

# Other materials: Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, 1969-1970: General (1 of 3)

Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers  
Campaign files, Box CP22, Folder 7  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10524/62984>

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TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. Senator Inoué
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FYI	prepare reply	
<input type="checkbox"/>	comment & advice	see me	
<input type="checkbox"/>	approval	as requested	
<input type="checkbox"/>	investigate	as promised	
<input type="checkbox"/>	note & return	P. C.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	first name	file	
<input type="checkbox"/>	reply for signature of		

REMARKS:

Nordy / DSec

3/20/69

FROM:

DATE:

March 10, 1969

AGENDA: Maryland Campaign Planning Meeting

- I. Opening remarks by Chairman Harris
- II. Assessment by Senator Tydings of 1970  
Election prospects
- III. Discussion of projects and programs that  
need to be undertaken now for 1970 race
- IV. Steps that need to be taken to provide for  
the most effective and coordinated cam-  
paign in Maryland -- involvement of the  
party, Governor, Congressional campaigns

March 10, 1969

Invited to Maryland Campaign Planning Meeting:

Sen. Joseph Tydings

Ken Gray  
AA to Senator Tydings

Sen. Daniel Inouye, Chairman  
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee

Nordy Hoffman  
Senate Democratic Campaign Committee

Cong. Ed Edmondson  
House Campaign Committee

Ken Harding  
House Campaign Committee

Al Barkan & Mary Zon  
COPE

William Dodds  
UAW

Frank McGrath  
COPE Area Director

Charles Della, Pres.  
State AFL-CIO

Culver Windsor  
COPE Director

Andy Lewis

J. C. Turner, Pres.  
DC-Md. Central Labor Union

Martin Bond  
DC-Md. Central Labor Union COPE



Nick Fornaro, Pres.  
Baltimore Central Labor Union

Thomas Moran

James O'Brien  
United Steel Workers

Evelyn Dubrow  
Garment Workers

Bill DuChessi  
Textile Workers

Democratic National Committee:

Geri Joseph  
Bill Welsh  
Vick French  
George Bristol  
Al Spivak

# Where political power is

**WASHINGTON,**  
MAGNUSON, Senate  
Commerce Committee,  
Seattle, Wash.: 557.087  
pop. Wash.: 2,853,214  
pop.; JACKSON, Senate  
Interior and Insular  
Affairs Committee,  
Everett, Wash.:  
40,304 pop.

**WYOMING, McGEE,**  
Senate Post Office and  
Civil Service Committee,  
Laramie, Wyo.: 17,520  
pop. Wyo.: 330,066 pop.

**SOUTH DAKOTA,**  
McGOVERN, Senate  
Select Committee on  
Nutrition and Human  
Needs, Mitchell, S.D.:  
12,555 pop. S.D.:  
680,514 pop.

**MISSOURI, ICHORD,**  
House Internal Security  
Committee, Houston,  
Mo.: 1,660 pop. Mo.:  
4,319,813 pop.

**ILLINOIS, DAWSON,**  
House Committee on  
Government Operations,  
Chicago, Ill.: 3,550,404  
pop. Ill.: 10,081,158  
pop.; PRICE, House  
Committee on Standards  
of Official Conduct,  
East St. Louis, Ill.:  
81,712 pop.

**KENTUCKY, PERKINS.**  
House Education and  
Labor Committee,  
Hindman, Ky.: Under  
2,500 pop. Ky.:  
3,038,156 pop.

**WEST VIRGINIA,** Randolph, Senate Public Works Committee, Elkins, W.Va.: 8,307 pop. W.Va.: 1,860,421 pop.; STAGGERS, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Keyser, W.Va.: 7,041 pop.

**PENNSYLVANIA,**  
MORGAN, House Foreign  
Affairs Committee,  
Fredericktown, Pa.:  
Under 2,500 pop.  
Pa.: 11,319,366 pop.

**NEW YORK, CELLER,**  
House Judiciary  
Committee, Brooklyn,  
N.Y.: 2,627,319 pop.  
N.Y.: 16,782,304  
pop.; **DULSKI,** House  
Post Office and Civil  
Service Committee,  
Buffalo. N.Y.:  
532,759 pop.

## States with Congressional Committee Chairmen, 91st Congress, 1969

**NEVADA, BIBLE, Senate**  
Select Small Business  
Committee, Reno, Nev.:  
51,470 pop., Nev.:  
285,278 pop.

**CALIFORNIA, MILLER,**  
House Committee on  
Science and Astronau-  
tics, Alameda, Calif.:  
63,855 pop. Calif.:  
15,717,204 pop.;  
**HOLIFIELD, Joint Atomic**  
Energy Committee,  
Montebello, Calif.:  
40,613 pop.

**COLORADO, ASPINALL,**  
House Committee on  
Interior and Insular  
Affairs, Palisade, Colo.:  
Under 2,500 pop. Colo.:  
1,753,947 pop.

**NEW MEXICO,**  
ANDERSON, Senate  
Aeronautical and Space  
Sciences Committee,  
Albuquerque, N.M.:  
201,189 pop. N.M.:  
951,023 pop.

**TEXAS, YARBOROUGH, Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Austin, Tex.: 186,545 pop. Tex.: 9,579,677 pop.; PCAGE, House Agriculture Committee, Waco, Tex.: 97,808 pop.; MAHON, House Appropriations Committee, Lubbock, Tex.: 128,691 pop.; PATMAN, House Banking and Currency Committee, Texarkana, Tex.: 30,218 pop.; TEAGUE, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, College Station, Tex.: 11,396 pop.**

**ARKANSAS, FULBRIGHT,**  
Senate Foreign Relations  
Committee, Fayette-  
ville, Ark.: 26,279 pop.  
Ark.: 1,786,272 pop.;  
**MCCLELLAN,** Senate  
Government Operations  
Committee, Camden,  
Ark.: 14,604 pop.;  
**MILLS,** House Ways and  
Means Committee,  
Kensett, Ark.: Under  
2,500 pop.

**LOUISIANA, ELLENDER,**  
Senate Committee on  
Agriculture, Houma, La.:  
4,665 pop. La.:  
3,257,022 pop.; **LONG,**  
Senate Finance Com-  
mittee, Shreveport, La.:  
160,535 pop.

**MISSISSIPPI, STENNIS,**  
Senate Armed Services  
Committee, De Kalb,  
Miss.: Under 2,500 pop.  
Miss.: 2,178,141 pop.;  
**EASTLAND,** Senate Judi-  
ciary Committee, Dadds-  
ville, Miss.: Under 2,500  
pop.; COLMER, House  
Rules Committee,  
Pascagoula, Miss.:  
17,155 pop.

**ALABAMA, SPARKMAN,**  
Senate Banking and  
Currency Committee,  
Huntsville, Ala.: 123,519  
pop. Ala.: 3,266,740 pop.

**GEORGIA, RUSSELL,**  
Senate Appropriations  
Committee, Winder, Ga.:  
5,555 pop. Ga.:  
3,943,116 pop.

**SOUTH CAROLINA,**  
RIVERS, House Armed  
Services Committee,  
Charleston, S.C.:  
75,940 pop. S.C.:  
2,382,594 pop.;  
McMILLAN, House Com-  
mittee on the District  
of Columbia, Florence,  
S.C.: 24,722 pop.

**TENNESSEE, EVINS,**  
House Select Com-  
mittee on Small  
Business, Smithville,  
Tenn.: 2,348 pop.  
Tenn.: 3,567,089 pop.

**NORTH CAROLINA,**  
JORDAN, Senate Rules  
and Administration  
Committee, Saxa-  
pahaw, N.C.: Under  
2,500 pop. N.C.:  
4,556,155 pop.

Red boxes are Senate chairmen, blue boxes are House chairmen, and states in cross-checks have both House and Senate chairmen.

The population figures shown are based on the 1960 census. The town or city listed below each chairman's name is his hometown. When there is more than one chairman from a state, the state's population is listed only once—under the first chairman's name.

The map of the United States is distorted to reflect the size of the states in terms of population based on the 1960 census.

## ANALYSIS OF KEY SENATORIAL CONTESTS

The 1970 Senatorial elections provide the Democrats with the strongest challenge to their control of the Senate since 1954. A net gain of seven Senatorial seats would provide the Republicans with majority leadership of the Senate.

According to the Republican National Committee documents which we have seen, there are twelve Senatorial seats which the Republicans are aiming to capture. These seats are in the following states: Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and Wyoming. Using this information, I thought it would be significant to see how much things have changed over the last six years in these twelve states.

Generally, we all know much that has happened since the 1964 elections in political terms, but in terms of population characteristics as well as specific voting behavior patterns, these twelve states present a formidable challenge for the Democrats to control.

..... In a majority of these twelve states, the suburban population has grown by at least 25 per cent and in some cases up to 50 per cent. For the first time in our nation's history, more people live in the suburbs than in the central city. These voters who are generally homeowners dependent on an income shrunk by inflation, have a new set of values which differ from those that they had as the big-city dwellers. They are divorced from the center city political organizations and tend to have a more Independent-Republican orientation.

..... The median family income is now around \$9,300. One third of the voters in these twelve states have personal disposable income in excess of \$10,000. For this

reason, these people will tend to look at liberal Democrats as spenders. If the incumbent Senators are unable to put the blame for inflation and taxes on the Republican Administration, they will find a skeptical electorate.

..... In 1968, law and order was the second biggest issue. In 1970, law and order appears to remain a major issue confronting all candidates. With the exceptions of Wyoming, Tennessee, North Dakota, and Indiana, the total crime index in the remaining eight G. O. P. target states is high. This fact puts another obstacle in the way of the Democratic incumbents who are certain to be targets of Republican criticism.

..... According to the Gallup Poll, party affiliation in the past five years has become decidedly more Independent and less Democratic.

	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Ind.</u>
1964	53	25	22
1969	42	28	30

In these twelve states there are large numbers of Democrats becoming Independents. The traditional appeals to vote Democratic will not be sufficient in 1970.

Politically, the following things have happened in these twelve states over the last decade:

PRESIDENTIAL:

		<u>Nation</u>	<u>12 GOP Target States</u>
Kennedy	1960	50.1	52.1
Johnson	1964	61.0	60.8
Humphrey	1968	42.7	39.9
Wallace	1968	13.5	15.5

In 1960, President Kennedy ran a far stronger race in these states than he did nationwide. Four years later, President Johnson carried all twelve states nearly matching his national popular vote of 61 per cent. In the 1968 Presidential election, Vice President Humphrey won only two of the twelve states, and received almost 3 per cent less than he did nationally. In the first eight years of the sixties, the Democratic Presidential standard-bearer has dropped a total of 5 per cent from his position relative to his national standing.

CONGRESSIONAL:

	<u>Total Congressional Seats-12 GOP Target States</u>	
	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
1964	76	29
1968	59	49
Net Change	-17	+20

With the exception of Tennessee and Nevada, the remaining ten states have experienced a loss in Democratic Congressional representation. In 1964, the Democrats had five Congressmen for

every two Republicans in the target states; today the margin has shrunk to six Democrats to five Republicans. This is another indication of eroding Democratic strength in the key states.

STATE LEGISLATURES:

	<u>Total 12 Target States</u>	
	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
1964	1103	489
1968	785	816
Net Change	-318	+327

In 1964, Democrats held a majority of the combined seats of the state legislature in every one of the twelve states except New Jersey and Ohio. In 1968, Democrats were in the minority in seven of the twelve legislatures. Nearly 70 per cent of the legislative seats in these twelve states were held by Democrats in 1964. As this election year begins, not even half of these seats are in Democratic hands. Thus, even at the local level, Democratic fortunes have waned since these twelve Democratic Senators were last elected.

VOTER TURNOUT:

	<u>12 GOP Target States</u>
1964	64.2%
1966	50.6%
Fall-Off	-13.6%

VOTER TURNOUT (continued):

One of the hardships that these Senators will face in 1970 is the reduced turnout of an off-year election. When these Senators last ran in 1964 (a Presidential year), nearly two-thirds of the electorate in these twelve states voted. In 1966, an off-year, barely more than half showed up, a decline of 13.6 per cent. It is estimated that three-fourths of these voters are Democrats and, therefore, the smaller turnout works heavily against Democratic candidates. Each one of these Senators will have to wage strong campaigns to get these Democrats to the polls.

CONCLUSION:

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee has undertaken elaborate research efforts on these twelve key states, and were it not for the outstanding Senators up for re-election, our cause would be lost. Even with these fine men, we have a great deal to do if we are to remain as the majority party when we convene one year from now.

If our best effort is to encourage our colleagues up for re-election in 1970, we might as well resign control of the Senate today. What is needed is for each of us pulling together through the Senatorial Campaign Committee to see that we are all here come January, 1970. As a team we can make it, but if it is each man to himself, our chances are slim.

Here are some suggestions on what we can do for one another:

1. If your staff has produced an unusually good issue paper, the Senate Campaign Committee will disseminate it to Senators up for re-election for their modification and use.
2. Jot down some of the better ideas from your last campaign, especially techniques which were effective in the suburbs, and let the Campaign Committee compile them in a booklet for everyone's use.
3. If your state's television extends into a colleague's state, arrange a joint press conference on a problem of areawide significance, publicizing the work the

Senator has done.

4. If you or your wife has close ties with a particular organization or ethnic group, contact Nurdy Hoffmann to arrange an endorsement appearance in a colleague's state.

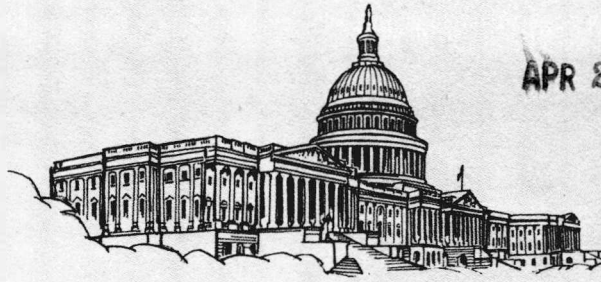
5. If one of your staff people is particularly good on some facit of a campaign, loan his services thru the Campaign Committee to one of your colleagues for a month or so.

Each of these suggestions asks you to give up something of yourself, but if we are to remain the majority party in the 92nd Congress, it is indeed a small sacrifice.





DANIEL K. INOUE  
HAWAII  
CHAIRMAN, Democratic  
Senatorial Campaign Committee



APR 23 1969



MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, M.C.  
OHIO  
CHAIRMAN, Democratic  
Congressional Campaign Committee

## DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL DINNER COMMITTEE

MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • Telephone (202) 737-8121

GEORGE M. STEINBRENNER, III  
CHAIRMAN

April 18, 1969

NEALE ROACH  
DIRECTOR

*Dan - Sample of my second letter  
to all Senators & Congressional  
leaders.*

*Geo.*

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
Senator, State of Hawaii  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Inouye:

It has been over a week since my last letter to you regarding the very important May 12th Dinner and I want to report to you that as of yesterday, while our money amount in for the Dinner is equal at this point to last year, we have sold only half as many tickets as we had at this point last year. At our Dinner Committee meeting yesterday in Washington, I was assured that during the last week everyone pitches in and not to worry too much. However, I am a worrier by nature and I thought I would pass along to you the grounds for my concern. I know we are all busy, but I also know that we all share the concern for the success of this Dinner and for the 1970 elections which are so very crucial. That is why I am writing to ask you to please do everything possible to assist us in contacting possible contributors to the Dinner so that we can make this a great success.

In the next few days you will be receiving from Nordy Hoffmann a complete list of all of the Co-Chairmen for the Dinner who have been selected from business and professional fields throughout the country. These men were all in Washington yesterday for a briefing and I can assure you that they are all intent on getting the job done for the Democratic Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees through this Dinner.

Dinner, Monday, May 12, 1969 - - - - - Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

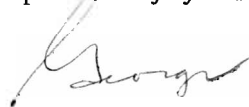
The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
Senator, State of Hawaii

April 18, 1969

I would ask only that you have your administrative assistant get in touch with the Co-Chairman from your area and give him every possible cooperation you can in his efforts.

Thank you so very much for your attention.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George", written in dark ink.

George M. Steinbrenner, III  
Chairman

GMS:rr

TO:

INITIAL

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

	FYI	reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	file	X
	first name		
	signature		

REMARKS:

FROM:

Barbara

DATE:

4/25/69

T E L E G R A M

D  
R  
A  
F  
T

REQUEST YOUR PRESENCE AT URGENT MEETING MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1969, NORTH  
ROOM MAYFLOWER HOTEL, 5:00 P.M. REGARDING DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL  
DINNER. IF APRIL 28 IS NOT CONVENIENT, ANOTHER MEETING WILL BE HELD  
APRIL 29. PLEASE ADVISE WHICH DATE IS BETTER FOR YOU BY TELEPHONING  
THE DINNER COMMITTEE HEADQUARTERS, 737-8121.

MIKE MANSFIELD  
SENATE MAJORITY LEADER

JOHN W. McCORMACK  
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

TO:

INITIAL

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Raynholt
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

X	FYI	reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	file	
	first name		
	signature		

REMARKS:

FROM:

Barbara

DATE:

4/29/69



DANIEL K. INOUE  
HAWAII  
CHAIRMAN, Democratic  
Senatorial Campaign Committee



MICHAEL J. KIRWAN, M.C.  
OHIO  
CHAIRMAN, Democratic  
Congressional Campaign Committee

## DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL DINNER COMMITTEE

MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • Telephone (202) 737-8121

GEORGE M. STEINBRENNER, III  
CHAIRMAN

NEALE ROACH  
DIRECTOR

PRESS RELEASE FOR WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1969, IN THE A.M.

The Democratic Congressional Dinner Committee tonight announced the decision to re-schedule its Sixth Annual Dinner to June 26th. The affair will be held at the Washington Hilton in Washington, D. C. The re-scheduling was requested by the fourteen recently appointed regional Co-Chairmen.

Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii is Chairman of the Senate wing of the Committee. Representative Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio heads the House side and George M. Steinbrenner, III of Cleveland, Ohio, is Chairman of the Dinner Committee.

####

## **Bliss Sees a GOP Senate**

Associated Press

The former National Republican Committee chairman, Ray C. Bliss predicted yesterday that Republicans will capture control of the Senate next year.

"This, of course, depends on the impact and performance of the President," he added. There are now 57 Democrats

and 43 Republicans in the Senate.

As for the House of Representatives Bliss, 61, would make no predictions. He said he was very disappointed in the slight change in the House during the last election. Republicans picked up only four seats. There are now 243 Democrats and 190 Republicans in the House.

Senator Inouye

April 24, 1969

Invited to the April 24th Wyoming Campaign Planning Meeting:

Sen. Gale McGee

Dick Cook  
Sen. McGee's Staff

Sen. Daniel Inouye

Sen. Gaylord Nelson

Nordy Hoffmann  
Senate Campaign Committee

Ken Harding  
Ted Henshaw  
House Campaign Committee

Kermit Overby  
Dick Dell  
NRECA

Reuben Johnson  
National Farmers Union

Al Barkan  
Mary Zon  
National COPE

Mark Nicksic  
Pres. Wyoming AFL-CIO

John Holaday  
Exec. Sec. Wyoming AFL-CIO

Jack McCoy  
COPE Area Director



Tony Mazzochi  
OCAW

Al Chesser  
Railroad Brotherhood

James O'Brien  
USW

*Larry Spitz - Asst. to Walter Burke, Sea Texas Steel.*  
Dave Anderson  
CWA

Mel Boyle  
Stanley Thompson (Wyoming)  
IBEW

DNC

Sen. Fred Harris ✓  
Bill Welsh  
Mark Shields ✓  
George Bristol ✓  
Nick Kostopulos ✓  
Al Spivak ✓  
Harriet Cipriani ✓

*Don Ellinger - Machinists*  
*Hoyt Haddock - Maritime*  
*Stan Kinnitt - Majority Leaders Office*  
*Eiler Ravnholt.*  
*Bill Dodd - N. A. W.*

" See Page 3 "

**GERALD RAFSHOON ADVERTISING, inc.**

*The First National Bank Building/two peachtree street, n.w.  
atlanta, georgia 30303/ area code 404 / 523-6211*

January 7, 1969  
RECEIVED

The Honorable Edmund S. Muskie  
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee  
Room 130 Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D.C., 20510

BY \_\_\_\_\_

JAN 10 1969

Dear Senator Muskie:

FORWARDED TO  
JSCC

Senator Herman E. Talmadge, whom we represented in the recent election, has passed on your letter of December 18th to us for action. Your letter requested information and evaluation of his advertising effort in the 1968 election.

First, let me discuss in general terms the effort made and the use of advertising.

1. We conducted an advertising campaign for Senator Talmadge in the Democratic Primary, held September 11th. His opposition in the primary was Maynard Jackson, an Atlanta attorney. We considered the opposition rather minor in the primary and the use of advertising was to remind voters of the upcoming primary and to present the Senator and his record, seniority, and service to the state. Television was the main medium used with radio and newspaper secondary media. We produced two sets of TV spots -- each consisting of a 60-sec., 20-sec., and 10-sec. spot. In addition we produced one five-minute program which consisted entirely of film footage with voice-over narration.

2. In view of limited funds and limited opposition, we advertised only during the two week period preceding the primary. We were on ten television stations, blanketing every market in the state; 106 radio stations with a token 10 spots each on the day before the primary; and we ran one newspaper ad in all weeklies and dailies statewide.

3. Our television campaign, which was the main effort, was scheduled in all time periods. The 5-minute program was used in prime time and in late night and early morning shows.

4. We were very fortunate in that Senator Talmadge allowed us to produce the very best kind of material possible. Too often, candidates do not understand the need for high quality production (and the costs

**GERALD RAFSHOON ADVERTISING, inc.**

*The First National Bank Building/two peachtree street, n.w.  
atlanta, georgia 30303/ area code 404 / 523-6211*

Senator Edmund S. Muskie  
January 7, 1969  
Page 2

that go along with quality) and prefer to cut corners in this respect. The result often is that of having a mediocre commercial or film being used over and over. Senator Talmadge preferred to have the highest quality production.

5. In the General Election, our opposition was Earl Patton, a prominent Atlanta Republican. Our general election campaign was along the same lines as the primary with the following changes:

- a. We cut the TV expenditure by 1/3. We felt that the exposure from the primary had a carry-over effect.
- b. We increased our radio spots from 10 to 25 spots in order to get more saturation. These ran for five days preceding the general election. Since there is so much more radio advertising in the general election, radio has to be spread out a little more.
- c. We ran smaller newspaper ads.

6. No billboards or mailing pieces were produced.

7. The following was our advertising budget for the primary and for the general election.

	<u>Primary</u>	<u>General Election</u>
Television - 10 stations	44,862	30,869
Radio - 106 stations	7,442	11,787
Newspaper - Every paper state-wide	7,479	3,750
TV Production	11,291	2,800
Radio Production	550	887
Newspaper Production	1,423	1,083
Miscellaneous	500	400
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$73,547.00	\$51,576.00

**GERALD RAFSHOON ADVERTISING, inc.**

*The First National Bank Building/two peachtree street, n.w.  
atlanta, georgia 30303/ area code 404 / 523-6211*

Senator Edmund S. Muskie  
January 7, 1969  
Page 3

✓ We estimate that in a hotly contended statewide race an adequate advertising budget would be in the neighborhood of \$500,000.


In evaluating the campaign, we must note that Senator Talmadge won 78% of the vote in both the Primary and General Election.

We feel that the advertising campaign contributed to making his victories a landslide. We knew the main thing was to get out the vote. We knew that when most of the voters turned out they would vote for Talmadge but that due to minor opposition there would be a chance of voter apathy. By advertising, we were in a sense saying "We have an election and it is up to you (the voter) to reaffirm your confidence in our candidate."

We were successful.

If we can be of further help or if you have any questions, do not hesitate to call us.

Cordially,

  
Gerald M. Rafshoon, President  
Gerald Rafshoon Advertising, Inc.

GMR:sb  
cc: Senator Talmadge

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Committee Luncheon

S-120 -- March 5, 1969

12:30 P.M.

A G E N D A

1. Resolution to open an account with the bank.
2. Discussion on staff additions.
3. The Democratic Congressional Dinner -- May 12, 1969.
  - (a) Selection of the Chairman
  - (b) Determination of basic minimum for incumbents.  
Determination of transportation account -- basic minimum of \$1,000 or a minimum of six (6) round trips.
4. Discussion of Fund-raising techniques.
5. Questionnaire.
6. Speakers Bureau (Mondale).

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

## Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

TELEPHONE CAPITOL 4-3121  
EXT. 2447

TO: Senator Dan Inouye  
FROM: Nordy Hoffmann  
DATE: February 6, 1969  
SUBJECT: Luncheon Meeting to discuss Joint Congressional Dinner.

**PRESENT** - Ken Harding, Ted Henshaw, Neal Roach, Nordy Hoffmann.

- OK
1. Verbally Harding informed me that the House has accepted your recommendation - i.e. 55-45 split after expenses until 322,000 is reached - after that point the split would be 60-40.

OK

  2. The date of the Dinner is May 12, 1969 - Washington Hilton.  
The price per ticket is \$500.00 per person.  
OK  
This is the Senate year and you are the Host and will, therefore, select the Dinner Chairman.
  3. **RECOMMENDATIONS** for your consideration:  
OK  
a. That the Dinner be known as The Democratic Leadership Dinner, honoring Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and Speaker of the House McCormack;  
OK  
b. That Neal Roach be asked to assume the duties of the Executive Director of the Dinner;  
OK  
c. That Roach be empowered under the Dinner Committee to open office's in the Mayflower Hotel - Rooms 281-282 - on February 17th and on or about April 7th, to add Room 283 for telephone operations.  
OK  
d. That the Dinner have no Head Table;  
OK  
e. That we use the same system in regard to TV as we did last Dinner;  
OK  
f. That a short outstanding entertainment program be provided;  
OK  
g. That if possible, the Senate and House each supply 2 qualified women (free if legal) to work on the Dinner Committee.

MINUTES OF THE DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
MEETING - THURSDAY - FEBRUARY 6, 1969 - 10:00 A.M.  
ROOM S-208 - The CAPITOL

---

PRESENT were:

Senator Mansfield  
Senator Inouye  
Senator Nelson  
Senator Sparkman  
Senator Harris  
Senator Anderson

Nordy Hoffmann  
Berl Bernhard  
Stan Kimmitt  
Barbara Towles

Senator Inouye opened the Meeting and announced that he had been advised that he was to be the Chairman as designated by the Majority Leader. Senator Nelson would be Vice Chairman.

Senator Mansfield indicated that Senator Muskie would be retained as an ex-officio advisor to the Committee.

The following members were added to the Campaign Committee for the next Congress:

Senator Spong  
Senator Eagleton  
Senator Hollings  
Senator Magnuson  
Senator Ribicoff

A discussion ensued concerning a Fund Raising Dinner to be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel on either April 21 or May 12. May 12 was approved as the date.

It was pointed out that the House was not satisfied with a 50-50 split from the net proceeds of the Dinner. They were asking for a 2-1 break-out as their fair share.

Senator Inouye stated that was a bargaining position, of course, and he was prepared to counter offer as the Committee designated. Previously, Senator Muskie had devised a formula based on the 25 states where Democratic incumbents were running. A comparison between Senatorial and House of Representatives candidates brought about a 59-41% ratio.

Senator Nelson proposed that we suggest to the House that the Senate will accept a 55-45% ratio until the same amount of money that had been raised last year was reached. After this initial amount had been secured, we could then agree to a 59-41% ratio.

Senator Mansfield suggested that the Committee hold firm to their position because, "the Senate is prepared to handle their own dinner, if it becomes necessary."

Mr. Hoffmann pointed out that that's why two dates were kept open in the event it became necessary to have a Dinner separately from the House.

Considerable discussion continued on the merits of determining a correct ratio between the Senate and the House.

Senator Mansfield re-affirmed his position that all incumbents would be treated equally as had been done during the past two years.

Senator Sparkman moved that Senator Inouye and Senator Nelson be empowered to negotiate with the House using the "Nelson formula" as a basis.

Senator Mansfield suggested that these negotiations be conducted soon and a decision reached on whether or not there would be one or two Dinners.



Senator Inouye then presented the Financial Statement (attached).

Following the approval of the Financial Statement, staff members left the room and the Senators conducted an off-the-record discussion.

Senator Inouye asked Senator Harris for his ideas as to what the National Committee could do to assist the Campaign Committee this year.

Senator Harris replied that he had formed a task force operating under Bill Welch which was currently developing a budget and report which would be available soon.

Senator Inouye stated that he raised the matter since, at the moment, there was no focal point for the Democratic Party and this should be clarified at an early date.

Senator Inouye stated that he was appointing Senator Nelson as Chairman of a special committee on utilization of television and other media during the next campaign.

Senator Nelson stated he wanted to work on this matter, wanted to start early and hoped that television programs would be completed by the end of next summer.

Mr. Hoffmann stated that he had planned a Saturday meeting during March for a conference on all campaign matters including the media. Further information would be available on this later.

Senator Nelson stated that he would like to conduct a meeting with all incumbents at a noon luncheon on a day when the Senate is in session to get ideas.

Senator Inouye directed Mr. Hoffmann to explore what services were available from the National Committee. He further directed Berl Bernhard to come up with financial guidelines for the next campaign.

Mr. Bernhard advised that such instructions should be kept brief and in consonance with the guidelines provided by Senator Stennis at the last luncheon meeting.

Senator Inouye asked approval of \$500 per plate for the next Dinner. No opposition was voiced.

Mr. Hoffmann asked approval of a continuance of the policy of having the books audited, without cost, by the same firm of auditors who have been doing them for the past two years.

Senator Inouye stated he had no objections as long as they were licensed CPAs.

Mr. Hoffmann mentioned that when we file our list of contributors with the House, they are being screened by various people to develop lists of contributors for sale to charitable organizations.

Senator Nelson questioned whether an address need be given.

Mr. Bernhard read the law which requires that an address be listed for each contributor.

Mr. Hoffmann questioned the Chairman as to the policy of continuing the Tuesday luncheons during the next session. Senator Inouye said he would discuss this matter after the recess.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 A.M.

/// // // // // // // //  
// // // // // // // //

Sen Moss  
Mtg. Agenda.

# UTAH SENATE CAMPAIGN

## 1969 Activities

---

Since the election of 1968, several discussion and planning meetings have been held by Senator Moss, both in Utah in Washington, with members of his staff and political advisors. Based on these deliberations, the following list has been prepared. It includes the minimum 1969 requirements for an effective Moss campaign.

### I. Public Relations Activities

Funds are needed for expansion of the regular information and news-dispensing activities of the Senator's office. Such expansion should include:

- A. TV films (3 copies) to be sent weekly to Utah stations
- B. Radio tapes to supplement the present spot-news coverage with a regular coverage of Utah radio stations.
- C. Mats to be sent twice monthly to weekly newspapers
- D. Additional newsletters and mailings which will require paper beyond office allotment

### II. Travel

The number of trips allotted by the Senate is insufficient for the year before a campaign. This is the year that the Senator should get a considerable amount of visiting done in the smaller population counties. A considerable increase in travel is required, principally for the Senator, but some for staff and Mrs. Moss.

✓ III.

Polling

*Being Done OK*

A current assessment of voter sentiment on potential candidates and issues is considered essential to the formation of campaign plans. A poll should be taken within the next 90 days. Follow-ups would be considered for the end of this year and the beginning of next.

✓ IV.

Public Relations Counsel

The advice of seasoned, nationally experienced public relations counsel would be helpful. It is also believed desirable to name a Utah advertising agency soon so that its advice may be utilized in campaign planning. In addition, consideration is being given to working with a Utah commercial art firm for preparation of an overall campaign design and color scheme.

✓ V.

Filming

Effective television commercials are an essential of a successful 1970 campaign. To produce such commercials -- and to produce a documentary film should one be decided on -- a considerable footage of color movie film must be shot this year.

✓ VI.

Newspaper Tab

The decision has been made to use a tabloid newspaper special section to be carried by the five Utah daily newspapers on a Sunday near election. This was done in 1964 and was most effective. Following the procedure of the last campaign, the tab will be produced (art work, copy, and layout) this year, and printed early next.

VII. Christmas Card

✓ It is anticipated that a color Christmas post card showing Senator and Mrs. Moss and their two grandchildren will be mailed for Christmas 1969 to about half the households in Utah.

VIII. Position Papers

A considerable increase is needed in the number of Moss Senate statements, statements for mailing, and speeches -- both in and out of Washington. For the preparation of these, additional research and writing help is needed. Particularly, someone informed in the economic area would be helpful. Much of what is needed could be done by the Senator's staff, but cannot be handled in addition to the regular work load.

*Task Force Papers being edited*

IX. Pre-Campaign Activities

- A. Expansion of the Senator's mailing list is essential. This is now being done by staff assistants.
- B. Meetings of the Senator with special groups in Utah should be arranged. Some of this has already been done, and more is in the preparation stage.
- C. Activities should begin this year to build the Senator's relationship with, and enlist the support of, the members of certain groups. The most important of these are:
  - 1. Housewives
  - 2. Young Voters and Youth
  - 3. Organized Labor
  - 4. Rural Voters
  - 5. Federal Employees
  - 6. Educators

March 5, 1969  
3:00 p.m.

AGENDA: 1970 Utah Campaign Planning

3:25 P.M. to 7:15

- ✓ I. Introduction -- opening remarks of DNC Chairman Fred R. Harris (5 mins.)
- II. Report by Senator Ted Moss assessing the overall Utah political situation (10 mins.)
- III. Report from Utah (5 mins.)
  - ✓ John Klas, Democratic State Chairman
  - ✓ Wayne L. Black, National Committeeman
  - ✓ Jean Westwood, National Committeewoman
  - ✓ Norma Thomas, State Democratic Vice Chairman
  - Phil Cowley - Campaign Manager
  - ✓ Don Holbrook - Regent
  - ✓ Mrs. Black - Women's Committee
- IV. Identification of needs during remainder of 1969
  - United States Senate race
  - Congressional races
  - Building Democratic Party
- V. Open discussion by all present concerning plans for meeting needs in 1969 and laying plans for 1970

State AFL CIO Pres.

March 5, 1969  
3:00 p.m.

PARTICIPANTS: 1970 Utah Campaign Planning Meeting

Democratic National Committee:

Chairman Fred R. Harris  
Vice Chairman Geri Joseph *NO*  
Bill Welsh  
George Bristol  
Al Spivak

Senate Campaign Committee:

Sen. Daniel Inouye  
Nurdy Hoffman

House Campaign Committee:

Rep. Ed Edmondson *NO*  
Ken Harding  
Ted Henshaw

Utah Democratic Party:

Wayne L. Black, National Committeeman  
Jean Westwood, National Committeewoman  
John Klas, Democratic State Chairman  
Norma Thomas, Democratic State Vice Chairman  
Phil Cowley  
Don Holbrook

National Labor:

COPE - Al Barkan, Mary Zon, LaMar Gulbransen  
USW - James O'Brien *NO*  
IAM - Don Ellinger



Utah State Labor:

*Ormond Kunkel*  
~~E. C. Berger~~, President, State AFL-CIO  
Michael Durkson, United Oil, Chemical & Atomic  
Workers

NRECA:

Kermit Overby

National Farmers Union:

~~Blue Carstenson~~  
*Johnson -*

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE  
JOB DESCRIPTION

Frank N. Hoffmann, Executive Director

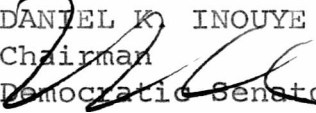
Under the direction of the Chairman and the Committee, the duties are to provide assistance to all Democratic incumbents and nominees in whatever phase of campaign activity they may desire such assistance, i.e., fund-raising, research, organization, liaison with interested groups, and media and press; to act as a clearing house for new techniques of campaigning; to serve as liaison between the Campaign Committee and any such organizations as the Chairman and the Committee may direct; and to perform any other or related duties pertaining to the campaigns as directed by the Chairman and the Committee.

I would travel at the request of an incumbent or a nominee with the approval of the Chairman. No trips would be initiated by me.

Concerning other income, when I was asked to accept the position of Executive Director, it was requested that I make a complete break with my former employer. This was to be with the understanding that I could retain my pension, insurance and hospitalization which was already funded. My pension is \$7,122.72 before taxes.

Campaign Committee Authorization

Would you please complete the enclosed authorization and return it to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for my information and records.

DANIEL K. INOUE  
Chairman  
  
Democratic Senatorial  
Campaign Committee

I hereby authorize \_\_\_\_\_ of my staff to act for me in my absence on matters affecting the work of the Campaign Committee.

This authorization does (does not) include the handling of money.

DANIEL K. INOUE  
Chairman  
Democratic Senatorial  
Campaign Committee

MEMORANDUM

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCING

March 5, 1969

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TO: Nordy Hoffmann

FROM: Berl Bernhard

DATE: March 5, 1969

MEMORANDUM

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CAMPAIGN FINANCING

I. SENATORIAL CANDIDATES

Note: These provisions do not apply to primary elections because primaries are excluded from the definition of "election" in Titles 2 and 18, §§ 241 and 591 respectively "[t]he term 'election' includes a general or special election, . . . but does not include a primary election or convention of a political party."

A. Expenditures

Senatorial candidates may not spend, in a campaign for election, more than either:

1. \$10,000; or
2. an amount equal to 3¢ multiplied by the total number of votes cast at the last general election for all candidates for the office now sought, but in no event exceeding \$25,000.

This limitation does not apply to the following expenses:

1. expenses due to state fees;
2. necessary personal, travelling, or subsistence expenses;
3. money for: stationery, postage, writing, or printing (other than billboards or newspapers); distributing letters, circulars, or posters; telephone or telegraph service; proper legal services in contesting the results of an election . (T. 2, U.S.C.A. §248)
4. In addition, state laws may further restrict expenditures by candidates.

This limitation applies only to money spent by the candidate himself. It does not apply to money spent by a committee working for his election; such committee is subject to its own limitations, set forth at the end of this memo. The candidate should keep his personal expenditures completely separate from those a committee makes on his behalf.

#### B. Reporting Expenditures

A candidate must keep an account of all expenditures made by him or "by any person for him with his knowledge or consent" if the expenditures are in support of his candidacy or are made to influence the result of the election (T. 2 U.S.C.A. §246). Since this is a criminal statute, the phrase "with his knowledge and consent" must be strictly construed to meet the standard of scienter embodied in the criminal law. In other words, a general knowledge that a

campaign committee is spending money in a candidate's behalf does not impose upon that candidate the obligation to account for each expenditure of that committee. Of course, the committee itself must account for its expenditures if required by Federal or state law.

A candidate's accounts must be filed with the secretary not less than 10 nor more than 15 days before, and within 30 days after, the date on which an election is to be held (T. 2 U.S.C.A. §246).

C. Receipts

I. From and by whom contributions may be solicited and accepted.

a. From whom contributions may be accepted:

A candidate may accept contributions from individuals, organizations, his political party, and proceeds from fundraising events, subject to the following restrictions:

(1) Contributions from individuals:

(a) Neither a Senator nor a Federal employee may solicit or accept political contributions from Federal employees and officers.

(b) No one may solicit or accept political contributions from persons known to be on or entitled to relief (T. 18 U.S.C.A. §604). This does not include persons receiving loans, pensions, or other benefits from Federal agencies (e.g., Social Security pensions, unemployment insurance).



(2) Contributions from either individuals or organizations:

No one may solicit or accept political contributions from a person, firm, or corporation known to be negotiating for or performing a contract for the Federal Government on his or its own behalf (T. 18 U.S.C.A. §611). Employees of such persons, firms, or corporations may be solicited, and the spouse of a contractor may make a contribution in her own behalf.

(3) Contributions from organizations:

No one may accept political contributions in connection with a Senatorial election from a corporation, labor organization, or national bank (T. 18 U.S.C.A. §610). Personal contributions may be solicited from and made by (a) an officer, employee, or stockholder of a corporation; (b) by an official or employer of a labor union; or (c) by an official or employee of a national bank.

(4) Contributions from fundraising events:

A candidate may accept a contribution from a fundraising event organized and held primarily in his behalf, provided--

(1) He has expressly given his approval of the fundraising event to the sponsors before any funds were raised; and

(2) He receives a complete and accurate accounting of the source, amounts, and disposition of the funds raised. (S. Res. 266: Standing Rules of the Senate, Rule 42).

The key word is "accept". This means that a Senator need report and make the appropriate accounting of funds only if he personally accepts monetary contributions by placing them under his control. Thus, a Senator who gives approval for a fundraising event, but does not place any of the funds under his control has no obligation to report and account.

(5) Contributions from an individual, organization or a political party:

A Senator may accept monetary contributions from an individual, organization, or his political party. If from his political party, he need not have given express approval for a fundraising event. If he personally accepts monetary contributions, he must make an accounting of the source, amount and disposition of the funds received.

A Senator need not report if he does not, in fact, accept and receive these monetary contributions by placing the funds under his control. If the funds are left to be handled at the discretion of a bona fide political committee, independent of the Senator, no reporting is required. (Standing Rules of the Senate, Rule 42)

(6) Solicitation and receipt of funds by Senate employee:

A Senate employee may solicit, receive, or keep campaign funds only if he

1. receives compensation in excess of \$10,000;
2. has been designated so to act by the Senator in writing, and the writing has been filed with the

Secretary of the Senate; and

3. is an assistant to a Senator.

(Standing Rules of the Senate, Rule 43).

Note: that Federal employees may neither solicit nor accept political contributions from other Federal employees (T. 18 U.S.C.A. § 602).

(7) Permissible use of contributions:

Monetary contributions may be used to defray expenses for travel to a Senator's home state, for printing in connection with speeches and newsletters to constituents, for radio and television directed to constituents or telephone, telegraph, postage, and stationery expenses, in excess of allowance, and for newspaper subscriptions from his home state. (See Standing Rules of the Senate, Rule 42, Paragraph 3).

This defines permissible use and does not require the Senator to report these expenses if they are expended by a bona fide political committee, independent of the Senator.

II. Where Contributions May Be Solicited or Accepted:

Contributions may be solicited and accepted anywhere but in a Federal building (T. 18 U.S.C.A. §603).

The words "in a Federal building" have been interpreted to include buildings occupied only in part by Federal employees, but not to include buildings Federal employees merely visit regularly. (U.S. v. Burleson, D.C. Tenn. 1954, 127 F. Supp. 400).

The Justice Department has interpreted this section to prohibit the use of a Federal office building address for the receipt of contributions, and will investigate such a practice when it is requested to do so.

#### D. Reporting of Receipts

A candidate must report all contributions received by him, or "by any person for him with his knowledge or consent" (T. 2 U.S.C.A. §246). The remarks in Part I. B, page 2, concerning the import of this phrase apply here. "Person" includes individuals, organizations, and committees; "contribution" includes gifts, subscriptions, loans, deposits of money or anything of value (or promises to confer such benefits) (T. 2 U.S.C.A. § 241). This information must be filed with the Secretary of the Senate at the same times as expenditures are to be reported.

A Senator need not report monetary contributions received from fundraising events held primarily on his behalf or by his political party or from individuals or organizations unless he, in fact, accepts the monetary contributions by placing it under his control. (Standing Rules of the Senate, Rule 42, Paragraphs (a)(b)(c).)

## II. POLITICAL COMMITTEES

The political committees covered by T. 2 and T. 18 U.S.C.A. are defined in §§ 241 (c) and 591 respectively of those Acts: "the term 'political committee' includes any committee, association, or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of

influencing or attempting to influence the election of candidates or presidential and vice presidential electors (1) in two or more states, or (2) whether or not in more than one state if such committee, association, or organization (other than a duly organized state or local committee of a political party) is a branch or subsidiary of a national committee, association, or organization." The following limitations, then, do not apply to local committees that operate in one state only, if the local committees are neither branches nor subsidiaries of a national entity. Such local committees are, however, subject to state regulation.

A. Expenditures and Receipts

A committee may neither receive nor spend more than \$3,000,000 in any calendar year (T. 18 U.S.C.A. § 609).

B. Reporting of Expenditures

When expenditures to any one person total \$ 10 or more in any calendar year, that person's name and address must be reported along with the amount, date, and purpose of the expenditure. They must also report the sum total of all expenditures. These reports are to be filed with the Clerk between the 1st and 10th days of March, June and September each year, and also between the 10th and 15th days, and on the 5th day, next preceding the date on which a general election is to be held, and also on the 1st day of January (T. 2 U.S.C.A. §244).

C. Reporting of Receipts

Campaign committees must report the name and address of each person contributing an aggregate of \$100 or more in any one calendar year, together with the amount and date of the contribution. They must also report the sum total of all other expenditures. These are to be reported at the same place and times as expenditures (See above, p. 2.)

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Committee Luncheon

S-120 -- March 5, 1969

12:30 P.M.

A G E N D A

1. Resolution to open an account with the bank.
2. Discussion on staff additions.
3. The Democratic Congressional Dinner -- May 12, 1969.
  - (a) Selection of the Chairman
  - (b) Determination of basic minimum for incumbents.  
Determination of transportation account -- basic minimum of \$1,000 or a minimum of six (6) round trips.
4. Discussion of Fund-raising techniques.
5. Questionnaire.
6. Speakers Bureau (Mondale).

**DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

**ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING**

**WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510**

**TELEPHONE (202) 225-2447**

**SENATORS:**

**DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, CHM.  
GAYLORD NELSON, WIS., V. CHM.  
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N.M.  
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.  
FRED R. HARRIS, OKLAHOMA  
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.  
WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.  
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN.  
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., VA.  
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE, EX OFFICIO**

**EILER RAVNHOLT  
SECRETARY-TREASURER**

**BERL BERNHARD  
GENERAL COUNSEL**

**FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

*File*

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO: Democratic Senators      FROM: Nordy Hoffmann**  
**RE: Campaign Financing      DATE: May 1, 1969**

Attached is a memorandum on legal requirements for campaign financing. It is being distributed now in view of the May 15 date for reporting under the Senate Ethics Resolution (S. Res. 266).

It was prepared for your personal guidance, not for public distribution, and should be handled accordingly.



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TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt

2.

3.

4.

	FYI	prepare reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
X	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	P. C.	
	first name	file	
	reply for signature of		

REMARKS:

Senator  
letter should be  
marked personal  
and confidential.  
Should we suggest  
that transportation funds  
could be made available  
at an earlier date  
upon request?  
Eiler

FROM:

Barbara

DATE:

3/14/69

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

SENATORS:

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, CHM.  
GAYLORD NELSON, WIS., V. CHM.  
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N.M.  
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.  
FRED R. HARRIS, OKLAHOMA  
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.  
WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.  
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN.  
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., VA.  
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE, EX OFFICIO

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE (202) 225-2447

EILER RAVNHOLT  
SECRETARY-TREASURER

BERL BERNHARD  
GENERAL COUNSEL

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

D  
R  
A  
F  
T

March 14, 1969

The Honorable  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear :

At the March 5th meeting of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee two proposals were made. One, that every incumbent receive a basic minimum amount for campaign expenses and second, a transportation formula be set up for travel to his state.

It was decided that in 1969 each incumbent should receive \$ 5,000.00 for campaign expenses and six guaranteed round trips or \$ 1,000.00 for transportation, whichever is greater.

These funds will be distributed to incumbents around June 1, 1969.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
Chairman

Matters of this sort should be  
kept out of print.

TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

X	FYI	prepare reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	P. C.	
	first name	file	
	reply for signature of		

REMARKS:

Senator  
You might want  
to glance at this  
for an idea of these  
conferences.  
Eiler

FROM: Nordy

DATE: 3/14/69

March 12, 1969

AGENDA: North Dakota Campaign Planning Meeting

- I. Opening remarks by Chairman Harris
- II. Assessment by Senator Burdick of the 1970 election prospects -- strengths, weaknesses and present needs
- III. Run down on North Dakota situation by State people
- IV. Discussion of projects and programs that need to be undertaken to provide for an effective campaign in North Dakota. What steps should be taken now to prepare for 1970

## THE SENATE CAMPAIGN IN NORTH DAKOTA

### The Voter Situation

Although Democratic-NPL candidates won significant voter approval in 1958, 1960 and 1964 elections, the more recent votes in 1966 and 1968 saw the traditional Republican voting pattern reassert itself. The only Democratic victory since 1964 was in a race against a candidate who was rejected by his party's organization, and who opened the campaign with inept and inopportune comments. Of course, the Democratic candidate was a very strong one.

The North Dakota voting tradition is one of conservatism, of wanting such things as big government to keep hands off. This is intensified by a broader current of discontent about Vietnam, unrest over the tax surcharge, and other issues.

To compound these general feelings of discontent, there is a very specific discontent about farm income, which represents a major portion of the state's economy. In general, production costs have been rising while prices have remained steady or declined. Investment in more efficient production methods and more economic farm units has resulted in a rapidly rising debt load. The number of small farms is decreasing rapidly. Dissatisfaction is deep and widespread.

The time to begin reaching these people is this year, before their minds are politically closed. With an early start, it is possible to get across a message about the value of keeping a Senator who listens to the problems of ordinary people, does something about them, and has the seniority to accomplish these tasks.

### Specific Areas for Assistance

#### TELEVISION:

The number of color news film clips done by Senator

Burdick must be increased so that his statements on current issues can be made available. Help on research and writing is also needed. A fixed schedule for release is not practical, but more are needed.

The bulk of color film to be used in preparation of campaign spots and possibly a documentary must be shot this year. A sound camera crew should be available nearly every weekend from April through October to catch enough unposed situations to meet filming needs.

**RADIO:**

A weekly radio program produced in the office is mailed to every station in the state at present at virtually no cost. However, beeper reports of timely news items are severely limited due to lack of funds for telephone toll charges or WATS line.

**TRAVEL:**

Senate allowances are wholly inadequate. There are more than 70 weekends between now and election day. Meetings with groups and key individuals should be arranged this year.

**POLLING:**

A basic poll of voter attitudes should be completed this year, based on a design that can be updated at minimum cost as issues develop.

**MAILING LIST:**

Rental of computer time is needed to upgrade the mailing list with steps that either the Senate computer center cannot perform, or is unable to perform due to pressures of other work.

**PRINTED MATERIALS:**

July 1, 1969 to June 30, 1970, informational calendar cards to be mailed to everyone on mailing list with a regular newsletter.

Color Christmas cards with picture of Senator's family for every name on the mailing list, with postage.



Color cards with Mrs. Burdick's favorite recipes.

Campaign brochure for entire mailing list, with extras to hand out during campaign. Postage required for mailing.

Color tabloid insert for daily newspapers about a week before election. Preparation of pictures, copy and printing needed.

1970

**CAMPAIGN LETTER:**

Stationery and postage required for 140,000 letters as well as preparation of name and address tape from computer magnetic tape.

**SPECIAL PROJECTS FOR CITY VOTE:**

Coffee wagon is needed to provide a center of attention to reach the maximum number of voters in each shopping center stop the Senator makes.

A filmstrip of the Senator's record tied together with a presentation of canvassing techniques is needed to stimulate interest in getting out the vote. This would be used for meetings with small groups of potential workers.

**MEDIA PURCHASE:**

Television

Radio 1970

Newspaper 1970

Billboards 1970

Other

March 12, 1969

Participants in North Dakota Campaign Planning Meeting:

Sen. Quentin Burdick

Jim Meeker  
AA to Sen. Burdick

Jess Cooper  
Press Secretary to Sen. Burdick

Mark Purdy  
National Committeeman

Larry Erickson  
State Chairman

Al Barkan & Mary Zon  
COPE

Dick Bell  
NRECA

Angus McDonald  
National Farmers Union

Jack McCoy  
COPE Area Director

Mel Boyle  
IBEW

David Anderson  
CWA

Jack Curran  
Laborers

Walt Davis  
Seafarers

FRANK Wallick  
UAW

Nordy Hoffman  
Senate Campaign Committee

Ken Harding & Ted Henshaw  
House Campaign Committee

Democratic National Committee:

Sen. Fred Harris  
Bill Welsh  
Vick French  
George Bristol  
Harriet Cipriani  
Al Spivak  
Mark Shields

WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH., CHAIRMAN

JOHN O. PASTORE, R.I.  
VANCE HARTKE, IND.  
PHILIP A. HART, MICH.  
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.  
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.  
FRANK E. MOSS, UTAH  
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.  
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII  
JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, MD.  
WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., VA.

NORRIS COTTON, N.H.  
HUGH SCOTT, PA.  
WINSTON L. PROUTY, VT.  
JAMES B. PEARSON, KANS.  
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.  
CLIFFORD P. HANSEN, WYO.  
HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.  
CHARLES E. GOODELL, N.Y.

FREDERICK J. LORDAN, STAFF DIRECTOR

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 10, 1969

*See FBI  
4/10/69*

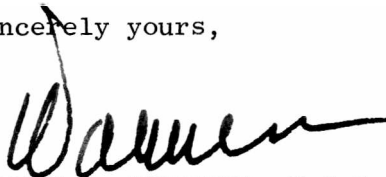
The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

Regarding your letter of April 10: I'm trying, I'm  
trying, I'm trying.

Personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



WARREN G. MAGNUSON, U.S.S.

WGM:ggd

Mr. George M. Steinbrenner III  
THE AMERICAN SHIP BUILDING COMPANY  
EXECUTIVE OFFICES  
LORAIN, OHIO 44052

MAR 31 1969

March 28, 1969

*Summers FVI*

Mr. David W. Walters  
Walters, Moore & Costanzo  
1008 Ainsley Building  
14 N. E. First Avenue  
Miami, Florida 33132

Dear Dave:

I was certainly pleased to hear today from Neale Roach in Washington that you have agreed to serve as one of the eight Co-chairmen for the 1969 Democratic Congressional Dinner in Washington on May 12th. I know that your efforts in the Southeast Region will certainly prove fruitful to the Committee and to the Dinner, and I am sure I do not have to stress to you the importance of what is facing the entire Party in 1970.

The purpose of this note is just a brief "thank you" for your dedication and willingness to help and to advise you that we will be calling a special meeting in Washington of all of the Co-chairmen, probably late the week of April 7th or early the week of April 14th. I shall send you a wire just as quickly as I am sure of the date.

In the meantime, thanks again and I certainly look forward to meeting with you and working with you in this important project.

Best personal regards.

Very truly yours,

George M. Steinbrenner III  
Chairman - Chief Executive Officer

GMS:rr

cc: The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye ✓  
Mr. Neale Roach  
Mr. Kenneth R. Harding

March 28, 1969

Mr. Edward J. McCormack, Jr.  
919 Congress Street  
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Ed:

I was certainly pleased to hear today from Neale Roach in Washington that you have agreed to serve as one of the eight Co-chairmen for the 1969 Democratic Congressional Dinner in Washington on May 12th. I know that your efforts in the New England area will certainly prove fruitful to the Committee and to the Dinner, and I am sure I do not have to stress to you the importance of what is facing the entire Party in 1970.

The purpose of this note is just a brief "thank you" for your dedication and willingness to help and to advise you that we will be calling a special meeting in Washington of all of the Co-chairmen, probably late the week of April 7th or early the week of April 14th. I shall send you a wire just as quickly as I am sure of the date.

In the meantime, thanks again and I certainly look forward to meeting with you and working with you in this important project.

Best personal regards.

Very truly yours,

George M. Steinbrenner III  
Chairman - Chief Executive Officer

GMS:rr

cc: The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye ✓  
Mr. Neale Roach  
Mr. Kenneth R. Harding

TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt

2.

3.

4.

X	FYI	prepare reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	P. C.	
	first name	file	
	reply for signature of		

REMARKS:

FROM: Nordy

DATE: 4/11/69

April 11, 1969

Mr. Paul R. Bean, Manager  
Dura Division Intercontinental Systems, Inc.  
1530 E. Jefferson Street  
Rockville, Maryland 20852

Dear Mr. Bean:

The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee would like to purchase the following equipment and have it delivered to 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C., Sixth Floor.

	<u>Unit Price</u>	<u>Total</u>
Two (2) 1041S (10 P) Courier 72 w / 1st line	\$4505.00 ea.	\$9010.00
(2) Auxiliary Readers	\$1000.00	\$2000.00
(1) EPC Reader & Punch	\$ 250.00	\$ 250.00
(2) Formaliners 11" Throw	\$ 225.00	\$ 450.00
(1) Formaliner 3" Throw	\$ 225.00	\$ 225.00
(3) Winders	\$ 75.00	\$ 225.00
(2) Unwinders	\$ 20.00	\$ 40.00
(2) Stands w/ tape supply reel	\$ 135.00	\$ 270.00
(2) Lefthand shelves	\$ 25.00	\$ 50.00
(2) Tape tennas	\$ 40.00	\$ 80.00
Total		\$12,600.00

Thank you.

Sincerely,

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
Executive Director



TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

	FYI	prepare reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	P. C.	
	first name	file	
X	reply for signature of		

## REMARKS:

Bennett Whitlock of the American Trucking Assoc. receives donations in the name of the Demo. Sen. Campaign Committee and sends them to us periodically. To date we have received \$1,000.00. Mr. Whitlock wants a check for \$1,000.00 made to Senator Robert C. Byrd. I am transferring \$1,000.00 from our Administrative Account to our Campaign Assistance Account and making a check payable to Senator Byrd from our Campaign Assistance Account. To date our Campaign Assistance Account has \$414.97. That is the reason for the transfer of funds.

FROM: Barbara

DATE: 3/24/69

From:

**FRANK N. HOFFMANN**

Executive Director

March 26, 1969

PER OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION  
THIS MORNING.

NORDY

**DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**



DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

SENATORS:

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, CHM.  
GAYLORD NELSON, WIS., V. CHM.  
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N.M.  
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.  
FRED R. HARRIS, OKLAHOMA  
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.  
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE, N.H.  
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.  
WALTER F. MONDALE, MINN.  
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN.  
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., VA.  
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE, EX OFFICIO

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE (202) 225-2447

EILER RAVNHOLT  
SECRETARY-TREASURER

BERL BERNHARD  
GENERAL COUNSEL

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 26, 1969

Mr. Joseph Napolitan, President  
JOSEPH NAPOLITAN ASSOCIATES, INC.  
1028 - Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

In behalf of the Chairman, Senator Daniel K. Inouye and Vice Chairman, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and all the members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, I wish to acknowledge thanks to you for the excellent presentation which you made last week. You will be pleased to know that the comments have been high in praise for the type of presentation you made.

We are presently trying to arrange a second sitting for the Senators and will be in touch with you to ask your cooperation in this endeavor.

With full knowledge of the seriousness of the 1970 elections, where upon the loss of seven seats would make the Democratic majority a Democratic minority, I sincerely appreciate you taking the time and expense to present a most useful concept of modern media.

Sincerely,

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
Executive Director

FNH:kk

bcc: Senator D. K. Inouye

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE (202) 225-2447

SENATORS:

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, CHM.

GAYLORD NELSON, WIS., V. CHM.

CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N.M.

THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.

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EILER RAVNHOLT  
SECRETARY-TREASURER

BERL BERNHARD  
GENERAL COUNSEL

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 26, 1969

Mr. Shelby Storck, President  
SHELBY STORCK AND COMPANY, INC.  
4746 McPherson  
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

Dear Shelby:

In behalf of the Chairman, Senator Daniel K. Inouye and Vice Chairman, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and all the members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, I wish to acknowledge thanks to you for the excellent presentation which you made last week. You will be pleased to know that the comments have been high in praise for the type of presentation you made.

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Sincerely,

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
Executive Director

FNH:kk

bcc: Senator D. K. Inouye

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE (202) 225-2447

SENATORS:

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, CHM.

GAYLORD NELSON, WIS., V. CHM.

CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N.M.

THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MO.

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EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE, EX OFFICIO

EILER RAVNHOLT

SECRETARY-TREASURER

BERL BERNHARD

GENERAL COUNSEL

FRANK N. HOFFMANN

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 26, 1969

Mr. Leonard Grossman, President  
ASTRA FILMS INCORPORATED  
530 - 8th Street, S.E.  
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Lenny:

In behalf of the Chairman, Senator Daniel K. Inouye and Vice Chairman, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and all the members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, I wish to acknowledge thanks to you for the excellent presentation which you made last week. You will be pleased to know that the comments have been high in praise for the type of presentation you made.

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Sincerely,

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
Executive Director

FNH:kk

bcc: Senator D. K. Inouye

DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE (202) 225-2447

SENATORS:

DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII, CHM.  
GAYLORD NELSON, WIS., V. CHM.  
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N.M.  
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EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE, EX OFFICIO

EILER RAVNHOLT  
SECRETARY-TREASURER  
BERL BERNHARD  
GENERAL COUNSEL  
FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 26, 1969

Mr. Charles Guggenheim, President  
GUGGENHEIM PRODUCTIONS  
815 - 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20034

Dear Charles:

In behalf of the Chairman, Senator Daniel K. Inouye and Vice Chairman, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and all the members of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, I wish to acknowledge thanks to you for the excellent presentation which you made last week. You will be pleased to know that the comments have been high in praise for the type of presentation you made.

We are presently trying to arrange a second sitting for Senators and will be in touch with you to ask your cooperation in this endeavor.

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Sincerely,

FRANK N. HOFFMANN  
Executive Director

FNH:kk

bcc: Senator D. K. Inouye

Senator

Do you want to do anything  
more with this?

Eiler

First half Fiscal year ending June 30, 1969

Amount appropriated	\$ 480,300 Fy
	\$ 240,150 1/2 Fy

Amount paid	\$ 167,154.53
-------------	---------------

balance on hand	\$ 313,145.47
-----------------	---------------

balance forward 1967	168,346.00
----------------------	------------

balance forward 1968	149,734.99
----------------------	------------

balance on hand

1967	138,346.00
------	------------

1968	149,107.30
------	------------

1969	313,145.47
------	------------

Republican	118,530.78
------------	------------

Democratic	48,623.75
------------	-----------



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S. Res. 158, 77 (1941).

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S. Res. 158, 77 (1941).

TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

X	FYI	prepare reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	P. C.	
	first name	file	
	reply for signature of		

REMARKS:

FROM:

DATE:

Nordy

4/9/69

# OPINION RESEARCH OF CALIFORNIA

PUBLIC OPINION AND BUSINESS SURVEYS

CORPORATE OFFICES - 1232 BELMONT AVENUE - LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA - 434-5715

HOME OFFICE - 800 SANTIAGO AVENUE - LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA - GENEVA 8-5930

PALM SPRINGS 714-325-5960

April 4, 1969

Mr. Frank N. Hoffmann  
Executive Director  
Dem. Sen. Campaign Committee  
130 Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Nurdy:

Enclosed is your copy of the correspondence prepared for Bill Welsh, Ed Henshaw and yourself.

I hope that it is of some value to you and the others as you formulate your plans for future activities.

If you should require additional information, or if we can be of service to you in any manner, please don't hesitate to call on us.

Warmest regards,

  
DONALD L. MCGREW  
Executive Vice President

DLMcG:jd  
Encl.

# OPINION RESEARCH OF CALIFORNIA

## PUBLIC OPINION AND BUSINESS SURVEYS

CORPORATE OFFICES - 1232 BELMONT AVENUE - LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA - 434-5715

HOME OFFICE - 800 SANTIAGO AVENUE - LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA - GENEVA 8-5930

PALM SPRINGS 714 - 325-5960

April 4, 1969

Mr. William Welsh  
Democratic National Committee  
Room 6202 Federal Office Building # 7  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bill:

I apologize for the time elapsed since my last communication, however the April 1 municipal elections demanded staff time which I had hoped to devote more exclusively to this task.

The Datatab people are still working on the question of utilization of your "360" installation and have promised to have some meaningful information available by April 15, 1969.

As I understand it, they are presently inclined toward recommending that you give up your own installation and contract with a computer company to provide the necessary services. They tell me there would be economic and technological advantages in having access to more sophisticated systems and greater numbers of highly skilled personnel on a demand basis.

Regarding the use of tax exempt funds for political purposes, a copy of Marvin L. Holen's observations on this subject is attached for your perusal.

We addressed ourselves to an analysis of the functions and potential benefits of Central Coordination of Survey Research. A summary presentation of our thinking on this subject is attached for your consideration.

We have not discussed the role that Opinion Research of California or any other specific survey firm might play in a centrally coordinated research program. And no attempt has been made to evaluate the capabilities and liabilities of the many politically oriented survey organizations. However, I want you to know that Opinion Research of California would be pleased to do further work with you on this project, or

Mr. William Welsh

-2-

April 4, 1969

to work with you on specific surveys which you may want to undertake in the future.

Our thoughts regarding the utilization of your "360" installation will be forthcoming soon.

Warmest regards,

  
DONALD L. McGREW  
Executive Vice President

DLMcG:jd  
Encls.

## ANALYSIS of CENTRAL COORDINATION of POLITICAL SURVEY RESEARCH

Opinion Research of California, in accordance with our previous correspondence with your office, presents here a brief analysis of the functions and potential benefits of Central Coordination of Survey Research for the Democratic Party.

### A. Economy

Central direction of political research activities could save Democratic Party organizations (at many levels) substantial amounts of money:

- (1) By improving the distribution of survey research data; redundant portions of particular surveys, and even entirely redundant surveys, could be identified and rejected.
- (2) By specifying minimal professional standards and identifying commercial firms which meet these standards, sources of unreliable or uninterpretable data could be avoided.
  - a) By coordinating bids and individual research projects according to specified standards, a greater number and more competitive bids from acceptable firms could be solicited.

- (3) Groups of geographically or otherwise similar research projects could be coordinated and produced more efficiently and economically than as a collection of independent projects.

B. Specification of Minimal Standards and/or  
Selection of Commercial Research Firms

Frequently, it is difficult for the layman to objectively evaluate the reliability and validity of survey research until after an election; thus, the criteria for selecting a survey research firm are often subjective and invalid. A central coordinating agency could effectively assemble the necessary scientific expertise, (often unavailable at lower party levels) to evaluate the technical aspects of survey research. Selection of survey firms by a Central Coordinating Agency, or at least a listing of firms which meet minimum standards, would help party organizations at all levels to obtain valid information. Standards which such firms should meet should include but not necessarily be limited to the following:

- (1) Specified verification procedures
- (2) Specified sample design and control procedures
- (3) Methods for controlling for non-response
- (4) Coding controls
- (5) Data deck cleaning procedures
- (6) Acceptable methods of tabulating



- (7) Standardized report method and format
- (8) Acceptable elapsed time to complete a specific study

C. Coordination of Research Efforts  
and Campaign Strategies

The national parties are beginning to recognize the powerful results of the application of modern scientific techniques to political campaigns, as a result, the time of numerous independent and unrelated campaigns is quickly passing. The almost concurrent development of high-speed digital computers, sophisticated statistical methods, and survey research techniques has made possible the application of the methods and findings of the behavioral sciences to political campaigns.

As suggested above, such applications require

- (1) the establishment of a central data storage and retrieval system
- (2) a sophisticated digital computer
- (3) reliable survey research data, and
- (4) staff capable of coordinating and utilizing the above.

Furthermore, the relevant survey research data, generated by many different firms in diverse areas and campaigns, must be made equivalent in format and focus by means of some form of

central direction or coordination at the national level.

Once the above conditions have been met (and they must be met), the following serve as a sample of the innovations that can be made and applied to campaign strategy at all levels.

D. Application of Advanced Analytic Techniques  
to Survey Research Data

- (1) Multiple and partial correlation, factor analysis, regression analysis, and analysis of variance can all be used in order to isolate and evaluate the effectiveness of different campaign techniques, strategies, and issues across other relevant variables (Demographic Data, Geographical Region, Party Affiliation, Propensity to Vote, et cetera).

E. Controlled Scientific Experimentation in  
On-going Political Campaigns

- (1) Controlled experiments, in conjunction with survey research would make possible the precise determination of the effect of techniques and issues in particular settings prior to the election.

F. Creation of a Computer-based  
Voter Response Simulation Model

- (1) Accumulation of coordinated information in a data bank would permit the creation of a simulation

model capable of predicting voter response to issues and potential issues, or positions, prior to their general presentation and distribution.

- (2) Needless to say, the responses predicted by such a model are not infallible, but given reliable survey research data, the superiority of such a model's projections over subjective or intuitive projections is unquestionable.

In summary, the time is at hand for decisions in political campaigns to be based on empirically obtained evidence and projections rather than based on personal experience or intuition. In short, candidates and the political party which base their campaign strategy on empirical evidence will, in the long run, be victorious over those who base their campaigns on subjective judgment, and coordination of research at the national level is the only way that empirical evidence can be accumulated and distributed effectively and economically to all levels within the Democratic Party.

LAW OFFICES  
H. O. VAN PETTEN  
MARVIN L. HOLEN  
1010 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017

HUNTLEY 2-1818

April 2, 1969

Mr. Donald McGrew  
Vice President  
Opinion Research of California  
1232 Belmont Avenue  
Long Beach, California 90804

Re: Utilization of Tax Exempt Funds  
for Political Purposes

Dear Don:

In accordance with our recent conversation, I have reviewed the question of the possibility of utilizing in some way tax exempt dollars for the purpose of creating technical data to be used for partisan political purposes. Since this is to be part of a summary report rather than a detailed memorandum relating to the broad field of political techniques, I will confine my remarks to conclusions rather than giving you a step-by-step detailed analysis of the relevant statutes, regulations and decisions upon which the conclusions are based.

I will deal only with the federal tax laws and not with the state tax laws.

The federal tax laws do not provide for the deduction from income of moneys contributed for partisan political purposes. The federal tax laws do provide for charitable deductions for moneys contributed to qualified educational foundations. These foundations, however, in order to qualify for receipt of charitable deduction dollars must not engage in partisan political activity. Consequently, the only area in which

Mr. Donald McGrew  
Page 2  
April 2, 1969

the partisan political process may be the beneficiary of tax exempt dollars is that area which relates to the use of studies of the political process made for educational purposes rather than political purposes.

Many presently existing foundations enjoy a tax exempt status and also engage in the study of the political process. The product of this study is available to the general public and, of course, once it is available it may be turned to partisan political purposes by members of the public without any cause for concern to the foundation.

As an example, The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions located at Santa Barbara, California, is presently engaged in a study of political fund raising problems. This will not disturb its tax exempt status unless the study is being done for political rather than educational purposes. The determination of what purpose is being served would probably turn on the intent of the foundation. Here, the law finds its most difficult task in trying to determine a subjective "intent" from objective "evidence."

The evidentiary factors as to the intent for which a study is being made would probably turn in part on such factors as follows:

a. Methodology used in raising the funds for the study.

The potential contributors approached, the printed material used in the fund raising, the oral statement made in the solicitation

Mr. Donald McGrew  
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of the funds and the "bookkeeping" system would all reflect upon the intent of the study.

b. Individuals engaged to perform the study.

If an established foundation did the study utilizing personnel who already had extensive connections and a history with the foundation or other legitimate foundations, the intent would appear to be educational. If, however, a foundation were to suddenly retain persons new to the foundation and all of a single political persuasion many with partisan political connections, it might be deduced that the intent was political in nature.

c. History of the foundation.

If the foundation was one already in existence with a history of activity in many fields or at least a long history of activity of an obvious educational nature even though it be solely engaged in the political field the intent would seem to be educational. If it is a brand new foundation with no history and no substantial breadth beyond the political study involved then a political intent would be fairly obvious.

d. Dissemination of study results.

The availability of the study would be very important with respect to whether it was solely provided on a confidential basis to a single political entity or whether it was

Mr. Donald McGrew  
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disseminated on a very broad basis in a public manner so as to be available to everyone. Someplace between these two extremes would be the dividing line of intent and, of course, the location of the dividing line would depend on the individual having to make the decision--be it an Internal Revenue Service commissioner, a judge or a jury.

If the foundation is "clean" in terms of intent then the product of the study may be used by members of the public in any manner they see fit including partisan political purposes.

I think the best way to achieve your goal would be to raise money on a partisan basis for donation to a sympathetic and already existing legitimate educational foundation which could produce the study in accordance with pre-determined guidelines. The study would then be available not only to the persons who designed it but also to their partisan opponents as well. However, there is an obvious advantage in being able to design the study since it will be tailor-made to fit your own expected needs. To the extent that it also provides information of value to your opponents then you have made them a gift of your efforts. If nothing else, you can realize a lead-time advantage since the availability of the study need not be shouted to the skies.

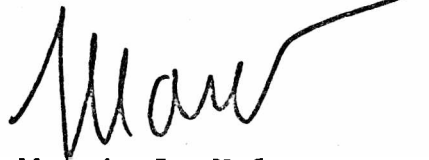
To set up what in form is a proper educational foundation but in substance is merely an extension of a political party apparatus would prove to be disastrous. The foundation itself would lose its tax exempt status subjecting its trustees to possible personal liability. The persons who

H. O. VAN PETTEN  
MARVIN L. HOLEN

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had made good faith contributions and deducted them from their tax liability would have to then reverse the process at some penalty to themselves. I need not dwell on what this would do to future relationships with these contributors. In short, you cannot play it close to the vest by setting up a technically sufficient device on the presumption that technicality will avoid the axe of the tax commissioner and the tax courts.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Marvin', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Marvin L. Holen

MLH:fk



Rep.

118,503.78

1968  
July 29

## Fiscal year 1969

1	Business Week: 1968-71 July 4-July 3: For subscription to Business Week to be furnished the minority policy committee.....		20.00
3	Bruce R. Barr et al.: Payroll for the month of July 1968 for services rendered the minority policy committee: Barr, Bruce R., professional staff member..... Bolger, Michael T., clerk..... Burgess, Arthur E., professional staff member..... DeWeese, Winifrede B., professional staff member..... Doolittle, Patricia L., secretary..... Elder, Nan O., secretary..... Hatch, William B., professional staff member..... LaPlante, Bryan F., deputy staff director..... Mountain, Bruce G., clerk..... Rhodes, Fred B., Jr., secretary and staff director..... Robinson, Alice A., personal secretary to the staff director..... Scott, Arthur E., clerk..... Tehan, Eleanor A., secretary..... Templeman, Harold M., professional staff member..... Winnett, Dolores K., clerk..... Yaw, Robert E., II, clerk.....	1,558.83 381.41 1,940.25 1,492.50 696.50 597.00 1,674.91 2,155.83 381.41 2,255.33 862.33 1,276.91 845.75 1,492.50 729.66 381.41	
	Agency contributions.....	18,722.53 1,260.95	19,983.48
31	5 Fred B. Rhodes, Jr.: For expenses incurred for the minority policy committee: 1968 July 28-Aug. 9: Per diem in lieu of subsistence in Miami Beach, Fla., 12 1/4 days, at \$16..... Taxi fares..... Baggage handling, committee documents..... Baggage shipment (air express), committee documents..... Telephone calls.....	\$204.00 2.65 4.50 24.08 11.07	246.30
	7 Bruce R. Barr et al.: Payroll for the month of August 1968 for services rendered the minority policy committee: Barr, Bruce R., professional staff member..... Bolger, Michael T., clerk, to Aug. 16..... Burgess, Arthur E., professional staff member..... DeWeese, Winifrede B., professional staff member..... Doolittle, Patricia L., secretary..... Elder, Nan O., secretary..... Hatch, William B., professional staff member..... LaPlante, Bryan F., deputy staff director..... Mountain, Bruce G., clerk, to Aug. 27..... Rhodes, Fred B., Jr., secretary and staff director..... Robinson, Alice A., personal secretary to the staff director..... Scott, Arthur E., clerk..... Tehan, Eleanor A., secretary..... Templeman, Harold M., professional staff member..... Winnett, Dolores K., clerk..... Yaw Robert E., II, clerk, to Aug. 9..... Parsons, Suzanna F., clerk, from Aug. 12.....	1,558.83 203.42 1,940.25 1,492.50 696.50 597.00 1,674.91 2,155.83 343.27 2,255.33 862.33 1,276.91 845.75 1,492.50 729.66 114.42 231.06	
	Agency contributions.....	18,470.47 1,260.95	19,731.42
Sept. 10	8 Brentano's: 1968 July 11: For 1 "Who's Who in America," vol. 35, 1968-69, furnished the minority policy committee.....		31.50
	9 Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 July 10-Aug. 8: For stationery supplies furnished the minority policy committee.....		213.60
26	12 Congressional Quarterly, Inc.: 1968 Aug. 8: 1 CQ Weekly Report No. 30, pt. I (election of 1968), including handling charge, furnished the minority policy committee.....		3.15
	13 Fred B. Rhodes, Jr.: For expenses incurred for the minority policy committee: 1968 July 1-Sept. 11: Postage..... Newspapers and magazines..... Taxi and bus fares, interdepartmental transportation, Washington, D.C.....	50.00 52.24 41.00	143.24
	15 Bruce R. Barr et al.: Payroll for the month of September 1968 for services rendered the minority policy committee, as follows: Barr, Bruce R., professional staff member..... Burgess, Arthur E., professional staff member..... DeWeese, Winifrede B., professional staff member..... Doolittle, Patricia L., secretary..... Elder, Nan O., secretary..... Hatch, William B., professional staff member..... LaPlante, Bryan F., deputy staff director..... Parsons, Suzanna F., clerk, to Sept. 15..... Rhodes, Fred B., Jr., secretary and staff director..... Robinson, Alice A., personal secretary to the staff director..... Scott, Arthur E., clerk..... Tehan, Eleanor A., secretary..... Templeman, Harold M., professional staff member..... Winnett, Dolores K., clerk..... Cronin, Cynthia, clerk, from Sept. 23.....	1,558.83 1,940.25 1,492.50 696.50 597.00 1,674.91 2,155.83 182.41 2,255.33 862.33 1,276.91 845.75 1,492.50 729.66 145.93	
	Agency contributions.....	17,906.64 1,258.11	19,164.75

Rhodes

507.51

Stationary

806.24

telephone

89.30

total 1403.05

total salaries  
117,127.73

19	Bruce R. Barr et al.: Payroll for the month of October 1968 for services rendered the minority policy committee, as follows:	Barr, Bruce R., professional staff member.....	1,558.83	
		Burgess, Arthur E., professional staff member.....	1,940.25	
		Cronin, Cynthia, clerk.....	547.25	
		DeWeese, Winifrede B., professional staff member.....	1,492.50	
		Doolittle, Patricia L., secretary.....	696.50	
		Elder, Nan O., secretary.....	597.00	
		Hatch, William B., professional staff member.....	1,674.91	
		LaPlante, Bryan F., deputy staff director.....	2,155.83	
		Rhodes, Fred B., Jr., secretary and staff director.....	2,255.33	
		Robinson, Alice A., personal secretary to the staff director.....	862.33	
		Scott, Arthur E., clerk.....	1,276.91	
		Tehan, Eleanor A., secretary.....	845.75	
		Templeman, Harold M., professional staff member.....	1,492.50	
		Winnett, Dolores K., clerk.....	729.66	
			18,125.55	
	Agency contributions.....		1,260.29	19,385.84
21	Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1968 July 1-Aug. 30: For long-distance telephone service furnished the minority policy committee.....			72.95
22	Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1968 July 11-31: For long-distance telephone service furnished the minority policy committee.....			16.35
23	Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 Sept. 11-Oct. 24: For stationery supplies furnished the minority policy committee.....			280.99
24	Fred B. Rhodes, Jr.: For expenses incurred for the minority policy committee: 1968 Oct. 14: Per diem in lieu of subsistence, $\frac{3}{4}$ day, at \$16.....		\$12.00	37.45
	Taxi fares.....		2.80	
	Baggage handling—committee documents.....		.65	
	Telephone.....		.40	
	Rail fare, Washington, D.C., to New York, N.Y., and return.....		21.50	
25	Fred B. Rhodes, Jr.: For expenses incurred for the minority policy committee: 1968 Sept. 12-Nov. 4: Postage.....		50.03	80.52
	Newspapers and magazines.....		21.34	
	Taxi and bus fares—interdepartmental transportation, Washington, D.C.....		9.15	
28	Bruce R. Barr et al.: - Payroll for the month of November 1968 for services rendered the minority policy committee, as follows:	Barr, Bruce R., professional staff member.....	1,558.83	
		Burgess, Arthur E., professional staff member.....	1,940.25	
		Cronin, Cynthia, clerk.....	547.25	
		DeWeese, Winifrede B., professional staff member.....	1,492.50	
		Doolittle, Patricia L., secretary.....	696.50	
		Elder, Nan O., secretary.....	597.00	
		Hatch, William B., professional staff member.....	1,674.91	
		LaPlante, Bryan F., deputy staff director.....	2,155.83	
		Rhodes, Fred B., Jr., secretary and staff director.....	2,255.33	
		Robinson, Alice A., personal secretary to the staff director.....	862.33	
		Scott, Arthur E., clerk.....	1,276.91	
		Tehan, Eleanor A., secretary.....	845.75	
		Templeman, Harold M., professional staff member.....	1,492.50	
		Winnett, Dolores K., clerk.....	729.66	
			18,125.55	
	Agency contributions.....		1,305.57	19,431.12
1968 Dec. 10	31 H. A. Post Associates: 1968 Sept. 25: For 7,500 Senate Republican memo headings 8 by 10½ furnished the minority policy committee.....			\$104.00
	32 Wall Street Journal: 1968-69 Nov. 26-Nov. 25: For subscription to the Wall Street Journal to be furnished the minority policy committee.....			28.00
17	33 New York Times: 1969 Jan. 1-Dec. 31: For subscription to the New York Times Index, semimonthly, plus a copy of the "Annual Volume for 1969" to be furnished the minority policy committee.....			125.00
	38 Bruce R. Barr, et al.: Payroll for the month of December 1968 for services rendered the minority policy committee, as follows:	Barr, Bruce R., professional staff member.....	1,558.83	
		Burgess, Arthur E., professional staff member.....	1,940.25	
		Cronin, Cynthia, clerk.....	547.25	
		DeWeese, Winifrede B., professional staff member.....	1,492.50	
		Doolittle, Patricia L., secretary.....	696.50	
		Elder, Nan O., secretary.....	597.00	
		Hatch, William B., professional staff member.....	1,674.91	
		LaPlante, Bryan F., deputy staff director.....	2,155.83	
		Rhodes, Fred B., Jr., secretary and staff director.....	2,255.33	
		Robinson, Alice A., personal secretary to the staff director.....	862.33	
		Scott, Arthur E., clerk.....	1,276.91	
		Tehan, Eleanor A., secretary.....	845.75	
		Templeman, Harold M., professional staff member.....	1,492.50	
		Winnett, Dolores K., clerk.....	729.66	
			18,125.55	
	Agency contributions.....		1,305.57	19,431.12

Dem. 48,623.75

Stationary  
345.69Telephone  
51.35

total 397.04

total salaries  
48,226.71

31	2	E. Harrison Able, Jr., et al.: Payroll for the month of July 1968 for services rendered the majority policy committee, as follows:		
		Able, E. Harrison, Jr., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
1968 Aug. 12	4	Daly, Richard M., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
		Fox, Albert A., Jr., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
		Hewlett, Faye P., assistant clerk.....	696.50	
		Leach, Daniel E., counsel.....	1,592.00	
		Moore, Pauline R., chief clerk and counsel.....	2,255.33	
		Sames, Mary A., assistant counsel.....	1,674.91	
		Engelhard, Sophie J. E., assistant clerk, from July 8.....	355.98	
		Agency contributions.....	8,465.20	
			500.24	8,965.44
		Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 July 2-30: For stationery supplies furnished the majority policy committee.....		\$69.54
	6	E. Harrison Able, Jr., et al.: Payroll for the month of August 1968 for services rendered the majority policy committee:		
		Able, E. Harrison, Jr., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
		Daly, Richard M., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
		Fox, Albert A., Jr., assistant clerk, from Aug. 5.....	546.14	
		Engelhard, Sophie J. E., assistant clerk, to Aug. 15.....	232.16	
		Hewlett, Faye P., assistant clerk.....	696.50	
		Leach, Daniel E., counsel.....	1,592.00	
		Moore, Pauline R., chief clerk and counsel.....	2,255.33	
		Sames, Mary A., assistant counsel.....	1,674.91	
		Agency contributions.....	8,257.36	
			490.73	8,748.09
13	10	Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 Aug. 14: For stationery supplies furnished the majority policy committee.....		16.10
		Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1968 July 17-30: For long-distance telephone service furnished the majority policy committee.....		6.75
1968 Sept. 30	14	E. Harrison Able, Jr. et al.: Payroll for the month of September 1968 for services rendered the majority policy committee, as follows:		
		Able, E. Harrison, Jr., assistant clerk.....	\$630.16	
Oct. 10	16	Daly, Richard M., assistant clerk, to Sept. 16.....	336.08	
		Fox, Albert A., Jr., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
		Hewlett, Faye P., assistant clerk.....	696.50	
		Leach, Daniel E., counsel.....	1,592.00	
		Moore, Pauline R., chief clerk and counsel.....	2,255.33	
		Sames, Mary A., assistant counsel.....	1,674.91	
		Agency contributions.....	7,815.14	
			504.09	\$8,319.23
		Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 Sept. 3-19: For stationery supplies furnished the majority policy committee.....		48.12
		Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1968 July 4-Aug. 30: For long-distance telephone service furnished the majority policy committee.....		24.30
	18	Albert A. Fox, Jr., et al.: Payroll for the month of October 1968 for services rendered the majority policy committee, as follows:		
		Fox, Albert A., Jr., assistant clerk.....	630.16	
		Able, E. Harrison, Jr., assistant clerk, to Oct. 7.....	147.03	
		Hewlett, Faye P., assistant clerk.....	696.50	
		Leach, Daniel E., counsel.....	1,592.00	
		Moore, Pauline R., chief clerk and counsel.....	2,255.33	
		Sames, Mary A., assistant counsel.....	1,674.91	
		Agency contributions.....	6,995.93	
			502.50	7,498.43

1968 Nov. 8	20	Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 Oct. 1-25: For stationery supplies furnished the majority policy committee.....		\$67.42
18	26	Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1968 Sept. 10: For long-distance service furnished the majority policy committee.....		1.50
30	27	Albert A. Fox, Jr. et al.: Payroll for the month of November 1968 for services rendered the majority policy committee, as follows: Fox, Albert A., Jr., assistant clerk..... Hewlett, Faye P., assistant clerk..... Leach, Daniel E., counsel..... Moore, Pauline R., chief clerk and counsel..... Sames, Mary A., assistant counsel.....	630.16 696.50 1,592.00 2,255.33 1,674.91	
		Agency contributions.....	6,848.90 498.86	7,347.76
Dec. 5	29	Brentano's: 1968 Nov. 1: For 3 copies of "America and Americans" furnished the majority policy committee.....		37.50
	30	Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co.: 1968 Sept. 6-30: For long-distance service furnished the majority policy committee.....		18.80
23	34	Encyclopaedia Britannica: 1968 Nov. 8: For 1 Atlas furnished the majority policy committee.....		26.95
	35	Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate: 1968 Nov. 1-18: For stationery supplies furnished the majority policy committee.....		34.86
	36	Saville Book Shop: 1968 Oct. 25: For 1 copy of the "Times Atlas of the World" furnished the majority policy committee.....		45.20
31	37	Albert A. Fox, Jr. et al.: Payroll for the month of December 1968 for services rendered the majority policy committee, as follows: Fox, Albert A., Jr., assistant clerk..... Hewlett, Faye P., assistant clerk..... Leach, Daniel E., counsel..... Moore, Pauline R., chief clerk and counsel..... Sames, Mary A., assistant counsel.....	\$630.16 696.50 1,592.00 2,255.33 1,674.91	
		Agency contributions.....	6,848.90 498.86	7,347.76

TO:

INITIAL

DATE

1. Senator Inouye via Eiler Ravnholt

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

X	FYI	prepare reply	
	comment & advice	see me	
	approval	as requested	
	investigate	as promised	
	note & return	P. C.	
	first name	file	
	reply for signature of		

REMARKS:

Senator  
FYI  
Eiler.

FROM:

DATE:

Nordy

4/3/69

F

# Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE CAPITOL 4-3121  
EXT. 2447

## BALANCE SHEET

Cash on Hand 3/3/69 \$ 21,015.29

Less Expenditures to 3/31/69

March bill payments \$ 588.08

Campaign Assistance  
Senator Robert Byrd 1000.00

Travel Assistance  
Senator Pastore 1000.00

2,588.08

Cash on hand 3/31/69

\$ 18,427.21

# Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

ROOM 130 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

TELEPHONE CAPITOL 4-3121  
EXT. 2447

## AUDIT REPORT

Boyarsky & Wasser, CPA

3/27/69

Balance 1/2/69	\$ 35,853.95
Contributions 1/2/69 through 2/28/69	1,000.00
Other Income	885.04
Expenses	(17,723.70)
Balance per Bank Statements	<u>21,015.29</u>

Acct. #500-179-7	
Balance per Bank Reconciliation 2/28/69	\$ 20,263.48
Add Deposit 3/3/69	336.84
	<u>\$ 20,600.32</u>

Acct. #509-330-7	
Balance per Bank Reconciliation 3/3/69	414.97
Total Cash on Deposit 3/3/69	<u>\$ 21,015.29</u>

## Explanation of Audit Report

### Contribution

John Nevius

\$ 1,000.00

### Other Income

885.04

Photo Fund (Payment for  
pictures taken at Senators request  
by Muto. Senators are billed  
quarterly)

### Expenses

Bills 1/69 & 2/69

11,946.60

Salaries 1/69 & 2/69

\$ 5,777.10

Total

\$17,723.70



From:

**FRANK N. HOFFMANN**

Executive Director

APR 2 1969

*April 1, 1969*

*For Your Information*

*Nordy*

**DEMOCRATIC SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**



# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

March 26, 1969 - No. 44

TO : Our Subscribers

FROM: Evans-Novak

The Real Issue - Vietnam - is once again at the center of President Richard Nixon's attention, and the Great Debate among Democrats is not whether to open fire on his Vietnam policy but when. Nixon has passed through the ABM "crisis" - if that's what it was - with high marks. He seems unlikely to be badly hurt by the affair.

We still find much turbulence within the Nixon Administration, with rising enmity over foreign policy between the State Department-National Security Council staff on one side and the Defense Department on the other. The White House staff still leaves much to be desired.

A surprising number of GOP grumbles persist about Ray Bliss's dismissal and Rogers Morton's succession to the Republican National Chairmanship, but the GOP coffers are full and ready for the 1970 campaign. The big problem for the Democrats is money, and the crisis is worsening. Unless something happens soon, Chairman Fred Harris's ambitious plans for revitalizing the Party will be severely curtailed.

## VIETNAM

Until U.S. combat troops are somehow withdrawn, Vietnam will remain the central problem. The ABM Affair provided a brief diversion, but now the President is faced squarely again with the few options he has available to him to end this long war.

We find no change in the resolution of high Administration officials to disengage the United States from the war as soon as feasible - and if at all possible before the 1970 elections - for political and economic reasons and for the best interests of the country. Defense Secretary Mel Laird's testimony against withdrawal of troops on a unilateral basis is necessary when the U.S. and Communists are negotiating for a mutual withdrawal in Paris. But tentative plans still call for pulling out up to 50,000 troops this year.

If there is no sign of an imminent disengagement, however, the Democratic Doves will open up on the President. Senator George McGovern clearly fired before he saw the whites of Nixon's eyes. The Kennedy-Mansfield line is to hold their fire a while longer.

## THE ABM

We feel that the President extricated himself from his first crisis over the ABM with great finesse - though, we repeat, this relatively solvable problem is minor in comparison to Vietnam. Nixon's Safeguard solution undoubtedly picked up a few votes in the Senate, defused the opposition,

and, hopefully, provided protection against an accidental attack (a possibility that Henry Kissinger and other White House aides stress) without really provoking the Russians. Laird's defense of Sentinel before the Senate committees was something else again, however. It was, in fact, oversell, stirring up the Senate critics (and the press) and possibly the Soviets. Since the only likely subject of first-round arms-control talks is limitation of anti-ICBM defensive weapons and not the limitation of offensive weapons systems, Laird's tough talk didn't help.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION

Foreign Policy: Partly by the accident of his central role in the ABM controversy and partly by the force of his own personality, Mel Laird has emerged as the Nixon Administration's primary voice on foreign policy to date - to the considerable displeasure of the State Department, which feels that Laird's hard-line anti-Soviet statements do not reflect the picture the Administration should be projecting. In effect, Laird has pushed Kissinger and Secretary of State William Rogers (along with their several aides) closer together.

The White House: Bob Haldeman is still the key man but is becoming increasingly the subject of fire from rivals and Administration officials. There is some feeling that Haldeman, for all his outward efficiency, has done a poor job of coordinating Nixon policy - as witness the often-delayed statement on rebellious students. The contrast between public statements by HEW Secretary Robert Finch (soft) and Attorney General John Mitchell (hard) regarding students also points to the impracticality of the Nixon system where Cabinet members are permitted a free hand and there is little direction from the White House.

The Economy: The one thing everybody in the Administration agrees upon - they are worried. Some feel that the back of the inflation has been broken; others, and they are in the decided majority, believe that inflation won't be stopped until Federal spending is really curbed - and that won't happen until the Vietnam war is scaled down. But everyone is worried about the Federal Reserve Board, right more than it's been wrong of late, tightening the money supply so severely that the economy may suffer from strangulation.

Desegregation: The Southern counter-attack against HEW's rather strict enforcement of segregation guidelines has won a point with the appointment of Robert C. Mardian, a California conservative, as HEW's General Counsel. Mardian has ties to White House aide Harry Dent of South Carolina and is sympathetic to the Southern point of view. We feel that HEW Secretary Finch is still feeling his way, looking for minor changes in procedure to give the South a bone, but will resist any major change in policy at this time.

Hunger: The fur is already flying on the politics of hunger. The President is being squeezed by both HEW's Finch and Agriculture Secretary Hardin to give hunger a bigger share of the budget. But the Mayo-Stans-Burns financial triumvirate says no, that there's not enough money to go around. This food battle is symbolic of the fierce background struggle within the Administration over the budget. Nixon is still not ready to submit final figures; he can't resolve a score of issues on spending. Senator McGovern will ride the hunger issue hard, counting on growing Southern regional support to exploit the Nixon Administration's cautious approach. We believe that the hunger issue will continue to grow in importance.

## REPUBLICANS

We are still coming upon areas of bitterness among Republican pros over the firing of Ray Bliss. That means Rogers Morton has perhaps a tougher job than he realizes. Some liberal Republicans who never cared much for Bliss are not waxing enthusiastic over Morton either, and they are even less happy about the appointment of conservative businessman Jerry Milbank as National Finance Chairman (after moderate Walter Thayer was vetoed by conservative money interests) and feel that the two able technicians Morton wants to put on the staff, Jim Allison and Harry Treleaven are too conservative-oriented.

We feel that such judgments are over hasty, both by the Bliss lovers and the liberals. Morton has a lot of ideas, understands fully the long-range danger to Republicanism of its decline in the suburbs. For example, Morton is looking for a liberal as vice-chairman, the lady's job. One possibility is Ellie Peterson of Michigan who held the post a few years back and just quit as Michigan State Chairman. Another is National Committeewoman Tina Harrower of Connecticut.

## DEMOCRATS

Money: The main problem afflicting the Democratic National Committee is an appalling lack of fund-raising activity - either to reduce the 1968 campaign debt variously calculated at between \$6-\$8 million or even to raise enough cash to keep current operations going. In his first two weeks on the job as National Treasurer, Pat O'Connor has yet to make his first move toward debt reduction. When he does gear up for fund raising, O'Connor will find the going tough indeed. Even the Kennedy operation is having its money troubles. The big RFK campaign debt fund raiser at the Beverly Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles last weekend picked up a mere \$200-\$250,000. If Kennedy is having problems, funding the Humphrey debt will be worse.

Harris: Although Fred Harris has been very careful to balance his staff and commission appointments among the various segments of the party, he made one boo-boo. His final member of the 28-member McGovern Reform Commission was Albert Pena, a Mexican-American from Texas who is the bete noir of the Texas regulars after having backed Republican John Tower for the Senate in 1966. Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes, leader of the party's Connally faction, was so incensed that he made a flying trip up to see Harris in Washington. Harris admitted he goofed, said he wanted a Mexican-American on the Commission and took the advice of the California Mexican-Americans without checking it out with the Texans.

Teddy Kennedy: We have heard the first bit of rumbling against Teddy, with some anti-Communist Democrats grumbling that he's making the same mistakes as Bobby did - going too far Left with his proposal to recognize Communist China and other statements. However, the criticism is muffled. More common is the case of one original Humphrey-for-President backer in '68 who told us this week that HHH was finished and that he is sold completely on EMK for '72.

## POLITICS '69

New York City Mayoralty: On top of his difficulties with the GOP in the Republican primary June 17, Mayor John Lindsay has run into unexpected problems which may prevent an unimpeded run in the Liberal Party primary. Liberal boss Alex Rose has informed the Lindsay camp that as an old friend,

he can't really turn down Bob Wagner if he wants to come back. Besides, influential Liberal friends of Rep. James Scheuer are pressuring Rose at least to let Scheuer into the Liberal primary against Lindsay.

The confused Democratic primary is not so confused after all. We feel that, if Wagner doesn't get in, it will come down to a three-man race among City Controller Mario Procaccino and Reps. Hugh Carey and Scheuer. Procaccino has popular support, Scheuer the Reformers, Carey the Regulars. First on June 17 in the opinion of most politicians: Carey. But they've been wrong before.

Los Angeles Mayoralty: The April 1 primary is now a three-man race with TV newsman Baxter Ward having faded fast after a good start. It now looks as if Mayor Sam Yorty will run first but shy of 50% needed to avoid a run-off race. GOP Rep. Al Bell and Negro City Councilman Tom Bradley are running two and three. Yorty, naturally, is praying for Bradley to come in second, figuring him as the easier opponent in a run-off.

Cleveland Mayoralty: Negro Mayor Carl Stokes faces a tough battle for a second two-year term. The white vote is solidly arrayed against him, and the police are working quietly but determinedly to unseat him. Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco is flying in to help Stokes with the Italian vote, but it may not be enough.

Wisconsin Special Congressional Election: This is the old district that Mel Laird used to win by huge majorities, but those majorities were more Lairdian than Republican. Democrat David Obey, heavily backed by labor, could score an upset over GOP Walter Chilson next Tuesday, but it would not reflect any national trend.

#### SPECIAL NORTH CAROLINA REPORT

As Nixon's problems mount in the South, we toured North Carolina this week to obtain a reading on how Nixon is doing in a key border state that he won in 1968. In Martin County, anti-Nixon sentiment is rising over the school desegregation issue, though not as fast as some Southern Republicans have been claiming in Washington. Martin County was the only one of five counties that came up with a desegregation plan acceptable to HEW Secretary Robert Finch and got back its blocked school funds.

But this settlement may be scuttled by conservative whites who are now planning a private school wholly financed with private funds. The desegregation plan is also under attack by blacks who may boycott it this fall and refuse to send their children into the white schools. The key issue in the school battle here is a \$3 million bond issue pushed by the school board and moderates to build two new high schools which would be completely integrated. If the conservatives defeat the bond issue in June and the blacks boycott the schools in the fall, both Finch and Nixon will be in a lot of trouble in Martin County.

We found voter reaction to the school issue in Martin County and throughout the state tentative and unformed. The most intriguing political development in North Carolina is not the school issue but the development of the Republican Party and James Gardner, the '68 defeated GOP Gubernatorial Candidate who out-pollled Nixon by 110,000 votes last November. Gardner is moving fast to build up his own statewide organization and we expect him to run for Governor again in 1972.

*Richard Evans*  
*Robert D. Nords*

# AMERICAN ASSOCIATION of POLITICAL CONSULTANTS

Temporary Office: c/o Napolitan Associates, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 Telephone: 202/298-3780

## MEMORANDUM

March 21, 1969

To: All participants in AAPC organizational meeting.

From: Joseph Napolitan

Re: Progress report.

1. The Executive Committee of AAPC held its first meeting since the January 31 organizational meeting in New York on March 18. (The reason for the unseemly delay was primarily because I was out of the country for five weeks immediately following the New York conference.)
2. Proceedings of the January 31 meeting were approved and are enclosed.
3. An application form for membership was drafted and will be sent to you shortly. In essence, it was agreed that there would be two types of members, Regular and Associate, with members of the academic community being included among Associate members (unless, of course, they qualify as Regular members.) Details on these decisions and the appropriate material will be forthcoming soon.
4. It was agreed at the meeting that the first major project of AAPC will be an intensive conference on the uses of films and television in political campaigns. The conference will be held in September, probably in New York but possibly in Washington. Those of you who are active in film production and usage will be contacted to solicit your assistance in preparing this conference. Ideas, suggestions, comments and criticism from all will be welcome.
5. When you receive your membership application form, you also will receive a form asking you to suggest names of people you think should be invited to be Regular or Associate members of AAPC. After the January meeting several persons were upset that they had not been invited, and we want to give everyone active in our field an opportunity to apply for membership if they wish.

MAR 28 1969

MINUTES OF MEETING OF  
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF POLITICAL CONSULTANTS

Morning Session, Friday, January 31, 1969, Hotel Plaza, New York

The meeting was called to order at 10:30 a.m. by Joseph Napolitan who served as chairman pro-tem.

Mr. Napolitan introduced the other members of the head table; namely, Martin Ryan Haley and F. Clifton White, both of New York, and Michel Bongrand of Paris, president of the International Association of Political Campaign Consultants. Absent during the morning session was Walter DeVries.

Mr. Napolitan briefly outlined the program for the day which he indicated would be informal and hoped would result in many exchanges of ideas. The format for the day would be: opening session, coffee break, cocktails, lunch, afternoon session of the meeting and at 4:30 the press had been invited to ask questions and possibly a statement on the day's activities would be forthcoming at that time.

Everyone attending was asked to introduce himself. Napolitan reviewed briefly what transpired at the conference held in Paris at which time the International Association of Political Campaign Consultants was organized during a three-day session. He further noted that the three members seated at the head table were all present at the Paris conference and were elected to office. It was following the Paris conference that these three head table participants entertained the idea of forming an American counterpart (association) to the one formed in Paris which was international in scope.

Mr. White discussed the major question: should such an association be formed? He noted that the image of the campaign consultant is not always favorable with the public and perhaps this image might be improved with the formation of such an association. Secondly, the association also would supply an effective means by which to exchange ideas.

Mr. Haley noted that the campaign is a common denominator. In the political counselling field there are usually found: (1) campaign consultants, (2) government relations consultants, (3) public affairs consultants, and (4) urban relations specialists. But all should be involved in the campaign at some point. Whether these people are independent advisors or organizational members, they still must: (a) plan, supervise or perform and (b) provide services.

The first point raised from the floor was that the definition of "political consultant" should be made clear to avoid people entering into the association under false colors. In some instances, by admitting certain people to the association this would finally give certain individuals an umbrella under which to hide. Further explaining this, this would include some people who by family or business associations are forced into the role of "campaign consultant" which in fact they do not do for a living. There



were other considerations: how about those people who are currently administrative assistants to either Senators or Congressmen and who have found themselves serving as key consultants or managers during a campaign -- should these types be eligible for membership?

Napolitan outlined possible memberships to be considered to clarify this question: (1) regular membership, (2) associate membership and (3) academic membership.

Back to the discussion on whether such an association should be formed: the association depends on whether membership is alive and active. The danger might be whether an association might become a burden to the individual members by demands for participation. One point raised was that the association should be a source to provide exchange of ideas and to be able to benefit from other "professionals". It was further pointed out that no one who considers himself to be a professional would get the feeling that by exchanging ideas one consultant was trying to steal the ideas of another.

Then came the question as to what do you conceive to be the size of this association? Who should be included -- what should the criteria be? Lobbyists, public affairs people? These people probably feel they should be included -- yet they may not technically fall into the category of a "political consultant" or "campaign manager".

Perhaps a formula like this should be considered:

Regular membership -- people who are involved in the question of campaign management.

Associate membership -- specialists who provide related services to consultants.

There should not be an isolation in the academic membership category should one be created. But by the same token, this should not be a means to recruit thousands of youth groups and give them credentials.

The membership committee could share the responsibility for qualifications. The number of members at this point is an unknown factor. One thing is obvious: the field is growing and the professional does have more than one candidate and participates very often. Campaign planning now starts earlier and takes much longer.

It was noted that in a survey sponsored by the Public Relations Society of America -- Counselors Section -- 63 firms replied saying they are in campaign public relations.

However, there are many people involved in political counseling. This brought back Mr. Haley's point that the campaign still is the common denominator. Perhaps 20-25% of the professional consultants are directly involved in campaigns. The balance of the professionals work in programs that result from campaigns.



Matt Reese noted that he would not be interested in an organization that discusses unrelated matters. He is against the "big umbrella". He would be for an organization whereby he could learn something from the people who know more than the man who considers himself an expert.

One mistake would be to set too tight a membership standard. It was noted that there are specialists in the field who could contribute immensely to the campaign consultant. Perhaps there might be just a day of seminars on specific subjects (such as film production, time buying, etc.) where the campaign consultant could derive great benefits.

Basic criteria must be established for regular membership. Key is campaign run on professional level by person who is paid and not by an amateur. If you are available for campaigns, then this should be the basis.

Besides having an association, it would be useful to have file references for educational purposes -- similar to case studies and library files. Another point brought out was that it would be extremely beneficial to any individual campaign consultant to have access to a master file of specialists on a Sunday afternoon when people are most difficult to reach. This in itself would be worth the price of membership.

The question of numeric limitations can be put aside once regular membership is defined because there is an out for membership under the associate category. Formats from PRSA and the National Press Club possibly could serve as guidelines.

Into what category of membership should people (if deemed eligible) who work for national or state committees and/or are assistants to elected officials fall? What about the corporate public affairs person?

It is not intended to give away trade secrets when ideas are exchanged. Knowing where resources are is vital today -- particularly when the best have been booked well in advance. There are alternate names that are equally good.

Specialists should not be excluded. Specialists should be in touch with generalists (campaign consultants/managers).

Feeling that we should have some form of an "elite" which should be perhaps regular membership. Should we have three categories of membership; namely, regular, associate and academic? Is this a rational way to proceed? The difference between associate and academic memberships would be financial. Vote taken on the number present who felt (by their own evaluation) would qualify for the three categories of membership proposed:

Regular	25
Associate	4
Academic	4

Further discussion as to defining these three categories resumed. This would be a major task of the membership committee to resolve the definitions of these categories.

Another vote was taken on whether there should be one category of membership:

Yes	18
No	9

Motion was made that the four founding fathers be accepted as the membership committee.

Suggestion was made to form pro-tem structure on which the association could proceed.

Mr. White suggested for the nominating committee the following names:

Francis Kelly  
Jerry Schaller  
Jerry Olson  
Roy Pfautch

This committee would report to the afternoon session its nominations for President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and a slate for the Board of Directors.

Afternoon Session, Friday, January 31, 1969, Hotel Plaza, New York

The meeting was reconvened by Joseph Napolitan at 2:00 p.m., and addressed by Michel Bongrand of Paris, president of the International Association of Political Consultants.

Mr. Napolitan announced that everyone who attended the International meeting would receive an English translation of the proceedings of that conference; and everyone who attended the American meeting would receive a synopsis of that conference.

Francis Kelly, chairman of the nominating committee, reported the committee's recommendations. Committee members were Jerry Schaller, Roy Pfautch and Jerry Olson.

President - J. Napolitan  
Vice President - F. C. White  
Secretary - Walter DeVries  
Treasurer - M. R. Haley

Directors - Wm. Roberts (Spencer-Roberts)  
John Moynahan  
Allan Gardner  
Fred Currier  
Shelby Storck  
Gus Tyler

H. C. Lumb\*  
Matt Reese  
Bill Wilson  
Ruth Jones  
Lynn Ansara

(Each of these officers is identified by firm and city on a separate sheet.)  
All of the above were elected.

Discussion followed re: having a member of the black community on the board of directors. A motion was made by Mr. Napoliton, seconded and passed, that the board of directors be empowered to add to its numbers, subject to later vote and confirmation, any members they see fit.

The following five committees were proposed:

Membership  
Bylaws (to create a constitution)  
Program (to suggest areas of activities)  
Public Relations  
Publications

Mr. Napolitan offered the facilities of his Washington, D.C., office as temporary headquarters of the AAPC. An offer has been received from the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University as eventual headquarters, but no action has been taken.

M. Bongrand announced that the next meeting of the IAPCC will be held in Florence in November.

The motion was made, seconded and passed, to make Michel Bongrand the first Honorary Member of the AAPC.

The subject of membership fees was raised. There was discussion as to just what the group is going to do. The suggestion was made that the group in attendance be constituted as applicants for charter membership. Further, it was suggested that the board of directors meet and come up with recommendations concerning fees, budget, etc., and then reconvene the group to present the recommendations.

It was agreed that a roster of attendees be sent to all present.

The point was stressed that the fundamental purpose of the organization should be clearly established.

The following suggestions were made as to possible programs:

1. Day's discussion concerning approaches to the black community.

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\* Mr. Lumb, by letter on March 13, 1969, withdrew from the board, deeming it inappropriate for him at this time; but he continues to be interested in the Association.

2. Seek and insist on fair play from the media.
3. Discussions concerning the establishment of fees for consultant work.
4. Development of thorough membership roster including specializations in addition to all addresses and telephone numbers where the individual can be reached at all times.
5. Session concerning the use of computers to win campaigns.
6. Session concerning the use of films.
7. Session concerning political time buying.
8. Draft questionnaire to poll membership to accumulate files on their respective experiences.
9. Session to consider legislative actions.
10. Session concerning how to establish campaign budgets.
11. Session concerning how to handle fundraising.
12. Circulate list of political how-to-do-it books, etc., from the academic world. W. DeVries announced he is doing a book on this.
13. List of speakers from this group to speak on campuses to recruit best talent into this kind of activity.
14. Arrange to have college credits given for students working on campaigns during vacation periods.

Gus Tyler announced that he already has a vehicle that could be used for the purpose stated in item 14. It is called the National Center for Education in Politics, c/o his business address. It is currently dormant, but could be reactivated; and has had good contacts at the academic level.

Mr. Napolitan read the resolution concerning opening the bank account for the AAPC at the National Savings and Trust Company, Washington, D.C. Checks drawn on the AAPC account will be honored when they are signed by any two of the four officers. The motion was approved.

The suggestion was made that there be a regular publication. There are about three publications now concerning political happenings:

1. Publication of the Institute for Political Communications, Milwaukee
2. Hardtimes (formerly Mayday), Washington, D.C.
3. Washington Monthly

Gus Tyler suggested that a committee be formed and a regular publisher appointed to handle such a publication. The publication should include

technical aspects such as, what's going on -- what instruments are available; extensive gossip; political theory; national directions.

It was suggested that the group be instrumental in introducing useful courses in practical politics in the universities. Miss Schuck, professor of Political Science at Mt. Holyoke informed the group that her college has such a program.

The subject of ethics was discussed. What are ethics? How do they apply? Shouldn't the AAPC establish some ethics to be shot at?

The Fair Campaign Practices Committee exists, but they have not been able to establish a code of ethics.

It was suggested that the word "ethics" be dropped and "guidelines" used.

AAPC members should dedicate themselves to trying to reach a higher plane; strive for a definition all can feel good about and live with.

Attention was called to the existence of the Senatorial Ethics Committee. Rule 44, pages 58 and 59, adopted last year (Standing Rules of the U.S. Senate) concerning fundraising. No matter what a Senator does, he has to report all contributions, regardless of how or to whom they are made. His challenger is not subject to the same Senate code. The recommendation was made that the AAPC walk slowly and not put itself out of business by being holier than thou.

Mr. Moynahan stated his wish to pursue the matter of campaign contributions because he has many requests concerning this matter from corporate clients.

There was no further business, and the meeting adjourned at 4:15 p.m.

An announcement was made by Mr. Napolitan concerning the press: a straight, factual account of the meeting and officers elected would be given.

Volunteers for Committees

Program

Richard Pelzman  
John C. Blydenburgh  
Mike Rowan  
Victoria Schuck  
Roy Pfautch  
Bob Pickett  
Arthur Herzog  
Bill Hamilton  
Lynn Ansara

Bylaws

Francis Kelly

Membership

Roy Pfautch  
Bill Hamilton  
Jim Goff

Public Relations

Jerry Harkins  
David Baldwin

Publications

Gus Tyler  
Arthur Herzog

## AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF POLITICAL CONSULTANTS

President -- Joseph Napolitan, president, Joseph Napolitan Associates, Inc., Democratic campaign counselors and public relations counselors, from Washington, D.C. and Springfield, Mass.

Vice President -- F. Clifton White, president, F. Clifton White Associates, Inc., Republican campaign consultants and public affairs consultants, from New York City.

Secretary -- Walter DeVries, Republican campaign consultant and Kennedy Fellow at Harvard Institute of Politics, from Michigan.

Treasurer -- Martin Ryan Haley, principal, Martin Haley and Associates, government relations counselors, from New York City and Rome, Italy.

### Board of Directors --

William Roberts, partner of Spencer, Roberts & Associates, public relations counsel from Los Angeles, California.

John Moynahan, chairman of John Moynahan & Co., Inc., public relations counsel from New York City.

Allan Gardner, advertising executive with Lennon & Newell from New York.

Fred Currier, president, Market Opinion Research, from Detroit, Michigan.

Shelby Storck, president, Shelby Storck & Co., Inc., film producer from St. Louis, Missouri.

Gus Tyler, Vice President, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, from New York.

H. C. ("Lefty") Lumb, Vice President, Corporate Relations and Public Affairs, Republic Steel Corporation, from Cleveland, Ohio.

Matthew A. Reese, Matt Reese & Associates, from Washington, D.C.

Ruth Jones, radio-TV consultant, from New York City.

William P. Wilson, of Communications Task Force, from New York City.

Lynn Ansara, of Consulting Services, public relations and political activities, from New York City.

\*Access to articles restricted to University of Hawai'i affiliates only.

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Democrats Uncover "Secret" GOP Election Plan . (1969, February 28). *The Berkshire Eagle*,  
p. 9.



Senator

I think you may  
want to look  
at this before  
Wednesday's  
Committee  
meeting.

A. Eiler

February 20, 1969

To: Nordy Hoffman

From: Bill Welsh

Enclosed is a copy of a preliminary memorandum I have submitted to Senator Fred Harris. It represents two separate approaches to the problem of how we might organize the various Democratic Committees to best service House and Senate members and finance these services.

Any thoughts or reactions you have on this would be most helpful in the next few days. If any of the more detailed memoranda referred to would be of interest to you, please let me know: 395-6930.

Organizing to Win a Democratic Victory  
and Return Democratic Majorities to Congress  
in the 1970 Elections

Plan I

Establishment of a Democratic Congressional  
Services Office:

To provide services and funds directly related to the public relations, research, mailing, federal projects, etc., activities of incumbent Democratic Members of both Houses of Congress which can be identified as "services" for Members in fulfilling responsibilities to their constituency.

Campaign funding, assistance to non-incumbents, and direct campaign activities would not be undertaken through the Office of Democratic Congressional Services.

The Office would be supervised by Co-Chairmen, a Democratic Senator and Congressman, with an overall Committee of Members. It would have a professional staff similar in organization and scope to the Republican Congressional Com-

mittee staff and be located on the Hill.

(See Appendix I)

Through this office Democratic Members of Congress would have available the following services:

Election Data and Opinion Survey Research - a service supervised by a professional public opinion analyst including the development of a data bank of election and related political information and public opinion survey material obtained from both in-house and contract services. (See Appendix II for details)

TV and Radio Services - including the radio news "beeper" service, a TV specialist to develop program ideas and improve TV production and programming and consultant services for more complex programs and preparation of quality silent color film clips for TV news distribution. (See Appendix III)

Photo Services - still photo services to be combined with a central lab. Expand number of

photographers available to Members for routine photo services and provide high-quality creative color work. Assistance on distribution of photo mats to be available.

Newsletter - brochure design, layout and editing services to be provided. Special facilities designed exclusively for rapid production and distribution of single page, self mailing, franked Newsletters...especially to handle the underutilized potential of "occupant" mailings available to House Members. (See Appendix IV)

Computer Mailing - a specialist to assist in development of computer-written letters for more efficient utilization of Senate and House computer address systems, and most importantly to advise on outside computer letter services, mailing lists - their financing, utilization, etc. (See Appendix V)

Special Interest Group Advisor - a communication specialist familiar with specialty press

and radio serving minority groups, farmers, conservationists, nationality groups, etc., to be available in the public relations section.

Democratic National Congressional Newsletter - publication would parallel the highly successful, weekly, eight page printed Republican Congressional Committee Newsletter (See Appendix) that is "sold" for \$25.00 a subscription and has a reported subscription list of 60,000 grossing an annual income of \$1,500,000.

Federal Project Constituent Services - With the change in administration there no longer exists many of the "personalized" constituent services within the federal agencies for special help to Democratic Members. There is need for a small staff to handle project and grant inquiries for Members, counsel with constituents, maintain up-to-date county-by-county project and grant data, related appropriation

data, and "friendly" roster of federal agency contacts. (See Appendix       )

The Democratic Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees:

Under this plan, the Committees would concentrate their efforts on fund-raising for incumbent and non-incumbent Congressional campaigns. In addition they could share with the DNC the following activities directly related to campaigns:

1. Development of voting and activity records on incumbent Republican Members of Congress.
2. Preparation and distribution of campaign materials, fact books, brochures, radio-TV materials, etc.
3. Direct mail fund raising for incumbent and non-incumbent candidates, dinners, etc.
4. Campaign organization and public relations consultative services.

5. Speakers Bureau
6. Limited field staff to locate and work with non-incumbent candidates.

Democratic National Committee and Democratic Policy Council.

Plan I contemplates the following as related to the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic Policy Council staffing and functions:

1. The Congressional radio services would be moved to the Democratic Congressional Services Office.
2. The DNC would discontinue servicing Members of Congress on computer mailing lists and letter writing services.
3. A limited research and library service would be established with main responsibility for monitoring actions and statements of the Nixon Administration, prominent national Republicans, and maintaining political intelligence files from news clippings, etc.



4. An issues oriented publication program would be developed and aimed primarily at the non-Washington scene.
5. The research and public relations office would jointly work out campaign information services to non-incumbent candidates in cooperation with the Hill Campaign Committees.
6. National policy and issue publications would be the responsibility of the Director and staff of the Democratic Policy Council. This staff, through contacts with the membership of issue subcommittees supporting the Policy Council, and outside organizations and academic sources, will be able to prepare publications and policy statements for the Council and other Democratic groups.

The basic rationale for Plan I is as follows:

1. "Congressional Services" of the type proposed for the Democratic Congressional Services Office can be financed through newsletter subscriptions, and direct contributions by organizations and businesses prohibited from making campaign contributions. These are service activities for the incumbent Member's constituencies, and in many instances are today underwritten by funds which otherwise would be illegal if earmarked for campaign expenses.
2. Substantial economies to be obtained from "joint" services between the House and Senate.
3. The service concept avoids the more complex ideological problems inherent in working with Democratic Members of Congress - and

leaves to the House Democratic Study Group, the proposed Democratic National Committee's Policy Council, etc. the problems inherent in a Party position and policy on issues.

4. Support is already present from Members who want to create or expand the type of services described in this memo. The House Democratic Congressional Committee is presently considering expanded activities, the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee is reviewing its services for incumbents. The Appendix (VII) includes a number of memorandum that have been developed by Members on their ideas and by the Democratic Study Group on services they performed.
5. The Democratic National Committee should concentrate on the job of rebuilding the National Party and direct all possible energies and resources to that end.

Estimated Costs and Staffing for Plan I:

Reliable information indicates that the Republican National Finance Committee has allocated some \$5 million to the Republican Congressional Committee to be expended during 1969. This probably does not include receipts from the Newsletter which are estimated at \$1.5 million.

It is assumed that most of the expenses for the proposed Democratic Congressional Services Office could be raised from contributions that were earmarked for special projects from labor unions, businesses, purchase of equipment, sale of newsletters, etc. Specialized fund-raising efforts, apart from campaign and debt repayment fund-raising would be necessary.

Staff and Financing - Estimates for Plan I

Democratic Congressional Services Office (annual):

<u>Title</u>	<u>Salary Range</u>	<u>Source of Financial Support</u>
<u>Executive Director</u>	\$30-35,000	General Office Funds
Sec. to Exec. Dir.	\$8,000	"
<u>Assistant Director</u>	\$20-25,000	A Senate Payroll
Sec. to Asst. Dir.	\$8,000	General Funds
<u>Radio-TV Director</u>	\$10-15,000	General Funds
Asst. Director (beeper service)	\$8-10,000	"
Sec.-typists	\$6,000	"
Part-time help	\$10,000	"
<u>Public Relations</u>		
<u>Director</u> (and Newsletter Ed.)	\$18-22,000	"
Assistant	\$10,000	"
Lay-out & Art	\$8,000	"
Sec.-typists	\$6,000	"
<u>Director of Research</u> (data bank)	\$15-20,000	General Funds
Asst. Director	\$10-15,000	(One half from APSA fellowship)
Statisticians	\$10-15,000	General Funds
Sec.-Researcher	\$8,000	"

(Costs of developing data bank, filed surveys, etc. would be underwritten by non-political labor funds, foundation grants and special project funding.)

(In the first year of operation income from the Newsletter subscriptions should amount to \$500,000 based on 20,000 subscriptions at \$25.00. This should represent a net income after reproduction and mailing costs of \$350,000.)

<u>Director, Federal</u>	\$15-20,000	Pooled House
<u>Project Constituent</u>		Clerk Hire
<u>Services</u>		
Two Assistants	\$14-18,000	Pooled House & Senate
		Payrolls & Possible
		APSA Intern
Two secretaries	\$6-8,000	Pooled House & Senate
		Payrolls

Photographic Services: Present Sources

(With present Senate and House Democratic Committees expenditures and equipment, one should be able to finance and equip a beginning joint operation. This needs more careful analysis before making detailed estimates.)

Congressional Newsletter Production General Funds  
and Mailing Services:

Manager of Print Shop	\$9,000	"
Additional Staff	\$15,000	"

(Equipment rental or purchase, and paper for special newsletter reproduction shop...for mailing franked householder mailings for Members should be underwritten by non-political labor and business contributions on a special project basis.)

Data-Computer Mail Specialists	\$10-12,000	General Funds
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Overall Annual Cost Estimates:

Expenditures:

Salaries from a general fund (low estimate) \$184,000

Equipment rental, high-speed print addressing shop. Paper and supplies for Congressional Newsletter householder mailings. (Four mailings each to 100 districts)

Additional photo equipment \$20,000

Contract and computer costs for Data Bank and surveys, exclusive of salaries \$300,000

Special equipment for TV and radio service including phone lines for beeper and video tape recorder, etc. (Assuming transfer of DNC equipment). \$20,000

Space rental, overhead, office equipment, phones, etc.

TOTAL

Income:

Estimated net receipts from Newsletter subscriptions \$350,000

NET COSTS

## Plan II

This plan contemplates the minimum restructuring and reorganization necessary to undertake the most significant projects for the 1970 Congressional elections. Plan II contemplates a close working liaison between staffs and Chairmen of the DNC, the House and Senate Democratic Campaign Committees, DSC, the Democratic Policy Council and related groups such as COPE.

Speakers Bureau - located at the DNC with close working relationship with the two campaign committees, state party organizations and prominent national Democratic figures.

Radio-TV Services - incumbent Members of Congress can best be serviced by locating these services on the Hill. The present DNC radio "beeper" service should be handled in the House Democratic Committee. It is mostly utilized by House Members and they can benefit most from



creative radio work. The project in Appendix III, proposing production of silent color TV clips and color slides for TV news services should be jointly contracted for now by the House and Senate Campaign Committees. Members appearance on TV news shows is very important and counts most in a non-election year.

The early hiring of a TV advisor to the Senate Campaign Committee would be most worthwhile since TV expenditures in the 1970 Senate campaigns will run into many millions of dollars.

Still Photo Services - continued complaints indicate that neither the Senate nor the House photo service provided by the Campaign Committees meet the Members needs. No doubt better services and economies could be achieved by joint staffs and joint laboratories. This would seem to be one of the few areas where immediate joint efforts between the two Campaign Committees would be productive.

House Members Newsletters - House members can make householder mailings in their districts. Some

experience in outside financing and production of these district-wide mailings was obtained late last year by DSG. This program should be expanded. If the House Democratic Campaign Committee, or the DSG had one staff man assigned to expand this service - including ways for financing - this would be highly beneficial in marginal districts, and in 1969 and 1970 where voter registration campaigns are important. Appendix IV outlines costs of a production shop designed to carry out this project.

Fund Raising Through a "Democratic Congressional Newsletter" - a leaf should be taken from the Republican Congressional Committee, copying their \$25.00 per subscription newsletter. 20,000 annual subscriptions in the first year would mean \$500,000 income. This would support a staff and production costs leaving income for other services. Ideally the House Democratic Committee should undertake such a publication. Ideologically, this may not be possible considering the widespread divergent viewpoints within Democratic House Membership.

Therefore, this would be an excellent project for the DSG and should be encouraged if there is no early decision from the House Democratic Committee. The DSG has a 10,000 contributors list that last year produced up to \$25,000 for the campaign - this would be a natural to start off a newsletter subscription drive.

Computer Letter Writing and Mailing

Specialists - the Senate is presently prohibited from householder mailings, and with its new computer addressing equipment, is badly in need of expert consultants to advise on potential use of both in-house and outside computer letter writing possibilities, mailing lists, direct mail, etc. How best to use the new technologies of personalized, computer letter writing and available lists is a highly complex problem - witness the confusion over the DNC computer operation. There are complex questions in how best to finance non-campaign, franked, mailings through these services. The Senate Campaign Committee should hire staff members or a qualified consulting service.

If this were done, and the DNC decides to retain in-house computer capabilities, time could be allocated for special letter runs... but the DNC should get out of the business of maintaining tapes and handling address lists for Members of Congress. The DNC computer should concentrate on DNC fund raising and related activities. (See Appendix V)

Election Data and Survey Research - Appendix

II outlines a comprehensive service designed to service the Congressional races of 1970, prepare data for the 1972 elections, help pinpoint key segments of the population where voters can be registered and brought back to support Democratic Party candidates, and provide data to state party and legislative leaders for the state and Congressional redistricting following the 1970 census.

The Republican party has a comprehensive national political data analysis program. The Democratic party must have this information in

usable and meaningful form for the many decisions which are affected by election trends, public opinion, population movement and changes, etc.

There is a substantial investment in our public opinion survey data from the 1968 (surveys in some 18 states). Building on this, and with professional management at the DNC, a system of data analysis and interpretation can be created. Financing can come from outside sources in large part. The DNC computer capacity now available would be helpful in cutting costs.

Servicing of Members of Congress could begin soon thus substantially cutting back on some of the costs they will incur in individually financing their own district or state surveys.

This is one of the main services the DNC can develop now for the Congress as well as state party leaders. Close cooperation with COPE would be necessary and the entire program should be supervised by a panel of expert advisors from universities and business.

Issue and Policy Research - could be handled at a number of points. The DSG is adding research staff on legislative issues and forming their own task forces. (See Appendix VII ) The Democratic Policy Council will have a small staff and access to nationwide groups of experts. Many special interest organizations in Washington will readily help with development of issue material.

At the DNC a small staff, centered around a reorganized DNC research library should be the focal point for assembling, filing and reproducing this material into useable form. The entire Nixon file and research file from the campaign are being microfilmed to permit their release and integration into this type of research library. Together with a good clipping library gathering political intelligence, and a constant surveillance of the Nixon Administration statements, this staff would work closely with the DSG and campaign committee staffs in develop-

ing material for non-incumbents. It can service inquiries from the Hill, party organizations, and the press on the Nixon Administration's day-to-day statements and record.

There is a special need for surveillance for good editorials and articles that should be inserted into the Congressional Record. The DNC research library could be the focal point for developing this activity for the Hill.

Federal Project Constituent Service - will be difficult to organize without some centralized group on the Hill. Since the Members of the House can join to pay part salary of a single staff member from their clerk hire payrolls, this may be the answer in terms of adding two or three staff members at the DSG and/or the Democratic Congressional Committee staff.

Efforts in the Senate to pool staff or jointly finance staff have rarely worked. The Senate Campaign Committee probably has too much

added work to take on this project. Hopefully, Senate Rules Committee could be persuaded to authorize joint funding of staff salaries from Senate clerk hire payrolls. If possible, and 15 or 20 Senators wanted to join to pay for a "projects staff" of 3 or 4 persons, this would be the answer. It is a needed service when Republicans control the Executive Branch.



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 A. MOORE JR., M. C. W. VA  
 SPRINGER, M. C. ILL. (FINANCE)

SECRETARY  
 TS MCC. MATHIAS, JR., M. C., MD.

TREASURER  
 ROBERT V. FLEMING, D. C.

# *National* *Democratic Congressional Committee*

CONGRESSIONAL HOTEL  
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

LINCOLN 4 3010

APR 11 1968

ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
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 AUDITING COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN  
 WILLIAM D. BRIDGES, M. C. TENNESSEE  
 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
 I. LEE POTTER

We have been asked to furnish Congressional staffs with the names of persons to call about various activities of the Congressional Committee. Call on the persons named for any assistance which they can give. If you do not find an area listed in which you need assistance, the switchboard operator will direct you to the proper persons.

## CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

Executive Director	I. Lee Potter
Assistant Director	Wayne Bradley
Art and Advertising	Lee Wade, Steve Balogh
Campaign Coordinator	Tom Lias
Issue of the Day	Jack Anderson
Minority Advisor	Joe Clarke
Newsletter	Jim Galbraith, Ed Neff
Photos                      Capitol Extension 7121	Bob Brockhurst, Mickey Senko
Public Relations Director	Paul Theis
Public Relations Allocation	Curt Fulton
Radio-TV	Bob Gaston
Voting Record of Incumbents	Bill Waugh
Voting Statistics	Pete Purves
Special Assistant to the Chairman for Women's Activities	Mrs. Mary Ellen Miller
Congressional Boosters' Club      NA. 8-6800	Langhorn Washburn, Duke Sloan

March 1968

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE SERVICES TO MEMBERS

Public Relations Allocation. An account for each GOP Member maintained at the Committee for use in approved PR projects. See separate sheet for details. Funds are credited in \$500 increments as available. *over \$2000 made available each.*

Art and Advertising. Preparation of art work for newsletters, press release letterhead, props for TV shows, campaign literature, special letterheads, etc. Samples available for inspection. Staff is not permitted to place orders, but a catalogue of material and dealers is available.

Photographers. Two full-time photographers are available to serve Members. One is assigned to the Capitol each day from 11:30 a.m. until late in the afternoon. (If the photographer is not on the Capitol steps, he will be available at the police desk by the elevator on the first floor, extension 4500.) The second photographer is available by appointment or, if not booked, for work in offices or other places. Mats for use in newspapers at home will be ordered by the photographers. A half-dozen pictures will normally be furnished without charge. Large quantities of pictures will be charged against the PR allocation. Limited color photography will be done also, including studio work.

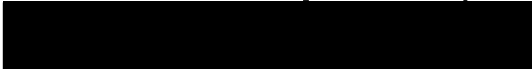
Minority Advisor. Joe Clarke is available to consult with Members on minority groups, organizations and problems. A list of the 85 major Negro newspapers is available at the Minority Room (Tom Lankford) and will be run free on your envelopes. Most of the papers are published weekly, near the end of the week, with deadlines early in each week.

Campaign Division. Each month, the Committee will furnish a description of roll call votes and the number of Members in each party who voted yea or nay, along with the final vote. These looseleaf sheets should be filled in with the Member's vote and saved. Statistical information on your District and its voting history may be obtained from Pete Purves.

Public Relations. Copies of the weekly Newsletter will be furnished each Member's office. Other material distributed by mail to each office includes Issue of the Day, Radio-TV Script, occasional speeches and public relations checklists and suggested projects. Advice is available from experienced newsmen, but each Member should have someone permanently available to handle routine press releases, etc. Committee personnel will edit and polish any material and will assist with major press releases, press conferences, etc. as time allows. An experienced broadcaster is available to assist in that field, including shooting film in the area.

January 1969

GEORGE M. STEINBRENNER, III, CHAIRMAN, THE AMERICAN SHIP BUILDING COMPANY.

When George M. Steinbrenner was elected President and Chief Executive Officer of American Ship Building Company in October (1967) it completed a cycle begun nearly 100 years ago. 

In 1882 George's great-great grandfather, Philip Minch, built the first iron prototype of today's Great Lakes ore carriers, the Onoko. In 1901 his great grandfather, Henry Steinbrenner established Kinsman Transit Co., a prosperous independent bulk carrier subsequently operated by his father, Henry G. Steinbrenner.

At the time of his elevation to the leadership of American Ship, George was President and principal owner of Kinsman which he had purchased in 1963 and built into one of the largest independent bulk fleet on the Lakes.

Much of his success in lake shipping came through his ability to communicate and work harmoniously with labor unions. In fact, this close relationship resulted in his being chosen Port Arbiter in Cleveland by the International Longshoremen Association, an almost unheard of appointment for a representative of management.

George, now only 39, is already a vital civic leader in Cleveland and has been for several years. He was the youngest member of the city's highly productive Little Hoover Commission and prepared the recommendations on both Airports and Harbors. He is also chairman and organizer of Group 66, a dedicated group of outstanding young business men working voluntarily to improve their city. He is also the youngest member of the Greater Cleveland Growth Corp. Board of Directors.

His first entry into civic affairs came through the Junior Olympic program in the late 50's. He developed a program so successful that it became a model for the entire nation.

For this and his successful direction of the National March of Dimes campaign in 1960 he was chosen both Cleveland's and Ohio's "Young Man of the Year".

George was actually a late starter in the lake shipping business because of a tour in the Air Force and his deep fondness for athletics.

After graduation from Williams College he became an officer in the Air Force and one of the nation's finest hurdlers and set several AAU and service records.

Later he went into basketball and football coaching and served as a gridiron assistant at both Northwestern and Purdue Universities.

It was 1958 when he finally joined his father in the operation of Kinsman Transit and began in earnest the career which has elevated him to a position of leadership in Great Lakes' affairs.

Simultaneously, George's energy and diversity of interests have led him into many other areas including the theater where he shared ownership in the highly successful road production of "Funny Girl". He is presently associated with James Nederlander, one of the most respected men in the theater, as a partner in Nederlander-Steinbrenner Productions. They produce and package established shows for the road as well as new productions for Broadway.

George is married to the former Joan Zieg of Columbus, Ohio. They live in Bay Village with their four children, Henry, Jennifer, Jessica and George M., IV.

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Top Businessmen at No Cost. (1968, June 26). *The Plain Dealer*.

November, 1967

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George is married to the former Joan Zieg of Columbus, Ohio. They live in Bay Village with their three children, Henry, Jennifer and Jessica.

Dear Martin  
Under Sea - Transpotation  
Los Angeles

Stamps



MEMORANDUM

APRIL 16, 1969

TO: I. W. ABEL  
WALTER J. BURKE  
ALEXANDER E. BARKAN

FROM: JAMES CUFF O'BRIEN

RE: LOS ANGELES MAYORALTY ELECTION OF MAY 27, 1969

THE PENDING LOS ANGELES MAYORALTY ELECTION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ONE OF THE HARDEST FOUGHT AND MOST INTERESTING MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN THE NATION. AFTER A RATHER QUIET PRIMARY CAMPAIGN, THE ELECTION PITS THE INCUMBENT SAM YORTY AGAINST CITY COUNCILMAN TOM BRADLEY, A NEGRO. THE MOST INTERESTING FACT OF THE PRIMARY EMERGED ON ELECTION NIGHT WHEN BRADLEY GARNERED 42% OF THE VOTES TO YORTY'S 26%. SINCE IT IS UNHEARD OF FOR AN INCUMBENT WHO TRAILS IN THE PRIMARY TO WIN IN THE GENERAL, SAM YORTY IS CLEARLY ON THE DEFENSIVE.

TOM BRADLEY HAD A RATHER COMPETENT CAMPAIGN IN THE PRIMARY. HE HAD SUFFICIENT MONEY TO PURCHASE MAJOR MEDIA (BILLBOARDS, RADIO AND T.V.), HE USED HIS MEDIA EFFECTIVELY AND HE MANAGED TO PULL A SIGNIFICANT VOTE FROM THE SUBURBS AS WELL AS THE NEGRO AND JEWISH AREAS. THESE LATTER TWO AREAS WILL UNDOUBTEDLY SERVE AS THE BACKBONE OF HIS GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, WHICH IS CURRENTLY VERY ANTI-YORTY, MENTIONED

LOS ANGELES MAYORALTY ELECTION OF MAY 27, 1969  
PAGE TWO

BRADLEY FAVORABLY IN THE PRIMARY ENDORSEMENT ARTICLE BUT WENT ON TO ENDORSE CONGRESSMAN ALPHONZO BELL. TWO DAYS AFTER THE PRIMARY THE TIMES ENDORSED BRADLEY AS DID AL BELL.

BRADLEY ORIENTED HIS CAMPAIGN IN THE PRIMARY TOWARD THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE BY USING THE SLOGAN "THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE" ON MOST OF HIS PRINTED MEDIA. HE RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MOST OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OFFICIALS INCLUDING THE ENDORSEMENT OF JESS UNRUH. BUT EXCLUDING THE SUPPORT OF CARMEN WARSCHAW, WHO IS NOW WORKING OPENLY FOR YORTY'S RE-ELECTION. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT UNRUH WAS VERY ACTIVE IN THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN OR THAT HE INTENDS TO BE IN THE FUTURE. HOWEVER, BRADLEY CAN EXPECT THE HELP OF A GOOD MANY NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FIGURES IN ADDITION TO THAT WHICH HE HAS ALREADY RECEIVED FROM RICHARD HATCHER, FRED HARRIS, ED MUSKIE, HUBERT HUMPHREY, ABE RIBICOFF, AND WILL RECEIVE FROM TED KENNEDY IN MAY. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT BRADLEY WILL NOT STRESS HIS DEMOCRATIC IDENTIFICATION QUITE AS HARD IN THE GENERAL AS HE DID IN THE PRIMARY.

ALTHOUGH LABOR DID NOT ENDORSE HIM IN THE PRIMARY, THE L.A. COUNTY CENTRAL BODY DID SO THIS PAST MONDAY NIGHT. MANY UNIONS SUPPORTED BRADLEY IN THE PRIMARY ANYWAY WITH THE UAW TAKING THE STRONGEST ROLE.

YORTY, FACING THE POSSIBLE END OF HIS POLITICAL CAREER (ALTHOUGH THAT PREDICTION HAS BEEN OFT MADE AND SELDOM ACCURATE), HAS INDICATED HIS INTENTION TO RUN A "NO HOLDS BARRED" CAMPAIGN.

LOS ANGELES MAYORALTY ELECTION OF MAY 27, 1969  
PAGE THREE

FOR EXAMPLE, ON ELECTION NIGHT HE ACCUSED BRADLEY OF BEING  
1) A RACIST, 2) A THIEF, 3) A LIAR, AND 4) IN SPAIN DURING THE  
WATTS RIOTS. SINCE THEN YORTY HAS THROWN IN THE SUGGESTION  
THAT 1300 MEMBERS OF THE L. A. POLICE DEPARTMENT WILL RESIGN  
IF BRADLEY IS ELECTED. IF THE SMEAR RATE CONTINUES TO INCREASE  
GEOMETRICALLY THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT BRADLEY'S PARENTAGE (OR  
LACK OF IT), SEX LIFE AND COMMUNIST AFFILIATIONS WILL SHORTLY  
BE THE SUBJECT OF THE MAYOR'S NEXT PRESS CONFERENCE.

HOWEVER, YORTY'S TACTICS, NO MATTER HOW REPREHENSIBLE, SHOULD  
NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. HE IS A TOUGH, HARD, DIRTY CAMPAIGNER  
WHO HAS NOTHING TO LOSE BY THROWING EVERYTHING AT BRADLEY.  
YORTY HAS THE SUPPORT OF A GOOD MANY LEADING REPUBLICAN CONSERVA-  
TIVES INCLUDING REAGAN'S CHIEF MONEY-MAN, HENRY SALVATORI.  
ALTHOUGH IT APPEARS THAT HIS PROFESSIONAL MANAGERS, BAUS  
AND ROSS, ARE LEAVING HIM, HE STILL HAS THE RESOURCES OF CITY  
HALL AND THE ADVANTAGES OF INCUMBENCY WHICH ARE NOT INCONSIDERABLE.  
HE USES TV VERY EFFECTIVELY AND HAS SUFFICIENT FUNDS TO RUN  
AN EXTENSIVE CAMPAIGN. IN ADDITION, HIS CHIEF DEPUTY, JOE QUINN,  
IS THE OWNER OF CITY NEWS SERVICE AND RADIO NEWS WEST, TWO  
CITY-WIDE WIRE SERVICES WHICH WILL BE EMPLOYED ON YORTY'S BEHALF.

THE POSSIBILITY OF LIVE TELEVISION DEBATES, WHICH HAVE BEEN  
OFFERED BY ALL STATIONS, COULD BE A MAJOR EVENT IN THE CAMPAIGN.  
THE DEBATES ARE TO BE HELD (IF AT ALL), IN LATE MAY AND THE  
FORMATS ARE CURRENTLY BEING NEGOTIATED. OPINION ON WHETHER OR

LOS ANGELES MAYORALTY ELECTION OF MAY 27, 1969  
PAGE FOUR

NOT BRADLEY SHOULD DEBATE YORTY IS DIVIDED. THOSE OPPOSED  
CONTEND THAT BRADLEY IS AHEAD AND DOESN'T NEED THE EXPOSURE,  
THAT THE DEBATES WILL REINFORCE THE FACT THAT HE IS A NEGRO,  
AND THAT TV IS YORTY'S BEST MEDIUM. THOSE IN FAVOR CONTEND  
THAT PEOPLE KNOW BRADLEY IS A NEGRO ANYHOW, THAT HE COMES  
ACROSS AS SINCERE AND RATIONAL, THAT YORTY'S PRIMARY TV DID  
NOT APPEAR TO HELP HIM, AND THAT IF THE VOTERS ARE ANTI-YORTY  
(RATHER THAN PRO-BRADLEY) MORE EXPOSURE OF YORTY WILL NOT HELP  
HIM.

IN GENERAL BRADLEY'S CHANCES ARE VERY GOOD. ALTHOUGH THERE  
IS SOME SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE ABILITY OF A NEGRO TO BEAT SAM  
YORTY, THE PRIMARY RESULTS INDICATE THAT YORTY HAS SLIPPED  
BADLY IN RECENT YEARS. IN ADDITION, THERE IS SOME PRECEDENT  
FOR A NEGRO BEING ABLE TO GET ELECTED IN A CITY-WIDE ELECTION  
BASED ON THE 1965 VICTORY OF REV. JAMES E. JONES FOR THE BOARD  
OF EDUCATION.

FOR ALL, THE DEFEAT OF TOM BRADLEY WOULD MEAN A MONUMENTAL  
SET-BACK FOR THE CITY OF LOS ANGELES, FOR THE DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY, AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF THE  
DIVERSE PEOPLE WHO INHABIT THIS, THE THIRD LARGEST CITY IN  
THE NATION.

# ELECTION RESULTS

## Mayor

2,874 Precincts out of 2,833  
(Semiofficial final returns)

	Vote	%
Bradley .....	293,753	41.79
Yorty (inc.) .....	183,334	26.08
Ward .....	116,555	16.53
Bell .....	99,172	14.11
Wilkinson .....	2,632	.33
Steinberg .....	1,574	.22
Andreson .....	1,600	.22
Elliot .....	1,160	.16
Rourke .....	790	.11
Kline .....	718	.10
Whizin .....	659	.09
Hathaway .....	375	.05
Federick .....	277	.03
Schulner .....	169	.02

## City Schools Bond and Tax

3,164 Precincts out of 3,167

### PROPOSITION A—BOND

	Vote	%
No .....	383,383	56.38
Yes .....	300,419	43.61

### PROPOSITION B—TAX

	Vote	%
No .....	419,321	61.03
Yes .....	267,337	38.93

## Junior College Tax

3,479 Precincts out of 3,501

### PROPOSITION C—TAX

	Vote	%
No .....	424,211	59.38
Yes .....	290,150	40.61

congress

## Congress

27th District

496 Precincts out of 496

(Including Kern County)

Goldwater (R) .....	39,580
Van de Kamp (D) .....	17,356
Potter (R) .....	16,908
Lindsey (R) .....	13,818
Schlessinger (D) .....	12,278
McGeo (R) .....	8,532
Brown (D) .....	3,916
Smith (D) .....	2,304
Erickson (R) .....	2,281
Kahl (R) .....	2,027
Dentzel (R) .....	1,734
Cavnar (R) .....	1,502
Curran (R) .....	1,395
Schulner (D) .....	1,006
Dalsimer (D) .....	982
Valdes (R) .....	834

Please Turn to Page 23, Col. 1

MEMORANDUM

APRIL 16, 1969

TO: I. W. ABEL  
WALTER J. BURKE  
ALEXANDER E. BARKAN

FROM: JAMES CUFF O'BRIEN

RE: 27TH CD SPECIAL ELECTION OF APRIL 29, 1969

THE SPECIAL ELECTION TO FILL THE VACANCY CREATED BY THE APPOINTMENT OF CONGRESSMAN ED REINECKE TO THE POST OF CALIFORNIA LT. GOVERNOR, PITS TWO CANDIDATES, WITH WELL KNOWN NAMES, AGAINST EACH OTHER.

BY FAR THE BETTER KNOWN OF THE CANDIDATES IS THE REPUBLICAN, BARRY GOLDWATER, JR. IN THE PRIMARY HE WAS NOT SUPPORTED BY THE REGULARS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, HOWEVER, HIS NAME PLUS AN AMPLE SUPPLY OF FUNDS (AN ESTIMATED \$5.00 PER VOTE), ENABLED HIM TO SOUNDLY DEFEAT ALL HIS PRIMARY OPPONENTS. IN FACT HE GARNERED MORE VOTES THAN ALL THE OTHER REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES COMBINED. IT IS EXPECTED THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WILL CLOSE RANKS FOR THE RUN-OFF TO AVOID ANY EMBARRASSMENT TO GOVERNOR REAGAN AND TO DISPEL THE IDEA THAT THE WISCONSIN SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION IS A NATIONAL TREND. GOLDWATER IS RUNNING AS A CONSERVATIVE WHICH IS SEEMINGLY A GOOD IDEOLOGICAL POSTURE IN THAT DISTRICT.

THE DEMOCRAT, JOHN VAN DE KAMP, IS THE SON OF A FAMILY WHICH FOUNDED A FAMOUS CHAIN OF BAKERIES AND RESTAURANTS IN SOUTHERN

27TH CD SPECIAL ELECTION OF APRIL 29, 1969  
PAGE TWO

CALIFORNIA WHICH BEAR THE NAME "VAN DE KAMPS." AS A FORMER ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HE IS STRESSING HIS "LAW AND ORDER" RECORD. ALTHOUGH HE IS A MODERATELY CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRAT THE ODDS WOULD STILL APPEAR TO BE AGAINST HIS WINNING. IN ADDITION TO THE CONSERVATIVE RECORD OF THE DISTRICT'S VOTERS, VAN DE KAMP HAS THE ADDED LIABILITIES OF HAVING NO BASE IN THE DISTRICT. HE IS A RESIDENT OF PASADENA, WHO HAS BEEN IN WASHINGTON FOR SEVERAL YEARS, IS UNMARRIED AND TO DATE THERE HAS BEEN NO REAL CRUSADE TO ELECT HIM AS MOST DEMOCRATS HAVE WRITTEN OFF THE DISTRICT. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE HE MANAGED TO GET THE L.A. TIMES ENDORSEMENT IN THE PRIMARY OVER ALL OTHER CANDIDATES, REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ALIKE.

LABOR HAS TAKEN A MAJOR ROLE IN SUPPORTING VAN DE KAMP THROUGH A LOCAL ORGANIZATION CALLED VLPAC, AND IS PROBABLY HIS MAJOR SUPPLIER OF FUNDS AND MANPOWER. VLPAC (VALLEY LABOR POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE) WAS FORMED IN 1964 TO INSURE THE RE-ELECTION OF CONGRESSMAN JIM CORMAN. THE ORGANIZATION INCLUDES REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL LABOR IN THE SAN FERNANDO VALLEY INCLUDING THE UAW AND THE TEAMSTERS AND A GOOD MANY LABOR-CONNECTED LAW FIRMS. VLPAC IS CURRENTLY CHAIRED BY CLYDE BULLOCK, A UAW SUB-REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE.

VAN DE KAMP WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF MOST DEMOCRATIC REGULARS WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE ANTI-WAR GROUPS (CDC), WHO RAN A CANDIDATE AGAINST HIM IN THE PRIMARY AND WHO RESENT HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE SPOCK PROSECUTION. HOWEVER, THE SPOCK

27TH CD SPECIAL ELECTION OF APRIL 29, 1969  
PAGE THREE

PROSECUTION SHOULD HELP WITH THE MAJORITY OF THE VOTERS IN  
THE DISTRICT.

THE 27TH CD IS A LONG AND AWKWARD DISTRICT UNSUITED TO THE  
USE OF TELEVISION AND MOST RADIO. IT IS DIVIDED BETWEEN  
A LARGE, SUBURBAN, MIDDLE CLASS, REPUBLICAN TRACT AREA AND  
A DESERT-LIVING, SOUTH WEST ORIGINATED, WHITE, DEMOCRATIC AREA.

LAST YEAR THE DISTRICT, WHICH WAS RE-APPORTIONED IN 1967,  
VOTED VERY HEAVILY REPUBLICAN: HUMPHREY LOST BY 40,000 VOTES;  
CRANSTON LOST TO RAFFERTY BY 27,000 VOTES; AND THE INCUMBENT  
REINECKE WON OVER A POORLY FINANCED DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT BY  
100,000 VOTES.

ALTHOUGH THE DISTRICT HAS A SLIGHT EDGE IN DEMOCRATS (51%) IT  
VOTED REPUBLICAN CONSISTENTLY FOR THE PAST SIX YEARS. WHILE  
ALL OF LABOR IS WORKING EXTREMELY HARD, THE MACHINISTS ARE  
PROVIDING THE GREATEST RESOURCES OF MANPOWER AND MONEY. THE  
STEELWORKERS ARE PROVIDING TWO RETIREES FULL-TIME TO VAN DE KAMP  
THROUGH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS.



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27th Congressional District Race. (1982, March 31). *L.A. Times*.

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## 1970 United States Senatorial Analysis

In 1964, 28 Democratic Senators were elected -- 25 of these 28 Senators will be up for re-election in 1970. (Senator Harris and Bass were elected to two-year terms, and Senator Kennedy was assassinated.) These incumbents face an electoral situation vastly different from the one they enjoyed in 1964.

In the 24 contested races of 1964 (Sen. Stennis was unopposed), Lyndon Johnson carried every state; but in 1968 Hubert Humphrey managed to carry only 10 of these states.

In the Senate, the Republicans have picked up a net of 11 seats, with 7 of the new Republicans coming from these 24 states.

In the House of Representatives, the Republicans have gained a net of 52 seats, with a net gain of 29 seats from these same states.

The picture with the governors is similar as the Republicans have a net gain of 13 seats nationally.

In the states legislatures, the Republicans have gained about 650 state legislative seats including control of both state houses in 6 of the 24 states. Republicans now dominate 9 of the 24 state legislatures.

The implication of these figures becomes increasingly clear upon detailed examination of the composition of the state legislatures, the pluralities of the candidates, and the voter turnout in the off-year election of 1966.

In 1964, the Democratic Party held 66.8% of all state legislative seats (upper and lower houses) in the 25 states represented by those Democratic Senators facing re-election in 1970. The Democratic Party controlled 18 of these state legislatures and at least one house in 4 other states as a result of that year's elections. The Republican Party only controlled the legislatures in three states. But in 1966, the Democratic percentage of these seats fell from 66.8% to 59.4%. Excluding the South, one can see that Democratic holdings decreased from 59.4% to 51.3%, a bare 1.3% majority. More importantly, in 1966, the Democrats lost control of four state legislatures while the Republicans gained control of five legislatures, increasing their total to eight.

In North Dakota, where Senator Burdick is up for re-election, Democrats controlled the legislature as a result of the 1964 elections with 53.8% of the seats. In 1966, the Democrats lost control of both houses, and their percentage of the seats dropped to 14.3% of the total. Similarly in Utah, where Senator Moss is up for re-election, the Democrats lost control of both state houses, and the Democratic percentage of seats slipped from 56.3% to 17.5% as a result of the 1966 elections. This pattern was repeated in Michigan and Maine where Senators Hart and Muskie will face re-election in 1970.

In 1968, Democrats sustained further losses dropping another 1.9% to an over-all total of 57.3% of the seats, and if the South is again excluded, the present total drops to 50.6%. At this time, the Democrats control only 11 of the 25 legislatures, while the Republicans control 9.

A comparison of the Presidential plurality figures of 1964 and 1968 shows the difficulties facing the 25 incumbent Democrats. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson carried all but one of these 25 states (Mississippi) with a total plurality of 8.8 million. In 1968, Hubert H. Humphrey carried only 10 of these states, and his plurality was merely 433,000 votes, a decline of over 8.3 million votes, or 95.1%.

The plurality of the 24 contested Democratic Senators was over 7 million in 1964, but in some states the Democratic Senatorial candidate ran far behind President Johnson's winning margin. For example, while President Johnson carried Nevada by some 23,000 votes, Senator Cannon carried his state by only 48 votes. Similarly, while President Johnson carried Ohio by over 1 million votes, Senator Young carried the state by 17,000 votes. In fact, President Johnson ran ahead of the Senatorial candidate in all but five of these 24 states. With the further decline in voter support for Hubert Humphrey in 1968, the eventual outcome of the 1970 elections appears that much more foreboding.

One might not feel the Presidential elections accurately reflect the partisan feelings of the electorate, but surely the candidates for the House of Representatives tend to more accurately reflect partisan interests. Voter support for the Democratic House candidate has also declined in these states, following a nation-wide pattern. In 1964, Democratic House candidates received in excess of 18 million votes or 58.7% of the total vote in these states.

In 1966, this fell to 12.7 million votes or 53.4% of the total, a drop of some 5.3%. In only three states, Nevada, Texas, and Ohio, was any increase in the Democratic vote noted. In some states, the decline was particularly alarming between a Presidential year and an off-year vote. In Utah, the Democratic vote percentage declined from 52.9% to 37.2%, a net loss of 15.7%. The Democratic vote in Rhode Island declined 13.3%. Not only did the Democratic percentage of the Congressional vote drop significantly between 1964 and 1966, but in terms of raw numbers, the Democrats dropped significantly in Senatorial contests.

Thirteen of these 25 states held Senatorial elections in 1966. The total vote fell in these states from 16.6 million to 12.5 million, a drop of 25%. It was the Democratic candidates who suffered from this decline. The Democratic candidates dropped 4.7 million votes to 5.7 million. By comparison, the Republican total actually rose by 602,000 votes. The result was a clear loss to the Democratic Party. While all of these 13 states elected the Democratic candidate in 1964, 6 of them chose the Democratic candidate in 1966. In fact, 4 of the 5 Republican freshmen Senators elected in 1966 came from these states.

The upcoming elections in 1970 have much more in common in terms of voter turnout with 1966 than with 1964. On the average, voter turnout in these 25 states declined 13.4% from 65.6% to 52.2%. In Wisconsin, where Senator Proxmire is up for re-election in 1970, voter turnout declined 22.5% from the Presidential election to the off-year election. The turnout also declined in Missouri by an even wider margin -- 29.4%, falling from 67.4% to 38%.

In reviewing all of the most reliable sources of statistical analysis, the task ahead for the 25 Democratic incumbents is an extremely difficult one.

In 1970, these incumbents face three major obstacles:

1. The incumbents will not have the benefit of the coat tails of a popular incumbent President.
2. The voter turnout drop-off between a Presidential year and off-year election is about 16%. It has been estimated that three out of four of these non-voters are Democrats.
3. One of the best barometers of party preference is the percentage of the seats the Democrats hold in the state legislatures. In the last four years, this percentage has dropped nearly 10% in the 25 states covered in this report. One must assume the trend is Republican.

PRESIDENTIAL PLUS SENATORIAL PLURALITICO

STATE	'64 PRESID- ENTIAL PLURALITY	'68 PRESID- ENTIAL PLURALITY	DIFFERENCE '64 - '68 PRES.	'64 SENATE PLURALITY	DIFFERENCE '68 PRES. '64 SENATE
CONNECTICUT	435,000 (D)	67,000 (D)	-368,000	354,000	-287,000
FLORIDA	43,000 (D)	166,000 (R)	-209,000	435,000	-601,000
INDIANA	260,000 (D)	258,000 (R)	-518,000	187,000	-445,000
MAINE	144,000	48,000 (D)	- 96,000	126,000	- 78,000
MARYLAND	345,000	11,000 (D)	-328,000	276,000	-259,000
MASSACHUSETTS	1,237,000	660,000 (D)	-577,000	1,129,000	-469,000
MICHIGAN	1,076,000	238,000 (D)	-838,000	900,000	-662,000
MINNESOTA	431,000	186,000 (D)	-245,000	325,000	-139,000
MISSISSIPPI					
MISSOURI	511,000	14,000 (R)	-525,000	590,000	-604,000
MONTANA	51,000	21,000 (R)	- 72,000	81,000	-102,000
NEVADA	23,000	15,000 (R)	- 38,000	0	- 15,000
NEW JERSEY	904,000	54,000 (R)	-958,000	666,000	-720,000
NEW MEXICO	62,000	39,000 (R)	-101,000	31,000	- 70,000
NORTH DAKOTA	42,000	41,000 (R)	- 83,000	40,000	- 81,000
OHIO	1,027,000	93,000 (R)	-1,120,000	17,000	-110,000
RHODE ISLAND	241,000	124,000 (D)	-117,000	253,000	-129,000
TENNESSEE	126,000	46,000 (R)	-172,000	77,000	- 31,000
TEXAS	705,000	41,000 (D)	-664,000	330,000	-289,000
UTAH	33,000	82,000 (R)	-120,000	58,000	-140,000
VIRGINIA	77,000	143,000 (R)	-220,000	416,000	-559,000
WASHINGTON	309,000	42,000 (D)	-267,000	539,000	-497,000
WEST VIRGINIA	284,000	67,000 (D)	-217,000	269,000	-202,000
WISCONSIN	412,000	60,000 (R)	-472,000	112,000	-172,000
WYOMING	19,000	25,000 (R)	- 44,000	11,000	- 36,000
TOTAL	8,802,000	433,000 (D)	-8,369,000	7,222,000	-6,689,000

Source: Congressional Quarterly

## STATE LEGISLATURES

	'64 Seats held in both Houses (Raw #)		'64 Seats both Houses (%)	'66 Seats both Houses (Raw #)		'66 Seats both Houses (%)	'68 Seats both Houses (Raw #)		'68 Seats both Houses (%)
STATE	D	R	DEMO- CRATIC	D	R	DEMO- CRATIC	D	R	D
CONNECTICUT	134	196	40.6	142	71	66.7	134	79	62.9
FLORIDA	144	12	92.3	128	37	77.6	109	58	65.3
INDIANA	113	37	75.3	63	87	42.0	41	109	27.3
MAINE	110	75	59.5	65	120	35.13	81	102	44.3
MARYLAND	139	32	81.3	153	32	82.7	152	33	82.2
MASSACHUSETTS	197	82	70.6	194	85	69.5	201	79	71.8
MICHIGAN	95	53	64.2	73	75	49.3	75	63	54.3
MINNESOTA	64	138	31.7	64	138	31.7	72	130	35.6
MISSISSIPPI	174	0	100	171	3	98.3	173	1	99.4
MISSOURI	147	50	74.6	130	67	66.0	132	65	67.0
MONTANA	88	62	58.7	70	89	44.02	75	84	47.2
NEVADA	33	20	62.3	32	28	53.3	29	31	48.3
NEW JERSEY	33	48	40.7	60	29	67.41	31	89	25.8
NEW MEXICO	87	22	79.8	71	41	63.4	69	43	61.6
NORTH DAKOTA	85	73	53.8	21	126	14.3	27	120	18.4
OHIO	78	91	46.2	47	85	35.6	47	85	35.6
RHODE ISLAND	106	39	73.1	103	47	68.7	114	36	76.0
TENNESSEE	100	32	75.8	84	47	64.1	69	62	57.0
TEXAS	188	1	99.47	173	4	97.7	171	10	94.5
UTAH	54	42	56.3	17	80	17.5	29	68	29.9
VIRGINIA	126	14	90	124	15	89.2	120	20	85.7
WASHINGTON	92	56	62.2	73	75	49.3	70	78	47.3
WEST VIRGINIA	118	16	88.1	90	44	67.2	85	49	63.4
WISCONSIN	65	68	48.9	59	74	44.36	58	75	43.6
WYOMING	46	40	53.5	39	52	42.9	29	62	31.9
TOTALS	1,977	983	66.8	2,246	1,551	59.2	2,193	1,631	57.3

TURNOUT

STATE	'64 TURNOUT *	'66 TURNOUT	DIFFERENCE
CONNECTICUT	71.8	58.7	-13.1
FLORIDA	52.7	40.9	-11.8
INDIANA	74.0	58.5	-15.5
MAINE	65.6	55.5	-10.1
MARYLAND	56.0	44.2	-11.8
MASSACHUSETTS	71.3	61.9	- 9.4
MICHIGAN	68.9	52.0	-16.9
MINNESOTA	76.8	64.1	-12.7
MISSISSIPPI	32.9	31.1	- 1.8
MISSOURI	67.4	38.0	-29.4
MONTANA	69.8	64.8	- 5.0
NEVADA	55.5	51.2	- 4.3
NEW JERSEY	68.6	51.8	-16.8
NEW MEXICO	63.9	51.0	-12.9
NORTH DAKOTA	72.2	56.0	-16.2
OHIO	66.6	48.9	-17.7
RHODE ISLAND	68.7	60.4	- 8.3
TENNESSEE	51.1	38.8	-12.3
TEXAS	44.4	24.5	-19.9
UTAH	76.9	62.4	-14.5
VIRGINIA	41.0	28.0	-13.0
WASHINGTON	71.5	55.5	-16.0
WEST VIRGINIA	75.2	45.5	-29.7
WISCONSIN	70.8	48.3	-22.5
WYOMING	73.2	64.0	- 9.2
TOTAL AUGUST**	64.3	50.2	-14.0
TOTAL AUGUST IN CONTESTED RACCO	65.6	50.9	-14.7

\* Source: Where Are The Voters?

\*\* All states given equal weight



-- Senatorial Analysis

SUMMARY

1. Percentage of all state legislative seats (both houses) held by Democrats:

1964 -- 66.8%  
1966 -- 59.2%  
1968 -- 57.3%

2. Percentage of all state legislative seats (both houses) held by Democrats excluding one-party Southern and Border states:

1964 -- 59.49%  
1966 -- 51.3%  
1968 -- 50.6%

3. Number of state legislatures both houses of which were controlled by the Democratic Party:

1964 -- 18  
1966 -- 14  
1968 -- 11

Number of state legislatures only one house of which was controlled by the Democratic Party:

1964 -- 4  
1966 -- 3  
1968 -- 5

Number of state legislatures both houses of which were under Republican Party control:

1964 -- 3  
1966 -- 8  
1968 -- 9

4. Change in percentage of seats held by Democrats from '64 (Presidential election year) to '66 (off-year):

All states: 7.6%  
Excluding South: 8.1%

5. Change in percentage of state legislative seats held by Democrats from 1964 (Presidential year) to 1968 (Presidential year):

All states : 9.5%  
Excluding South: 8.8%