE WILL COME BACK," THE GOVERNOR SAID. HE ADDED AT ANOTHER POINT, "I'M GOING TO BE INVOLVED IN IT."

THERE WERE INDICATIONS THAT NIXON WAS THE RECIPIENT OF THE HUGE MAJORITY OF THE WALLACE SUPPORT. WALLACE, AS A THIRD PARTY CANDIDATE IN 1968, POLLED 9.9 MILLION VOTES. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NIXON AND MCGOVERN TUESDAY APPEARED TO BE ABOUT 16 MILLION VOTES. IT MOST CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE BEEN A CLOSER ELECTION HAD WALLACE NOT BEEN WOUNDED AND CONTINUED HIS CAMPAIGN.

HE REFUSED TO COMMIT HIMSELF FOR 1976.

"IF I DECIDE TO GET INVOLVED IN 1976, THAT'S FOUR YEARS FROM NOW WALLACE SAID. HE CALLED SEN. EDWARD KENNEDY OF MASSACHUSETTS "A FINE

N," BUT ADDED "HE'S ASSOCIATED WITH THE LIBERAL WING."

WALLACE SAID HE HAD THE GREATEST RESPECT FOR MCGOVERN.

"THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM CERTAINLY HURT MR. MCGOVERN," SAID WALLACE. "IF HIS FOLLOWERS HAD ADOPTED A DIFFERENT PLATFORM IN MAMI HIS CHANCES WOULD HAVE COME OUT MUCH BETTER."

"IT (THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY) WILL COME BACK WITH THOSE REPRESENTING THE VIEWS I REPRESENTED," THE GOVERNOR SAID.

"THE AVERAGE CITIZEN WHO USED TO BE IN CONTROL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS GOING TO TAKE CONTROL AGAIN," HE SAID.

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SEATO 200

RAWALPINDI 3AP -- Pakistan quit the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization today, leaving Thailand and the Philippines the only Asian members of the alliance John Foster Dulles put together in 1954 as a barrier to Communist China's expansion to the south.

A government announcement said the withdrawal fulfilled a campaign pledge of President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Bhutto during his presidential campaign also pledged to withdraw from the Central Treaty Organization, or Cento, another anti-Communist Dulles creation. Recently, however, he has indicated he planned to stay in this one in hopes that will get him arms from the United States and Iran.

Pakistan had been inactive in SEATO since Bhutto as foreign minister developed close relations with Communist China in the early 1960s and the United States and Britain aided India in its 1962 war with China.

France also has been inactive in SEATO for years, leaving the United States, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Britain the active members.

In another major foreign policy move, the Pakistani government announced formal recognition of North Vietnam on Tuesday.

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Indians 290

WASHINGTON AP -- White House aides have agreed to set up a task force to review Indian needs, but it was uncertain whether the pact would prompt protesting Indians to hand back a federal building.

The Indians, who came to Washington to protest government policies, have held the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building since last Thursday and lately have tightened their security around the building.

White House aides Leonard Garment and Frank Carlucci and Indian negotiator Hank Adams signed the agreement Tuesday night after about six hours of negotiations.

White House spokesman Neal Ball said after the signing that the Indians "expressed to the White House their intention to leave the building by 9 a.m. today.

But Vernon Bellecourt, of the American Indian Movement, said that despite the agreement, the building would not be vacated until the government acts on the issues that brought the Indians to Washington.

The Indians have demanded, among other things, that treaties be respected, that the BIA be abolished, and--in apparent contradiction--that \$50 million be restored to the BIA budget.

Tuesday's negotiating session was scheduled after a U.S. District Court ordered the federal government to oust the Indians. The ouster was delayed until 9 p.m. this evening by the U.S. Circuit Court.

Under the agreement signed Tuesday night, the task force is to be headed by Garment, special consultant to the President, and Carlucci, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget.

The task force, to exist for six months, is to review federal policy on Indians and their needs. The body is to be composed of officers of all agencies dealing with Indians, and is to consult Indian representatives on a continuing basis.

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INDIANS 11-8

DAY ID

BY ALAN SHEARER

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- HUNDREDS OF AMERICAN INDIANS AGREED TO END TODAY THEIR WEEK-LONG OCCUPATION OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN RETURN FOR CREATION OF A FEDERAL TASK FORCE TO STUDY INDIAN PROBLEMS. "MOST OF THE PEOPLE WANT TO GO HOME NOW," SAID A PROTESTER WHO DECLINED TO GIVE HIS NAME.

THE 12-MEMBER TASK FORCE WAS AGREED TO IN 6-1/2 HOURS OF NEGOTIATIONS THAT BEGAN MONDAY NIGHT AND EXTENDED INTO THE EARLY HOURS OF TUESDAY. FINAL ARRANGEMENTS WERE COMPLETED TUESDAY NIGHT AND THE INDIANS, WHO SEIZED THE BIA LAST THURSDAY, AGREED TO LEAVE BY 9 A.M. EST.

LEONARD GARMENT, A WHITE HOUSE CONSULTANT WHO HEADED THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION, SAID THE TASK FORCE WOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES WHICH DEAL WITH INDIAN AFFAIRS. INDIAN LEADERS SAID FIVE OF THE MEMBERS WOULD BE INDIANS.

IN THE 20 HOURS BEFORE THE AGREEMENT WAS ANNOUNCED, THE INDIANS RELAXED THEIR GRIP ON THE BIA AND STARTED LEAVING FOR HOME IN SMALL GROUPS. AT THE DEMONSTRATION'S PEAK, AN ESTIMATED 500 INDIANS OCCUPIED THE BUILDINGROUND-THE-CLOCK PREVENTING ACCESS BY WORKERS.

SOME OF THE DEMONSTRATORS WERE ARMED WITH WEAPONS MADE FROM BROKEN FURNITURE AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT.

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT SOUGHT FEDERAL COURT AUTHORITY TO EVICT THE INDIANS, BUT FIRST THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT AND THEN THE U.S. APPEALS COURT DELAYED DEADLINES FOR THE INDIANS TO LEAVE. THE DEMONSTRATORS WERE UNDER A FINAL ORDER, HOWEVER, TO CLEAR THE BIA BY TONIGHT.

AS THE NEGOTIATIONS MOVED TOWARD CONCLUSION, THE INDIANS TOOK DOWN NEARLY ALL THE BARRICADES THEY HAD ERECTED IN FRONT OF THE BUILDING AND DOZENS OF PROTESTERS COULD BE SEEN LEAVING QUIETLY THROUGH SIDE AND REAR DOORS.

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