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3:00
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1-21-82

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Replacement
→

January 19, 1982

Agreed By JAB, Pack 10000
H. Baker

MEMORANDUM FOR: MICHAEL K. DEEVER
FROM: GREGORY J. NEWELL
SUBJ: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

2 events
4 Encumbrances
Wallace
Dunbar
Hater
Schmitt

Three proposed Presidential trips have been submitted to Richard Williamson in the office of Intergovernmental Affairs and Ed Rollins in the office of Political Affairs for their recommendations on both the order in which they should occur and the specific importance of each individual trip on behalf of incumbent Senators and State Parties.
These are their recommendations:

INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

1st Choice: February 8th trip to Pennsylvania, Ohio and California, if the Harrisburg address can be changed to Iowa and the Political event be in Columbus rather than Cleveland.

Rationale: The President should be in the Midwest when the weather is cold. The Federalism initiatives will have major impact on the Northeast and the Midwest. The President should also meet with the Columbus City Council when in Ohio.

Additional Recommendation: The President should meet with the Los Angeles County Commissioners when in California.

2nd Choice: Minnesota, Colorado, Wyoming and New Mexico

3rd Choice: Texas and Alabama in Mid-March

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

1st Choice: Minnesota, Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico

2nd Choice: Pennsylvania, Ohio and California

3rd Choice: Texas, Alabama and Florida

NOTE: If they only have two choices, they would choose the first and second trips only.

SEE TAB A FOR LIST OF TRIPS
cc: Joseph W. Canzeri

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 12, 1982

MEMORANDUM TO: JOSEPH W. CANZERI
VIA: GREGORY ~~J.~~ NEWELL
FROM: PATRICIA A.E. RODGERS
SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Travel

The following is submitted in response to your request for proposed schedules for Presidential appearances on behalf of incumbent Senators or state parties. These are purely speculative.

February 8 (Minnesota, Wyoming, and Colorado)

2:00 pm EST Depart White House.
2:15 pm EST Depart AAFB en route Minneapolis
Flying Time: 2 Hours 20 Minutes
Time Change: - 1 Hour
3:35 CST Arrive Minneapolis
4:00 pm CST Event for SENATOR DURENBERGER
5:45 pm CST Depart Minneapolis en route Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Flying Time: 1 Hour 45 Minutes
Time Change: - 1 Hour
6:30 MST Arrive Cheyenne
7:15 pm MST Event for SENATOR WALLOP
8:30 MST Depart Cheyenne en route Denver
Flying Time: 45 Minutes
9:15 MST Arrive Denver
ON Denver

February 9 (Colorado, New Mexico)

9:30 am MST Colorado State Party Event
10:00 am MST Address Joint Session of Colorado Legislature

February 9 (Continued)

11:20 am MST Depart Denver en route Albuquerque, New Mexico
 Flying Time: 55 Minutes
 Time Change: None

12:15 pm MST Arrive Albuquerque

12:45 pm MST Event for SENATOR SCHMITT

2:00 pm Depart Albuquerque en route AAFB
 Flying Time: 3 Hours 30 Minutes
 Time Change: + 2 Hours

7:30 pm EST Arrive AAFB

8:00 pm EST Arrive White House
 ON Washington, D.C.

March 2 (Pennsylvania, Ohio, and California)

9:45 am EST Depart AAFB en route Harrisburg
 Flying Time: 45 Minutes

11:00 am EST Address Joint Session

1:00 pm EST Depart Harrisburg en route Cleveland
 Flying Time: 1 Hour
 Time Change: None

2:00 pm EST Arrive Cleveland
 Personal Time

5:00 pm EST Ohio Political Event

6:20 pm EST Depart Cleveland en route Los Angeles

9:00 pm PST Arrive Los Angeles
 ON Los Angeles

March 3 (California)

11:00 am PST Meeting with Town Council

12:15 pm PST California Political Event

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 13, 1982

MEMORANDUM TO: JOSEPH W. CANZERI
FROM: GREGORY J. NEWELL
SUBJECT: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

February 8 (Texas and Alabama)

2:00 pm EST Depart White House
2:15 pm EST Depart AAFB en route Houston
Flying Time: 2 hours 30 min.
Time Change: - 1 hour
3:45 pm CST Arrive Houston
5:00 pm CST Political Event
6:20 pm CST Depart Houston en route Montgomery, Alabama
Flying Time: 1 hour 35 min.
Time Change: None
7:55 pm CST Arrive Montgomery
ON Montgomery, Alabama

(Note: Political Affairs recommends a political appearance in either Houston or Dallas)

February 9 (Alabama and Florida)

9:30 am CST Event for EMERY FOLMAR
10:00 am CST Address Alabama State Legislature
11:20 am CST Depart Montgomery en route Orlando, Florida
Flying Time: 1 hour 10 min.
Time Change: + 1 hour
1:30 pm EST Arrive Orlando
Personal Time
5:00 pm EST Political Event

6:20 pm EST

Depart Orlando en route Washington, DC

Flying Time: 1 hr. 55 min.

Time Change: none

8:15 pm EST

Arrive AAFB

8:30 pm EST

Arrive White House

ON: Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Need
File
Proposed
Presidential
Travel

MEMORANDUM TO: Michael Deaver
FROM: Ed Rollins *ER*
DATE: January 20, 1982

The enclosed political information might help in your planning for Presidential travel in 1982. No commitments have been made by the Office of Political Affairs for the President relative to the 1982 campaign.

The Senate leadership is operating under the assumption that 12 campaign events have been committed to by the White House for their incumbents and targeted challengers -- and that the Senate Campaign Committee will prioritize which ones the President should do. I do not know where that commitment came from, but I do feel we should try to fulfill it, if possible.

The only other White House commitments that I am aware of is one to do a fund-raising dinner for the California State party (to make up for cancellation after the shooting in 1981) and apparently the President told Governor Clements that he would do a fund-raiser for him.

Even though our commitments are limited, the expectations of Republican incumbents and candidates as to the President's campaign involvement is high. I would strongly advocate that the President at least give the appearance of playing a major political role in 1982. This may be done by actual campaigning for candidates, by TV and radio endorsements, by meetings here at the White House or a combination of the above.

Included in this packet is a list of state primaries, the Political Affairs Office ranking of priority states, a ranking of the Senate races, the Governors races and the House races. Much of this information comes from the Republican National Committee and the Senate and House Campaign Committees and will be adjusted when re-apportionment is completed and final surveys are conducted.

Section X -- 1982 PRIMARIES

March 16	-- Illinois	August 3	-- Michigan
May 1	-- Texas	August 3	-- Missouri
May 4	-- Indiana	August 5	-- Tennessee
May 4	-- North Carolina	August 10	-- Georgia
May 11	-- Nebraska	August 24	-- Alaska
May 18	-- Oregon	August 24	-- Oklahoma
May 18	-- Pennsylvania	September 7	-- Alabama
May 25	-- Arkansas	September 7	-- Arizona
May 25	-- Idaho	September 7	-- Connecticut
May 25	-- Kentucky	September 7	-- Florida
June 1	-- Mississippi	September 11	-- Delaware
June 1	-- New Mexico	September 11	-- Louisiana
June 1	-- South Dakota	September 14	-- Colorado
June 1	-- West Virginia	September 14	-- Maryland
June 8	-- California	September 14	-- Massachusetts
June 8	-- Iowa	September 14	-- Minnesota
June 8	-- Maine	September 14	-- Nevada
June 8	-- Montana	September 14	-- New Hampshire
June 8	-- New Jersey	September 14	-- Rhode Island
June 8	-- North Dakota	September 14	-- Utah
June 8	-- Ohio	September 14	-- Vermont
June 8	-- South Carolina	September 14	-- Washington
June 8	-- Virginia	September 14	-- Wisconsin
August 3	-- Kansas	September 14	-- Wyoming
		September 18	-- Hawaii

General Election -- November 2, 1982

STATE PRIORITY RANKINGS

In order to rank the states as to their importance in the 1982 campaign, a point system has been utilized allocating a certain value to Governor's races, Senate races and House races. There may be some adjustment necessary as it becomes more clear which races are true targets. However, this ranking system will give us a working model to do our preliminary planning.

The following tables prioritize all Senate, Gubernatorial and House of Representative races for the 1982 elections as of the end of 1981. The priority rankings rate the vulnerability of the individual seats for a party switch rather than the vulnerability of individuals. (For instance, some districts will be eliminated, changed substantially, or combined with others and will most likely elect a new Representative from the party which currently holds the seat.)

It is also important to note that these rankings are a subjective rating from the best available information as of December 19, 1981. Vulnerabilities within states will change as re-districting is completed, candidates file for election, and the campaigns develop. These rankings must be updated on a regular and timely basis, otherwise much of the

data in states which represent some of the best opportunities
for the GOP will not be adequately evaluated.

The weighting factors for the races are as follows:

SENATE:

Target Republicans and Democrats (Super-vulnerable and Vulnerable)	25 points
Remotely-vulnerable Republicans	20 points
Remotely-vulnerable Democrats	15 points
Safe Republicans	15 points
Safe Democrats	10 points

GOVERNORS:

Target Republicans and Democrats (Super-vulnerable and Vulnerable)	20 plus 0.5 x Electoral vote
Remotely-vulnerable Republicans	15 plus 0.25 x Electoral vote
Remotely-vulnerable Democrats	15 points
Safe Republican	15 points
Safe Democrat	10 points

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

(Republican and Democrat)	
Super-vulnerable	10 points
Vulnerable	7.5 points
Remotely-vulnerable	2.5 points
Safe	1 point

All of the district numbers included in the tables are from 1980 districts. None of the numbers represent the new district configurations for those states which have completed the re-districting process. However, the potential impact of re-districting has been accounted for in the vulnerabilities within each state.

This information represents one method of ranking. In order to adequately rank and order the races, other factors can be added -- for example, candidate appeal, relative value of seats, campaigning financing, etc. Other methods and criteria should be considered to augment this preliminary report.

FINAL RANKING*

1. CALIFORNIA	168
2. NEW YORK	143
3. TEXAS	131.5
4. OHIO	127.5
5. PENNSYLVANIA	110.5
6. MICHIGAN	109
7. FLORIDA	103.5
8. ILLINOIS	82
9. CONNECTICUT	76
10. MINNESOTA	73.5
11. NEW MEXICO	70
12. NEW JERSEY	67
13. TENNESSEE	66
14. MARYLAND	66
15. MASSACHUSETTS	65
16. INDIANA	63.5
17. ARIZONA	57
18. WISCONSIN	53.5
19. VIRGINIA	51
20. IOWA	49.5
21. VERMONT	49
22. NEVADA	47
23. MISSOURI	46.5
24. OREGON	45.5
25. MAINE	43.5
26. COLORADO	43
27. WASHINGTON	41.5
28. WYOMING	41
29. OKLAHOMA	41
30. KANSAS	40.5
31. RHODE ISLAND	38.5
32. WEST VIRGINIA	37
33. UTAH	37
34. MISSISSIPPI	36.5
35. NEBRASKA	34.5
36. SOUTH CAROLINA	33.5
37. ALABAMA	30
38. GEORGIA	29.5
39. NORTH CAROLINA	28
40. DELAWARE	27.5
41. HAWAII	27
42. ARKANSAS	27
43. SOUTH DAKOTA	25
44. IDAHO	20
45. NEW HAMPSHIRE	17.5
46. MONTANA	17.5
47. ALASKA	16.75
48. NORTH DAKOTA	16
49. KENTUCKY	13.5
50. LOUISIANA	8

*ranking as of 12/19/81

DEMOCRATS TARGET RACES

SUPER VULNERABLE (25)

Maine - Mitchell
N. J. - Williams
Virginia - Byrd

VULNERABLE (25)

Arizona - De Concini
Maryland - Sarbanes
Michigan - Riegle
Mississippi - Stennis
Ohio - Metzenbaum
Tennessee - Sasser

REMOTELY VULNERABLE (15)

Florida - Chiles
Montana - Melcher
Nebraska - Zorinsky
New York - Moynihan
North Dakota - Burdick
Texas - Bentsen
West Virginia - Byrd

SAFE (10)

Hawaii - Matsunaga
Mass. - Kennedy
Nevada - Cannon
Washington - Jackson
Wisconsin - Proxmire

REPUBLICANS

TARGET RACES

SUPER VULNERABLE (25)

California - Hayakawa
Connecticut - Weicker

VULNERABLE (25)

Minnesota - Durenberger
New Mexico - Schmitt
Utah - Hatch
Wyoming - Wallop

REMOTELY VULNERABLE (20)

Delaware - Roth
Rhode Island - Chafee
Vermont - Stafford

SAFE (15)

Indiana - Lugar
Missouri - Danforth
Pennsylvania - Hefner

SENATORS:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>SENATOR/PARTY</u>	<u>RATING</u>	<u>POINT SYSTEM</u>
ARIZONA	DeCONCINI D	V	25
CALIFORNIA	HAYAKAWA R	SV	25
CONNECTICUT	WEICKER R	SV	25
DELAWARE	ROTH R	RV	20
FLORIDA	CHILES D	RV	15
HAWAII	MATSUNAGA D	S	10
INDIANA	LUGAR R	S	15
MAINE	MITCHELL D	SV	25
MARYLAND	SARBANES D	V	25
MASSACHUSETTS	KENNEDY D	S	10
MICHIGAN	RIEGLE D	V	25
MINNESOTA	DURENBERGER R	V	25
MISSISSIPPI	STENNIS D	V	25
MISSOURI	DANFORTH R	S	15
MONTANA	MELCHER D	RV	15
NEBRASKA	ZORINSKY D	RV	15
NEVADA	CANNON D	S	10
NEW JERSEY	WILLIAMS D	SV	25
NEW MEXICO	SCHMITT R	V	25
NEW YORK	MOYNIHAN D	RV	15
NORTH DAKOTA	BURDICK D	RV	15
OHIO	METZENBAUM D	V	25
PENNSYLVANIA	HEINZ R	S	15
RHODE ISLAND	CHAFEE R	RV	20
TENNESSEE	SASSER D	V	25
TEXAS	BENTSEN D	RV	15
UTAH	HATCH R	V	25
VERMONT	STAFFORD R	RV	20
VIRGINIA	BYRD I	SV	25
WASHINGTON	JACKSON D	S	10
WEST VIRGINIA	BYRD D	RV	15
WISCONSIN	PROXMIRE D	S	10
WYOMING	WALLOP R	V	25

GOVERNORS:DEMOCRATSSUPER VULNERABLE

$20 + (.5 \times EV)^* = X$

NY - CAREY (38)
 CA - BROWN** (43.5)
 KS - CARLIN (23.5)
 MN - KING** (22)

VULNERABLE

$20 + (.5 \times EV) = X$

CT - O'NEILL (24)
 MD - HUGHES (25)
 OK - NIGH (24)
 MA - KING (26.5)
 FL - GRAHAM (30.5)

REMOTELY VULNERABLE

$15 + 0 = 15$

NH - GALLAN (15)
 CO - LAMM (15)
 ID - EVANS (15)
 WY - HERSHLER (15)
 AK - JAMES (15)
 GA - BUSBEE** (15)
 AZ - BABBITT (15)
 HI - ARIOSHI (15)

SAFE

$10 + 0 = 10$

ME - BRENNAN (10)
 SC - RILEY (10)
 RI - GARRAHY (10)

REPUBLICANSSUPER VULNERABLE

$20 + (.5 \times EV)^* = X$

OH - RHODES** (31.5)
 MN - QUIE (25)
 MI - MILLIKEN* (30)
 AR - WHITE (23)
 VT - SNELLING** (21.5)

VULNERABLE

$20 + (.5 \times EV) = X$

IL - THOMPSON (32)
 NV - LIST (22)
 WI - DREYFUS (26.5)
 OR - ATIYEH (23.5)
 TX - CLEMENTS (34.5)

REMOTELY VULNERABLE

$15 + (.25 \times EV) = X$

PA - THORNBURGH (21.5)
 IA - RAY (17)
 AK - HAMMOND** (15.75)

SAFE

$15 + 0 = 15$

SD - JANKLOW (15)
 TN - ALEXANDER (15)
 NE - THONE (15)

* Electoral Votes of given states

** Not seeking re-election

<u>STATE</u>	<u>GOVERNOR/PARTY</u>	<u>RATING</u>	<u>POINT SYSTEM</u>
Rating + Bonus = X			
ALABAMA	JAMES D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
ALASKA	HAMMOND R	RV	$15 + (.25 \times 3) = \underline{15.75}$
ARIZONA	BABBITT D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
ARKANSAS	WHITE R	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 6) = \underline{23}$
CALIFORNIA	BROWN D	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 47) = \underline{43.5}$
COLORADO	LAMM D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
CONNECTICUT	O'NEILL D	V	$20 + (.5 \times 8) = \underline{24}$
FLORIDA	GRAHAM D	V	$20 + (.5 \times 21) = \underline{30.5}$
GEORGIA	BUSBEE D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
HAWAII	ARIOSHI D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
IDAHO	EVANS D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
ILLINOIS	THOMPSON R	V	$20 + (.5 \times 24) = \underline{32}$
IOWA	RAY R	RV	$15 + (.25 \times 8) = \underline{17}$
KANSAS	CARLIN D	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 7) = \underline{23.5}$
MAINE	BRENNAN D	S	$10 + 0 = \underline{10}$
MARYLAND	HUGHES D	V	$20 + (.5 \times 10) = \underline{25}$
MASSACHUSETTS	KING D	V	$20 + (.5 \times 12) = \underline{26}$
MICHIGAN	MILLIKEN R	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 20) = \underline{30}$
MINNESOTA	QUIE R	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 10) = \underline{25}$
NEBRASKA	THONE R	S	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
NEVADA	LIST R	V	$20 + (.5 \times 4) = \underline{22}$
NEW HAMPSHIRE	GALLEN D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
NEW MEXICO	KING D	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 4) = \underline{22}$
NEW YORK	CAREY D	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 36) = \underline{38}$
OHIO	RHODES R	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 23) = \underline{31.5}$
OKLAHOMA	NIGH D	V	$20 + (.5 \times 8) = \underline{24}$
OREGON	ATIYEH R	V	$20 + (.5 \times 7) = \underline{23.5}$
PENNSYLVANIA	THORNBURGH R	RV	$15 + (.25 \times 25) = \underline{21.25}$
RHODE ISLAND	GARRAHY D	S	$10 + 0 = \underline{10}$
S. CAROLINA	RILEY D	S	$10 + 0 = \underline{10}$
S. DAKOTA	JANKLOW R	S	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
TENNESSEE	ALEXANDER R	S	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$
TEXAS	CLEMENTS R	V	$20 + (.5 \times 29) = \underline{34.5}$
VERMONT	SNELLING R	SV	$20 + (.5 \times 3) = \underline{21.5}$
WISCONSIN	DREYFUS R	V	$20 + (.5 \times 11) = \underline{26.5}$
WYOMING	HERSCHLER D	RV	$15 + 0 = \underline{15}$

STATE VULNERABILITY SUMMARY FOR 1982

SENATE, GUBERNATORIAL AND HOUSE RACES

State	Totals	Super Vulnerable (Rep. 10 pts.)	Vulnerable (Rep. 7.5 pts.)	Remotely Vulnerable (Rep. 2.5 pts.)	Safe (Rep. 1)
<u>ALABAMA</u>					
Governor	15			James (D)	
1	1				Edward
2	2.5			Dickinson(R)	Nichol
3	1				Bevill
4	1				Flippo
5	1				Shelby
6	7.5		Smith(R)		
7	1				
Total	30				
<u>ALASKA</u>					
Governor	15.75			Hammond(R)	
1	1				Young(
Total	16.75				
<u>ARIZONA</u>					
Senator	(1982 plus 1 district)				
Governor	25		DeConcini(D)	Babbitt(D)	Rhodes
1	15			Udall(D)	Stump(
2	1			Rudd(R)	
3	2.5				
4	1				
5	2.5				
Total	10	new seat			
	57				
<u>ARKANSAS</u>					
Governor	23	White(R)			
1	1				Hammer
2	1				schmit
3	1				Bethun
4	1				Alexan
Total	1				der(D)
	27				Anthor
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>					
Senate	(1982 plus				
Governor	2 districts)				
1	25	Hayakawa(R)			Chappi
2	43.5	Open-Brown(D)			
3	1				
4	7.5		Clausen(R)		Matsui
5	1				Fazio(
6	1				Burton
7	1				Burton
8	1				Miller
9	1				Dellum
					Stark(

	Totals	<u>S.V.</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>R.V.</u>	<u>S</u>
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>					
10	1			Lantos(D)	Edwards(
11	2.5				McCloske
12	1				Mineta(D
13	1				Shumway(
14	1				Coelho(D
15	1				Panetta(
16	1				Pashayan
17	1				Thomas(R
18	1				Lagomar-
19	1				sino-(R)
20	10	Goldwater(R)			
21	1				Fiedler(
22	1				Moorhead
23	1				Bielenso
24	1				Waxman(D
25	1				Roybal(D
26	10	Rousselot(R)			
27	10	Dornan(R)			
28	1				Dixon(D)
29	1				Hawkins(
30	1				Danielso
31	1				Dymally(
32	1				Anderson
33	1				Grisham
34	1				Lungren
35	1				Dreier(
36	1				Brown(D
37	1				Lewis(R
38	2.5			Patterson(D)	
39	1				Danneme
40	1				Badham(
41	1				Lowery(
42	1				Hunter(
43	1				Burgene
44	10	new seat (D?)			
45	10	new seat (D?)			
<u>Total</u>	<u>168</u>				

<u>COLORADO</u>					
	(1982 plus 1 district)				
Governor	15			Lamm(D)	
1	1				Schroed
2	7.5		Wirth(D)		
3	7.5		Kogovsek(D)		
4	1				Brown(R
5	1				Kramer(
6	10	new seat(R?)			
<u>Total</u>	<u>43</u>				

SVVRVSCONNECTICUT:

SENATOR 25

Weicker (R)

GOVERNOR 24

O'Neill (D)

.1: 1
 .2: 7.5
 .3: 7.5
 .4: 1
 .5: 2.5
 .6: 7.5

Gejdensen (D)
 De Nardis (R)

Cotter (D)

McKinney (R)

Ratchford (D)

Moffett (D)

TOTAL: 76DELAWARE:

SENATOR 20

AL 7.5

TOTAL: 27.5

Roth (R)

Evans (R)

FLORIDA: (1982 plus four districts)

SENATOR 15

GOVERNOR 30.5

1: 1.
 2: 1.
 3: 1.
 4: 1.
 5: 2.5
 6: 1
 7: 1.
 8: 1.
 9: 1.
 10: 1.
 11: 1.
 12: 2.5
 13: 1.
 14: 1.
 15: 1.
 16: 10.
 17: 10.
 18: 10.
 19: 10.

new seat-R
 new seat-R
 new seat-R
 new seat-D

Graham (D)

Chiles (D)

McCollum (R)

Shaw (R)

Hutto (D)
 Fuqua (D)
 Bennett (D)
 Chappell (D)

Young (R)
 Gibbons (D)
 Ireland (D)
 Nelson (D)
 Bafalis (R)
 Mica (D)

Lehman (D)
 Pepper (D)
 Fascell (D)

TOTAL: 103.5

SVVRVSGEORGIA:

GOVERNOR 15
 1: 2.5
 2: 1
 3: 1.
 4: 2.5
 5: 1.
 6: 1.
 7: 2.5
 8: 1.
 9: 1.
 10: 1.

TOTAL: 29.5

Busbee (D)
 Ginn (D)

Levitas (D)

McDonald (D)

Hatcher (D)
 Brinkley (D)

Fowler (D)
 Gingrich (R)

Evans (D)
 Jenkins (D)
 Barnard (D)

HAWAII:

SENATOR: 10
 GOVERNOR: 15
 1: 1
 2: 1

TOTAL: 27

Arioshi (D)

Matsunaga (D)

Heftel (D)
 Akaka (D)

IDAHO:

GOVERNOR: 15
 1: 2.5
 2: 2.5

TOTAL: 20.

Evans (D).
 Craig (R)
 Hansen (R)

SVVRVS

ILLINOIS: (1982 minus two districts)

GOVERNOR: 32

1: 1
 2: 1
 3: 7.5
 4: -
 5: 2.5
 6: 1
 7: 1
 8: 1
 9: 2.5
 10: -
 11: 2.5
 12: 1
 13: 2.5
 14: 1
 15: 1
 16: 1
 17: 2.5
 18: 2.5
 19: 2.5
 20: 10
 21: 1
 22: 2.5
 23: 1
 24: 2.5

Thompson (R)

Russo (D)

Derwinski's district has been combined with another
Fary (D)

Yates (D)

Porter's district has been combined with others
Annunzio (D)Crane (R)
McClory-R, Porter-RErlenborn
Corcoran (R)
Martin (R)Derwinski, O'Brien (R)
Michel (R)
Railsback (R)

Findley (R)

Crane (R)

Madigan (R)

Simon (D)

Price (D)

TOTAL: 82.

SVVRVSINDIANA (1982 minus one district)

Senator	15				
1	1				Lugar (R)
2	10	Fithian (D)			Benjamin (D)
3	1				Hiler (R)
4	1			Coats (R)	
5	1				Hillis (R)
6	10	Evans (D)			Myers (R)
7	1				Hamilton (D)
8	7.5		Deckard (R)		
9	1				
10	10	Jacobs (D)			
Total	58.5				

IOWA

Governor	17			Ray (R)	
1	2.5			Leach (R)	
2	2.5			Tauke (R)	
3	10	Evans (R)			
4	7.5		Smith (D)		
5	2.5			Harkin (D)	
6	7.5		Bedell (D)		
Total	49.5				

KANSAS

Governor	23.5	Carlin (D)			
1	1				Roberts (R)
2	10	Jeffries (R)			
3	2.5			Winn (D)	
4	2.5			Glickman (D)	
5	1				Whittaker (R)
Total	40.5				

SVVRVSKENTUCKY:

1: 1
 2: 1
 3: 1
 4: 1
 5: 1
 6: 7.5
 7: 1

TOTAL: 13.5

Hopkins (R)

Hubbard (D)
 Natcher (D)
 Mazzoli (D)
 Snyder (R)
 Rogers (R)

Perkins (D)

LOUISIANA:

1: 1
 2: 1
 3: 1
 4: 1
 5: 1
 6: 1
 7: 1
 8: 1

TOTAL: 8

Livingston (R)
 Boggs (D)
 Tauzin (D)
 Roemer (D)
 Huckaby (D)
 Moore (R)
 Breaux (D)
 Long (D)

MAINE:

SENATOR: 25 Mitchell (D)
 GOVERNOR: 10

1: 7.5
 2: 1

TOTAL: 43.5

Emery (R)

Brennan (D)

Snowe (R)

MARYLAND:

SENATOR: 25
 GOVERNOR: 25

1: 7.5
 2: 2.5
 3: 1
 4: 1
 5: 1
 6: 1
 7: 1
 8: 1

TOTAL: 66

Sarbanes (D)
 Hughes (D)
 Dyson (D)

Long (D)

Mikulski (D)
 Holt (R)
 Hoyer (D)
 Byron (D)
 Mitchell (D)
 Barnes (D)

MASSACHUSETTS:
1982 minus one district)

SENATOR: 10
GOVERNOR: 26
1: 1
2: 1
3: 1
4: 10
5: 1
6: 1
7: 1
8: 1
9: 1
10: -
11: 1

TOTAL: 65

<u>SV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>RV</u>	<u>S</u>
	King (D)		Kennedy (D)
			Conte (R)
			Boland (D)
			Early (D)
Heckler-R Frank-D			Shannon (D)
			Mavroulos (D)
			Markey (D)
			O'Neill (D)
			Moakley (D)
The tenth district is being combined with the fourth.			Donnelly (D)

	Totals	S.V.	V	R.V.	S
--	--------	------	---	------	---

MICHIGAN

Senator
Governor

(1982 minus 1 district)

25
25 (open) Milliken(R)

Riegle(D)

Conyers(D)

Pursell(R)
Wolpe(D)
Siljander(R)
Sawyer(R)
Dunn(R)

Traxler(D)

Kildee(D)

Vander Jag

Albosta(D)

Davis(R)

Bonior(D)

Crockett(D)

Hertel(D)

Ford(D)

Dingell(D)

Brodhead(D)

(Blanchard's (D) district will probably be eliminated)

Broomfield

Total

109

MINNESOTA

Senator
Governor

25
25

Quie(R)

Durenberger(R)

Erdahl(R)

Hagedorn(R)

Frenzel(R)

Vento(D)

Sabo(D)

Weber(R)

Stangeland(R)

Oberstar(R)

Total

73.5

MISSISSIPPI

Senator

25

Stennis(D)

Whitten(D)

Bowen(D)

Montgomery

Dowdy(D)

Lott(R)

Total

36.5

MISSOURI

Senator

(1982 minus 1 district)

15

Clay(D)

Danforth(R)

Young(D)

Gephardt(R)

Skelton(D)

Bolling(D)

Coleman(R)

Taylor(R)

	Total	<u>S.V.</u>	<u>V.</u>	<u>R.V.</u>	<u>S</u>
<u>MISSOURI</u>					
8	7.5		Bailey(R) - Emerson(R) possible	Volkmer(D)	combinati
9	2.5				
Total	41.5				
<u>MONTANA</u>					
Senator	15			Melcher (D)	
1	1				Williams
2	2.5			Marlenee(R)	
Total	17.5				
<u>NEBRASKA</u>					
Senator	15			Zorinsky(D)	
Governor	15				Thone(R)
1	1				Bereuter
2	2.5			Daub(R)	
3	1				Smith(R)
Total	34.5				
<u>NEVADA</u>					
Senator	(1982 plus 1 district)				
Governor	15				Cannon(D)
1	22		List(R)		
2	2.5			Santini(D)	
3	7.5	(Open - R?)			
Total	47				
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>					
Governor	15			Gallen(D)	
1	2.5			D'Amours(D)	
2	1				Gregg(R)
Total	17.5				
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>					
Senator	(1982 minus 1 district)				
1	25	Williams(D)			
2	1				Florio(D)
3	1				Hughes(D)
4	7.5		Howard(D)		
5	10	Smith(R)			
6	1				Fenwick(
7	2.5			Forsythe(R)	
8	10	(Roukema(R) and Courter or Hollenbeck could be combined in 1 district)			
9	1				Roe(D)
10	2.5			Hollenbeck(R)	
11	1				Rodino(D)
12	1				Minish(D)
13	2.5			Rinaldo(R)	
	(The 13th or one other Republican district might be eliminated)				
Total	1				Guarini(
	67				

NEW MEXICO

	Total	S.V.	V	R.V.	S.
	(1982 plus 1 district)				
Senator	25		Schmitt(R)		
Governor	22.5	Open-King(D)			
1	10	Lujan (R)			
2	2.5			Skeen(R)	
3	10	new seat			
<u>Total</u>	<u>70.0</u>				

SV

V

RV

S

NEW YORK

(1982 minus five districts)

Governor	15		Moynihan (D)	
1	38	Carey (D)		
2	2.5		Carney (R)	
3	7.5	Downey (D)		
4	-	(The 3rd district will probably be eliminated)		
5	1			Lent (R)
6	1			McGrath (R)
7	7.5	Downey (D)		
8	7.5	LeBoutillier (R)		
9	-	(The 8th district will probably be eliminated)		
10	1			Ferraro (D)
11	1			Biaggi (D)
12	1			Scheuer (D)
13	1			Chisholm (D)
14	-	(The 13th district might be eliminated)		
15	1			Richmond (D)
16	1			Zefferetti (D)
17	1			Schumer (D)
18	7.5	Molinari (R)		
19	10	Green (R)		
20	1			Rangel (D)
21	1			Weiss (D)
22	1			Garcia (D)
23	-			Bingham (D) and
24	7.5			Rosenthal (D-8)
25	-	(The 23rd and 24th districts will probably be combined)		possible combination
26	1	Ottinger (D) and		
27	1	Peyser (D-23)		
28	7.5	possible combination		
29	1			Fish (R)
30	1			Gilman (R)
31	1	McHugh (D)		
32	7.5			Stratton (D)
33	-			Soloman (R)
34	1	Wortley (R) and		Martin (R)
35	1	Lee (R-33)		Mitchell (R)
36	1	possible combination		
37	1	(The 32nd and 33rd districts might be combined)		
38	1			Horton (R)
39	1			Conable (R)
Total	143			LaFalce (D)
				Nowak (D)
				Kemp (R)
				Lundine (D)

12/19/81

NORTH CAROLINA:

SV

V

RV

S

1: 2.5
2: 1
3: 2.5
4: 2.5
5: 7.5
6: 2.5
7: 2.5
8: 2.5
9: 1
10: 1
11: 2.5

Neal (D)

Jones (D)
Whitley (D)
Andrews (D)
Johnston (R)
Rose (D)
Hefner (D)
Hendon (R)

Fountain (D)
Martin (R)
Broyhill (R)

TOTAL: 28

NORTH DAKOTA:

SENATOR: 15
1: 1

TOTAL: 16

Burdick (D)
Dorgan (D)

	Totals	<u>S.V.</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>R.V.</u>	<u>S</u>
OHIO (1982 minus two districts)					
Senator	25		Metzenbaum(D)		
Governor	31.5	Open-Rhodes(R)		Luken(D)	
1	2.5			Hall(D)	Gradison
2	1				
3	2.5		Oxley(R)		Latta(R)
4	7.5				McEwen(R)
5	1		Brown(R)		Kindness
6	1		Weber(R)		Miller(R)
7	7.5				Stanton
8	1		Shamansky(D)		Pease(D)
9	7.5				Seiber-
10	1				ling(D)
11	1		Wylie(R)		Regula(R)
12	7.5				Ashbrook
13	1				Applegat
14	1				
15	7.5				
16	1				
17	(17th district will probably be eliminated)				
18	1		Williams(R)		
19	7.5				
20	7.5	(Oakar (D) and Mottl(D) will probably be combined)			
21	1				Stokes(D)
22	2.5			Eckart(D)	
23	(The 23rd district will probably be eliminated)				
Total	127.5				

OKLAHOMA					
Governor	24		Nigh(D)		
1	2.5			Jones(D)	
2	2.5			Synar(D)	
3	1				Watkins
4	7.5		McCurdy(D)		Edwards
5	1			English(D)	
6	2.5				
Total	41				

OREGON (1982 plus 1 district)					
Governor	23.5		Atiyeh(R)		
1	1				AuCoin
2	7.5		Smith(R)		Wyden(D)
3	1				
4	2.5			Weaver(D)	
5	10	Open(R?)			
Total	45.5				

12/15/81

	Total	S.V.	V	R.V.	S
<u>PENNSYLVANIA:</u> (1982 minus 1 district)					
Senator	15				Heinz(R)
Governor	21.5			Thornburgh(R)	Smith(D)
1	1				Foglietti
2	1				Gray(D)
3	1	(The 3rd district will probably be eliminated)			
4	1			Dougherty(R)	
5	1				Schulze(R)
6	1				Yatron(D)
7	1		Edgar(D)		
8	7.5		Coyne(R)		
9	1				Shuster(R)
10	1				McDade(R)
11	7.5		Nelligan(R)		
12	7.5		Murtha(D)		
13	1				Coughlin
14	1				Coyne(D)
15	2.5			Ritter(R)	
16	1				Walker(R)
17	10	Ertel(D)			
18	7.5		Walgren(D)		
19	1				Goodling
20	1				Gaydos(D)
21	10	Bailey(D)			
22	2.5			Murphy(D)	
23	1				Clinger(R)
24	2.5		Marks(R)		
25	2.5			Atkinson(R)	
<u>Total</u>	<u>110.5</u>				

<u>RHODE ISLAND:</u>					
Senator	20			Chafee (R)	
Governor	10				Garrahy(R)
1	1				St.Germain
2	7.5		Schneider(R)		
<u>Total</u>	<u>38.5</u>				

<u>SOUTH CAROLINA:</u>					
Governor	10				Riley(D)
1	7.5		Hartnett(R)		
2	2.5			Spence(R)	
3	2.5			Derrick(D)	
4	1				Campbell
5	2.5			Holland(D)	
6	7.5		Napier(R)		
<u>Total</u>	<u>33.5</u>				

	Total	S.V.	V.	R.V.	S
DAKOTA					
(1982 minus 1 district)					
Governor	15				
1	10	Roberts(R)	The 2nd district will be eliminated		Janklow
2		Daschle(D)			
Total	25				
TENNESSEE					
(1982 plus 1 district)					
Senator	25		Sasser(D)		
Governor	15				
1	1				Alexander
2	1				Quillen
3	2.5			Bouquard(D)	Duncan(R)
4	1				
5	1				Gore(D)
6	7.5		Beard(R)		Bonner(D)
7	1				
8	1				Jones(D)
9	10	new seat			Ford(D)
Total	66				
TEXAS					
(1982 plus 3 districts)					
Senator	15			Bentsen(D)	
Governor	34.5		Clements(R)		
1	1				Hall(D)
2	1				Wilson(D)
3	1				Collins
4	7.5		Hall(D)		
5	10	Mattox(D)			
6	1				Gramm(D)
7	1				Archer(R)
8	1				Fields(R)
9	2.5			Brooks(D)	
10	2.5			Pickle(D)	
11	1				Leath(D)
12	1				Wright(D)
13	2.5			Hightower(D)	
14	10	Patman(D)			
15	1				de la Garza
16	7.5		White(D)		
17	1				Stenholm
18	1				Leland(D)
19	1				Hance(D)
20	1				Gonzalez(D)
21	1				Loeffler
22	1				Paul (R)
23	1				Kazen(D)
24	1				Frost(D)
25	7.5				
26	10	open seats		(open D?)	
27	10	(open R?)			
Total	131.5	(open R?)			

	Total	S.V.	V	R.V.	S
(1982 plus 1 district)					
Senator	25		Hatch (R)		
1	1				Hansen(R)
2	1				Marriott
3	10	new seat-R?)			
Total	37				
VERMONT					
Senator	20			Stafford(R)	
Governor	21.5	open-Snellings(R)			
AL	7.5		Jeffords(R)		
Total	49				
VIRGINIA					
Senator	25	open-Byrd(I)			
1	7.5		Trible(R)		
2	1				Whitehurst
3	1				Bliley(R)
4	2.5			Daniel(R)	
5	1				Daniel(D)
6	1				Butler(R)
7	1				Robinson
8	7.5		Parris(R)		
9	1				Wampler
10	2.5			Wolf(R)	
Total	51				
WASHINGTON					
(1982 plus 1 district)					
Senator	10				Jackson
1	1				Pritchard
2	1				Swift(D)
3	1				Bonker(D)
4	1				Morrison
5	7.5		Foley(D)		
6	2.5			Dicks(D)	
7	7.5		Lowry(D)		
8	10	new seat(R?)			
Total	41.5				
WEST VIRGINIA					
Senator	15			Byrd(D)	
1	1				Mollohan
2	10	Benedict(R)			
3	10	Stanton(R)			
4	1				Rahall(D)
Total	37				

	Total	S.V.	V	R.V.	S
<u>WISCONSIN</u>					
Senator	10				Proxmire
Governor	26.5		Dreyfus(R)	Aspin(D)	
1	2.5				
2	1				Kastenmeier
3	7.5		Gunderson(R)		
4	1				Zablocki
5	1				Reuss(D)
6	1				Petri(R)
7	1				Obey(D)
8	1				Roth(R)
9	1				Sessenbrenner
<u>Total</u>	<u>53.5</u>				
<u>WYOMING</u>					
Senator	25		Wallop(R)		
Governor	15			Herschler(D)	
AL	1				Cheney(R)
<u>Total</u>	<u>41</u>				

SENATE RACES

The Senate clearly is where Republicans have the best opportunities for gains. Of the 33 Senate seats up in 1982, 12 are currently held by Republicans, 20 by Democrats, and Senator Byrd's Virginia seat which will be open with his retirement.

The Republican incumbents overall are in fairly good shape as a group, and there is no reason to lose any of the 12 seats. Two incumbents -- Hayakawa and Weicker -- are being challenged seriously in primaries.

The eventual primary winners in both states will be the top Democrat targets.

If Senator Hayakawa is renominated in California, present surveys show he cannot be re-elected, in spite of the probability that Governor Jerry Brown will be the Democrat challenger. Brown is extremely unpopular, but would be stronger than Hayakawa. If someone else is nominated, California clearly can stay in the Republican column.

Senator Weicker is being challenged in a primary by at least two serious candidates. If not renominated, or possibly even before a nomination battle, Senator Weicker plans to run as an independent -- and certainly can be re-elected.

The other ten Republicans will be re-nominated without any trouble.

Of these ten, only five are probably Democrat targets:

Senator Durenberger - Minnesota

Senator Wallop - Wyoming

Senator Schmitt - New Mexico

Senator Hatch - Utah

Senator Stafford - Vermont

The remaining five should be re-elected without a serious challenge:

Senator Danforth - Missouri

Senator Heinz - Pennsylvania

Senator Lugar - Indiana

Senator Roth - Delaware

Senator Chafee - Rhode Island

All 12 seats should remain Republican, but the White House needs to assist these Senators who become Democrat targets. While it is not likely, a shift of three or four Republican Senate seats to the Democrats could give them control of both houses of Congress.

The White House needs to expand its rhetoric on the importance

of increasing the Republican majority in the Senate, and put more emphasis on picking up seats in that body as a measure of the President's support. Attempting to focus attention on the Senate races and somewhat away from the House races will lessen the opportunities for the media to raise expectations of our winning of House seats.

Barring a major economic set-back or world-wide catastrophe, statistics alone should afford Republicans with a potential gain of 3 or 4 previously held Democrat Senate seats.

In the 33 vulnerability surveys done on the 33 incumbent Senators up in 1982, 26 showed that at least a plurality of those responding felt a Republican would win the Senate seat in their home state in 1982. In more than half of the surveys, a majority felt the Republican would win.

Those surveys are far more optimistic than the 1980 ones when Republicans made the second largest increase in history -- 12 new seats (13 were gained in the 1946 election).

POTENTIAL DEMOCRAT SENATE TARGETS

Group A

Chiles, Lawton	Florida
Metzenbaum, Howard	Ohio
Mitchell, George	Maine
Riegle, Don	Michigan
Sarbanes, Paul	Maryland
Sasser, James	Tennessee
Williams, Harrison	New Jersey

Group B

Bentsen, Lloyd	Texas
Burdick, Quenton	North Dakota
Byrd, Robert	West Virginia
Matsunaga, Spark	Hawaii
Melcher, John	Montana
Moynihan, Pat	New York
Stennis, John	Mississippi

Group C

DeConcini, Dennis	Arizona
Kennedy, Ted	Massachusetts
Zorinsky, Ed	Nebraska

Group D

Jackson, Henry	Washington
Prixmire, William	Wisconsin
Cannon, Howard	Nevada

GOVERNORS RACES

There are 36 gubernatorial races in 1982: 20 currently held by Democrats, 16 held by Republicans. Fifteen of the current Democrat governors intend to run for re-election. Thirteen of the 16 Republican governors will run for re-election. Of the six open seats, Republicans have a shot in five.

The White House should only focus on those governor's races that are important in view of electoral votes in 1984:

California	-- 47
New York	-- 36
Texas	-- 29
Illinois	-- 24
Michigan	-- 21
Florida	-- 21
Pennsylvania	-- 25
Ohio	-- 23

Of the eight states with more than 20 electoral votes whose governor's races are in 1982, five are Republican and three Democrat.

1. ARKANSAS -- Frank White has had little time to establish incumbency since his state has a two year term and the Republican base is small. The Governor has had problems with Cuban refugees at Fort Chaffee and unpopular appointments to his administration. Significant support for his re-election will be vital to the effort here. Former Governor Bill Clinton is the likely opponent and is strong.

2. ILLINOIS -- Incumbent Jim Thompson will be seeking an unprecedented third term. Although there are major problems with the Chicago rapid transit system and cutbacks in state services, the Governor is still popular. His opponent Adlai Stevenson has problems with labor and the Jewish vote where Thompson is strong. Unfortunately, the same economic problems are shared by all of our incumbents in the mid-west. This will be a vigorous campaign.

3. IOWA -- Incumbent Bob Ray is still unannounced as to whether or not he intends to seek another term. Odds are that he will, but will not announce until the first of 1982. We should have little problem here.

4. MICHIGAN -- Governor Bill Milliken is genuinely undecided about seeking re-election or going for the Senate. The decision should come soon. Because of problems in the auto industry and administration cut-backs, this will be a tough race. Without Milliken running, this would be a hard one to hold.

5. MINNESOTA -- Governor Al Quie is battered by budget problems and just about everything else, too. Unless things turn around quickly, and it is hard to believe they will, this seat will be extremely difficult to hold. Democrat Attorney General Warren Spannaus should not be done any favors to make him look better than he already does.

6. NEBRASKA -- Governor Charles Thone is popular among the voters and should be successful in his bid for re-election. Help in raising funds would be beneficial here.

7. NEVADA -- Incumbent Bob List is planning to seek re-election, although surveys indicate that he may have some problems. Although his approval rating is good, he is running even in the area of voters wanting a new person. A primary could be a problem here. This is one to watch carefully.

8. OREGON -- Governor Victor Atiyeh was substantially helped by Neil Goldschmidt's decision to stay out of the race. Barring unforeseen developments, the Governor should be able to win re-election. Fundraising help will keep the campaign running smoothly.

9. PENNSYLVANIA -- Governor Dick Thornburgh is pretty well entrenched. Although no survey was taken here, it is likely that the Governor's numbers are pretty good. Like other industrial states, the economic situation is somewhat scary. But the voters of Pennsylvania should stay in the Republican column with a strong campaign effort.

10. SOUTH DAKOTA -- Governor Bill Janklow is encouraged by recent survey numbers showing a very good approval rating. In a head-to-head against former Governor Dick Kneip, he, Governor

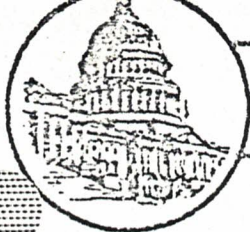
Janklow, looks very good. Janklow will be gearing up to campaign vigorously after the first of the year. He probably will need some fundraising help.

11. TENNESSEE -- Governor Lamar Alexander is the most popular governor in recent history. It is unlikely that he will encounter any problems. He is actively involved in policy development and this area is one in which he will appreciate administration cooperation.

12. TEXAS -- Governor Bill Clements should win in a close race. The money will be there.

13. WISCONSIN -- Governor Lee Dreyfus is another mid-western governor who must cope with difficult economic conditions. Favorability is good among voters. He will probably need assistance in fundraising. If he gets the money to run a well financed campaign, he should be okay, but a lot depends on how the economy breaks.

As you have probably noted, three states, Alaska, Ohio and Vermont have incumbent Republican governors who will not be seeking re-election. Governor Hammond and Governor Rhodes cannot succeed themselves and Governor Snelling has chosen not to run. The situation is still developing in those three states.



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Chalmers Wylie OH 15

OREGON

Denny Smith OR 2

PENNSYLVANIA

Jim Coyne PA 8
Jim Nelligan PA 11
Marc Marks PA 24
Gene Atkinson PA 25

SOUTH CAROLINA

Tom Hartnett SC 1
John Napier SC 6

SOUTH DAKOTA

Clint Roberts SD 2

TEXAS

Ron Paul TX 2

VIRGINIA

Stan Parris VA 8
Frank Wolf VA 10

WEST VIRGINIA

Mick Staton WV 3

WISCONSIN

Steve Gunderson WI 3

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Twenty-five Most Vulnerable Democrats

Pete Stark	California
Tom Lantos	California
Jerry Patterson	California
Bill Ratchford	Connecticut
Paul Simon	Illinois
Andy Jacobs/ Dave Evans	Indiana
Neal Smith	Iowa
Roy Dyson	Maryland
Barney Frank	Massachusetts
David Monior	Michigan
Wayne Dowdy	Mississippi
Jim Howard	New Jersey
Peter Peyser	New Jersey
Tom Downey	New York
Steve Neal	North Carolina
Ike Andrews	North Carolina
Dave McCurdy	Oklahoma
Bob Edgar	Pennsylvania
Tom Daschle	South Dakota
Bill Patman	Texas
Jack Brooks	Texas
Jack Hightower	Texas
Mike Lowry	Washington
Tom Foley	Washington

Category B

Morris Udall	Arizona
Phil Sharp	Indiana
Howard Wolpe	Michigan
Don Albosta	Michigan
Norm D'Amours	New Hampshire
Matt McHugh	New York
Richard Ottinger	New York
Doug Walgren	Pennsylvania
John Murtha	Pennsylvania
Norm Dicks	Washington

Twenty-five most Vulnerable Democratic House Incumbents - 1982

Jerry Patterson (CA 38) -- This district always had GOP leanings, even when held by Patterson's predecessor, Democrat Richard Hanna. Patterson's initial election in 1974 is widely regarded as a fluke, the result of Watergate and the ineptitude of GOP nominee David Rehman. Last year, Patterson won only a mediocre 59% against an underfinanced Republican. For 1982, 28 year old businessman Bill Dohr is sewing up regular Republican and local business support and is considered a strong contender.

Fortney Stark (CA 7) -- Stark and nearly everyone else was stunned in 1980 by the showing of Republican Bill Kennedy (R), a little-known nursing home administrator who won 43% of the vote with less than \$35,000. Kennedy never stopped running, has signed on a professional consultant, and has already raised \$50,000 for a rematch. Stark's early anti-military rhetoric and support of the Vietnam-era peace movement is expected to hurt him in '82.

Tom Lantos (CA 11) -- Although then Rep. Bill Royer (R) outspent Democrat Tom Lantos in 1980, Lantos out-campaigned him and won a narrow upset. Whether Royer will seek a rematch is unclear; any well-financed Republican will be a strong candidate.

William Ratchford (CT 5) -- Without question, first term Ratchford (D) would have lost his 1980 re-election bid had his GOP opponent been better-known and better-financed.

Mickey Donahue (R), a small town alderman, spent less than \$20,000, and came within one percent of unseating Ratchford. While Donahue is running hard for '82, a more popular Republican should be the subject of candidate recruitment efforts. One possibility is State Rep. Warren Sarasin (R), brother of Ratchford's predecessor in Congress, former Cong. Ron Sarasin (R).

Paul Simon (IL 24) -- Like CT's Ratchford, he survived an under-financed, unknown Republican in 1980 by less than one percent of the total vote. Whether Simon remains on the "25 most vulnerable list" is questionable, however, since redistricting has helped him and most credible Republicans have removed themselves from the race.

Andy Jacobs/David Evans (new seat) -- The prospect of a bitter primary between these two sitting congressmen in a new Indianapolis district (the lion's share of which is Jacob's old turf) has greatly improved GOP chances here. Moreover, Republicans have an impressive standard-bearer in Mike Carroll, former deputy mayor of Indianapolis and district aide to Sens. Lugar and Quayle. Carroll is well connected throughout the district's business community by virtue of his past positions.

Neal Smith (IA 4) -- Nearly 70 and in poor health, Smith survived 1980 opponent Dr. Don Young (R) with only 53% of the vote. Young immediately launched his '82 effort. Another strong Republican looking at a race against Smith

is former GOP Chairman Steve Roberts.

Roy Dyson (MD 1) -- Dyson's narrow election in 1980 is universally regarded as the result of incumbent Bob Bauman's (R) personal problems. Since then, Bauman has worked to overcome his difficulties and launched a comeback bid. Dyson has not developed a strong image in Washington and many polls show him running behind his predecessor.

Barney Frank (MA 4) -- Frank becomes a vulnerable incumbent only if his district is meshed with that of Republican Margaret Heckler. As recently as last week, all signs pointed to the legislature doing just that, with most of the turf in the new district belonging to Heckler's present 10th district.

David Bonior (MI 12) -- Bonior is widely considered the most vulnerable Democrat in the Michigan delegation, his 1980 re-election the result of mediocre GOP opposition. Preparing to challenge him in 1982 is former Detroit TV anchorman Vic Caputo (R), whom some polls show with 97% name recognition in the Detroit area. Last year, Caputo won 46% of the vote in the heavily Democratic 14th district and has since moved to the St. Clair area in Bonior's 12th district.

Wayne Dowdy (MI 4) -- Since his upset victory in a special election earlier this year, Democrat Dowdy has missed

getting a key spot on the House Commerce Committee. Moreover, narrow GOP loser Liles Williams, who ended the special election with a \$56,000 surplus, has admitted his mistakes and is running hard for the 1982 rematch.

James Howard (NJ 3) -- Only survived Republican Marie Muhler by a handful of votes in 1980. Muhler has since been re-elected to the state assembly with 69% of the vote, become a part of the GOP leadership, and begun laying plans for another US House race.

Tom Downey (NY 1) -- Has won four times in the normally Republican district mainly through a visible profile and extensive constituency service. Last year, Republicans held Downey to 55% of the vote; next year, they will wage a full-blown effort with probable GOP nominee John Cochran, a five-term assemblyman, lawyer, and retired admiral.

Peter Peyser (NY 23) -- Through his blatant liberal voting record and still-remembered party switch, Peyser is a target of area Republicans. Two well-known GOP office-holders -- Assemblyman John Fossel and State Sen. Mary Goodhue -- have indicated a desire to oppose Peyser; for now, however, both reside in Rep. Hamilton Fish's (R) 25th district and are awaiting reapportionment.

Steve Neal (NC 5) -- Neal narrowly won reelection last year with 52% of the vote and has since angered many constituents by opposing much of the Reagan economic program. 1980

nominee Anne Bagnal never stopped running and will be joined in the '82 primary by two local businessmen -- Wallace Van Hoy and Lions Grey. While GOP efforts were hurt somewhat by the loss of Davidson County, courts have since mandated yet another redistricting plan.

Ike Andrews (NC 4) -- Is widely perceived as the most vulnerable member of the Tarheel State House delegation, his weakened stature largely a product of his inability to explain questions about the filing of his last FEC report. Andrews faces at least four Democratic primary opponents as a determined GOP for -- Bill Cobey, onetime University of NC athletic director who got 48% of the vote against Lt. Gov. Jim Green (D) in 1980.

David McCurdy (OK 4) -- Helped keep business community funds from his GOP opponent and won a tight race by talking conservative and calling himself "the Phil Gramm of Oklahoma". Since taking office in January, however, McCurdy has been a disappointment to many conservatives. The 1980 Republican candidate, onetime Vietnam POW, Howard Rutledge, is running hard for '82.

Bob Edgar (PA 7) -- Is always vulnerable in this heavily Republican, Delaware County-based district. Edgar won 3 terms primarily because of weak GOP foes or divided opposition. In 1982, local Republicans have united between Steve Joachim,

popular ex-quarterback for Temple University and the New York Jets.

Tom Daschle (SD) -- Will square off against fellow Congressman Clint Roberts (R) when their two districts are merged into one at-large seat next year. Roberts has held a series of successful fundraising events throughout the nation, and South Dakota is traditionally a Republican state.

Bill Patman (TX 14) -- Reapportionment has diluted Patman's Nueces County base with considerable conservative turf. Moreover, the Congressman and his wife, Democratic National Committeewoman, Karen Patman, have a wide circle of political enemies. Nonetheless, polls show that the liberal Patman is perceived by the district voters as a "moderate conservative" and no heavyweight has yet emerged to oppose him. Two conservative Democrats mentioned as possible GOP nominees are former Cong. Joe Wyatt (D) and State Rep. Tim Dohlen.

Jack Brooks (TX 9) -- 30-year incumbent Jack Brooks (D) has angered people with his liberal record and bad temper. Last year, he avoided a Democratic runoff by little more than 100 votes. Few observers doubt Brooks will escape a runoff in '82, considering four Democrats are waging strong campaigns even now. This is a situation for Republicans to take advantage of; the sole announced GOP hopeful, onetime

Vietnam air ace, Frank Urbanic, is considered able but lacks a financial or political base. Two other Republicans who should be considered for recruitment efforts are State Rep. Randy Pennington and State Sen. Buster Brown.

Jack Hightower (TX 13) -- Hightower was held to 55% of the vote last year by former TV newsman, Tom Slover (R), who announced for '82 and has since been pounding away at Hightower's liberal voting record. This district was held by Republican Bob Price for 8 years (1957 -75).

Mike Lowrey (WA 7) -- A self-styled "Hubert Humphrey Democrat" and poor campaigner, Lowrey is always vulnerable. The problem, as it was in 1980, is recruitment of a viable GOP alternative.

Tom Foley (WA 5) -- Veteran Foley angered many constituents this year by giving up the chairmanship of the House Agriculture Committee -- something he pledged never to do in his 1980 re-election effort. Foley was held to 48% of the vote last time by Dr. John Sonneland, who is running again. However, State Rep. "Doc" Hastings (R), is generally regarded as a more viable alternative to Foley.

It is imperative that all or most of the resources of the White House administration, in addition to the Republican National Committee and the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, be used only on these targets. Helping other

candidate challengers will only dilute our efforts, and
make it just that much more difficult to make House gains.