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47	16	2/20/1973	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Mr. Haldeman. From: Robert H. Marik. RE: The Future of the Data Base. With development information attached. 19pgs.
47	16	1/1/1973	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	1972 Composite election statistics and brief analysis for 1974. 23pgs/

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING February 20, 1973  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By RM NAF, Date 2-5-73

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HALDEMAN  
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK   
SUBJECT: The Future of the Data Base

SUMMARY

This memorandum describes the computerized list of registered voters and the associated software (together referred to as the Data Base) developed for the 1972 Presidential campaign. The utility of the Data Base in future political campaigns is discussed and some specific recommendations are presented. The purpose of this analysis is to present a complete technical description of the Data Base, as one element necessary in determining what kind of organization should be established to control the system over the next four years.

DISCUSSION

Description of the Data Base

The Data Base that is presently housed in our data center in Dallas has more than \$1,000,000 invested in list development, socio-economic characteristics, algorithms, software and technical know-how. It consists of a computerized listing of nearly 22 million households (almost 30 million registered voters) in nine large states (Tab A). Additional elements of the system are listed in Tab B. It now has the capacity for the following:

- Produce computerized lists of registered voters for canvassing and get-out-the-vote, by precinct, and in alphabetical or street address sequence.
- Record voter responses from canvassing on the master file (i.e., those voters who are for, against or undecided toward the candidate).

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•For specialized mailings:

- Select out surnames indicating ethnic origin: Spanish, Polish, Jewish, Irish, Italian.
- Estimate the age and income level of each household listed.
- Identify the Census tract, and therefore the general demographic characteristics, of each household.

A detailed discussion of the Data Base is given in Tab C, taken from the final report of the Direct Mail Division.

#### Applications for the Future

The Data Base should be considered as far more than a mailing list. It can be the central part of a total campaign strategy. It provides the vehicle for voter identification through telephone or door-to-door canvassing. It allows for specific direct mail appeals to carefully segmented groups of voters. It can be used to produce final lists of favorable voters for Election Day activities. It can provide lists especially tailored for fund raising, volunteer recruitment, or other campaign functions.

It is rarely possible for local or even statewide candidates to conduct such a sophisticated voter contact operation. However, with the data base already in existence and the associated computer software already developed, the President could offer a pre-packaged program to local candidates, which could increase their vote by as much as 5% to 10%.

Moreover, in 1976, the Republican Presidential candidate will not have the uninterrupted lead time to prepare a new data base, as was possible in 1972. Therefore, it is important that the system now in existence be kept updated so that the President will have the option to make it available in 1976. The problem is that any address list will become obsolete at the rate of about 20% per year. If left alone for four years, the present system would have little value. The objective, then, is to keep the Data Base updated for 1976, and in the process to get maximum benefit from it in 1974.

#### Specific Strategy for 1974

It is recommended that the Data Base be one element in a well-planned, concerted national effort to maximize the Republican gains in the 1974 Congressional races. Other elements would include candidate selection, financial assistance, professional campaign consultants, etc.

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The first step must be to select the target Congressional Districts. The discussion which follows does offer a selection criterion, primarily to illustrate the methods applied to develop cost estimates for use of the Data Base in the 1974 campaigns. It is anticipated that the final selection will be somewhat different, taking into account survey results, field evaluation of the races, retirement of incumbents, availability of attractive challengers, etc.

Manyon Millican has prepared an analysis of the Congressional and Gubernatorial races for 1974 (Tab D). He identifies 116 "marginal" seats. Of those seats, the winner in 1972 received 56% or less of the vote in 68 cases (39 Republican and 29 Democrat). Those have been taken as the target districts in this analysis. It will be important to strengthen the marginal Republican incumbents, because they are particularly vulnerable in the mid-term election during a Republican Administration. Twenty-six of the 39 are freshmen. Of the 29 Democrats, 11 were elected for the first time in 1972.

In Tab E, the status of Gubernatorial and Senatorial races in 1974 is summarized by state, along with the marginal house races, as defined above. Some marginal Senate races are indicated, where availability of the Data Base might make a significant difference for the Republican candidate.

In Tab F, the data processing cost to update the existing Data Base, or expand it to cover new target districts or states, is given in detail. The financial analysis extends into 1976, covering the final updating of the original Data Base for the Presidential campaign.

#### Operation of the Data Base for the Next Four Years

Several decisions must be made on how the Data Base will be handled in the future. The organizational structure must be determined in the light of potential legal restrictions, public relations, political considerations and finances. Several alternatives have been raised, including:

- Establish an independent trust or corporation, accountable to the interests of the President, which would make the Data Base available to selected candidates, possibly through the RNC, or directly.
- Transfer the Data Base to the RNC, with the assurance that it will remain under the control of a competent general manager.

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It is beyond the scope of this memo to recommend which form is most appropriate. It is important, however, to understand that the computer programs and voter lists are only useful when managed by someone who is thoroughly familiar with the system. There should be continuity and a high degree of professional competence in the position of General Manager.

Three people now have the experience to perform that job. L. Robert Morgan was the manager of the direct mail operation during the campaign. Bob has returned to the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation in Chicago, but can be available for occasional consulting on the Data Base. Dr. Thomas Slivinski helped to design the Data Base, and assisted and managed all phases of its application and development. Tom is experienced in computer systems, but he is seeking more diversified experience within the Administration. He is expected to be in the Washington area, and available for consultation, subject to any limitations by Civil Service regulations. James White was a project manager on the political direct mail staff, and as such was the trouble-shooter in the systems area. His background includes both marketing and systems experience. Jim is recommended for the position of General Manager.

Tab G shows projected operating costs for the project over the next four years, including staff and administrative overhead. No operating revenue is included. The assumptions are as follows:

- Any lists or mailing labels provided for candidates are billed at net cost (no margin to cover G & A or development costs). This policy would encourage candidates to use the system and improve their own campaigns. On the other hand, a somewhat higher price would obviously reduce the operating deficit.
- No revenue from commercial sales is shown. Jim White believes that up to \$40,000 in revenue could be realized in 1973 from sales of mailing labels to charitable fund drives and similar organizations. The volume of such sales would be expected to increase in subsequent years. The margin on commercial sales is estimated to be 50% of the selling price. It should be the objective of the General Manager to develop a significant volume of commercial sales; however, until the concept is proven, no reduction in the operating deficit is projected.
- The major functions of the General Manager, beyond providing labels to candidates and commercial accounts, will be to upgrade the system, expand the lists to include additional Congressional Districts as they are approved,

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and find ways of sharply reducing the cost of processing the data and producing mailing labels or lists. New computer hardware will become available in the next few years, allowing some data processing operations to be done far less expensively than is now the case. The research and computer programming costs shown in Tab G are partly intended to achieve cost reductions in the final product.

- All of the marginal Congressional Districts, as well as several marginal Senate races, have been covered by the activity reflected in Tab F. If it were desired to keep the net deficit to a smaller amount, certain districts could be added to the Data Base only after adequate revenue were generated from commercial accounts to cover the list expansion costs.

It can be seen in Tab G that the "severest projected cost", assuming no off-setting revenue, to maintain and update the existing Data Base for four years is \$806,000. The additional cost to expand the Data Base for target races in 1974 is \$270,000. The \$211,000 shown for list maintenance in 1976 can only be a rough estimate. Computer technology and electoral procedures may by then render obsolete the methods of 1972. There is some speculation that more states will follow the example of California and make current voter lists on computer tape available to campaign organizations at a moderate cost. The pressures in Congress to liberalize registration procedures may take the voter lists out of the hands of the township clerks and county courthouses, to a higher level of government. Such centralization could facilitate list-gathering at lower cost and with shorter lead times. For all of those reasons, it is recommended that list updating be postponed until 1976, in every area where the system will not be used in 1974. Whatever the situation in 1976, the computer software in the Data Base will assure that the data on registered voters can be used to the greatest possible benefit of the 1976 Republican Presidential candidate.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

That you approve the concept of preserving and updating the Data Base for use in 1974 and 1976. (The particular structure in which it will be housed is yet to be decided.)

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENTS \_\_\_\_\_

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By \_\_\_\_\_ NARS, Date \_\_\_\_\_  
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That you approve the appointment of Jim White as General Manager  
of the Data Base.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENT \_\_\_\_\_

That you approve the general operating plan described in this memo,  
with the understanding that the specific states and Congressional  
Districts to be used in 1974 can be decided at a later date  
(but preferably not later than November, 1973).

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENT \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments:

TAB A  
TAB B  
TAB C  
TAB D  
TAB E  
TAB F  
TAB G

cc: The Honorable John N. Mitchell  
Jeb S. Magruder

CONTENTS OF THE DATA BASE

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF VOTING HOUSEHOLDS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
California	6,020,000	8,626,400
Connecticut	906,000	1,373,500
Illinois	1,787,000	1,682,300
Maryland	775,000	1,349,100
Michigan	1,798,000	1,688,600
New Jersey	2,131,200	3,196,200
Ohio	2,352,600	3,381,500
Pennsylvania	3,609,400	5,157,100
Texas	2,605,500	3,970,300
Total	21,984,700	30,425,000

ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS IN THE DATA BASE

OR AVAILABLE FROM THE CAMPAIGN

Partial lists of registered Republican voters:

Florida - 350,000 voters from ten counties

Massachusetts - 13,000 key Republicans

New Hampshire - 80,000 households (total state)

New York - 350,000 voters from 5 counties

Lists potentially available from the 1972 campaign:

Telephone program key leaders lists (2,400 names)

Telephone centers' volunteer lists (55,000 names)

State Chairmen's volunteer lists (130,000 names)

Finance Committee contributor lists (800,000 names)

Democrats for Nixon volunteer lists (2,000 names)

## LIST DEVELOPMENT

### DATA BASE DEVELOPMENT

The Voter Registration Data Base was established in two phases. During the first phase individual vendors were contracted to collect the voter registration lists of specific states and to computerize this information into a standard format specified by the Committee. Standard edit programs were supplied to each vendor to validate the data. In the second phase, at University Computing Company in Dallas, the base voter registration data was expanded with specific demographic information added. This section discusses the establishment of the Voter Registration Data Base.

### DATA BASE ORGANIZATION

The Voter Registration Data Base was organized as sequential data sets on magnetic tape.

The basic processing entity was a county within a state. With several minor exceptions, the entire county was processed at one time. Counties were placed on separate reels of tape and were never combined. If two parts of the same county were processed separately, different county codes were assigned.

The concept of stand alone county processing was sound. The only problem arose when zip codes crossed county boundaries. In these cases, the match codes used for adding phone numbers and other data were not valid.

Within the county, each voter was supplied a unique sequence number. This number, together with the state and county codes uniquely identified the voter in the entire data base.

Members of the same family (with the same surname) who live at the same address and who belong to the same party, were combined into households. Up to four members of a household were planned for. Each member of a household was given a unique sequence member number.

In any future design, households should be defined independent of political party registration. The party affiliation should be included for each member, but all members of the household with the same surname should be combined.

Within a household, the male head of household was shown first, followed by wife and any other members. If a residence contained individuals with different surnames, these individuals were listed as separate households (the address most likely being an apartment).

The sequence numbers were assigned to voters in address sequence for mailing (i.e., by zip code and street address and zip code). If desired, other mailings could be generated for the data without a major sort of the data.

Householding in non-city delivery service areas should be limited to those individuals who can be positively identified as belonging to the same household. Very often in small towns or rural areas, several families with the same surname will live on the same rural route or receive their mail through the same general delivery post office. These individuals cannot be arbitrarily combined into households.

If supplements were required for a county, the sequence numbers for these additions began at 5,000,000. This eliminated the possibility that voters would be multiply updated.

The Voter Registration Data Base and other name lists were combined through the use of match codes. These codes are extracted from key parts of the name and address.

The match code for City Delivery Service Areas (Type 1 addresses) was: state, county, zip, last four characters of house number, first character of street name and first, third and fourth characters of surname. John Smith who lived at 1121 Elm Street, Chicago, Illinois 61610 was coded: 1L031616101121ESIT.

The match code for other type addresses was state, county, zip and first, third and fourth characters of last name. This did not always produce a valid match. Names such as DAVIS, DAVIDSON, DEVITT in the same zip code were considered equivalent.

A new match code for non-street type addresses needs to be defined. One potential code would be state, county, zip, first character of owner name and the first seven characters of the last name.

#### AVAILABILITY OF VOTER LISTS

In general, lists of registered voters are available from county or local registrars across the country. These lists are normally available to any candidate. Two exceptions should be noted: (a) some states or counties do not require registration; and (b) citizens vote on their personal cognizance. Also, the voter lists may be available only through political sub-divisions within the county, e.g., Michigan, where each township maintains the voting list.

The voting lists normally include name, address and party affiliation (if voters register by party). In some states (such as New Jersey and Ohio) only those voters who participate in the primary elections have party designation. In other states, there is not attempt at the county level to record party; Republican and Democratic voter lists are kept separate by the county organizations.

In determining the availability of voter lists, a primary consideration is

access to computerized voter lists. Because the cost of keypunching or optically scanning hardcopy lists is approximately 4-6 times as much as reformatting a computer tape, it is cost-efficient to obtain voter registration on magnetic tape.

The Table at TAB 14 lists all counties by state which were included in the Voter Registration Data Base. If a computerized source tape was available, the table lists the office or individual which supplied the tape.

The availability of computerized voter lists does not preclude massive conversions or data additions. Many tapes do not include zip codes for example. Others contain only one name for each household. It is not sufficient that the voter lists be computerized, but must be standardized and most often enriched.

Another critical factor in the availability of voter registration data is the date that the lists were prepared. This is critical for two reasons. First, on a national average, 20% of the population moves each year. Data which is not current decreases in value accordingly. Second, redistricting can occur between the time that the list is produced and the present election. This was an especially critical problem in the 1972 Election since many areas were under court order to reapportion the population based on the 1970 census. Therefore, it is very important to know the date of the voter registration data used.

#### REGISTERED VOTER LISTS VERSUS OTHER LISTS

Many direct mail corporations maintain separate lists which may be used for mailings. The Reuben H. Donnelley list is probably the most complete in coverage. This was the list used by the Committee in Michigan and Wisconsin. Experience in Michigan indicates that there are three major problems with use of such lists.

1. They do not include any political information (such as precinct). As a result, such data must be coded into the file by the canvassers.

2. They do not include county designation. Because zip codes cross county boundaries, many individual voters were placed in the wrong county.

3. One name is normally shown in each household, the male in whose name both the phone and auto are registered. Younger people and wives are not usually shown.

Specialized lists can and should be used both for individual mailings, as well as part of the overall data base.

Specific lists used in this Campaign were:

1. Farmers list owned by National Farm Journal
2. Youth list assembled by Committee's Youth Group

Potential lists which should have application:

1. Subscription lists to conservative publications such as National Review
2. Contributor lists compiled from GAO and state reports filed by Republican candidates
3. Past Nixon-Agnew volunteer lists

#### VOTER LIST CONVERSION

The most unique feature of the effort has been the standardization of the data base format and contents. In California, for example, where we computerized thirty-one counties all maintained their lists in different formats. Thus, unique programs were written for each county to produce walking lists, labels or other output. By standardizing the data format and contracting with individual vendors to convert the data into this single format, maximum flexibility was achieved in the use of these lists while minimizing the overall costs.

Each vendor was required to collect the voter registration lists for certain states or parts of states. Where the lists were not readily available (particularly where there was a reluctance to release computerized lists) outside Committee pressure was brought to bear.

Having obtained the data, each vendor was required to convert it to the standard format as shown in TAB 2. If the data was already on magnetic tape, this involved an analysis of the source tape codes and formats, then the writing of unique programs to convert the tape. Where the source data was in hard copy for written lists it was either keypunched or optically scanned. Each vendor wrote his own conversion software.

One of the most severe problems was the very poor quality of the source tapes available from the individual counties. In particular, these tapes often followed no real rules at all in their coding of address, name and political precinct.

Some county tapes contained no zip codes and required manual zip coding.

Addresses were often garbled and streets misspelled and inconsistently coded.

Apartment numbers were inconsistent, e.g., 111 Elm St. A -- All Elmst, and Apt A 111 Elm St, all on the same file.

The same name appeared three, four or more times on the county voter lists.

Precinct codes were non-uniform. This was a great problem in California. Because voters must be grouped together by precinct for walking or phoning, it is imperative that the unique code for each precinct be determined. In California, numerous code combinations were used, most incorrect. This cost much time and extra expense in the generation of the lists.

Sex and title codes were incorrect. In Harris County, Texas, all titles were either blank or Mr. (including females).

The quality of the hard copy lists varied. Most were typed and could be easily converted. The major problems arose when they were handwritten as shown in TAB 15. Problems normally arose in zip coding the lists (many included no zip code) and in assigning meaningful codes to the political sub-divisions (precincts, wards, townships, etc.).

#### VENDOR APPRAISAL

Seven different vendors were used to collect and convert the data. These were as follows:

	<u>RATING</u>
1. CompuGraphics, Cleveland, Ohio (Ohio)	Unacceptable
2. C. Howard Wilson Company Van Nuys, California (California, part of Maryland, part of Texas)	Very Poor
3. Premier Printing and Mailing Houston, Texas (Harris County, Texas)	Unacceptable
4. Ed Nichols Associates Kensington, Maryland (Pennsylvania, part of Maryland, part of Texas)	Good
5. A.R.A.P. Princeton, New Jersey (New Jersey)	Satisfactory
6. Cambridge Opinion Studies, Inc. New York, New York (Connecticut)	Satisfactory
Chicago, Illinois (Illinois)	Satisfactory

The performance of each vendor is appraised:

CompuGraphics is headed by Terry McCarthy and has close ties with the Cuyahoga County Republican organization through William Bennett. This firm maintains the Cuyahoga County Voter Lists. This firm performed very poorly and should not be considered for any future business. They underestimated the jobs and did not have the technical management talent to accomplish the tasks. One of the Committee's staff was sent to Cleveland to direct the project.

C. Howard Wilson Company is headed by C. Howard Wilson. This company also did a very poor job. Data was in many cases 30 or more days late. Failure to check outputs for correct precinct structure in California caused numerous re-runs, cost the Committee more than \$10,000 and delayed delivery of a usable product more than four weeks in some areas. Technical management was poor. Mr. Wilson left the project to attend to other business. Numerous counties had to be removed from Wilson and given to other vendors because of his poor performance. One of the Committee's staff was sent to California to direct the project.

Although Premier Printing and Mailing had responsibility for only one county, Harris County, they were unable to perform the job and the county was sent to another vendor for conversion. This firm is operating in the dark ages of automation and should not be considered for any work of this type.

Ed Nichols Associates is headed by Edward Nichols and performed creditably for the Committee. Most of the work which was taken from other vendors was sent to Nichols. As the volume of work increased, the quality of the output went down. Nichols was not sufficiently staffed to handle the greater volumes. Second, Nichols made certain promises to Pennsylvania Republicans to allow them access to the data in exchange for their cooperation in obtaining the source data. This was done without Committee approval and against his specific instructions.

A.R.A.P. converted the data for New Jersey and wrote the Committee's edit programs. They subcontracted all programming and computer work to Automated Data Research (ADR), also of Princeton. The A.R.A.P. group was headed by Evan Gray and the ADR programmer was Robert Wickendon. Because A.R.A.P. subcontracted all programming, it is difficult to assess that aspect. However, the technical management at A.R.A.P. was not good. Wickendon was the only person who understood their software. After the last shipment, Wickendon left for a prolonged vacation and no one was available for more than two weeks to correct several problems that developed in their last shipment.

Cambridge Opinion Studies converted voter data for Connecticut. The project was headed by Richard Hochhauser. All the work was from hard copy source data. A major error was made in the position of the telephone number, which caused only the first six digits to be shown on manuscripts. Cambridge regenerated these lists for each one affected.

Cohasset Associates is headed by Bob Williams. All work was done on a subcontract basis. Work was delivered on time. The only complaint is that Williams does not stand behind his work. When errors were detected in precincting the data, causing a re-run, Williams originally agreed to cover the cost of correcting the error and regenerating the manuscript. He later reneged on this agreement.

One other vendor was used during the primary -- Compass Systems of San Diego, California. Compass was contracted to convert California data for the primary election. Tom Hoefeller was Project Manager. The firm did a very poor job -- delivering data for only 20 of the 31 counties required.

In summary, no firm which converted voter registration data did an outstanding job. Some, such as CompuGraphics, Wilson and Premier, did extremely poor jobs and should not be used in the future. Others, such as Nichols, Cohasset, A.R.A.P. and Cambridge did average jobs. In choosing any firm, three criteria must be weighed: technical experience, sufficient manpower and political backing. The greatest single fault with all of the firms with which we dealt was lack of technical management and lack of sufficient resources to do the job. It appears that the companies with political experience in data processing are so small that they lack the means to do the job properly. Similarly, the larger firms, such as UCC, do not have the political experience to handle the jobs.

#### DATA EDIT AND STANDARDIZATION

A standard computer edit program was developed and supplied to each of the state vendors and to UCC. The purpose of this program was to validate the data in the original county files prior to submission to UCC. The edit was designed to be run as a final processing step by the state vendors after all data had been converted into the standard format. It was also to be run by UCC to validate that the correct data has been submitted by the state vendor. The edit program was designed to validate input data, not correct errors. Thus, it was designed to display real or potential problems for manual checking rather than attempting to correct them.

The edit routine consisted of the following:

1. A set of error-checking sub-routines

2. Two error listings
3. A fatal error listing of records containing errors which precluded further processing
4. A warning error listing of potential errors (such as an alphabetic character in the house number field)
5. Two audit reports: Zip City Audit (TAB 16) showing the number of households and voters for Republicans, Democrats, Independents and others by zip code and the Political Unit Audit (TAB 17) showing the number of households and voters for each precinct, ward and township or city -- summarized by county. Initially, a third audit report containing a statistical dump of the file was envisioned. This idea was dropped as impractical because of the large size of some counties.

The key to the edit routines was the geopolitical table. This set of cards was designed to show the permissible relationships between the Zip Code, Post Office name and the political sub-divisions (city/township, ward, district, precinct, state lower and upper house district and congressional district). This table was used to standardize Post Office name spelling and to insure that each voter was assigned to the correct precinct. If the information for a voter was not consistent, this record was rejected as a fatal error.

In general, the edit routine provided a very effective audit of the data. Each field was checked to ascertain correct placement of the data and the validity of characters with the field. Extensive checking was done on the "name" fields (given name, surname, and street name) in an effort to guard against misspellings. Character sequences were checked so that such things as four contiguous consonants, three contiguous vowels, or three contiguous identical letters produced warning messages. The A.R.A.P. specifications for the edit routine are included in TAB 18.

There were three basic problems with the edit programs:

1. First, and most important, while the programs displayed errors, each vendor was left to his own resources to develop programs and procedures to correct the errors. To the maximum extent possible, the edit program should automatically correct known errors. Standard software should be developed as part of the edit package to allow either single records or groups of records to be corrected and should operate on standard file format.
2. The geo-political table should be re-designed. Defined as it was, the political table was difficult to code. Since it was necessary to specify each precinct separately in order to use the precinct name field, the table

often grew unmanageably large. Because the edit routine would not run without the table, the majority of vendors generated the table from the county file itself which, of course, defeated the purpose of the validation table. Minimally, if such a table is used, the toles of precincts and zip codes should show the zip codes within a precinct and not vice versa.

3. More time must be given to develop the edit programs. The final edit specifications were developed in mid-June and the programs delivered to vendors in mid-July. This was not sufficient time to totally de-bug the programs or to test the applicability of the various complex routines. Numerous minor problems were found in the edits after they had been delivered to vendors. This delayed the acceptance of data. Minimally, two and one half months must be allowed to write the programs after the specifications are firm. Further, vendors should be given several weeks of experience with the edit routines prior to data submission.

In determining the specifications for future editing, special attention must be given to the street name field. The correct spelling and categorization of each street name is essential if effective door-to-door canvass lists are to be produced.

The street type (street, drive, road, etc.) should be separated from the rest of the street name in a separate field.

The key to developing good reliable addresses under the tight time constraints imposed by a political Campaign must be to use other address sources which have been compiled, checked and validated at a more leisurely pace. A common directory of street names within each zip code for each metropolitan area could be used to automatically correct spellings and to flag variances. Two good sources for this are the Address Coding Guide developed by Reuben H. Donnelley and the Universal Occupant Lists also developed by the direct mail companies.

Name redundancy should be eliminated. This can easily be done by sorting the files prior to editing and then checking for consecutive repeating names. Specific field edit recommendations are shown at TAB 19.

#### ALGORITHMS FOR EXTENDING DATA

Ethnic origin of names was determined by comparing the surname with a precompiled list of names and by matching the last set of characters in the name against a prescribed set of endings. Procedures were developed for Spanish, Polish, Jewish, Irish and Italian groupings. The exact lists and endings used for each ethnic group are shown in TAB 20.

The greatest potential problem in determining ethnic grouping from the surname is insuring that the ethnic groupings are exclusive, i.e., insuring that if

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a surname is assigned to a specific ethnic group, that the individual does indeed belong to the group. This problem is most acute in determining Jewish surnames and in separating Irish from other Angle-Saxon names. (For example, the name Schwartz can be both Jewish and German and it is a mistake to arbitrarily assign this name to a Jewish group.)

The second potential problem with the use of surnames is the standardization of prefixes. Prefixes such as 'O', 'Di', or 'D' must be in standard positions in order that these names be properly assigned.

Telephone number, census tract, age groupings and income grouping were all appended to each voter record by combining the Voter Registration Data Base with selected data elements from the Reuben H. Donnelley Universal List.

A match code was extracted for each registered voter household. For Type 1 addresses this code consisted of Zip Code, county, state, last four characters of house number, first character of street name and first, third and fourth character of last name. For Type 2 and 3 addresses, this code was Zip Code, state, county, and first, third and fourth characters of last name. A similar match code was extracted from the R.H. Donnelley Universal List. See TAB 21.

These two sets of match codes were sorted into the same sequence and compared. Each time a match was found, the telephone number, census tract, dwelling size and FIND (Family Income Detector) code were extracted from the R.H. Donnelley Universal List and appended to the Voter Registration Data Base.

The match code technique is the only feasible means of combining two separately developed name lists. However, the actual match code used is variable and can be adjusted depending upon the accuracy required.

The match code for Type 1 addresses was valid.

The match code for Type 2 and 3 addresses was not valid. The code in these instances should be changed to include more characters in the surname.

The Reuben H. Donnelley Universal lists contained 1960 census tract codes. 1970 census tract data was added to each file using the Address Coding Guide supplied by R.H. Donnelley and comparing addresses between the two files. See TAB 22.

Peripheral Urban Ethnics (PUE) and black ghettos were determined by 1970 census tract data.

All individual voters who resided in ghettos census tracts and whose surnames indicated that the voter was not one of the specified ethnic groupings (Irish, Jewish, Spanish, Italian or Polish) was designated black.

All individual voters who resided in census tracts designated as PUE were so coded.

Because some voters had not matched the R.H. Donnelley Universal list and hence contained no census tract codes, it was necessary to extend black and PUE designations through entire precincts. This was accomplished on the following basis:

1. Counts were generated for each precinct showing the total number of households in the precinct, the number of households with census tract, and the number of households designated as black or PUE based upon a match of census tracts.

2. If more than 15% of the households in a precinct contained census tract matches and if more than 50% of all census tract households were designated black or PUE, then all households in the precinct were designated black or PUE. The exception were names which had previously been identified as one of the special ethnic groupings.

1972  
COMPOSITE ELECTION  
STATISTICS  
and  
BRIEF ANALYSIS  
for  
1974

Prepared by:  
Manyon M. Millican  
January 1973

REPUBLICAN GAINS

Due to redistricting the 24 states of the East and Midwest lost a total of 9 districts and yet showed a net gain of 6 seats.

The 13 states of the South had an increase of only 2 districts, yet gained a total of 5 new seats.

The 13 Western states, with an increase of 7 new districts, only gained 2 new seats, truly disappointing in view of the fact that our gains in the 50's and 60's came where the population increased.

	<u>Redistricting</u>	<u>Gain</u>	<u>Total</u>
West (13) gained	+7 new seats	+2R	42D - 34R
South (13) gained	+2 new seats	+6R	84D - 37R
Midwest (12) lost	-4 seats	+3R	51D - 70R
East (12) lost	-5 seats	+3R	65D - 52R
		+13R	242D - 193R

Voting statistics substantiate that our gains to become a majority party should come from the South and the sunbelt of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California in addition to our base in the Midwest.

In other words, we must continue our gains in the East and Midwest and continue our giant gains in the South and the West (?). However, the West failed to make the significant gains that statistics would indicate it should.

Our gains in the South were not what they should have been in this writer's opinion. At least an additional 12 seats should have been won from this area (there are 19 marginal Democrat districts alone from this area) excluding our gain of 6 new seats. (See Table V)

Of the 121 districts in the South, there are 84D to 37R seats with 29 of the 84 Democrat seats uncontested. Nine of these were in Texas, 6 in Louisiana, 5 in Georgia and 2 in Florida.

A significant statistic is that in 1960 the South had only 8 Republican congressmen and in 12 years they are at 37. Yet the total gains should be close to 60 had proper priorities been emphasized. A statistic that would suggest this to be a valid argument is that

the same period the South went from 2 Republican Senators to 10 of 26, a gain of 500%. However, while we were making good Senate gains in the South we were losing such Republican seats as Iowa (2), Maine (2), Montana (1), New Hampshire (1), North Dakota (1), South Dakota (1), Wyoming (1), Colorado (1) and Indiana (2) - a total loss of 12 seats.

#### WHY NO COATTAILS? NO ORGANIZATION

It is incredible with a 60% victory by the President that we lost 4 Senate seats plus failing to keep 2 seats that were previously Republican, not to mention the meager 12 seat gain in the House.

These losses in the Senate and poor gains in the House are primarily due to lack of organization at the precinct and county level in addition to poor candidate recruitment. The third ingredient, money, was adequate in a boon Republican year for fund-raising.

We will not gain control of the Congress until we muster a national, monolithic organizational approach at the congressional district level consisting of precinct organization plans of find 'em, register 'em, vote 'em, and count 'em, plus a well-coordinated national candidate recruitment drive (plus money, of course).

It is the major responsibility of a party (nationally) to cause the aforementioned to happen. If it is not done, then we as a party cannot exploit the President's "New Majority", thus not becoming the majority party nor winning the White House in 1976.

#### HOUSE AND SENATE RACES IN 1974

We need 26 new seats in the House and 8 new seats in the Senate to control both. The odds are stiff to accomplish either in the next 2 years due to incumbencies and/or retirements, and just numbers in the House. However, control of either is possible in 1976 if we do our homework in 1974.

18 Democrats and 15 Republicans are up in the Senate in 1974, with 4 possible Republican retirees and only 2 possible Democrat retirees and 5 of the 18 Democrats from the Deep South (and tough to beat). However, 5 to 8 Democrats could be beaten in 1974 and, if we maintained our momentum, substantial gains could be made.

TABLE I

CONGRESSIONAL, SENATORIAL AND GOVERNOR TALLY

\* Up in 1974  
 \*\* Up in 1973  
 TP Third Party

EASTERN STATES

Electoral Votes: 141 / -4 over 1970)

1970				1972				1974				
122 House Districts		69D - 53R		117 House Districts		65D - 52R		12 Governors		6D - 6R		
24 Senate Seats		9D - 15R		24 Senate Seats		11D - 13R		* 3D - 5R				
12 Governors		4D - 8R		12 Governors		6D - 6R						
States	#	House	Senate	+ -	#	House	Senate	1974	Gov.	Plurality	%	1974
Conn.	6	4D 2R	1D 1R		6	3D 3R	1D* 1R	Ribicoff	- R*	+81,599	53.8	Meskill
Delaware	1	- 1R	- 2R		1	- 1R	1D 1R	---	D -	---	---	---
Maine	2	2D -	1D 1R		2	1D 1R	2D -	---	D* -	-890	49.9	Curtis
Maryland	8	5D 3R	- 2R		8	4D 4R	- 2R*	Mathias	D* -	-325,243	32.3	Mandel
Mass.	12	8D 4R	1D 1R		12	8D 4R	1D 1R	---	- R*	+259,354	51.8	Sargent
N. H.	2	- 2R	1D 1R		2	- 2R	1D 1R*	Cotton	- R*	TP+4,200	46.0	Peterson
N. J.	15	8D 7R	1D 1R		15	8D 7R	1D 1R	---	- R*	**		Cahill ('7
N. Y.	41	23D 18R	- 2R	-2	39	22D 17R	- 2R*	Javits	- R*	+730,006	51.2	Rockefelle
Pa.	27	12D 15R	- 2R	-2	25	13D 12R	- 2R*	Schweiker	D* -	-500,175	41.7	Shapp
R. I.	2	2D -	2D -		2	2D -	2D -	---	D -	---	---	---
Vermont	1	- 1R	- 2R		1	- 1R	- 2R*	Aiken	D -	---	---	---
W. Va.	5	5D -	2D -	-1	4	4D -	2D -	---	R	---	---	---
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>69D 53R</b>	<b>9D 15R</b>	<b>-5</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>65D 52R</b>	<b>11D 13R</b>	<b>* 1D 5R</b>	<b>* *</b>	<b>3D 5R</b>		<b>3D 5R</b>

TABLE II

CONGRESSIONAL, SENATORIAL AND GOVERNOR TALLY

\* Up in 1974

MIDWEST STATES

(Electoral Votes: 145 / -4 over 1970)

1970				1972				1974											
125 House Districts		56D - 69R		121 House Districts		51D - 70R		12 Governor		8D - 4R									
24 Senate Seats		14D - 10R		24 Senate Seats		15D - 9R		* 6D - 2R											
12 Governors		9D - 3R		12 Governors		8D - 4R													
				* 5D - 3R															
State	#	House	Senate	+/-	#	House	Senate	1974	Governor	Plurality	%	1974							
Ill.	24	12D 12R	1D 1R		24	10D 14R	1D 1R	---	D	---	---	---							
Ind.	11	5D 6R	2D --		11	4D 7R	2D* -	Bayh	- R	---	---	---							
Iowa	7	3D 4R	1D 1R	-1	6	3D 3R	2D* -	Hughes	- R*	+34,483	51	Ray							
Kans.	5	1D 4R	-- 2R		5	1D 4R	-- 2R*	Dole	D* -	-71,384	54	Docking							
Mich.	19	7D 12R	1D 1R		19	7D 12R	1D 1R	---	- R*	+44,111	50.4	Milliken							
Minn.	8	4D 4R	2D --		8	4D 4R	2D -	---	D* -	-116,141	45.5	Anderson							
Mo.	3	-- 3R	-- 2R		3	-- 3R	-- 2R	---	D* -	-46,558	43.8	Exon							
Neb.	10	9D 1R	2D --		10	9D 1R	2D* -	Eagleton	- R	---	---	---							
N.D.	2	1D 1R	1D 1R	-1	1	-- 1R	1D 1R*	Young	D -	---	---	---							
Ohio	24	7D 17R	-- 2R	-1	23	7D 16R	-- 2R*	Saxbe	D* -	-342,811	43.4	Gilligan							
S. D.	2	2D --	2D --		2	1D 1R	2D* -	McGovern	D* -	-23,269	45.2	Kneip							
Wisc.	10	5D 5R	2D --	-1	9	5D 4R	2D* -	Nelson	D* -	-125,786	44.9	Lucey							
TOTAL		125 56D 69R		-4		121 51D 70R		15D 9R		* 5D 3R		8D 4R		---		---		6D 2R	

TABLE III

CONGRESSIONAL, SENATORIAL AND GOVERNOR TALLY

\* Up in 1974  
TP Third Party

WESTERN STATES

(Electoral Votes: 102 / +7 over 1970)

1970				1972				1974				
69 House Districts		39D - 30R		76 House Districts		42D - 34R		13 Governors 7D - 6R				
26 Senate Seats		15D - 11R		26 Senate Seats		15D - 11R		10 up in '74 (5D - 5R)				
13 Governors		6D - 7R		13 Governors		7D - 6R						
States	#	House	Senate	+ -	#	House	Senate	1974	Governor	Plurality	%	1974
Alaska	1	1D -	1D 1R		1	1D -	1D* 1R	Gravel	D* -	-5,045	46.9	Egan
Arizona	3	1D 2R	- 2R	+1	4	1D 3R	- 2R*	Goldwater	- R*	+7,303	50.9	Williams
Calif.	38	20D 18R	2D -	+5	43	23D 20R	2D* -	Cranston	- R*	+501,057	52.8	Reagan
Colo.	4	2D 2R	- 2R	+1	5	2D 3R	1D 1R*	Dominick	- R*	+48,567	52.5	Love
Hawaii	2	2D -	1D 1R		2	2D -	1D* 1R	Inouye	D* -	-36,563	42.6	Burns
Idaho	2	- 2R	1D 1R		2	- 2R	1D* 1R	Church	D* -	-10,896	47.8	Andrus
Montana	2	1D 1R	2D -		2	1D 1R	2D -	---	D -	---	---	---
Nevada	1	1D -	2D -		1	- 1R	2D* -	Bible	D* T.P.	-6,297	43.8	O'Callaghan
N. Mex.	2	1D 1R	2D -		2	1D 1R	1D 1R	---	D* -	-14,195	46.4	King
Oregon	4	2D 2R	- 2R		4	2D 2R	- 2R*	Packwood	- R*	+76,072	55.5	McCall
Utah	2	1D 1R	1D 1R		2	2D -	1D 1R*	Bennett	D	---	---	---
Wash.	7	6D 1R	2D -		7	6D 1R	2D* -	Magnuson	- R	---	---	---
Wyoming	1	1D -	1D 1R		1	1D -	1D 1R	---	- R*	+30,241	62.8	Hathaway
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>39D 30R</b>	<b>15D 11R</b>	<b>+7</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>42D 34R</b>	<b>15D 11R</b>	<b>* 6D 4R</b>				<b>5D 5R</b>

SENATE INVENTORY BY REGION

EASTERN STATES	1 Democrat and 5 Republicans
MIDWESTERN STATES	5 Democrats and 3 Republicans
SOUTHERN STATES	6 Democrats and 3 Republicans
WESTERN STATES	6 Democrats and 4 Republicans
<hr/>	
	18 Democrats      15 Republicans

HOUSE INVENTORY (Table V)

There are 319 so-called "safe" seats (178D and 141R) of the 435 total, leaving 116 marginal seats (67D and 49R) to fight over for 26 seats needed to control. Democrats are most vulnerable in the East and South with 40 of their 67 marginal seats. We are most vulnerable in the Midwest with 17 seats that are marginal.

To win control of the House we would have to win 67% of the total 116 marginal seats while not losing any of our 141 so-called "safe" seats, indeed a very difficult task! That should be our objective however in 1974 - 67% of the 116 marginal seats. Should we only win 50% of the 116 marginal seats we will then be only 7 seats away from a majority in 1976.

Lincoln's formula must be implemented at the county and precinct level within congressional districts by our national party if we are to be the majority party.

To conclude -- we must have:

1. Excellent candidates
2. Sound issues
3. Adequate money
4. Good organization

if we are to win!

TABLE V

HOUSE INVENTORY

Total of Marginal and Safe Districts

EASTERN (117 Districts)

M - D	M - R	Total	S - D	S - R	Total
21	10	31	45	41	86

SOUTHERN (121 Districts)

M - D	M - R	Total	S - D	S - R	Total
19	14	33	65	23	88

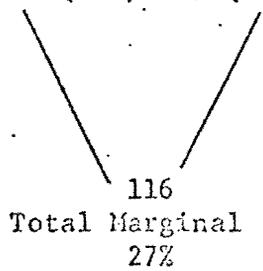
MIDWESTERN (121 Districts)

M - D	M - R	Total	S - D	S - R	Total
13	17	30	38	53	91

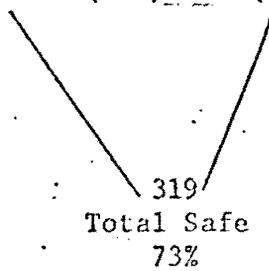
WESTERN (76 Districts)

M - D	M - R	Total	S - D	S - R	Total
14	8	22	30	24	54

67 (58%)    49 (42%)



178 (56%)    141 (44%)



House Makeup      Democrat    243  
                           Republican    192  
   51

26 seats for majority

TABLE VI

## MARGINAL CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

TP--Third Party

## EASTERN STATES

## SOUTHERN STATES (con.)

EASTERN STATES			SOUTHERN STATES (con.)				
House	%	Plurality	House	%	Plurality		
<u>Conn.</u>	#5-R	51.1	+5,256	<u>La.</u>	#3-R	51.8	+4,213
	#3-D	46.8	-14,947	<u>Miss.</u>	#4-R	47.1	+3,257
<u>Del.</u>	N O N E				#5-R	55.2	+11,628
<u>Maine</u>	#2-R	54.4	+13,240	<u>N. C.</u>	#4-D	49.7	-971
	#1-D	41.7	-26,049		#7-D	40.3	-16,623
<u>Md.</u>	#4-R	59.2	+25,881		#3-D('70)	40.0	-13,841
<u>Mass.</u>	#4-D/TP	45.0	-9,433		#6-D	35.0	-26,954
	#5-R/TP	53.4	+18,026		#11-D	40.5	-29,544
	#12-D	49.7	-1,207	<u>Okla.</u>	#1-D	43.9	-19,426
<u>N. H.</u>	N O N E				#5-D	41.9	-16,367
<u>N. J.</u>	#1-R	52.8	+9,615	<u>S. C.</u>	#1-D	44.9	-11,635
	#3-D	46.7	-12,176		#6-R	52.5	+5,425
	#4-D	42.1	-25,878	<u>Tenn.</u>	#3-R	55.3	+19,913
	#9-D	44.2	-24,756		#5-D	37.1	-37,051
	#13-R	56.3	+22,951		#6-R	55.1	+16,441
	#15-D	47.9	-17,749		#8-R	55.5	+18,529
<u>N. Y.</u>	#3-R/TP	53.8	+52,069	<u>Texas</u>	#5-R	55.7	+15,236
	#6-D	47.6	-9,449		#13-R	54.8	+15,061
	#15-D/TP	43.5	-11,899		#21-D	41.9	-23,580
	#17-D	41.1	-19,224	<u>Va.</u>	#4-R	49.9	+11,998
	#23-R	53.4	+10,089		#6-R	54.3	+20,544
	#26-R/TP	48.7	+18,262		#8-R	44.9	+8,897
	#31-R/TP	54.3	+22,824		#10-R	56.6	+23,310
	#32-D	43.7	-20,849				
<u>Pa.</u>	#4-D	44.1	-26,965				
	#22-D	40.4	-22,602				
	#23-R	57.4	+20,536				
	#25-D	44.4	-16,050				
<u>R. I.</u>	N O N E						
<u>Vermont</u>	N O N E						
<u>W. Va.</u>	#4-D	40.0	-30,443				

## MIDWESTERN STATES

## SOUTHERN STATES

SOUTHERN STATES			MIDWESTERN STATES				
House	%	Plurality	House	%	Plurality		
<u>Ala.</u>	#2-R	55.3	-19,952	<u>Ill.</u>	#10-R	51.6	+7,173
<u>Fla.</u>	#4-D	44.0	-18,692		#11-D	46.8	-13,268
	#5-D	44.5	-18,611		#21-R	54.8	+17,443
	#8-D	42.4	-22,315		#22-D	43.2	-26,228
	#11-D	39.8	-37,502	<u>Ind.</u>	#1-D	49.3	-1,811
	#15-D	43.4	-19,601		#2-R	54.1	+14,615
<u>Ga.</u>	#5-D	46.5	-9,136		#3-D	43.8	-22,456
	#7-D	40.1	-17,705		#4-D	48.4	-5,833
<u>Ky.</u>	#2-D	40.0	-25,343		#11-R	51.1	+4,241
	#6-D	47.0	-7,547	<u>Iowa</u>	#1-D	44.8	-16,788
					#2-D	41.3	-19,219
					#6-R	51.4	+4,350
				<u>Kansas</u>	#2-D	36.8	-29,364
				<u>Mich.</u>	#6-R	50.6	+2,239
					#12-D	49.1	-2,944
					#14-D	42.7	-25,518
					#16-R	54.5	+2,051

TABLE VI (con.)

## MIDWESTERN STATES (con.)

	House	%	Plurality
Minn.	#6-R	51.1	+4,744
	#7-D	41.0	-39,977
Neb.	N O N E		
Mo.	#4-D	42.3	-22,658
	#6-D	45.3	-19,045
	#8-D	39.3	-27,575
N. D.	N O N E		
<u>Ohio</u>	#8-R	51.7	+1,592
	#16-R	53.8	+9,711
	#23-R/TP	50.1	+3,561
S. D.	#2-R	55.0	+12,750
Wisc.	#3-R/TP	54.7	+19,886
	#8-R/TP	50.5	+3,504

## WESTERN STATES

	House	%	Plurality
Alaska	AL-D	44.8	-8,018
Ariz.	#4-R	53.5	+9,686
<u>Calif.</u>	#2-D/TP	22.5	-86,427
	#7-D/TP	38.0	-40,500
	#8-D	47.1	-11,076
	#11-D/TP	37.0	-43,925
	#12-R	54.0	+21,287
	#31-D/TP	42.5	-16,078
	#36-R/TP	52.7	+5,468
	#38-D	43.7	-17,397
Colo.	#1-D/TP	47.4	-9,639
	#4-R	51.4	+5,265
Hawaii	#1-D	45.4	-12,424
	#2-D	43.0	-19,577
Idaho	N O N E		
Mont.	#1-R	57.6	+11,407
Nev.	AL-R	51.5	+4,596
N. Mex.	N O N E		
Ore.	N O N E		
Utah	#2-D	44.9	-19,167
Wash.	#1-D	49.7	-1,090
	#4-D	47.3	-7,697
Wyo.	AL-D	48.3	-4,872

TABLE VII

MARGINAL AND SAFE DEMOCRAT AND REPUBLICAN SEATS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>M-D(#)</u>	<u>M-R(#)</u>	<u>S-D(#)</u>	<u>S-R(#)</u>
<b>MIDWEST STATES</b>					
<u>Illinois</u>	24	1(22)	3(10,11,21)	8(1,2,5,7,9,23,24)	12(3,4,6,12-20)
Indiana	11	3(1,3,4)	2(2,11)	1(9)	5(5-8,10)
Iowa	6	2(1,2)	2(5,6)	1(4)	1(3)
<u>Michigan</u>	19	2(12,14)	3(2,6,18)	6(1,13,15,16,17,19)	8(3-5,7-11)
Kansas	5	1(2)	-----	-----	4(1,3-5)
Minnesota	8	1(7)	1(6)	3(4,5,8)	3(1,2,3)
Nebraska	3	-----	-----	-----	3(1,2,3)
Missouri	10	3(4,6,8)	-----	6(1-3,9,10)	1(7)
N. Dakota	1	-----	-----	-----	1(AL)
<u>Ohio</u>	23	-----	3(8,16,23)	7(9,14,18-22)	13(1-7,10-13,15,17)
S. Dakota	2	-----	1(2)	1(1)	-----
Wisconsin	9	-----	2(3,8)	5(1,2,4,5,7)	2(6,9)
	121	13	17	38	53
<b>WESTERN STATES</b>					
Alaska	1	1(AL)	-----	-----	-----
Arizona	4	-----	1(4)	1(2)	2(1,3)
<u>California</u>	43	5(2,7,8,31,38)	3(6,12,36)	19(1,3-5,11,14-16,19,21,22,26,29,30,34,35,37,41)	16(10,13,17,18,20,23-25,27,28,32,33,39,40,42,43)
Colorado	5	1(1)	1(4)	1(3)	2(2,5)
Hawaii	2	2(1,2)	-----	-----	-----
Idaho	2	-----	-----	-----	2(1,2)
Montana	2	-----	1(1)	1(2)	-----
Nevada	1	-----	1(AL)	-----	-----
New Mexico	2	-----	1(1)	1(2)	-----
Oregon	4	-----	-----	2(2,3)	2(1,4)
Utah	2	2(1,2)	-----	-----	-----
Washington	7	2(1,4)	-----	5(2,3,5-7)	-----
Wyoming	1	1(AL)	-----	-----	-----
	76	14	8	30	24
<b>EASTERN STATES</b>					
<u>Connecticut</u>	6	2(1,2)	1(1)	1(6)	2(2,4)
Delaware	1	-----	-----	-----	1(AL)
Maine	2	1(1)	1(2)	-----	-----
<u>Maryland</u>	8	-----	-----	4(2,3,6,7)	4(1,4,5,8)

TABLE VII (con.)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>M-D(#)</u>	<u>M-R(#)</u>	<u>S-D(#)</u>	<u>S-R(#)</u>
Massachusetts	12	3(4,9,12)	1(5)	6(2,3,6,8,11)	2(1,10)
New Hampshire	2	-----	-----	-----	2(1,2)
New Jersey	15	5(3,4,9,11,15)	2(1,13)	3(8,10,14)	5(2,5,6,7,12)
New York	39	4(6,15,17,32)	5(1,3,23,26,31)	17(7-14,16,18-22,24,28,37)	13(2,4,5,25,27,29,30,33,34,35,36,38,39)
Pennsylvania	25	3(4,22,25)	1(23)	10(1-3,6,11,14,15,20,21,24)	11(5,7-10,12,13,16-19)
Rhode Island	2	-----	-----	2(1,2)	-----
Vermont	1	-----	-----	-----	1(AL)
West Virginia	4	1(4)	-----	3(1,2,3)	-----
	117	19	11	46	41
SOUTHERN STATES					
Alabama	7	-----	1(2)	4(3,4,5,7)	2(1,6)
Arkansas	4	-----	-----	3(1,2,4)	1(3)
Florida	15	5(4,5,8,11,15)	-----	6(1-3,7,13,14)	4(6,9,10,12)
Georgia	10	2(5,7)	-----	7(1-3,6,8,10)	1(4)
Kentucky	7	2(2,6)	-----	3(3,1,7)	2(4,5)
Louisiana	8	-----	1(3)	7(1,2,4-8)	-----
Mississippi	5	-----	2(4,5)	3(1,2,3)	-----
North Carolina	11	3(4,7,11)	-----	4(1,2,3,6)	4(5,8-10)
Oklahoma	6	2(1,5)	-----	3(2-4)	1(6)
South Carolina	6	1(1)	1(6)	3(3-5)	1(2)
Tennessee	8	1(5)	3(3,6,8)	2(4,7)	2(1,2)
Texas	24	3(8,21,24)	2(5,13)	17(1,2,4,6,9-12,14-20,22,23)	2(3,7)
Virginia	10	-----	4(4,6,8,10)	3(1,3,5)	3(2,7,9)
Totals	121	19	14	65	23

**SUMMARY OF ELECTION RESULTS FOR 50 STATES, D.C.**

(Complete list of unofficial returns, p. 2993-3001)

**West**

President Nixon defeated Sen. George McGovern in 13 western states and won 102 electoral votes.

Seven Senate seats and three governorships were up for election this year. There were two party turnovers among the Senate races: Colorado elected a Democratic senator and New Mexico a Republican senator. There was no party turnover among the governorships.

Of the 76 House districts in the West, the Democrats won 43 and the Republicans won 33. Of the seven new House seats added by reapportionment, the Republicans won four and the Democrats won three. Party control of 100 House seats was reversed, giving the Republicans a net gain of one representative.

**Alaska.** President: Nixon won the state's three electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Ted Stevens (R), 48, was elected to his first full term.

House (1 D): Nick Begich (D), 40, was elected to a second term as Alaska's at-large representative. Begich disappeared in a light plane while campaigning Oct. 15. Unless he survived, Gov. William A. Egan (D) must call a special election to replace him.

**Arizona.** President: Nixon won the state's six electoral votes.

House (1 D, 3 R): All three incumbents were re-elected, and a Republican was elected to the new seat created as a result of reapportionment.

**California.** President: Nixon won the state's 45 electoral votes.

House (23 D, 20 R): All 34 California incumbents seeking re-election were successful. Democrats gained three seats and Republicans two, reflecting the five new House seats in California because of reapportionment.

**Colorado.** President: Nixon won the state's seven electoral votes.

Senator: Former State Rep. Floyd K. Haskell (D), defeated Sen. Gordon Allott (R), 65, denying him a fourth term.

House (2 D, 3 R): Republicans had an over-all gain of one seat. Incumbent James D. (Mike) McKeivitt (R) was defeated by Patricia Schroeder (D), but Republicans won two other seats—one in a new district created when Colorado gained one seat because of reapportionment, the other in Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall's (D) district. He was defeated in a primary.

**Hawaii.** President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

House (2 D): Both incumbents won re-election.

**Idaho.** President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Rep. James A. McClure (R), 47, defeated Brian E. (Bud) Davis (D), 43, to replace retiring Sen. Frank B. Jordan (R).

House (2 R): Incumbent Orval Hansen (R) was elected to a third term, and Steven D. Symms (R) was elected to the seat vacated by McClure.

**Nevada.** President: Nixon won the state's three electoral votes.

House (1 R): Republicans took over the at-large seat as David Towell (R), 35, defeated James H. Bilbray (D), 33. Bilbray defeated Rep. Walter S. Baring (D) in the primary.

**Montana.** President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Lee Metcalf (D), 61, was elected to a third term.

Governor: Lt. Gov. Thomas L. Judge (D), 38, was elected, defeating State Sen. Ed Smith (R), 52. Gov. Forrest H. Anderson (D) is retiring.

House (1 D, 1 R): Both incumbents won re-election.

**New Mexico.** President: Nixon took the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Pete V. Domenici (R), 40, will replace retiring Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D) in the Senate. Domenici defeated former State Rep. Jack Daniels (D).

House (1 D, 1 R): Both incumbents were re-elected.

**Oregon.** President: Nixon won the state's six electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Mark O. Hatfield (R), 50, was elected to a second term, defeating former Sen. Wayne L. Morse (D), 71.

House (2 D, 2 R): All four incumbents were re-elected.

**Utah.** President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Governor: Calvin L. Rampton (D), 58, won a third term.

House (2 D): Both House seats went Democratic as incumbent K. Gunn McKay (D), 47, was re-elected and attorney Wayne Owens (D), 35, defeated incumbent Sherman P. Lloyd (R), who has served five terms.

**Washington.** President: Nixon won the state's nine electoral votes.

Governor: Incumbent Daniel J. Evans (R), 46, was elected to a third term.

House (7 D): All six Democratic incumbents were re-elected, and the Democrats picked up the seat of retiring Rep. Thomas M. Pelly (R).

**Wyoming.** President: Nixon won the state's three electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Clifford P. Hansen (R), 59, was elected to a second term.

House (1 D): Teno Roncalio (D), 36, was elected to a third term as Wyoming's at-large representative.

**East**

Nixon carried 11 of 12 states in the East with 174 electoral votes. McGovern won in Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, the two sources of his total of only 17 electoral votes.

In the seven Senate races in the East, incumbents held five and lost, two. Incumbents Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine) and J. Caleb Boggs (R Del.) both were defeated by Democrats.

There were two party turnovers in the five governors' races. In Delaware and Vermont, Democrats will replace Republicans.

Of the 117 House seats at stake, Democrats won 66 and Republicans won 51. Party control of five seats switched hands for a Republican net gain of three seats.

Connecticut. President: Nixon won the state's eight electoral votes.

House (3 D; 3 R): Three Democratic and two Republican incumbents were re-elected, but incumbent Democrat John S. Monagan, 60, lost his 5th District seat to State Rep. Ronald A. Sarasin (R), 37.

Delaware. President: Nixon won the state's three electoral votes.

Senator: Democrat Joseph R. Biden Jr., 29, unseated two-term incumbent J. Caleb Boggs (R), 63, in a major upset. An American Party candidate was third.

Governor: State house minority leader Sherman W. Tribbitt (D), 49, defeated incumbent Republican Gov. Russell W. Peterson, 55, with an American Party candidate running third.

House (1 R): Incumbent Republican Pierre S. (Pete) du Pont, 37, was elected to a second term.

Maine. President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Republican Margaret Chase Smith, 74, lost to Rep. William D. Hathaway (D), 48, in an upset.

House (1 D, 1 R): Incumbent Democrat Peter N. Kyros, 46, won a fourth term, and Republican William S. Cohen, 32, mayor of Bangor, captured the Democratic seat vacated by Hathaway.

Maryland. President: Nixon won the state's 10 electoral votes.

House (4 D, 4 R): Seven incumbents—four Democrats and three Republicans—were re-elected. A Republican was elected to the new 4th District seat.

Massachusetts. President: McGovern won the state's 14 electoral votes.

Senator: Republican Edward W. Brooke, 52, was elected to a second term.

House (9 D; 3 R): Nine incumbents—seven Democrats and two Republicans—were re-elected. But Democrat Louise Day Hicks, 52, lost her 9th District seat to Boston city councilman John Joseph Mockley, 45, a Democrat who ran as an independent candidate. Republicans and Democrats split two seats vacated by Republicans. A Republican won in the 5th District and a Democrat won in the 12th.

New Hampshire. President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Democrat Thomas J. McIntyre, 57, won a second full term by defeating former Gov. Wesley Powell (1959-63), 56, the Republican candidate.

Governor: Republican Meldrim Thomson Jr., 60, defeated Democrat Neer J. Crowley Jr., 59, and independent candidate Melvin M. Lane, 47.

House (2 R): Both incumbents were re-elected.

New Jersey. President: Nixon won the state's 17 electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Republican Clifford P. Case, 68, was elected to a fourth term, defeating former Rep. Paul J. Krebs (D 1965-67), 60, and three minor-party candidates.

House (8 D; 7 R): Thirteen districts re-elected incumbents—five Republicans and eight Democrats. Republicans were elected to a seat being vacated by a Republican and to a new seat created by redistricting.

New York. President: Nixon won the state's 41 electoral votes.

House (22 D, 17 R): Thirty-three incumbents—20 Democrats and 13 Republicans—were re-elected to the House from New York, which lost two seats for a new total of 39. Four new Republicans and two new Democrats were elected.

Pennsylvania. President: Nixon won the state's 27 electoral votes.

House (13 D, 12 R): Incumbents were re-elected in 24 of 25 districts in Pennsylvania, which lost two seats through reapportionment. In the only race without an incumbent candidate, a Republican was elected in the new 9th District.

Rhode Island. President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Democrat Claiborne Pell, 53, won a third term by defeating Republican John H. Chafee, 49, former Rhode Island governor and former secretary of the Navy.

Governor: Democrat Phillip W. Noel, 41, the mayor of Warwick, defeated Republican Herbert F. DeSimone, 42, and an independent candidate.

House (2 D): Both incumbents were re-elected.

Vermont. President: Nixon won the state's three electoral votes.

Governor: Thomas P. Salmon, 40, the Democrat-Independent Vermonters Party candidate, upset Republican Luther F. Hackett, 39, the chosen successor to retiring Gov. Deane C. Davis (R).

House (1 R): Incumbent Republican Richard W. Mallery, 43, was elected to a full term.

West Virginia. President: Nixon won the state's six electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Democrat Jennings Randolph, 70, was elected to a third full term, defeating Republican State Sen. Louise Leonard, 53.

Governor: Incumbent Republican Arch Moore, 49, defeated Democrat John D. Rockefeller IV, 35, the secretary of state.

House (4 D): Four incumbent Democrats were re-elected. A fifth Democratic seat was abolished through reapportionment.

District of Columbia. President: McGovern won the District's three electoral votes.

## South

Nixon defeated McGovern in all 13 states of the South and won the region's 147 electoral votes.

In the 12 Senate races, party control switched in four states. Republicans took over in North Carolina, Oklahoma and Virginia. A Democrat will replace a Republican in the Kentucky seat.

Of the three races for governor, only in North Carolina was there a party change, from Democrat to Republican.

Of the 121 House seats in the 13 states, 84 were won by Democrats and 37 by Republicans. There were changes in party control of nine seats for a net gain of five seats for the Republicans.

Alabama. President: Nixon won the state's nine electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent John J. Sparkman (D), 72, was elected to a sixth term, defeating Winton M. Blount Jr. (R), 51, and three minor-party candidates.

House: (4 D, 3 R): All seven incumbents were re-elected. Alabama lost one seat because of redistricting.

Arkansas. President: Nixon won the state's six electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent John L. McClellan (D), 76, was elected to a sixth term, defeating Wayne H. Babbitt (R), 44.

Governor: Dale L. Bumpers (D), 47, was elected to a second term, defeating Len E. Blaylock (R), 53.

House: (3 D, 1 R): The party breakdown for the delegation remains the same as before, although Rep. David H. Pryor, 33, resigned his 4th District seat to challenge McClellan in the Democratic Senate primary.

Florida. President: Nixon won the state's 17 electoral votes.

House: (11 D, 4 R): Florida gained three seats through redistricting. All 12 incumbents were re-elected. Democrats captured two of the new seats, and a Republican won the third.

Georgia. President: Nixon won the state's 12 electoral votes.

Senate: Sam Nunn (D), 34, was elected, defeating Rep. Fletcher Thompson (R), 47. Sen. David H. Gambrell (D) was defeated in the primary by Nunn.

House: (9 D, 1 R): The Democrats picked up the 5th District seat vacated by Thompson.

Kentucky. President: Nixon won the state's nine electoral votes.

Senate: Walter (Dee) Huddleston (D), 46, was elected, defeating former Gov. Louie B. Nunn (R 1968-72), 48, and American Party and People's Party candidates.

House: (5 D, 2 R): The party breakdown remains the same, with a Democrat replacing a retiring Democrat in the 6th District.

Louisiana. President: Nixon won the state's 10 electoral votes.

Senate: J. Bennett Johnston Jr. (D), 40, defeated Ben C. Toledano (R), 40, and John J. McKeithen (Independent), 54, a former Democratic governor (1964-72).

House: (7 D, 1 R): Voters sent a Republican to Congress from the state for the first time this century, electing him in the 3rd District to replace a retiring Democrat.

Mississippi. President: Nixon won the state's seven electoral votes.

Senate: Incumbent James O. Eastland (D), 67, was elected to a sixth term, defeating Gil Carmichael (R), 45, and two independent candidates.

House: (3 D, 2 R): Republicans picked up two seats for the 1st and 2nd Districts.

North Carolina. President: Nixon won the state's 13 electoral votes.

Senate: Incumbent James H. Hunt (R), 50, defeated Rep. Nick

Governor: James E. Holshouser (R), 37, was elected, defeating Hargrove (Skipper) Bowles Jr. (D), 52, and an American Party candidate. Gov. Robert W. Scott (D) was ineligible for another term.

House: (7 D, 4 R): There was no change in the party breakdown. A Democrat won the 4th District seat vacated by Galifianakis.

Oklahoma. President: Nixon won the state's eight electoral votes.

Senate: Former Gov. Dewey F. Bartlett (R 1967-71), 53, defeated Rep. Ed Edmondson (D), 53, and three minor-party candidates. Sen. Fred R. Harris (D) did not seek re-election.

House: (5 D, 1 R): Democrats picked up the 1st District seat (Tulsa) of retiring Rep. Page Belcher (R). Edmondson's seat remains Democratic.

South Carolina. President: Nixon won the state's eight electoral votes.

Senate: Incumbent Strom Thurmond (R), 69, was elected to a fifth term, defeating Eugene N. Zeigler (D), 51, and a minor-party candidate.

House: (4 D, 2 R): Republicans gained one seat, in the 1st District.

Tennessee. President: Nixon won the state's 10 electoral votes.

Senate: Incumbent Howard H. Baker Jr. (R), 46, was elected to a second term, defeating Rep. Ray Blanton (D), 42.

House: (3 D, 5 R): Democrats suffered a net loss of two seats, one because of the defeat of a Democratic incumbent, William R. Anderson, in the 6th District, and the other because of redistricting which cost Tennessee one seat.

Texas. President: Nixon won the state's 26 electoral votes.

Senate: Incumbent John G. Tower (R), 47, was elected to a third term, defeating Barefoot Sanders (D), 47, and two other candidates.

Governor: Dolph Briscoe (D), 49, was elected, defeating Henry C. Grover (R), 45, and two other candidates. Incumbent Preston Smith (D) was defeated for renomination by Briscoe.

House: (20 D, 4 R): The Republicans had a net gain of one seat. A Republican defeated incumbent Earle Cabell (D), in the 5th District. Incumbent Robert Price (R), defeated another incumbent, Graham Purcell (D), after redistricting forced the two into opposition in the 13th District. Democrats were elected in the two new seats created by redistricting.

Virginia. President: Nixon won the state's 12 electoral votes.

Senate: Rep. (1966-72) William Lloyd Scott (R), 57, defeated incumbent William B. Spong Jr. (D), 52.

House: (3 D, 7 R): Republicans gained a seat being vacated by a retiring Democrat in the 4th District.

## Midwest

Richard Nixon carried all 12 states in the Midwest and won the region's 115 electoral votes.

Of the seven Senate seats at stake in the Midwest, two changed party control. Iowa and South Dakota both elected Democrats to seats held previously by Republicans.

In the seven contests for governorships, five remained in the same party column, a Democrat defeated the Republican governor of Illinois and a Missouri Republican will replace a retiring Democratic governor.

The Midwest in 121 House races chose 70 Republicans and 51 Democrats. Party control of five seats switched for a net gain of three for the Republicans.

Illinois. President: Nixon won the state's 26 electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Charles H. Percy (R), 53, was elected to a second term, defeating Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D), 53.

Governor: Daniel Walker (D), 49, defeated incumbent Richard B. Ogilvie (R), 49.

House: (10 D, 14 R): Republicans gained two seats in Illinois. One incumbent, Abner J. Mikva, was defeated in a new district.

Indiana. President: Nixon won the state's 13 electoral votes.

Governor: Otis R. Bowen (R), 54, defeated former Gov. Matthew E. Welsh (1961-65), 60.

House: (4 D, 7 R): All incumbents but one—Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D), 40—were re-elected.

Iowa. President: Nixon won the state's eight electoral votes.

Senator: Dick Clark (D), 43, defeated incumbent Jack Miller (R), 56.

Governor: Incumbent Robert Ray (R), 42, was elected to a third term, defeating Paul Frazenburg (D), 55.

House: (3 D, 3 R): Because of redistricting, Iowa lost one Republican seat. John H. Kyl (R) was defeated in his race against another incumbent, Neal Smith (D). Incumbent Fred Schwengel, 65, accounted for another Republican loss, to Edward Mezynsky (D).

Kansas. President: Nixon won the state's seven electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent James B. Pearson (R), 52, was elected to a second term, defeating Arch O. Tetzlaff (D), 46, and a Conservative Party candidate.

Governor: Incumbent Robert Docking (D), 46, was elected to a fourth term, defeating Morris Kay (R), 40.

House: (1 D, 4 R): All five incumbents were re-elected.

Michigan. President: Nixon won the state's 21 electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Robert P. Griffin (R), 48, was elected to a second term, defeating Frank J. Kelley (D), 47.

House: (7 D, 12 R). No seats changed parties.

Minnesota. President: Nixon won the state's 10 electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Walter F. Mondale (D), 44, was elected to a second term, defeating Philip Hansen (R), 44, and a Socialist Labor candidate.

House: (4 D, 4 R): All eight incumbents were re-elected.

Nebraska. President: Nixon won the state's five electoral votes.

Senator: Incumbent Carl T. Curtis (R), 67, was elected to a fourth term, defeating Terry M. Carpenter (D), 72.

House: (3 R): All three incumbents were re-elected.

Missouri. President: Nixon won the state's 12 electoral votes.

Governor: Christopher (Kit) Bond (R), 33, was elected to a first term, defeating Edward L. Dowd (D).

House (9 D; 1 R): All incumbents were re-elected.

North Dakota. President: Nixon won the state's three electoral votes.

Governor: Rep. Arthur A. Link (D), 58, was elected, defeating Lt. Gov. Richard F. Larsen (R), 36.

House (1 R): Because of reapportionment, North Dakota lost one seat held by the Democrats. Incumbent Mark Andrews (R), 46, was elected to a fifth term, defeating Richard Ista (D), 43.

Ohio. President: Nixon won the state's 25 electoral votes.

House (7 D, 16 R): Ohio lost one Republican seat as a result of redistricting.

South Dakota. President: Nixon won the state's four electoral votes.

Senator: Rep. James Abourezk (D), 41, was elected, defeating Robert Hirsch (R), 46.

Governor: Incumbent Richard F. Kneip (D), 39, was elected to a second term, defeating Carveth Thompson (R), 39.

House (1 D, 1 R): Abourezk's seat was filled by a Republican. The other Democratic incumbent was re-elected.

Wisconsin. President: Nixon won the state's 11 electoral votes.

House (5 D, 4 R): Wisconsin lost one Republican seat as a result of redistricting. (Incumbent David R. Obey (D), 33, defeated another incumbent, Alvin E. O'Konski (R), 55, to represent their combined constituencies in the new 7th District.

(Continued from p. 2960)

## HOUSE RACES

trouble defeating Republican John H. Kyl in Iowa's 4th District, while David Obey trounced 30-year-veteran Alvin E. O'Konski (R) in Wisconsin's 7th.

### West

Returns from the West were dominated by California, with its rich prize of five new House seats. Neither party had the votes to pass a partisan redistricting bill, so they settled on a compromise that divided the five new seats this way: two Democratic, two Republican, one tossup. That was the way it worked out. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R), who led an anti-war crusade against President Nixon in the 1972 presidential primaries, moved into one of the Republican districts and won it. The other Republican district went to a popular state senator, Republican Clair M. Burgener. The two Democratic districts went to Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, a black state representative, and to former U.S. Rep. George E. Brown Jr. (D 1963-71). The tossup district went narrowly to State Rep. William M. Ketchum (R).

Colorado's new suburban district went Republican, as expected, for State Sen. William L. Armstrong. But two Colorado seats switched parties. In Denver, Democrat Patricia Schroeder won an upset victory over freshman Rep. James D. (Bud) McInnis (R). And in the 1st, James T. Johnson won the seat held by veteran U.S. Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall (D), who was defeated in a primary by law professor Alan Merson.

## HOUSE MEMBERSHIP IN THE 93RD CONGRESS.....

## ALABAMA

1. Jack Edwards (R)
2. William L. Dickinson (R)
3. Bill Nichols (D)
4. Tom Bevill (D)
5. Robert E. Jones (D)
6. John Buchanan (R)
7. Walter Flowers (D)

## ALASKA

- AL Nick Begich (D)

## ARIZONA

1. John J. Rhodes (R)
2. Morris K. Udall (D)
3. Sam Stiger (R)
4. John D. Conlon (R)\*

## ARKANSAS

1. Bill Alexander (D)
2. Wilbur D. Mills (D)
3. John Paul Hammerschmidt (R)
4. Roy Thornton (D)\*

## CALIFORNIA

1. Don H. Clausen (R)
2. Harold T. Johnson (D)
3. John E. Moss (D)
4. Robert L. Leggett (D)
5. Phillip Burton (D)
6. William S. Moillard (R)
7. Ronald V. Dellums (D)
8. Fortney H. (Pete) Stork (D)\*
9. Don Edwards (D)
10. Charles S. Gubser (R)
11. Leo J. Ryan (D)\*
12. Burt L. Talcott (R)
13. Charles M. Teague (R)
14. Jerome R. Waldie (D)
15. John J. McFall (D)
16. B. F. Sisk (D)
17. Paul H. McCloskey Jr. (R)
18. Robert B. (Bob) Mathias (R)
19. Chet Holifield (D)
20. Carlos J. Moorhead (R)\*
21. Augustus F. Hawkins (D)
22. James C. Cormack (D)
23. Del Clawson (R)
24. John H. Rostenbom (R)
25. Charles E. Wiggins (R)
26. Thomas A. Pees (D)
27. Barry M. Goldwater Jr. (R)
28. Alphonzo Bell (R)
29. George E. Danielson (D)
30. Edward R. Roybal (D)
31. Charles H. Wilson (D)
32. Craig Hosmer (R)
33. Jerry L. Pettis (R)
34. Richard T. Hanna (D)
35. Glenn M. Anderson (D)
36. William M. Ketchum (R)\*
37. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (D)\*
38. George E. Brown Jr. (D)\*
39. Andrew J. Hanft (R)\*
40. Bob Wilson (R)
41. Harold G. Thompson (D)
42. Clark W. Leggett (D)\*
43. Victor V. Veysey (R)

## HOUSE LINE-UP

Democrats 244

Republicans 191

Freshman Democrats - 27  
\*Freshman RepresentativeFreshman Republicans - 42  
#Former Representative

## COLORADO

1. Patricia Schroeder (D)\*
2. Donald G. Bratzman (R)
3. Frank E. Evans (D)
4. James T. Johnson (R)\*
5. William L. Armstrong (R)\*

## CONNECTICUT

1. William R. Cotter (D)
2. Robert H. Steele (R)
3. Robert N. Giaimo (D)
4. Stewart B. McKinney (R)
5. Ronald A. Sarasin (R)\*
6. Ella T. Grosso (D)

## DELAWARE

- AL Pierre S. (Pete) du Pont (R)

## FLORIDA

1. Robert L. F. Sikes (D)
2. Don Fuqua (D)
3. Charles E. Bennett (D)
4. Bill Chappell Jr. (D)
5. William D. Gunter Jr. (D)\*
6. C. W. Bill Young (R)
7. Sam Gibbons (D)
8. James A. Haley (D)
9. Louis Frey (R)
10. L. A. (Skip) Batolis (R)\*
11. Paul G. Rogers (D)
12. J. Herbert Burke (R)
13. William Lehman (D)\*
14. Claude Pepper (D)
15. Dante B. Fascell (D)

## GEORGIA

1. Ronald B. (Bo) Ginn (D)\*
2. Dawson Mathis (D)
3. Jack Brinkley (D)
4. Ben B. Blackburn (R)
5. Andrew Young (D)\*
6. John J. Flynt Jr. (D)
7. John W. Davis (D)
8. W. S. (Bill) Stuckey (D)
9. Phil M. Landrum (D)
10. Robert G. Stephens Jr. (D)

## HAWAII

1. Spark M. Matsunaga (D)
2. Patsy T. Mink (D)

## IDAHO

1. Steven D. Symms (R)\*
2. Orval Hansen (R)

## ILLINOIS

1. Puffinberger (D)
2. ...
3. ...
4. Edward J. ...

## 5. John C. Kluczynski (D)

6. Harold R. Collier (R)
7. George W. Collins (D)
8. Dan Rostenkowski (D)
9. Sidney R. Yates (D)
10. Samuel H. Young (R)\*
11. Frank Annunzio (D)
12. Philip M. Crane (R)
13. Robert McClory (R)
14. John N. Erlenborn (R)
15. Leshe C. Arenas (R)
16. John B. Anderson (R)
17. George M. O'Brien (R)\*
18. Robert H. Michel (R)
19. Tom Railsback (R)
20. Paul Findley (R)
21. Edward R. Madigan (R)\*
22. George E. Shipley (D)
23. Melvin Price (D)
24. Kenneth J. Gray (D)

## INDIANA

1. Roy J. Moisten (D)
2. Earl F. Landgrebe (R)
3. John Brademas (D)
4. J. Edward Roush (D)
5. Elwood H. Hillis (R)
6. William G. Bray (R)
7. John T. Myers (R)
8. Roger H. Zion (R)
9. Lee H. Hamilton (D)
10. David W. Dennis (R)
11. William H. Hudnut III (R)\*

## IOWA

1. Edward Mezvinsky (D)\*
2. John C. Culver (D)
3. H. R. Gross (R)
4. Neal Smith (D)
5. William J. Scherle (R)
6. Wiley Mayne (R)

## KANSAS

1. Keith G. Sebelius (R)
2. William R. Roy (D)
3. Larry Winn Jr. (R)
4. Gennar E. Shriver (R)
5. Joe Skubitz (R)

## KENTUCKY

1. Frank A. Stubblefield (D)
2. William H. Natcher (D)
3. Romano L. Mazzoli (D)
4. M. G. (Gene) Snyder (R)
5. Tim Lee Carter (R)
6. John B. Ereckinridge (D)\*
7. Ceri D. Perkins (D)

## LOUISIANA

1. F. Edward Hebert (R)

## 2. Hale Boggs (D)

3. David C. Treen (R)\*
4. Joe D. Waggoner (D)
5. Otto E. Passman (D)
6. John R. Rorick (D)
7. John B. Breaux (D)
8. Gillis W. Long (D)\*

## MAINE

1. Peter N. Kyros (D)
2. William S. Cohen (R)\*

## MARYLAND

1. William O. Mills (R)
2. Clarence D. Long (D)
3. Paul S. Sarbanes (D)
4. Marjorie S. Holt (R)\*
5. Lawrence J. Hogan (R)
6. Goodloe E. Byron (D)
7. Parren J. Mitchell (D)
8. Gilbert Gude (R)

## MASSACHUSETTS

1. Silvio O. Conte (R)
2. Edward P. Boland (D)
3. Harold D. Donohue (D)
4. Robert F. Drinan (D)
5. Paul W. Cronin (R)\*
6. Michael J. Harrington (D)
7. Terbert H. Macdonald (D)
8. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D)
9. John Joseph Mackley (D)\*
10. Margaret M. Heckler (R)
11. James A. Burke (D)
12. Gerry E. Studds (D)\*

## MICHIGAN

1. John Conyers Jr. (D)
2. Marvin L. Esch (R)
3. Garry Brown (R)
4. Edward Hutchinson (R)
5. Gerald R. Ford (R)
6. Charles E. Chamberlain (D)
7. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (R)
8. James Harvey (R)
9. Guy Vander Jagt (R)
10. Elford A. Cederberg (R)
11. Philip E. Ruppe (R)
12. James G. O'Hara (D)
13. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D)
14. Lucien N. Nedzi (D)
15. William D. Ford (D)
16. John D. Dingell (D)
17. Martha W. Griffiths (D)
18. Robert J. Huber (R)\*
19. William S. Broomfield (D)

## MINNESOTA

1. Albert H. Quie (R)
2. Ancher Nelsen (R)
3. Bill French (R)
4. Joseph E. Keith (D)
5. Donald M. Fraser (D)
6. John M. Zwach (R)
7. Bob Langford (D)
8. John A. E. Frank (D)

## MISSISSIPPI

1. James O. Eastland (D)

## 244 DEMOCRATS, 191 REPUBLICANS

David R. Bowen (D)\*  
G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D)  
Richard Cochran (R)\*  
Robert Lott (R)\*

## INDIANA

William (Bill) Clay (D)  
James W. Symington (D)  
Leonard K. Sullivan (D)  
William J. Randall (D)  
Richard Bolling (D)  
Jerry Titton (D)\*  
Gene Taylor (R)\*  
Richard H. Ichard (D)  
William L. Hungate (D)  
Bill D. Burlison (D)

## IOWA

Richard G. Shoup (R)  
John Melcher (D)

## KANSAS

Charles Thone (R)  
John Y. McCollister (R)  
Dave Martin (R)

## KENTUCKY

David Towell (R)\*

## MASSACHUSETTS

Louis C. Wyman (R)  
James C. Cleveland (R)

## MISSISSIPPI

John E. Hunt (R)  
Charles W. Sandman Jr. (R)  
James J. Howard (D)  
Frank Thompson Jr. (D)  
Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen (R)

Edwin B. Forsythe (R)  
William B. Widnall (R)

Robert A. Roe (D)  
Henry Helstoski (D)

Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D)

Joseph G. Minish (D)

Matthew J. Binardo (R)\*

Joseph J. Moroziti (R)\*

Dominick V. Daniels (D)

Edward J. Patten (D)

## NEBRASKA

Manuel Lujan Jr. (R)

Harold Runnels (D)

## NEW YORK

Otis G. Pike (D)

James R. Grover Jr. (R)

Angelo D. Roncallo (R)\*

Norman F. Lent (R)

John W. Wydler (R)

Esther L. Wolff (D)

Joseph P. Addabbo (D)

Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D)

James J. Delaney (D)

John J. Pataki (D)

Frank J. Brocco (D)

Whitely Christolun (D)

Hertram L. Fejell (D)

John J. Rooney (D)

15. Hugh L. Carey (D)

16. Elizabeth Holtzman (D)\*

17. John M. Murphy (D)

18. Edward I. Koch (D)

19. Charles B. Rangel (D)

20. Bella S. Abzug (D)

21. Herman Badillo (D)

22. Jonathan B. Bingham (D)

23. Peter A. Peyser (R)

24. Ogden R. Reid (D)

25. Hamilton Fish Jr. (R)

26. Benjamin A. Gilman (R)\*

27. Howard W. Robison (R)

28. Samuel S. Stratton (D)

29. Carleton J. King (R)

30. Robert C. McEwen (R)

31. Donald J. Mitchell (R)\*

32. James M. Hanley (D)

33. William F. Walsh (R)\*

34. Frank Horton (R)

35. Barber B. Conable Jr. (R)

36. Henry P. Smith III (R)

37. Thaddeus J. Dulski (D)

38. Jack F. Kemp (R)

39. James F. Hostings (R)

## NORTH CAROLINA

1. Walter B. Jones (D)

2. L. H. Fountain (D)

3. David N. Henderson (D)

4. Ike F. Andrews (D)\*

5. Wilmer Mizell (R)

6. L. Richardson Preyer (D)

7. Charles G. Rose III (D)\*

8. Earl B. Ruth (R)

9. James G. Martin (R)\*

10. James T. Broyhill (R)

11. Roy A. Taylor (D)

## NORTH DAKOTA

Al Mark Andrews (R)

## OHIO

1. William J. Keating (R)

2. Donald D. Clancy (R)

3. Charles W. Whalen Jr. (R)

4. Tennyson Guyer (R)\*

5. Delbert L. Latta (R)

6. William H. Harsha (R)

7. Clarence J. Brown (R)

8. Walter E. Powell (R)

9. Thomas L. Ashley (D)

10. Clarence E. Miller (R)

11. J. William Stanton (R)

12. Samuel L. Devine (R)

13. Charles A. Mosher (R)

14. John F. Seiberling (D)

15. Cholmers P. Wylie (R)

16. Ralph S. Regula (R)\*

17. John A. Ashbrook (R)

18. Wayne L. Hays (D)

19. Charles J. Carney (D)

20. James V. Stanton (D)

21. Louis Stokes (D)

22. Charles A. Stenholm (D)

23. William E. Marshall (R)

## OKLAHOMA

1. James B. Jones (D)\*

2. Clem Rogers McSpadden (D)\*

3. Carl Albert (D)

4. Tom Steed (D)

5. John Jarmen (D)

6. John N. Hoppy Camp (R)

## OREGON

1. Wendell Wyatt (R)

2. Al Ullman (D)

3. Edith Green (D)

4. John Dellenbeck (R)

## PENNSYLVANIA

1. William A. Borrett (D)

2. Robert N. C. Nix (D)

3. William J. Green (D)

4. Joshua Eiberg (D)

5. John Ware (R)

6. Gus Yatron (D)

7. Lawrence G. Williams (R)

8. Edward G. Biester Jr. (R)

9. E. G. Shuster (R)\*

10. Joseph M. McDade (R)

11. Daniel J. Flood (D)

12. John P. Saylor (R)

13. R. Lawrence Coughlin (R)

14. William S. Moorhead (D)

15. Fred B. Rooney (D)

16. Edwin D. Eshleman (R)

17. Herimon T. Schneebeli (R)

18. H. John Heinz III (R)

19. George A. Goodling (R)

20. Joseph M. Gaydos (D)

21. John H. Dent (R)

22. Thomas E. Morgan (D)

23. Albert W. Johnson (R)

24. Joseph P. Vigorito (D)

25. Frank M. Clark (D)

## RHODE ISLAND

1. Fernand J. St Germain (D)

2. Robert O. Tiernan (D)

## SOUTH CAROLINA

1. Mendel J. Davis (D)

2. Floyd Spence (R)

3. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D)

4. James R. Mann (D)

5. Tom S. Gettys (D)

6. Edward L. Young (R)\*

## SOUTH DAKOTA

1. Frank E. Denholm (D)

2. James Abdnor (R)\*

## TENNESSEE

1. James H. (Jimmy) Quillen (R)

2. John J. Duncon (R)

3. Lamar Baker (R)

4. Joe L. Ewins (D)

5. Richard Fulton (D)

6. Robin L. Beard Jr. (R)\*

7. Ed Jones (D)

8. Dan Rostenkowski (R)

## TEXAS

1. Wright Patman (D)

2. Charles Wilson (D)\*

3. James A. C. Collins (R)

4. Roy Roberts (D)

5. Alan Steelman (R)\*

6. Olin E. Teague (D)

7. Bill Archer (R)

8. Bob Eckhardt (D)

9. Jack Brooks (D)

10. J. J. Pickle (D)

11. W. R. Poage (D)

12. Jim Wright (D)

13. Robert Price (R)

14. John Young (D)

15. Eligio de la Garza (D)

16. Richard C. White (D)

17. Omar Burlison (D)

18. Barbara C. Jordan (D)\*

19. George Mahon (D)

20. Henry B. Gonzalez (D)

21. O. C. Fisher (D)

22. Bob Casey (D)

23. Abraham Kazen Jr. (D)

24. Dale Milford (D)\*

## UTAH

1. K. Gunn McKay (D)

2. Wayne Owens (D)\*

## VERMONT

Al Richard W. Mallory (R)

## VIRGINIA

1. Thomas N. Downing (D)

2. G. William Whitehurst (R)

3. David E. Satterfield III (D)

4. Robert W. Daniel Jr. (R)\*

5. W. C. (Don) Daniel (D)

6. M. Caldwell Butler (R)\*

7. J. Kenneth Robinson (R)

8. Stanford E. Parris (R)\*

9. William C. Wampler (R)

10. Joel T. Broyhill (R)

## WASHINGTON

1. John Hemplemann (D)\*

2. Lloyd Meeds (D)

3. Julia Butler Hansen (D)

4. Mike McCormack (D)

5. Thomas S. Foley (D)

6. Floyd V. Hicks (D)

7. Brock Adams (D)

## WEST VIRGINIA

1. Robert H. Mellohan (D)

2. Harley O. Staggers (D)

3. John A. Slack (D)

4. Ken Hechler (D)

## WISCONSIN

1. Les Aspin (D)

2. Robert W. Kostenmeier (D)

3. Vernon W. Thomson (R)

4. Clement J. Zablocki (D)

5. Henry S. Reuss (D)

6. William A. Steiger (R)

7. Paul McCarty (D)

8. William V. Roth (R)

9. Glenn R. Davis (R)

## WYOMING

1. Frank Lautenberg (D)

SUMMARY OF MARGINAL 1974 RACES BY STATE

<u>STATE</u>	<u>MARGINAL GOVERNOR<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>MARGINAL SENATOR<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>MARGINAL HOUSE<sup>3</sup></u>
<u>New England</u>			
Maine	Curtis (D) 50.1	-	#2R
New Hampshire	Thomson (R) 41.6	x	-
Vermont	x	x	-
Massachusetts	x	-	#4D, #5R, #12D
Rhode Island	Noel (D) 52.9	-	-
Connecticut	Meskill (R) 53.8	Ribicoff (D) 54.3	#3D, #5R
<u>Middle Atlantic</u>			
New York	Rockefeller (R) 52.4	Javits (R) 49.8	#3R, #6D, #26R, #31R
New Jersey	x(1973)	-	#1R, #3D, #9D, #13D
Pennsylvania	x	Schweiker (R) 51.9	#4D, #25D
Delaware	-	-	-
Maryland	x	Mathias (R) 47.8	-
West Virginia	-	-	-
<u>South</u>			
Virginia	Holton (R) 52.7 ('73)	-	#4R, #6R, #8R
North Carolina	-	x	#4D
South Carolina	West (D) 51.7	x	#1D, #6R
Georgia	x	x	#5D
Alabama	x	x	#2R
Mississippi	-	-	#4R, #5R
Louisiana	-	x	#3R
Arkansas	x	x	-
Tennessee	Dunn (R) 52.0	-	#3R, #6R, #8R
Kentucky	-	Cook (R) 51.4	#6D
Texas	Briscoe (D) 48.1	-	#5R, #13R
Oklahoma	Hall (D) 48.4	Bellmon (R) 51.7	-
Florida	x	x	#4D, #5D
<u>Midwest</u>			
Ohio	Gilligan (D) 54.2	Saxbe (R) 51.5	#8R, #16R, #23R
Indiana	-	Bayh (D) 51.7	#1D, #2R, #4D, #11R
Illinois	-	x	#10R, #11D, #21R
Michigan	Millikan (R) 50.4	-	#6R, #12D, #18R
Wisconsin	Lucey (D) 52.4	x	#3R, #8R
Minnesota	Anderson (D) 54.0	-	#6R
Iowa	x	Hughes (D) 50.2	#1D, #6R
Missouri	-	Eagleton (D) 51.1	#6D
Kansas	x	x	-
Nebraska	Ellor (D) 51.0	-	-
South Dakota	x	Wagner (D) 50.0	#2R
North Dakota	-	x	-

<u>STATE</u>	<u>MARGINAL GOVERNOR</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>MARGINAL SENATOR</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>MARGINAL HOUSE</u> <sup>3</sup>
<u>West</u>			
Montana	-	-	-
Wyoming	x	-	(At-Large)D
Idaho	Andrus (D) 52.2	x	-
Colorado	Love (R) 52.5	x	#1D, #4R
Utah	-	Bennett (R) 53.7	#2D
Nevada	O'Call'n (D) 48.1	Bible (D) 54.8	(At-Large)R
New Mexico	King (D) 51.3	-	-
Arizona	Williams (R) 50.9	x	#4R
California	Reagan (R) 52.8	Cranston (D) 51.8	#8D, #12R, #36R
Oregon	x	Packwood (R) 50.2	-
Washington	-	x	#1D, #4D
Alaska	Egan (D) 52.4	Gravel (D) 45.1	(At-Large)D
Hawaii	x	x	#1D

Notes

1 - Where names are listed, the incumbent received less than 55% of the vote in the last election. The symbol (x) indicates other states with gubernatorial election in 1973 or 1974. The symbol (-) means no gubernatorial race in the state.

2 - Same symbols as described in note #1.

3 - House districts where the winner in 1970 received 56.0% or less of the total vote.

\* - Although Senator McGovern received more than 55% of the vote in South Dakota, he is considered potentially vulnerable after the 1972 Presidential race, and therefore included on the list of marginal seats.

PROJECTED OPERATING PLAN  
FOR UPDATING THE DATA BASE

(All costs in thousands of dollars)

MAINTENANCE OF EXISTING FILES

<u>State and Activity</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>-Costs-</u> <u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>Total</u>
California					
1974 (3 Cong. Dists)	-	6.0			
1976 (purchase new lists)			-	60.0	66.0
Connecticut					
1974 (update entire state)*	-	7.5			
1976 " " " "			-	7.5	15.0
Illinois					
1974 (update entire state)*	-	15.0			
1976 " " " "			-	15.0	30.0
Maryland					
1974 (update entire state)*	-	6.5			
1976 " " " "			-	6.5	13.0
Michigan					
1974 (get list from Donnelley)*	-	15.0			
1976 " " " "			-	15.0	30.0
New Jersey					
1974 (update 4 CD's)	-	8.0			
1976 (update entire state)			-	25.0	33.0
Ohio					
1974 (update entire state)*	-	20.0			
1976 (update entire state)			-	20.0	40.0
Pennsylvania					
1974 (update entire state)*	-	30.0			
1976 (update entire state)			-	30.0	60.0
Texas					
1974 (update 2 CD's)	-	4.0			
1976 (update entire state)			-	32.0	36.0
Totals to maintain existing lists:	0	112.0	0	211.0	323.0
Costs if candidates in seat denoted by asterisk (*) pay one half the cost of updating lists:		<u>55.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>211.0</u>	<u>316.0</u>

PROJECTED OPERATING PLANFOR ADDING NEW STATES AND CONG. DIST. IN 1974

<u>Full States (Races of Interest)</u>	<u>Cost (\$ thousands)</u>
Indiana (Senate, 4 CD)*	50.0
South Dakota (Senate, 1CD)*	15.0
Nevada (1 CD) (possibly Sen. or Gov.)	7.5
Alaska (Senate, House)	5.0
Kentucky (Senate)* (1 CD)	50.0
Oklahoma (Senate)*	37.5
Iowa (Senate)* (2 CD)	25.0
Wyoming (House)	5.0
Oregon (Senate)* (data on tape from state)	5.0
Virginia (3 CD) (data on tape from state)	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<u>201.0</u>
<b>Total if statewide candidates denoted by asterisk (*) pay one half the cost of updating the lists in those states</b>	<u>110.0</u>

<u>Marginal Congressional Districts in states not having full data in the system.</u>	<u>160.0</u>
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(It is estimated that each CD will cost \$5 thousand to put into the system. There are 32 such districts. The remaining 36 of the 68 target districts discussed in the text of the memo are accounted for in states where the total state has been put in the Data Base)

The states, and number of districts in each are as follows:

Maine (1); Massachusetts (3); New York (4);  
North Carolina (1); South Carolina (2);  
Georgia (1); Alabama (1); Mississippi (2);  
Tennessee (3); Louisiana (1); Florida (2);  
Wisconsin (2); Minnesota (1); Missouri (1);  
Colorado (2); Utah (1); Arizona (1);  
Washington (2); Hawaii (1).