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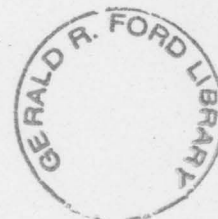
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HERB KLEIN  
MR. KEN CLAWSON

FROM: STANLEY SCOTT 



Black newspapers nationwide departed from tradition during the 1972 Presidential election by not overwhelmingly endorsing the Democratic candidate.

Most black papers did not endorse either candidate, however, President Nixon's re-election bid was endorsed by 30 percent of the 70 papers endorsing candidates. This represents a dramatic increase in the four percent of black papers endorsing Richard Nixon in 1968.

There are 214 black newspapers published nationwide. Only two are dailies. The Atlanta Daily World endorsed President Nixon. The Chicago Daily Defender, a traditional Democratic paper, refused to endorse either Presidential candidate. But at the same time, the Defender gave its endorsement to three Republican contenders: Sen. Charles Percy, Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie and Bernard Carey, who successfully defeated the Democratic incumbent for States Attorney.

All available information shows that about 35 percent of all black papers leaned editorially toward supporting the President. Among the accomplishments most frequently cited were: The Office of Minority Business Enterprise, and aid to minority businesses, grants for Sickle Cell Anemia studies, increased deposits in black banks, meaningful appointments of blacks to policy-making positions, and funds for drug abuse programs.

It is especially significant to note that about 92 percent of all black newspapers are owned by black Democrats, many of whom are actively involved in the local or state Democratic party organization. Although most of these publications refused to translate to its readership the Administration's initiatives during the first two years,

a noteworthy change occurred during the two years prior to the election.

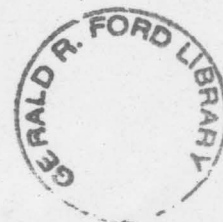
Blacks were encouraged to split their ticket, and all indicators point toward wide use of this practice within the black community this year.

Typical comments of some of the Black newspapers making endorsements follows:

"Those who were looking to Mr. Nixon for words that soothed the heart and salved the ego, but did absolutely nothing for the pocketbook have received a real jolt. We hope it awakened them from the dream through which they have slept so long. President Nixon has been a President of deeds not disdain."

Chicago South Suburban News, 11/4/72

Attachments



BLACK PUBLICATIONS ENDORSING PRESIDENT

Alabama

Birmingham Mirror  
Birmingham World

Arizona

Arizona Tribune

California

Oakland Post  
Berkeley Post  
Richmond Post  
San Francisco Post  
Seaside Post  
Compton Metropolitan Gazette

District of Columbia

New Observer

Florida

Tallahassee News

Georgia

Atlanta Daily World  
Thomasville News

Illinois

Chicago Gazette  
Chicago So. Suburban News

New York

Buffalo Criterion

Ohio

Cincinnati Call and Post  
Cleveland Call and Post  
Columbus Call and Post

Tennessee

Memphis World

Magazine

Black Business Digest

ENDORSEMENTS: 21

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Favorable to the President but did not endorse:

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Tuesday Magazine  
Los Angeles Central News Wave  
\*Chicago Daily Defender

\* Special Note, the managing editor, Louis Martin, worked in the Johnson Administration and is a member of the staff of the Democratic National Committee. The traditional Democratic paper endorsed three Republican candidates including a U.S. Senator, Governor and States Attorney.

FAVORABLE: 3

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Major McGovern Endorsements

District of Columbia

Washington Afro-American

Maryland

Baltimore Afro-American

Missouri

St. Louis Argus

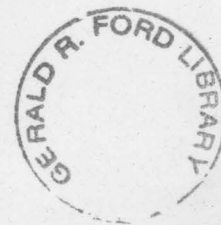
North Carolina

Raleigh Carolinian  
Carolina Peacemaker

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia Tribune

Endorsements for McGovern: 6



# JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES



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NEWS RELEASE

10 November 1972

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For more information, contact:

David Aiken or Ken Colburn  
(202) 638-4477

WASHINGTON, D. C. -- A survey of sample black precincts and wards in 22 major cities shows that George McGovern won about 87 per cent of the black vote while President Richard Nixon received about 13 per cent.

The Center estimates that in 1968 Hubert H. Humphrey won 90 per cent of the black vote and Richard Nixon won 10 per cent, based on an extrapolation of estimates made by a Gallup Poll and by NBC News.

The Center's survey was based on unofficial returns in heavily black election districts.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a private, non-partisan organization which provides research, education and technical assistance to black and other minority group elected officials, and to individuals and organizations representing minority group interests.

According to the Center's survey, the city giving Mr. Nixon the largest share of the black vote this year was Louisville, Ky., with 30 per cent. A 1968 study obtained by the Joint Center showed Mr. Nixon receiving 15 per cent of the vote in black areas of Louisville against Hubert Humphrey.

-more-



ADD ONE BLACK VOTE

The sample areas giving Sen. McGovern the highest percentage of the vote were in Columbia, S.C. (94 per cent), Houston, Texas (93 per cent), and Charlotte, N.C. (93 per cent). In 1968, Humphrey won 98.6 per cent of the black vote in Houston. Comparable figures were not available for the other cities.

Although blacks continued to support the Democratic presidential nominee, the Center noted widespread ticket-splitting in some black areas.

A notable example of this phenomenon was in Chicago, where approximately 55 per cent of the voters in nine sample black wards voted for the Republican candidate for Cook County state's attorney, Bernard Carey. This vote helped defeat Edward Hanrahan, the Democratic incumbent.

Another striking example of ticket-splitting came in Jackson, Miss., where 76 per cent of black voters opposed Democratic incumbent Sen. James O. Eastland, while giving 90 per cent of their votes to George McGovern.

Here are the results for each city:

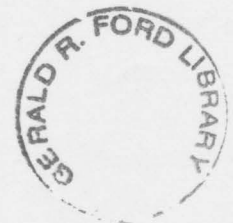
	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Nixon</u>
Boston (27 precincts)	87%	13%
Baltimore (22 precincts)	85%	15%
Charlotte (8 precincts)	93%	7%
Chicago (9 wards)	92%	8%
Columbia, S.C. (5 wards)	94%	6%
Dallas (55 precincts)	89%	11%
Dist. of Col. (3 wards)	89%	11%
Gary, Ind. (4 districts)	89%	11%
Houston (9 precincts)	93%	7%
Jackson, Miss. (8 precincts)	90%	10%



-more-

ADD TWO BLACK VOTE

	<u>McGovern</u>	<u>Nixon</u>
Louisville (4 wards)	70%	30%
Memphis (3 precincts)	86%	14%
Miami (1 precinct)	90%	10%
Milwaukee (28 wards)	90%	10%
Nashville (10 precincts)	85%	15%
New York (9 Assembly Districts)	82%	18%
Newark (2 wards)	86%	14%
Philadelphia (10 wards)	89%	11%
Raleigh (6 precincts)	91%	9%
Richmond (16 precincts)	91%	9%
St. Louis (10 wards)	92%	8%
Winston-Salem (6 precincts)	91%	9%



# JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

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NEWS RELEASE

13 November 1972

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

For more information, call:

David Aiken or Miriam Reid  
(202) 638-4477

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The number of blacks holding seats in state legislatures rose by 23 with the election of 178 black candidates in the November 7 election, a survey by the Joint Center for Political Studies has shown.

There are now 227 black state legislators in 38 states, compared to 204 in 30 states before the election. (These figures do not include Alaska, where races involving two black incumbents were still undecided as of November 13).

Of the 227 legislators, 103 are incumbents re-elected in this month's balloting; 49 are incumbents who hold seats which were not up for contest in this election, and the remaining 75 are blacks who were not in the previous legislatures.

The figures were compiled by the Joint Center's research division, with the aid of a network of JCPS correspondents throughout the country.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a private, non-partisan organization which provides research, education and technical assistance to black and other minority group elected officials and to individuals and organizations representing minority group interests.

According to the Center's survey, blacks were elected in three states-- Arkansas, Minnesota and Oregon--where there were none in the previous legislatures. The three black state representatives and one black state senator elected in

(MORE)

## ADD ONE BLACK LEGISLATORS

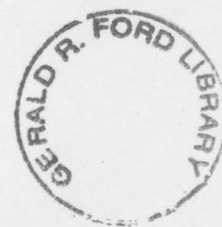
Arkansas are the first black legislators in that state's history.

Other sizeable gains were achieved by blacks in Texas, where there are now nine black representatives compared to only two black representatives and one black senator previously, and in Indiana, with five new black representatives where there were two in the past legislature.

The largest loss of black legislators occurred in Illinois, where redistricting of multi-member house districts contributed to defeat of three incumbents, reducing the number of black representatives from 14 to 11.

The number of black state senators rose from 37 to 43, an increase of six, or 16 percent. In the lower houses, the number of black representatives increased by 17, or ten percent, from 167 to 184 (not including Alaska).

X All but five of the black legislators elected this month are Democrats. Three state representatives and one senator are Republicans, and another senator ran on both Republican and Liberal tickets in New York City. One senator in New York ran on Democratic, Republican and Liberal tickets. There were 51 Republican legislative candidates, 247 Democrats and 13 independents or members of other parties on the November 7 ballot. ✕



## BLACKS IN STATE LEGISLATURES, 1973

Table I: State Senators (Upper House)

	Number of Black Senators		Net Change	Incumbents Re-elected Nov., 1972	
	Prior to Nov. 7, 1972	After Nov. 7, 1972			
Arizona	1	0	-1	0	
Arkansas	0	1	+1	0	
California	1	1	0	1	
Colorado	1	1	0	1	
Connecticut	1	1	0	1	
Delaware	1	1	0	1	
Georgia	2	2	0	2	
Illinois	5	5	0	5	
Indiana	0	1	+1	0	
Kansas	0	1	+1	0	
Kentucky	1	1	--	--	No election <sup>1</sup>
Maryland	4	4	--	--	No election
Michigan	3	3	--	--	No senate election <sup>2</sup>
Minnesota	0	1	+1	0	
Missouri	2	2	0	1	Half of state senate <sup>3</sup>
Nebraska	1	1	0	1	
Nevada	0	1	+1	0	
New Jersey	1	1	--	--	No election
New York	3	4	+1	2	
North Carolina	0	1	+1	0	
Ohio	2	2	0	--	Half state senate



Blacks in State Legislatures  
 Table I, Page 2  
 State Senators (cont'd)

Oklahoma	1	1	0	--	Half state senate
Pennsylvania	2	2	0	2	
Tennessee	2	2	0	1	Half state senate
Texas	1	0	-1	0	
Virginia	1	1	--	--	No election
Washington	1	1	0	--	Half state senate
Wisconsin	0	1	+1	0	
TOTALS	37	43	+6	18	

NOTES:

1. "No election": indicates states where state legislative election were not held on November 7, 1972.
2. No elections for state senate were held on November 7, 1972.
3. "Half state senate": indicates those states having staggered senatorial terms, where either one or none of the black senators' terms expired in 1972.

Data gathered by Research Division, Joint Center for Political Studies



## BLACKS IN STATE LEGISLATURES, 1973

Table II: State Representatives (Lower House)

	Number of State Representatives			Incumbents Re-elected Nov., 1972	
	Prior to Nov. 7, 1972	After Nov. 7, 1972	Net Change		
Alabama	2	2	--	--	No election <sup>1</sup>
Alaska	2	*	*	*	Contests undecided
Arizona	3	2	-1	1	
Arkansas	0	3	+3	0	
California	5	6	+1	4	
Colorado	2	3	+1	0	
Connecticut	5	4	-1	2	
Delaware	2	2	0	1	
Florida	2	3	+1	2	
Georgia	13	13	0	11	
Illinois	14	11	-3	8	
Indiana	2	5	+3	0	
Iowa	1	0	-1	0	
Kansas	3	4	+1	2	
Kentucky	2	2	--	--	No election
Louisiana	8	8	--	<sup>2</sup> 1	No election
Maryland	14	14	--	--	No election
Massachusetts	3	5	+2	1	
Michigan	13	12	-1	11	
Minnesota	0	1	+1	0	
Mississippi	1	1	--	--	No election
Missouri	13	12	-1	7	
Nevada	1	2	+1	0	



Blacks in State Legislatures  
 Table II, Page 2  
 State Representatives (cont'd)

New Jersey	4	4	--	--	No election
New Mexico	1	1	0	1	
New York	9	11	+2	7	
North Carolina	2	3	+1	2	
Ohio	10	9	-1	7	
Oklahoma	5	3	-2	2	
Oregon	0	1	+1	0	
Pennsylvania	9	10	+1	6	
Rhode Island	1	1	0	0	
South Carolina	3	4	+1	1	
Tennessee	6	7	+1	5	
Texas	2	9	+7	0	
Virginia	2	2	--	--	No election
Washington	2	1	-1	1	
West Virginia	1	1	0	1	
Wisconsin	1	2	+1	1	
TOTALS <sup>3</sup>	167	184	17	86 <sup>2</sup>	

NOTES:

1. "No election": indicates states where state house elections were not held on November 7, 1972.
2. Includes one incumbent from Louisiana re-elected February, 1972.
3. Excludes Alaska, in which two incumbents sought re-election. The results of these two races were undetermined as of 13 November 1972.

Nine states have never elected blacks to either house of the state legislature. They are: Hawaii, Idaho, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Vermont.

Prepared by Research Division, Joint Center for Political Studies.



## BLACK STATE LEGISLATORS

Compiled by Research Department,  
Joint Center for Political Studies  
1426 H Street, N. W., Suite 926  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 638-4477

ALASKA --- undecided at press time

State House:

### ARIZONA

State House:

ART HAMILTON	Dist. 22 (Phoenix)	Democrat
LEON THOMPSON (incumb.)	Dist. 23	Democrat

### ARKANSAS

State House:

RICHARD L. MAYS	Dist. 3, Position 1 (L. Rock)	Democrat
Roy James	Dist. 3, Position 1 (L. Rock)	Republican
DR. WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND	Dist. 3, Position 2 (L. Rock)	Democrat
Robert Pruitt	Dist. 3, Position 2 (L. Rock)	Republican
HENRY WILKINS III	Dist. 54, (Pine Bluff)	Democrat
Odis H. Richmond, Sr.	Dist. 54, (Pine Bluff)	Republican

Senate:

DR. JERRY D. JEWELL	Dist. 3 (Little Rock)	Democrat
Sam Sparks	Dist. 3	Republican

### CALIFORNIA

State House:

JOHN MILLER (incumb.)	Dist. 17	Democrat
WILLIE BROWN (incumb.)	Dist. 18	Democrat
BILL GREENE (incumb.)	Dist. 53	Democrat
LEON RALPH (incumb.)	Dist. 55	Democrat
JULIAN C. DIXON	Dist. 63	Democrat
FRANK HOLOMAN	Dist. 65	Democrat

Senate:

MERVYN M. DYMALLY (incumb.)	Dist. 29	Democrat
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### NOTE:

Victorious black candidates in CAPS; black losers in lower case; white opponents not listed.



COLORADO

State House:

MRS. ARIE TAYLOR	Dist. 7 (Denver)	Democrat
WELLINGTON WEBB	Dist. 8 (Denver)	Democrat
FLOYD W. PETTIE	Dist. 17 (Colorado Spings)	Republican

Senate:

GEORGE BROWN (incumb.)	Dist. 3 (Denver)	Democrat
Robert Phillips	Dist. 3	Republican

CONNECTICUT

State House:

ABRAHAM GILES	Dist. 4 Hartford)	Democrat
Paul Ritter	Dist. 4 (Hartford)	Independent

CLYDE BILLINGTON, JR. (incumb.)	Dist. 7 (Hartford)	Democrat
Roy Hales	Dist. 7 (Hartford)	

BRUCE L. MORRIS (incumb.)	Dist. 94 (New Haven)	Democrat
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MARGARET MORTON	Dist. 129 (Bridgeport)	Democrat
Barbara Boyd	Dist. 129 (Bridgeport)	Republican

Senate:

WILBUR SMITH (incumb.)	Dist. 2 (Hartford)	Democrat
Theodore Pryor	Dist. 2 (Hartford)	Republican

DELAWARE

State House:

AMOS B. McCLUNEY, JR.	Dist. 2	Democrat
Lawrence A. Sturgis, Sr.	Dist. 2	Republican

HENRIETTA JOHNSON (incumb.)	Dist. 3	Democrat
Jesse H. Walker	Dist. 3	Republican

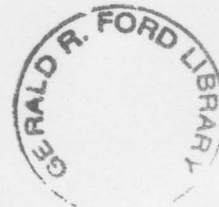
Senate:

HERMAN M. HOLLOWAY, SR. (incumb.)	Dist. 2	Democrat
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FLORIDA

State House:

MARY L. SINGLETON	Dist. 16 (Jacksonville)	Democrat
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FLORIDA (continued)

State House:

JOE L. KERSHAW (incumb.)	Dist. 105 (Miami)	Democrat
GWENDOLYN S. CHERRY (incumb.)	Dist. 106	Democrat

GEORGIA

State House:

E. J. SHEPARD (incumb.)	Dist. 28	Democrat
William Holmes Borders	Dist. 28	Republican
CLARENCE EZZARD (incumb.)	Dist. 29	Democrat
Lewis Frank Beeks	Dist. 29	Republican
Eddie Webster	Dist. 29	Independent
MRS. GRACE T. HAMILTON (incumb.)	Dist. 31	Democrat
JULIAN BOND (incumb.)	Dist. 32	Democrat
J. C. DAUGHERTY (incumb.)	Dist. 33	Democrat
BEN BROWN (incumb. )	Dist. 34	Democrat
Arlon J. Kennedy	Dist. 34	Independent
WILLIAM H. ALEXANDER (incumb.)	Dist. 38	Democrat
JAMES E. DEAN (incumb.)	Dist. 54	Democrat
BETTY CLARK	Dist. 55 (Decatur)	Democrat
RICHARD A. DENT (incumb.)	Dist. 78 (Augusta)	Democrat
JESSE BLACKSPEAR (incumb.)	Dist. 106 (Savannah)	Democrat
BOBBY L. HILL (incumb.)	Dist. 110 (Savannah)	Democrat

Senate:

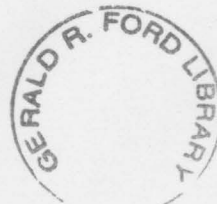
LEORY R. JOHNSON (incumb.)	Dist. 38	Democrat
HORACE T. WARD (incumb.)	Dist. 39	Democrat

ILLINOIS

State House:

ROBERT L. THOMPSON (incumb.)	Dist. 13 (Chicago)	Democrat
RICHARD A. CARTER (incumb.)	Dist. 20 (Chicago)	Democrat
*ISAAC SIMS (incumb.)	Dist. 21 (Chicago)	Democrat
Otis G. Collins (incumb.)	Dist. 21 (Chicago)	Independent
Moses Walker	Dist. 21 (Chicago)	Republican

\*Multi-member district



ILLINOIS (continued)

State House:

*CORNEAL A. DAVIS (incumb.)	Dist. 22 (Chicago)	Democrat
*JAMES McLENDON (incumb.)	Dist. 22 (Chicago)	Democrat
William Stewart	Dist. 22 (Chicago)	Republican
LEWIS A. H. CALDWELL (incumb.)	Dist. 24 (Chicago)	Democrat
*PEGGY SMITH MARTIN	Dist. 26 (Chicago)	Democrat
*HAROLD WASHINGTON	Dist. 26 (Chicago)	Democrat
Maurice Beacham	Dist. 26 (Chicago)	Republican
James C. Taylor (incumb.)	Dist. 26 (Chicago)	Independent
*EUGENE M. BARNES (incumb.)	Dist. 29 (Chicago)	Democrat
*RAYMOND W. EWELL (incumb.)	Dist. 29 (Chicago)	Democrat
*ROBERT H. HOLLOWAY	Dist. 29 (Chicago)	Republican
Elwood Graham (incumb.)	Dist. 29 (Chicago)	Republican

Senate:

FRED J. SMITH (incumb.)	Dist. 22 (Chicago)	Democrat
RICHARD A. NEWHOUSE, JR. (incumb.)	Dist. 24 (Chicago)	Democrat
CECIL A. PARTEE (incumb.)	Dist. 26 (Chicago)	Democrat
*CHARLES CHEW, JR. (incumb.)	Dist. 29 (Chicago)	Democrat
Caleb A. Davis, Jr.	Dist. 29 (Chicago)	Republican
KENNETH HALL (incumb.)	Dist. 57 (E. St. Louis)	Democrat
James Pirtle	Dist. 57 (E. St. Louis)	Republican

INDIANA

State House:

*ROBERT FREELAND	Dist. 5	Democrat
JEWELL G. HARRIS	Dist. 5	Democrat
John I. Campbell	Dist. 5	Republican
Frederick B. Welch	Dist. 5	Republican
*WILLIAM ALEXANDER	Dist. 45	Democrat
*JULIA CARSON	Dist. 45	Democrat
*BILL CRAWFORD	Dist. 45	Democrat
Joe Wynn	Dist. 45	Republican

Senate:

RUDOLPH CLAY	Dist. 3 (Gary)	Democrat
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\*Multi-member district



KANSAS

State House:

JAMES P. DAVIS (incumb.)	Dist. 34 (Kansas City)	Democrat
CLARENCE C. LOVE (incumb.)	Dist. 35 (Kansas City)	Democrat
EUGENE ANDERSON	Dist. 83 (Wichita)	Democrat
THEO CRIBBS	Dist. 89 (Wichita)	Democrat

Senate:

BILLY Q. McCARY	Dist. 29 (Wichita)	Democrat
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MASSACHUSETTS

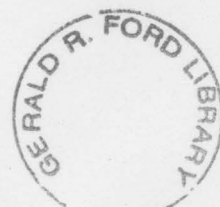
State House:

MELVIN B. KING	Dist. 4 (Suffolk)	Democrat
*ROYAL L. BOLLING, SR. (incumb.)	Dist. 7 (Suffolk)	Democrat
*MRS. DORIS BUNTE	Dist. 7 (Suffolk)	Republican
Agnes E. Moore	Dist. 7 (Suffolk)	Republican
Robert S. White	Dist. 7 (Suffolk)	Republican
*ROYAL L. BOLLING, JR.	Dist. 10 (Suffolk)	Democrat
*WILLIAM OWENS	Dist. 10 (Suffolk)	Democrat
Rodney Brooks	Dist. 10 (Suffolk)	Republican
Mildred L. Riley	Dist. 10 (Suffolk)	Independent
Edward S. Texiera	Dist. 10 (Suffolk)	Communist

MICHIGAN

State House:

ALMA STALLWORTH (incumb.)	Dist. 4 (Detroit)	Democrat
MORRIS HOOD, JR. (incumb.)	Dist. 6 (Detroit)	Democrat
RAYMOND W. HOOD (incumb.)	Dist. 7 (Detroit)	Democrat
DAISY ELLIOTT (incumb.)	Dist. 8 (Detroit)	Democrat
GEORGE EDWARDS (incumb.)	Dist. 9 (Detroit)	Democrat
Erma Zampty	Dist. 9 (Detroit)	Republican
JAMES BRADLEY (incumb.)	Dist. 15 (Detroit)	Democrat
Barbara Warren	Dist. 15 (Detroit)	Republican
MATTHEW McNEELY (incumb.)	Dist. 16 (Detroit)	Democrat
Stanley Tucker	Dist. 16 (Detroit)	Republican
JACKIE VAUGHN III (incumb.)	Dist. 18 (Detroit)	Democrat
MRS. ROSETTA FERGUSON (incumb.)	Dist. 20 (Detroit)	Democrat
Martha S. Williams	Dist. 20 (Detroit)	Republican
DAVID S. HOLMES, JR. (incumb.)	Dist. 21 (Detroit)	Democrat
Jessie M. Ransom	Dist. 21 (Detroit)	Republican
EARL E. NELSON (incumb.)	Dist. 57 (Lansing)	
CHARLIE HARRISON	Dist. 62 (Pontiac)	Democrat



\*Multi-member district

MINNESOTA

State House:

RAMOND PLEASANT (Bloomington) Republican

Senate:

ROBERT LEWIS Dist. 41 Democrat

MISSOURI

State House:

HAROLD L. HOLLIDAY, SR. (incumb.) Dist. 26 (Kansas City) Democrat  
Orchid Nee Jordan (incumb.) Dist. 26 (Kansas City) Democrat  
PHILLIP CURLS Dist. 28 (Kansas City) Democrat  
LEO McKAMEY Dist. 36 (Kansas City) Democrat  
RAYMOND QUARLES Dist. 63 (St. Louis) Democrat  
RUSSELL GOWARD (incumb.) Dist. 65 (St. Louis) Democrat  
Rich Hughes Dist. 65 (St. Louis) Republican  
JOHNNIE AIKEN (incumb.) Dist. 66 (St. Louis) Democrat  
JAMES CARRINGTON Dist. 67 (St. Louis) Democrat  
FRED WILLIAMS (incumb.) Dist. 78 (St. Louis) Democrat  
NATHANIEL RIVERS (incumb.) Dist. 79 (St. Louis) Democrat  
J. B. BANKS (incumb.) Dist. 80 (St. Louis) Democrat  
DE VERNE CALLOWAY (incumb.) Dist. 81 (St. Louis) Democrat  
HAROLD MARTIN Dist. 82 (St. Louis) Democrat

Senate:

RAYMOND HOWARD (incumb.) Dist. 4 Democrat

NEBRASKA

State House

ERNEST CHAMBERS (incumb.) Dist. 11 (Omaha)  
Jim Hart Dist. 11

NEVADA

State House

REV. MARION BENNETT Dist. 6 (Las Vegas) Democrat  
Vettors Atkins Dist. 6 Republican  
CRANFORD CRAWFORD, JR. Dist. 7 Democrat  
Virginia Brooks Dist. 7 Democrat

Senate:

JOE NEAL Dist. 4 Democrat  
Woodrow Wilson (incumb.) Dist. 4 Republican



NEW MEXICO

State House:

LENTON MALRY (incumb.)                      Dist. 18 (Albuquerque)                      Democrat

NEW YORK

State House:

GUY R. BREWER (incumb.)	29th Assembly Dist. (Queens)	Democrat
ED GRIFFITH	40th (Brooklyn)	Democrat
WOODROW LEWIS	53rd (Brooklyn)	Democrat
SAMUEL D. WRIGHT (incumb.)	54th (Brooklyn)	Democrat
THOMAS R. FORTUNE (incumb.)	55th (Brooklyn)	Democrat
CALVIN WILLIAMS (incumb.)	56th (Brooklyn)	Democrat
Albert Vann	56th (Brooklyn)	Independent
JESSE GRAY	70th (Manhattan)	Democrat
Joyce M. Aaron	70th (Manhattan)	Lib
GEORGE MILLER (incumb.)	72nd (Manhattan)	Democrat
MARK SOUTHWALL (incumb.)	74th (Manhattan)	
Shirley Cuevas	74th (Manhattan)	Republican
Edward R. Culvert	74th (Manhattan)	Lib
ESTELLA B. DIGGS	78th (Bronx)	Democrat
ARTHUR O. EVE (incumb.)	143rd (Buffalo)	Democrat

Senate:

VANDER LLOYD BEATTY	18th (Brooklyn)	Democrat
SIDNEY A. VON LUTHER (incumb.)	28th (Manhattan)	Democrat
ROBERT GARCIA	30th	Rep-Lib.
JOSEPH L. GALIBER (incumb.)	32nd	Dem.-Rep.-Lib.

NORTH CAROLINA

State House:

HENRY E. FRYE, (incumb.)	Greensboro	Democrat
JOY J. JOHNSON, (Incumb.)	Fairmont	Democrat
H.M. MICHAUX, JR.	Durham	Democrat

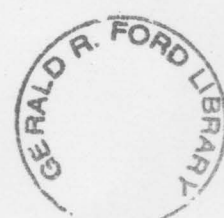
Senate:

ALEXANDER BARNES	Durham	Republican
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OHIO

State House:

TROY LEE JAMES (incumb.)	9th Dist.	Democrat
THOMAS BELL	10th Dist. (Cleveland)	Democrat
IKE THOMPSON, (incumb.)	13th Dist. (Cleveland)	Democrat
Ethel Robinson	13th Dist. (Cleveland)	Republican
JOHN D. THOMPSON (incumb.)	15th Dist.	Democrat
WILLIAM L. MALLORY, (incumb.)	23rd Dist.	Democrat
JAMES W. RANKIN, (incumb.)	25th Dist.	Democrat
Ronald Morgan	25th Dist.	Republican



OHIO (continued)

State House:

PHALE D. HALE, (incumb.)	31st Dist. (Columbus)	Democrat
Lucian Wright	31st Dist. (Columbus)	Republican
C.J. McLIN, JR.	36th Dist. (Dayton)	Democrat
Edgar Ramsey	36th Dist. (Dayton)	Republican
CASEY C. JONES, (incumb.)	45th Dist.	Democrat

OKLAHOMA

State House:

VISANIO A. JOHNSON, (incumb.)	Dist. 99 (Oklahoma City)	Democrat
MRS. HANNAH D. ATKINS (incumb.)	(Oklahoma City)	Democrat
BERNARD McINTYRE,	(Tulsa)	Democrat

OREGON

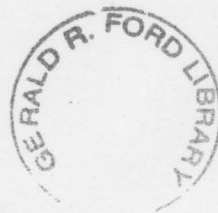
State House:

WILLIAM McCOY	Dist. 15 (Portland)	Democrat
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PENNSYLVANIA

State House:

LEROY K. IRVIS (incumb.)	Dist. 19	Democrat
JOSEPH RHODES, JR.	Dist. 24 (Pittsburgh)	Democrat
Vivian Lane	Dist. 24	Republican
ULYSSES SHELTON, (incumb.)	Dist. 181	Democrat
Willie Mae Dyches	Dist. 181	Republican
EARL VANN, (incumb.)	Dist. 186	Democrat
William H. Black	Dist. 186	Republican
LUCIEN E. BLACKWELL	Dist. 188	Democrat
Margaret Savage	Dist. 188	Republican
JAMES D. BARBER (incumb.)	Dist. 190	Democrat
Roy E. Dixon	Dist. 190	Republican



PENNSYLVANIA (continued)

State House:

HARDY WILLIAMS, (incumb.)	Dist. 191	Democrat
Linwood Williams	Dist. 191	Republican
CHARLES P. HAMMOCK	Dist. 195	Democrat
Herbert Hawkins	Dist. 195	Malcolm X
William Ward	Dist. 195	Republican
JOEL J. JOHNSON (incumb.)	Dist. 197	Democrat
Edwin Griffin	Dist. 197	Republican
DAVID P. RICHARDSON	Dist. 201	Democrat
Pearl L. Frazier	Dist. 201	Republican

Senate:

HERBERT ARLENE, (incumb.)	Dist. 3	Democrat
Henry J. Nimmons	Dist. 3	Republican
Richard Schell	Dist. 3	Malcolm X
FREEMAN HANKINS (incumb.)	Dist. 7	Democrat
James C. Shepard	Dist. 7	Republican

RHODE ISLAND

State House:

PETER J. COELHO (incumb.)	(Providence)	Democrat
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SOUTH CAROLINA

State House:

ROBERT R. WOODS	Charleston Co.	Democrat
HERBERT FIELDING (incumb.)	Charleston Co.	Democrat
ERNEST FINNEY	Sumter Co.	Democrat
B. J. GORDON	Williamsburg Co.	Democrat

TENNESSEE

State House:

HAROLD M. LOVE (incumb.)	Dist. 54 (Nashville)	Democrat
Dorothy Grown	Dist. 54	Independent
Edwin Mitchell	Dist. 54	Independent
CHARLES W. PRUITT, (incumb.)	Dist. 58 (Nashville)	Democrat
HAROLD E. FORD, (incumb.)	Dist. 86 (Memphis)	Democrat
Bernard Roberson	Dist. 86	Republican
IRA MURPHY (incumb.)	Dist. 87 (Shelby Cty.)	Democrat
LOIS DEBERRY	Dist. 91	Democrat
ALVIN M. KING (incumb.)	Dist. 92 (Memphis)	Democrat
Larry Garrett	Dist. 92	Republican
HARPER BREWER	Dist. 98	

Senate:

J. O. PATTERSON	Dist. 8	Democrat
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TEXAS

State House:

SAMUEL W. HUDSON III	Dist. 33C (Dallas)	Democrat
MRS. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON	Dist. 33-0 (Dallas)	Democrat
PAUL RAGSDALE	Dist. 33N (Dallas)	Democrat
G. J. SUTTON	Dist. 57E (San Antonio)	Democrat
Curtis Neal, Jr.	Dist. 57E	Republican
ANTHONY HALL	Dist. 85 (Houston)	Democrat
CRAIG A. WASHINGTON	Dist. 86 (Houston)	Democrat
BEN REYES	Dist. 87 (Houston)	Democrat
MICKY LELAND	Dist. 88 (Houston)	Democrat
MRS. SENFRONIA THOMPSON	Dist. 89 (Houston)	Democrat

WASHINGTON

State House:

PEGGIE JOAN MAXIE (incumb.)	Dist. 37 (Seattle)	Democrat
Harley W. Bird	Dist. 37	Republican
Michael K. Ross, (incumb.)	Dist. 37	Republican

WEST VIRGINIA

State House:

ERNEST C. MOORE, (incumb.)	McDowell County	Democrat
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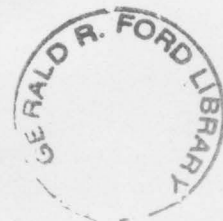
WISCONSIN

State House:

LLOYD A. BARBEE, (incumb.)	Dist. 18 (Milwaukee)	Democrat
WALTER L. WARD, JR.	Dist. 17	Democrat
Arthur L. Gillespie, Jr.	Dist. 17	Republican

Senate:

MONROE SWAN	Dist. 6	Democrat
Arthur J. Myers	Dist. 6	Republican



SPEECH BY LOUIS HARRIS  
President, Louis Harris and Associates  
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, Washington, D.C.  
November 10th, 1972

For Release: 1 PM, November 10th, 1972 -- Not Before

Right at the outset, let me assure the members of the press corps of one thing: I don't expect this to be my last election; in 1976, and before that I suspect, you are still going to have the polls to kick around.

The fact the Harris Survey came out to within .2 of 1 percent of forecasting the Nixon vote last Tuesday does not prove that polls are infallible. It only proves that if you can manage to survive a complete goof in an Oregon Republican primary of 1964, of being 3 points on the wrong side of the British election of 1970, and of being 3 points off in the 1968 election (albeit saying both elections "too close to call"), sooner or later the laws of probability are bound to come your way. I like to think they still owe me a couple.

As I have reiterated many times before in the past, my own view is that it is patent nonsense to pretend that even modern day polling is so precise that it can produce the correct numbers on the head of a pin every time out. We should be able to live within the caveat that polls done correctly should be within 3 or 4 points of the winner's total in 95 out of 100 cases. Any claim to greater accuracy must be labeled as an overclaim that this art-science is more precise than it really is or likely will be.



In any case, that's not what polls are all about, in my opinion. The reason for being of poll-taking is to widen the understanding of what is going on regarding the issues that are the dynamics of a given election. It is you fellows -- not us -- who insist on the numbers in a head-to-head pairing between candidates. And we have to do it so that you will be believers of the in-depth reporting which is the fun and satisfaction of this business. It keeps us both honest, perhaps.

It is perhaps only fitting that this moment of our highest credibility should be used to state as bluntly as I know how some of the problems we face as a profession. *The heart of the polling problem today is that public opinion surveys are taken seriously, not only by candidates for high office, not only by important men in the seats of power in Washington and elsewhere in America, but also by the ruling groups in Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi, among other.*

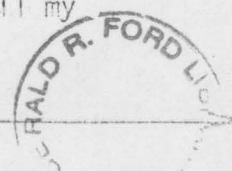
I hope keenly that poll results are taken as an accurate gauge of what public opinion is, rather than as a lode star for a leader to slavishly follow. A great leader can turn public opinion around -- and poll results will follow. And this is a time for that kind of leadership. For there has never been a time when trust of leadership in all phases of American life was lower and the yearning of the people greater for new and creative leadership.



But, precisely because polls are taken seriously, it is utterly necessary for polls that are reported in the public media to be properly conducted and fully reported. The keys to this problem are two-fold: first, to have the media apply much more stringent criteria on the quality of polls reported and only to report the full findings of those known to be conducted in sound and responsible ways; and second, to demand of the poll-takers themselves a policy of full disclosure.

I have taken an unalterable position against Congressional legislation regulating polls and so testified recently before the Nedzi Committee. My view is that such regulation, however much I might not object to the initial legislation, will inevitably lead to regulation of freedom of inquiry itself, involving the whole spectrum of the media.

However, by taking such a position, I place upon myself and my colleagues in our field a deep responsibility to engage in a practice of full disclosure. In line with these views, I am therefore voluntarily sending a master copy of our final computer print-outs, copies of the questionnaire, and a description of the methods used in weighting and sampling our Presidential pairings to the Library of Congress, not only for the 1972 but also for the 1968 Presidential elections. I intend to do the same in 1976. With this act, I would hope that our results will then be open to anyone who cares to inspect and analyze just how we go about making our final assessment. I would hope that all my colleagues whose polls have been published in the media will follow suit.

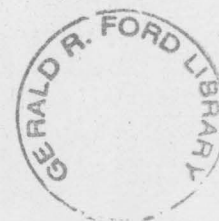


We have nothing to hide -- but we do not accept that it is the proper role of government authority to regulate any phase of the reporting process.

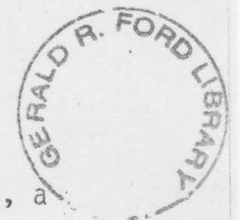
Of course, I have long felt that if the only value of polls were their ability to properly forecast who would win or lose in an election, I would long ago have abandoned this profession. In their own wisdom, the American people are no doubt wholly competent to make their own electoral decision without the help of the likes of me or my colleagues in polling. Possibly, perish the thought, even without the help of all members of the National Press Club.

If we poll-takers have a contribution to make, it is in digging as far as we can below the surface preferences and reporting how the American people went about making their great decision of this past week, what the shape of a mandate might be, if indeed there is such a thing as a mandate, and what all of the crosscurrents of the balloting and ticket-splitting might portend for the future in our politics.

Let me begin with some basic facts of political life as they largely existed before the political campaign of 1972 even began and as they have not changed now that it is all over:



Fact #1: Although an incumbent President has been re-elected by a landslide proportion, over four in ten of the American people 18 years of age and over feel alienated from the leadership of U.S. institutions, public and private. Since 1966, alienation among our population has jumped dramatically. Let me give you some specifics: the number who agree with the statement - quote "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" unquote - has risen sharply from 48% in 1966 to 61% just this past week; those who agree that - quote "what you think doesn't count much" unquote - has grown from 39 to 53%, a majority; the number who think - quote "people running the country don't care what happens to people such as yourself" unquote - is up from 28 to 50% in 6 years; and those who - quote "feel left out of things around me" unquote - up from 9 to 22% over the same period.



There is a kind of bottom line to this sense of alienation: by 52-37%, a majority thinks living in this country is worse than it was 10 years ago.

Fact #2: The focus of this alienation is not nearly so much directed against such often reported targets as protesting, young, militant blacks, or hippies on drugs, or long-hairs who use profanity, but rather the dead aim target can best be described as the Establishment, the people running the dominant institutions in this country. Recently, when we asked a cross section of voters if they had to choose between a crackdown on youthful protesters and militant blacks or a crackdown on big business polluters of the air and water, by 58-30%, a sizable majority vented their wrath on industrial polluters.

Here is a roll call of just how much the establishment -- both public and private -- has fallen from grace in the past six years: leaders of labor unions, never highly regarded, have dropped from 22 to 15% who have a great deal of confidence in them; the media, down from 29 to 18%; the U.S. Supreme Court was 51%, but has fallen to 28%; the executive branch of the federal government, down from 41 to 27%; Congress, down from 41 to 21%; military leaders, a precipitous drop from 62 to 35%; businessmen have fallen from 58% all the way to 27%; scientists from 56 to 37%; and educators from 61 to 33%.

The clear warning from these results is that unless the quality of life in this country improves, the people themselves are fully prepared to turn the rascals out who are sitting in the seats of power -- both in the public and private sectors.

Fact #3: But even more fundamental shifts have taken place in the make up of our electorate since 1968 than during any comparable four-year period in modern political history. One group of voters, which has received more than its share of attention, tends to be increasingly resistant to change. They are particularly upset by issues such as busing school children to achieve racial balance; they are bitterly opposed to granting amnesty to draft evaders who left the country; they are opposed to easing penalties for possession of marijuana, and they tend to feel that judges and others in the system of law enforcement have been too permissive.



Among those groups who feel most strongly on such issues are persons over 50 years of age, union members, those whose education did not go beyond the eighth grade, residents of small towns, and those with incomes between \$5000 and \$10,000.

This group has been called Middle America, at times the Silent Majority.

Yet the singular mark of each of these groups is that their numbers are shrinking

as a proportion of the electorate. Older people were 43% of the voters in 1968, but made up no more than an estimated 38% in last Tuesday's voting, a drop of 5 points.

Those whose education never went beyond the eighth grade dropped from 19% of the electorate in 1968 to 13% this year, a fall-off of 6 points. The union member vote decreased from 23 to 18%, off 5 points. Residents of small towns were 22% of all the voters in 1968, but now are no more than 14%, a drop of 8 points. People with incomes of \$5000-\$10,000 were 43% of the electorate, but last Tuesday made up no more than 33%, a shrinkage of 10 points.

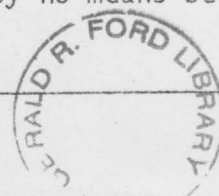
Taken as a whole, these groups which might be called the stand-pat or anti-change coalition were roughly 55% of the electorate in 1968, but by 1972 accounted for no more than an even half - 50%.



Quite a different group of voters can be found among those under 30 years of age, those who call themselves independents rather than affiliated with either political party, persons who live in the suburbs, those who have had some college education, and persons in the \$15,000-and-over bracket. This is the group I spoke to you about in this room four years ago as the "new coalition for change."

The singular mark of this other group is that they are concerned and aroused by quite a different roster of issues. They feel strongly about the quality of life, and want tougher measures taken to curb air and water pollution. They led the way last Tuesday toward initiating and passing pro-environmental referenda across the country. They tend to favor legalized abortions up to three months pregnancy, *two in three are* not upset by long hair, mod styles, and manners among young people, and perhaps most of all, they want to see an era of peace between the super-powers of the earth rather than confrontation that can escalate up to nuclear warfare. Basically, a majority of these people are committed to change -- concrete and pragmatic, not ideological, but real.

Without exception, the pro-change coalition is rising in numbers among the electorate. More has been said about the influx of young voters into the electorate than any others. The fact is that in going from an estimated 18% in 1968 to 24% of the total registered to vote this year, 6 percent, the young have by no means been the most rapidly growing group in the voting population.



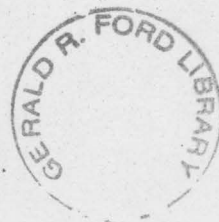
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Independent voters have gone from 16% of all voters four years ago to 22% last Tuesday, also up 6 points. Suburban voters jumped from 27 to 33%, also up 6 points in 4 years. The college-educated rose from 27 to 35% of the electorate, up 8 points. And the \$15,000 and over income group literally leaped ahead from 11 to 20%, an increase of 9 percent among affluent Americans.

Taken as a whole, this group, this new coalition for change, was 45% of the electorate in 1968, but now is also roughly 50% of all the voters in 1972. A standoff vis-a-vis the stand-patters.

The key point about these shifts in the make-up of the electorate is that the division in America today is between the forces for change vs. no change, rather than between an ideological right or an ideological left, with a big fuzzy middle supposedly making up the majority balance of power. It is my view that it is impossible to understand what happened in this election without understanding these basic facts.

The alienation I have mentioned existed among both the change and no-change groups, as the impressive Wallace and McGovern votes in the primaries this spring amply testified.



Just four years ago on this same platform, I posed the 1972 problem for then just elected President Nixon in these words: (And I ask your indulgence while I quote myself) "His massive problem as President will be to cope with the new and growing change coalition. To build a bridge to the change group will be the acid test of the Nixon Administration. If he makes it, without losing his no-change base, he could easily become a two-term President. If he fails to span the gap, politically he will find that the new change elements have grown by 1972 and that election will be an iron on iron confrontation of the new and the old." Unquote.

The essential story of the 1972 election is that Richard Nixon seems to have understood this lesson of a changing electorate very well indeed, and, in the end, he was capable of putting together a majority fashioned out of both the change and no-change groups.

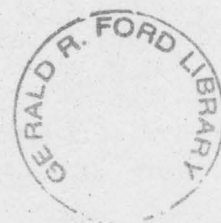
Or perhaps it should be said that George McGovern, who emerged as a candidate firmly committed to change, proved incapable of communicating a message of orderly as opposed to radical change. And when he spent the best days of his campaign trying fruitlessly to assure the stand-patters that he really represented no change from the Democratic politics of the past, he weakened his credibility with those looking for a new kind of politics.



Ponder these twin results, if you will, from our last pre-election survey, taken five days ago: by 58-32 percent, a solid majority thought McGovern wanted to quote "change things too much" unquote - but at the very same time by an even larger 63-26 percent, a larger majority also agreed with the statement - quote "he seemed to be a different type of political leader, but lately seems just another politician promising each group of voters what it wants." unquote. The net result was a final, decisive judgment that plagued McGovern from July onward and ended with a prophetic 60-29% majority on the election eve who agreed that - quote "he just didn't inspire enough confidence as a President should." unquote.

How McGovern ended up in this position is one of the great stories of lost opportunity in modern American political history.

From the beginning of his long drive for the nomination, McGovern's strategy was two-fold: (1) that he would stake out an anchor point as the one Democrat who stood for change and for the new politics, on the one hand, and (2) that the centrist Democrats would kill each other off during the primaries. In addition, McGovern would corral an army of young people who could deliver their vote on primary day.



Obviously, that strategy worked up to and through the Democratic convention. Hubert Humphrey syphoned off a sizable chunk of the Muskie vote and John Lindsay and Henry Jackson fizzled and dropped out. But the big surprise of the primary season was the strength outside of the South for George Wallace. The Wallace and McGovern phenomena had one basic appeal in common back then: both appealed to the 47% of the vote which was alienated and both appealed to the disenchantment of voters with the Establishment, especially big business, and the wide desire for tax reform.

A significant addition to our list of alienation items in 1972 was the proposition that - quote "tax laws are written to help the rich not the average man" unquote --- believed by a massive 74% of the voters. A staggering 91% of the public expressed a desire for changes in the tax laws which would - quote "ease the burden on moderate and low income families but increase taxes on higher income people and corporations." unquote. By 58-32%, a big majority felt they were not receiving - quote "good value for their tax dollars." unquote. Alienation among McGovern voters early in the year ran to 57% and among Wallace voters to 55%.

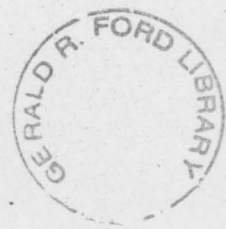
Had Wallace entered delegates in all of the state primaries, he could have mounted a delegate count perhaps as high as 1000 or maybe even above that, based on his showing in the primaries.



The indelible fact of the 1972 run for the presidency among the Democrats was that once everything else was wiped out, the choice at the convention might well have come down to Wallace and McGovern, both of whom represented minority choices of the rank-and-file of the voters of the Democratic Party.

Despite the optimistic claims of the McGovern managers that McGovern had majority backing among enrolled Democrats, even their own polls did not show his average support in the primary states much above the 30% mark. Our own high water mark for McGovern among Democrats was 27%. For Wallace, it was never more than 22%.

Inevitably, the Democratic Party by the end of the primary season had boxed itself into the position of having only minority choices left from which to select its candidate. Of course, the tragic attempt on his life finally knocked Wallace out of contention altogether in 1972. But the fact is that the Democratic Party found itself with a Hobson's choice between two minority champions of the alienated, neither of whom was likely to be electable. It proved to be prophetic and telling, indeed, when early on in the primary season we matched both McGovern and Wallace against Nixon in head-to-head Presidential pairings. McGovern lost by 59-32 percent; while Wallace lost by an even larger 59-24 percent.

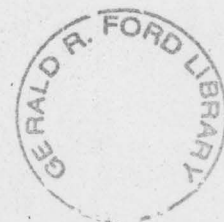


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Yet, probably the shift of the alienated Wallace vote to the Nixon column in early June by an 80-20 percent margin closed the door on George McGovern's chances to win the White House. Our own polls show that the key period of McGovern decline was not during or after the Eagleton affair, and certainly not as a result of the July Democratic convention, which was believed to be more significant, more appealing, and more interesting than the Republican convention. McGovern's eclipse started during the final week of the early June California primary.

For it was in California that Senator Humphrey found the jugular in his attack on McGovern's initial tax reform income distribution welfare reform package. The latter was marked indelibly by the promise to give every man, woman, and child \$1000 a year from the federal larder. This idea was roundly rejected by the voters themselves by an overwhelming 73-15 percent and plagued McGovern right through Election Day. The weekend before the election, by 62-24 %, a majority still felt that his - quote "income redistribution plan was too radical." unquote.

Well, what really happened with that plan of McGovern's in its impact upon the voters?



In effect, he started out by promising sweeping tax reform, and, as just reported, that part of the program by itself would have been sweet music to disenchanted, bone-weary taxpayers, who were seeking some relief and sympathy from someone in authority. But, instead of promising the voters they would be the recipients of the tax reform and the higher levies on the rich and unpopular big business, McGovern in one fell swoop went clear past the rank-and-file of voters and pronounced the beneficiaries of the reform would be welfare recipients. He left an army of the disenchanted out in the cold, alienated nearly every family with an income of \$12,000 or over and many of those who aspire to making over that amount, and permanently had the label "radical" pinned on him by a member of his own party.

It is now forgotten that in May, McGovern was only 7 points behind President Nixon in our poll -- by a 48-41% margin. He held a lead in the East and was in striking distance in the Midwest and West. He was ahead in the big cities and only a few points behind in the pivotal suburbs. He led among the young, was only 1 point behind among independents, and was only 6 behind among the \$15,000 and over group. Clearly, he had a golden opportunity to put together a coalition for viable change that could bring him within striking distance of the President. Combined with his 4-to-1 lead among blacks, he might even have made it in November.



But after the California primary in June he slipped from 7 to 16 points behind. He had dropped to 20 points behind before the Democratic convention ever began, and came out of the Eagleton affair 23 points on the short end. The net impact of the Eagleton episode was that he permanently lost his lead among young people under 30. For by 2-1, the group on whom McGovern had staked so much felt he had taken an insensitive stand on a sensitive issue, besides behaving like a conventional politician.

George McGovern lost the election in the period from June to October. At the beginning, two in three voters admired him for having - quote "courage to say what he thinks even if it is unpopular." unquote. At the end, his courage was even more admired. But he had lost the glitter of being the anti-politics type that made him seem so promising to so many in May.

By 3-1 voters started out admiring him for standing for tax reform, but in the end, over 2 in every 3 felt he didn't want to alleviate their tax load, but rather to funnel the new sources of taxes on the rich to those on welfare.

By 2-1, voters felt he "deserved a lot of credit for being against the war in Vietnam before others." But, in the end, he had unfortunately communicated the notion that he favored peace at any price. By 46-33%, a week before the election, voters said they thought McGovern, if President, would "agree to peace terms in Vietnam which were neither right nor honorable for this country."



In the end, the main source of admiration left to George McGovern, by 58-24%, was that "he deserved credit for giving young people faith in the political system." This was heightened by the highly positive public response to the Democratic Convention in early July, where majorities of 70-19% liked seeing greater representation for young people, by 81-13% liked giving women more delegate seats, by 76-17% liked giving blacks and the Spanish-speaking a greater role, and agreed, 73-19%, that the Democratic convention was more "open than any before."

The last straw for McGovern came when he tried to restore unity in Democratic ranks with traditional pork-chop appeals to the union and Catholic vote, by stumping against right-to-work laws, opposing wage controls, coming out for aid to parochial schools, and trimming on the abortion issue. Perhaps the most symbolic gesture of this turnabout was his whole-hearted endorsement of Rep. Louise Day Hicks of Boston in a state he certainly didn't win by dint of a massive turnaround of Hicks' supporters. Rather, he slowly but surely turned off many of his original supporters among the coalition for change. As Shakespeare put it so well, "he scorned the base degrees by which he did ascend."

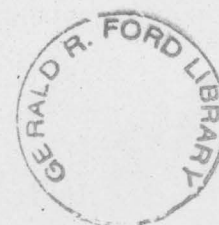
In other words, McGovern converted himself into the principal issue of the 1972 campaign.



But, while the McGovern issue was central to 1972's ultimate outcome, the nagging question still remains: if the country is divided 50-50 between change and no-change, how could Richard Nixon, an incumbent, sitting President in the White House, believed by 43% of the voters to be a "conservative" in philosophy, a man who should have been the symbol of the Establishment, the defender of the status quo, how could President Nixon have finished almost 22 points ahead of George McGovern, who more than any other Democrat in 1972, won his party's nomination committed to change?

The answer to that question is to recapitulate the Nixon side of this just ended, unusual campaign for the White House.

The story really begins back in 1970, when in the off-year elections, the Republicans swallowed whole the prevailing wisdom that America is unblack, unpoor, and unyoung, and that by running against militant black excesses, student protesters, and bleeding hearts for social change, by pinning the label of soft-on-crime and high-on-permissiveness on the Democrats, by using code words and issues such as busing to heat up the racial issue, the Republicans might win control of the Congress, or at least the Senate, in the off-year elections.



Well, history recorded the fact that this tack was not successful, and that it is difficult at best to put a party label on crime and law and order and curbing drug abuse, and, most of all, unlike rats, we do not eat our young. In addition, in 1970 the country had fallen into rough economic times, with prices rising rapidly and unemployment increasing along with the cost of living.

By mid-1971, the fortunes of Richard Nixon had just about hit rock bottom and it was no worse than even money that he could well be a one-term President. His overall standing was on working for peace in the world and this was no better than a 48-48% stand-off. On handling the war in Vietnam he was 61-27% negative, on handling taxes and spending 75-23% negative, on maintaining law and order and controlling crime 63-31% negative, keeping unemployment down 71-28% negative, keeping down the cost of living 83-13% negative, keeping the economy healthy 73-22% negative, and on inspiring confidence personally in the White House, he was 56-29% negative.

In two-way trial heats against Democrats, Mr. Nixon was running as much as 6 points behind, and the Democrats had not even begun to mount a campaign against him. Clearly, Richard Nixon was vulnerable on the twin issues of Vietnam and the economy.

In that summer of 1971, President Nixon made a 180 degrees turn in his approach to the U.S. electorate. He opted for change. Not ideologically, but pragmatically. Not philosophically, but practically.

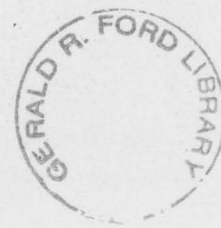


In rapid order, he announced a visit to Peking, the seat of extreme, intractable communist power, the bete noire of countless Nixon and Republican campaigns of the past. Then, the President on August 15th announced a freeze on all wages and prices. This was the same Richard Nixon who had vowed he would never resort to a system of controls to solve the nation's economic ills. Finally, the President announced he would also go to Russia for a summit meeting after his trip to China. With almost surgical precision, Mr. Nixon was moving to eliminate the two most obvious points of vulnerability -- the war and the recession -- and at the same time to make a bold bid to win re-election as the candidate of peace.

The results of this strategy quickly changed the results in our own surveys, and, ultimately, won him re-election.

The overall Nixon job rating among the public rose from a lowly 44% positive that July of 1971 to 53% by that November, to 56% in June of this year, after his Moscow trip, and then to its highest point since the honeymoon days of 1969 when throughout October, it hovered between 59 and 60%.

On the dimension of working for peace, he rose from a 48-48% stand-off to a 67-31 positive standing.



On the economy, the 62-24% majority who thought the country was in a recession turned around by October to a 51-34% majority who thought the recession was at last over. The 70% who thought unemployment was rising in their own home communities shrunk to 31%. The 56-29% negative on inspiring confidence turned into a 51-41% margin by election time who thought he did inspire confidence in the White House.

The turnaround in the voting preference was dramatic. Instead of running 6 points behind, Richard Nixon ended up nearly 22 points ahead, a net shift of over one quarter of the electorate, 28 points. The net gain the President made among the no-change groups came to 16 points, or 12 points less than the general shift among voters as a whole over that 1-1/2 year period. Among pro-change voters -- the young, independents, suburban residents, the college-educated, the \$15,000 and over income group -- the Nixon gain from his low point was a staggering 36%, or 8 above the average.

The key point is that Richard Nixon had gone from an imminently losing position back in the summer of 1971 to a landslide win in November of 1972. The most significant part of all this was that he had turned the almost certain opposition of the pro-change groups in the country into a position of solid support. Perhaps even more important, for a man who has never enjoyed great response to his personal warmth and charisma, he had now for the first time mustered up sizable majority backing for his personal ability to inspire confidence in the White House.



6  
NRL

In an election such as this one we have just been through, it is perhaps the better part of valor to step back and try to separate fact from myth. Here are some of the observations that come out of the results and our own polling experiences in 1972:

— Contrary to much prevailing wisdom, the issue of foreign policy was the deep and abiding thirst for peace on the part of the American people, undoubtedly determined the outcome in the run for the White House. Easily the biggest margin for Nixon over McGovern was on his ability to negotiate with the Russians and Chinese: 70-20. Between Vietnam and the spectacular break-throughs in Peking and Moscow, the dominant issue on which the electorate made its primary judgment was peace and foreign policy.

And it was precisely in these areas that Richard Nixon had the high marks from his countrymen. Well over <sup>65%</sup> scored him <sup>high</sup> on his two famous trips to communist capitals, on working for peace in the world, on handling relations with our allies as well as the Russians and the Chinese.

On the issue of Vietnam, George McGovern had a golden opportunity. Mr. Nixon's marks on Vietnam were essentially negative, and people did not have much faith in his policy of Vietnamization. For two months, however, McGovern helped to pull the President out of the fire on Vietnam. The succession of events, including the Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark visits to Hanoi, the abortive sending of Pierre Salinger to Paris to see the North Vietnamese, <sup>(the return of 3 POW's (Richard Co. prisoners Aug 7, 71))</sup> the McGovern statements that Thieu would flee from Saigon were he elected — all taken together gave millions of voters pause over how McGovern might handle the Vietnam issue. Instead of letting the quick sand run out on President Nixon on the issue, as it had on President Johnson, McGovern overkilled and somehow, right or wrong, communicated the notion that America should feel <sup>a</sup> terrible guilt about Vietnam, on the one hand, and that he was willing to accept peace at any price, on the other.

Nonetheless, by mid-October, the Vietnam issue <sup>was</sup> beginning to work against Mr. Nixon. The bombings of the North were acceptable to the public, but only as long as there was a promise of their hastening the day when peace would be achieved. By October 15th, with no overt sign of response from Hanoi, Nixon held no more than a 6 point edge over McGovern on who could bring the war to an end fastest.

Then Hanoi surfaced the secret agreement of October when Dr. Kissinger confirmed the announcement, hopes for a real peace soared, in effect saving Mr. Nixon on the Vietnam issue just in the nick of time. In the final days, with Henry McGovern pounding, there was some erosion by on the issue again. But, with his assurance that he would live by the agreements already made, President Nixon finally settled the issue in the final hours of the campaign. *Ironically*

It must be pointed out, however, that the American people rendered a judgment about Richard Nixon on the peace issue, not because of his rhetoric but rather because of his acts. They read his acts in foreign policy as opting for change even radical change. *not in his domestic policies but rather*

*Irony*  
— On the economic issue, President Nixon could have been brought as late as June or July of this year. His marks in handling the economy are still better than 3-2 negative. But the American people in August finally believed the recession was over, although fears about high prices lingered on until the very end of the campaign. *From Aug.*

Again, McGovern aided and abetted Mr. Nixon on this. Had McGovern come out strongly for a freeze on prices and wages, a roll-back again, the economic issue might easily have worked for him. Instead, in his scramble to be an old-fashioned Democrat with trade union people, he advocated an elimination of controls — 180 degrees in the wrong direction in terms of political effectiveness.

— I have noticed in these past few days that some have credited the Nixon victory to his stands on issues such as crime, drugs, amnesty, and abortion. Some straight facts ought to put this foolish notion to rest. On handling crime and law and order, as of 5 days ago, the Nixon rating was still 61% negative, on amnesty abortion nationwide the division is a close 47-42% in favor of legalizing it, on his curbing drug abuse the Nixon rating is 56% negative.

An even blunter claim is that Richard Nixon won the election on the hidden issue of race, by his emphasis on opposition to busing and to quotas. It is true that most of the Wallace vote went to President Nixon, and about half the Wallace vote might be termed racially affected. It is also true that the South still holds stronger views on race than any other region.

D. R. FORD LIB

But, when we look at the Nixon rating on busing, you might be surprised to learn that he comes out ~~highly~~<sup>42-58%</sup> negative, and his biggest negative can be found among in the South, where it is 58% negative. On busing, the President was caught in a bind, for despite his protestations, it was still his Administration that had to order enforce busing. On the issue of handling racial problems, again, the Nixon rating is negative: ~~negative~~. While it is 81% negative among blacks, it is nonetheless negative as well among whites. And southern whites are more critical of him on racial matters than any other

As for those analyses which take the group which feels blacks are pushing too hard too fast, of course they came down heavily for Richard Nixon. But the reason is simple to explain: he won the South by a margin of approximately 71% of the vote. A similar analysis of Franklin Roosevelt's or John Kennedy's victories would have produced a similar statistical artifact. In fact, one of the ironies of this analysis is that it ignores the additional fact that in 1972, the black vote approximately doubled from 10 to 20% for Richard Nixon in this election, accounting by itself for a 2 point net shift in the final vote.

---- Had the 1972 election been settled on domestic policy, by one measure we have Richard Nixon ~~might~~<sup>could</sup> have lost it, or at least it would have been much closer.

Fundamentally, what the country did last Tuesday was to give President Nixon a powerful mandate for change on the issue of peace and foreign policy, and to give the Democratic Congress a powerful mandate for change on domestic policy. In both cases, the mandate, in my judgment, was more for pragmatic change, "change that works," as Nixon himself put it, but not the status quo.

In all likelihood, Richard Nixon will not wield a new and lasting political majority. He became a bridge in 1972 between the old and the new. George McGovern ended up with neither the new nor the old. What might have been in 1972 and certainly provides interesting grist for the mill for 1976 was evident in the pairing we released yesterday ~~insurmountable~~ ~~winning~~ between Sen. Kennedy and Vice President Agnew, won by Kennedy 51-49%. The young went for Kennedy by 60-30%, which may not be surprising, but he also carried the suburbs, the college-educated, and the independents.

R. FORD L

The fact is that neither political party has yet risen to match the  
new shape of the electorate, and, as a consequence, party regularity is all but disappearing  
a physically well  
from the scene. For example, if George Wallace had remained a third party candidate, it  
is not inconceivable that President Nixon's total might have been closer to 47 or 48%  
rather than 61%.

The future portends more of change, more volatility, rather than a  
firming up, a locking in of a new majority hovering around some amorphous center. By 1976,  
the pro-change group will probably be 55% of the electorate. The least we can say about the  
future in the aftermath of 1972 is that the new, highly independent ticket-splitting change  
group will be the moving force in American politics. And any politician who ignores it do  
so  
at his peril.



# 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*  
JACK E. ROBINSON Black Vote Division

November 10, 1972

Mr John Wilks  
National Committee For The Re-Election  
Of The President  
1730 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. 3rd Floor  
Washington, D.C. 02006



Dear John;

The Final Results of the Black Vote Division for the State Of  
Massachusetts is as follows;

Not withstanding the well known fact that the Commonwealth of Mass-  
achusetts went to McGovern. WE DOUBLED OUR 1968 PREFERENCE FOR THE PRESIDENT

Our final Voter Profile Analysis indicates that the Black Voters in  
Massachusetts gave 25.1 % of their vote to the President, as opposed to 11.7 %  
during the 1968 election.

Massachusetts has a very inter-mixed population once you move from  
the large cities such as Boston and Springfield. The one (1) community that  
can be identified as being predominantly Black residential middle class near  
the metropolitan Boston area, and within the academic area of Cambridge Mass  
is the Medford Massachusetts area Ward #6 Precint 1 . This precinct gave the  
President 45.2% of their vote.

The following statistical profile documents the voter percentages ( for  
purposes of authenticity only solid Black wards was included in this profile, if  
I used areas that were equally mixed Black and White our percentages would be larger.)

BLACK VOTER STATISTICAL PROFILE FOR MASSACHUSETTS


1972

<u>CITY</u>	<u>WARD</u>	<u>PRECINT</u>	<u>NIXON</u>	<u>MCGOVERN</u>	<u>NIXON PERCENTAGE</u>
BOSTON	8	ALL	564	1847	
	9	ALL	404	2025	
	12	ALL	706	4417	
	14	ALL	728	5912	
			2,402	14,201	16.9%
CAMBRIDGE	6	5	721	2263	31.8%
MEDFORD	6	1	395	872	45.2%
SPRINGFIELD	4	A	200	381	
		B	55	210	
		C	75	425	
		D	158	485	
		E	118	857	
		F	62	210	
	5	A	76	208	
		B	90	252	
		C	98	474	
		D	172	459	
		E	168	258	
		F	363	419	
		G	538	683	
			2,173	5,321	40.8%
WORCESTER	9	5	281	400	70.2%
TOTAL VOTE (Representative)			5,972	23,057	
<u>PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT NIXON</u>					<u>25.8%</u>



The aforementioned concludes my final report on the election percentages if further clarification is necessary we will be happy to comply.

cc; Mr Robert Brown  
 Lt. Governor Donald Dwight  
 Mr Stan Scott  
 Mr Paul Jones  
 Mr Edwin Sexton

Sincerely,  
  
 Jack E. Robinson  
 Black Vote Division Massachusetts



THE ST. LOUIS METRO  
**SENTINEL**

TOGETHER FOR INTEGRITY, JUSTICE, SERVICE

HOWARD B. WOODS  
Editor and Publisher

SUITE 1101 SHELL BLDG.  
1221 LOCUST  
ST. LOUIS, MO. 63103  
314 436-1800

November 13, 1972

Dear Stan:

Now that the campaign is over I thought that you might want to see some of the coverage we gave your people out here in St. Louis. As I indicated to the President and Herb Klein we backed Kit Bond for Governor as well as Jack Danforth for Attorney-General. We did not support the President editorially, but I am enclosing for your perusal the nature of our support for the Democratic candidate. You understand that the issues in the city were sharply drawn and we attempted to remain sensitive thereto.

We provided other assistance which your office might want to check with your people out here.

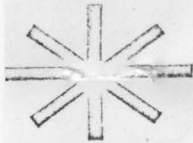
Sincerely,

Howard B. Woods

Mr. Stanley Scott  
Assistant to the Director  
of Communications for the Executive Branch  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, D.C.

Enclosures





LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE

Times Mirror Square / Los Angeles, California 90053

THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN

RELEASE DATE: Tuesday, November 14, 1972

BLACK NIXON: SUPPORTERS LIVE WITH BLACK CRITICISM

by Nick Thimmesch

WASHINGTON--It's good that President Nixon got improved support from black voters in last week's election, though the quality of rhetoric over his appeal to blacks worsened considerably. Black celebrities like Sammy Davis Jr. still smart from the names they were called for backing Mr. Nixon.

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Mr. Nixon's black campaign strategists report, however, higher preliminary figures for metropolitan areas because the blacks in middle-class neighborhoods are more likely to vote for him than "inner city" residents. Their survey shows Louisville, 30%; Philadelphia, 30%; Nashville, 24%, and Houston, 17%.

One of Mr. Nixon's more remarkable showings was the 18% he notched in New York City's 70th assembly district, in a poor neighborhood in Harlem where Republicans are as scarce as \$1,000 bills.

There was nothing but shrill condemnation of Mr. Nixon by black political leaders during the campaign, especially from the Black Caucus, ostensibly bipartisan. And those black personalities like Sammy Davis Jr., Jim Brown, Johnny Mathis, Billy Eckstein and James Brown, who endorsed Mr. Nixon and campaigned for him, caught all manner of verbal abuse and threats of boycotts. Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) said, "They have turned their backs on their own people...they are dancing to the tune of benign neglect." The Nixon blacks were called "sellouts, Uncle Toms, political prostitutes and fools" by black Democrats including Julian Bond of the



Los Angeles, California

Page Two . . . THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN. . . Nov. 14, 1972. . . Georgia Legislature.

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"The mandate he got vindicates the people like me who worked for him a long time before I backed him. I figured out where his head was, and decided that's what was best for the country, including black folks. Things are happening under him in a solid way."

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The reason President Nixon's resident blacks, Bob Brown and Stanley S. Scott, were able to recruit a surprising number of famous blacks to the President's campaign is that blacks increasingly are thinking in terms of a piece of the action, through black initiative and enterprise. The Nixon Administration has placed a record number of blacks into federal positions and increased funding of minority enterprises to a current level of \$1 billion a year.

-more



Los Angeles Times Syndicate  
Los Angeles, California

Page Three . . . THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN . . . Nov. 14, 1972. . . \$1 billion a year.

It is ironic that Sargent Shriver, who set a record for wild rhetoric in the campaign, didn't have one minority person running a regional office of Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) when he was director. Mr. Nixon's appointee, Phil Sanchez, the first authentic poor person to run OEO, appointed enough minority people to these posts that they now comprise a majority of the regional directors.

Increasingly, the loudmouths among Democratic black leaders are betrayed to be rhetoricians and little else. Julian Bond, for example, spends much of his time in lecture and TV appearances and is hardly the most effective black in the Georgia State Legislature. A hard-working but undramatic state senator named Leroy Johnson is. Conversely, the poorest performing black in the U.S. Congress is also the loudest mouth--Walter Fauntroy Jr., who declared that Sen. George McGovern would reward blacks with jobs on a quota basis.

As black voters become more practical in their political judgments (they clobbered Edward Hanrahan, the Democratic state's attorney in Illinois), they will become stronger in both parties, and the republic will be better for it.

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November 16, 1972

Mr. Stanley J. Scott  
Communications Coordinator  
The White House  
Suite 173  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Scott:

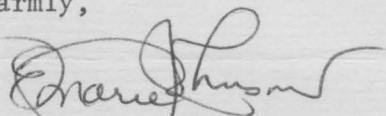
I wish to take this opportunity to personally thank you for allowing us to work with you in the re-election of the President.

We are grateful and elated to know that our efforts in the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois played a significant role in getting President Nixon re-elected.

In my opinion, President Nixon has always been concerned about ALL AMERICANS, all of the time.

If we may be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call.

Warmly,



Dr. E. Marie Johnson  
State Chairman  
ILLINOIS BLACKS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

EMJ/mdj



**e. marie johnson and associates, inc.**

CORPORATE & EDUCATIONAL CONSULTANTS  
520 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

(312) 329-1870

# Harris: Election Showed Sharp Racial Divisions

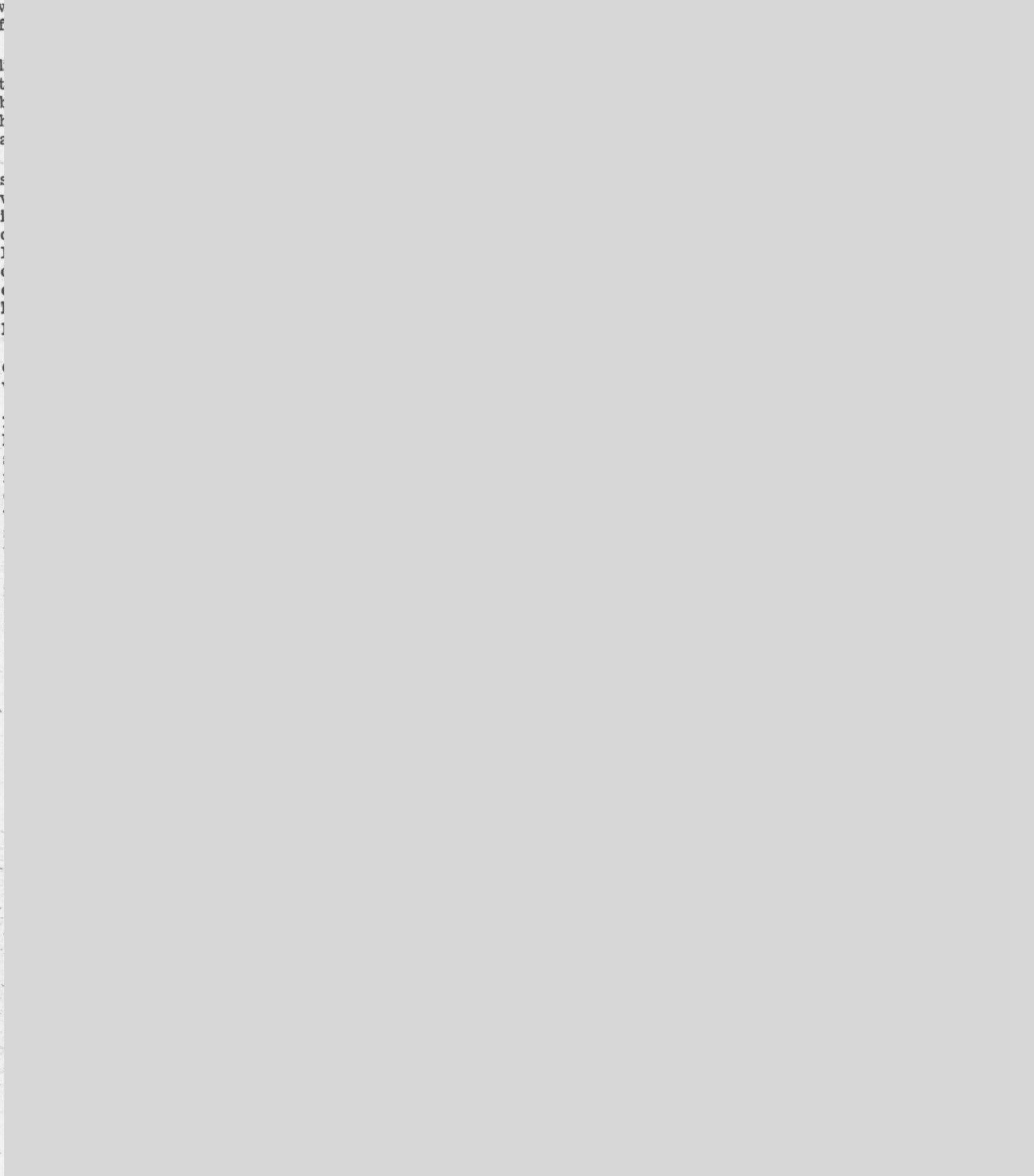
By LOUIS HARRIS

The recent Presidential vote was most sharply divided according to race, with blacks going 79-21 per cent for Sen. McGovern while

This disenchantment among blacks with the federal government represents a complete turnaround in only a few years. When Lyndon

The confidence rating among blacks is 20 per cent for those who run the press. The figure is 19 per cent for Congress, 23 per cent for the

they have shared in the general recovery that has been taking place in the economy. By 60-15 per cent, a sizable majority of blacks tends to



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AFRICAN ART**

**316-318 A ST. NORTHEAST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002 (202) LI 7-7424**

November 27, 1972

Mr. Stanley Scott  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Scott:

Congratulations on your work in the election campaign! Now that plans are being made for the inaugural festivities, I hope you'll be able to keep in mind the availability of the Museum as a location for entertaining some of the many guests who will be here for the celebration.

As well as the possibility of using the Museum for social events, you may want to consider arranging tours for people who have a special interest in the Museum's area of concern. We'll be glad to cooperate in any way and look forward to hearing from you soon.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

*C.T. Martin*

C.T. Martin  
Assistant Director for Programming  
& Community Relations

CTM/mb



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1972

TO: Stan Scott

FROM: Bob Brown

For your information.





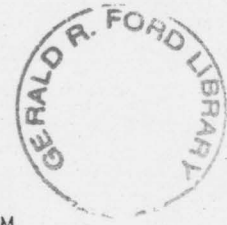
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(MORE)

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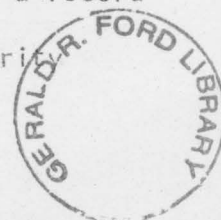
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Los Angeles, California

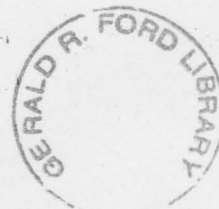
Page Three . . . THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN . . . Nov. 14, 1972. . . \$1 billion a year.

It is ironic that Sargent Shriver, who set a record for wild rhetoric in the campaign, didn't have one minority person running a regional office of Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) when he was director. Mr. Nixon's appointee, Phil Sanchez, the first authentic poor person to run OEO, appointed enough minority people to these posts that they now comprise a majority of the regional directors.

Increasingly, the loudmouths among Democratic black leaders are betrayed to be rhetoricians and little else. Julian Bond, for example, spends much of his time in lecture and TV appearances and is hardly the most effective black in the Georgia State Legislature. A hard-working but undramatic state senator named Leroy Johnson is. Conversely, the poorest performing black in the U.S. Congress is also the loudest mouth--Walter Fauntroy Jr., who declared that Sen. George McGovern would reward blacks with jobs on a quota basis.

As black voters become more practical in their political judgments (they clobbered Edward Hanrahan, the Democratic state's attorney in Illinois), they will become stronger in both parties, and the republic will be better for it.

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**Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

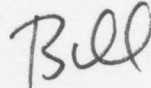
December 6, 1972

Mr. Stan Scott  
White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Stan:

Just a note to say that I enjoyed working with you during the re-election campaign. Although we were not given the media budget to implement our communications programs among Black voters as extensively as any of us wanted to, I think your efforts will be seen in changing voting patterns in elections to come.

Sincerely,



William D. Novelli

WDN/kw

