

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.
23	6	7/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Louisiana. 2 pgs.
23	6	7/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Wyoming. 1 pg.
23	6	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Overview of the political status of Florida. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Overview of the political status of Iowa. 2 pgs.
23	6	7/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Overview of the political status of Colorado. 1 pg.
23	6	7/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.
23	6	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Connecticut. 2 pgs.
23	6	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached political information. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of California. 1 pg.
23	6	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents relating to the 1972 election. 1 pg.
23	6	6/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Missouri. 2 pgs.
23	6	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: information from Ed DeBolt of the Republican National Committee on politics in most U.S. states. 48 pgs.
23	6	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell and Haldeman RE: RN's recognition of key state chairmen. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	7/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell RE: the possibility of using Louie Donaldson as state chairmen of Tennessee. 1 pg.
23	6	6/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.
23	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L.E. Tommy Thomas RE: Phyliss Schafley's political role in Florida. 1 pg.
23	6	7/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.
23	6	7/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Thomas C. Reed to Dent RE: RN's political status in California. Polling information attached. 5 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: analyses from Davis on Delaware and Georgia. 1 pg.
23	6	6/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Report	From Dent to Mitchell and Haldeman RE: attached information provided by Tom Davis. 1 pg.
23	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Photograph	Overview of the political status of Delaware. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
23	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Georgia. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs.
23	6	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: analyses from Davis on Delaware and Georgia. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	6/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	From Dent to Mitchell and Haldeman RE: attached information provided by Tom Davis. 1 pg.
23	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Delaware. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs.
23	6		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of the political status of Georgia. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs.
23	6	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: political information from Rumsfeld. 1 pg.
23	6	7/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	7/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From unknown to Mitchell RE: political information on Florida. List of key dates in the Presidential Preference Primary in that state attached. 2 pgs.
23	6	7/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Letter	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: attached political documents. 1 pg.
23	6	7/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From unknown to Mitchell RE: the possibility of McCloskey's name appearing on the Florida ballot. 1 pg.
23	6	7/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	6	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From unknown to Mitchell RE: women in the Republican Party. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	7/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information from Rumsfeld on various states. 2 pgs.
23	6	6/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: an attached document discussing McCloskey's visit to Florida. 2 pgs.
23	6	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: attached political information on New Jersey and Maryland. 10 pgs.
23	6	5/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	6	5/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Mitchell RE: attached information to follow up on a previous conversation. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	6	5/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Cheney to Rumsfeld RE: Birch Bayh's finances. 1 pg.
23	6	5/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Mitchell RE: Bill Graham's potential as a fundraiser. 1 pg.
23	6	5/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Mitchell RE: Illinois politics. 1 pg.
23	6	4/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rumsfeld to Dent RE: Chicago Mayor Daley's recent political opponent. 1 pg.

CONFIDENTIAL
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 20, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT *HSO*

Please handle _____

For your information ✓

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12958, SECTION 8-102
By *Ed*, date *9-17-82*

LOUISIANA: JULY 14TH, 1971

1968 Presidential Race: Nixon: 257, 535
 Humphrey: 309, 615
 Wallace: 530, 300

Presidential Prospects:

If the election were held today George Wallace would probably win in Louisiana. The President has probably gained some ground since 1968, but the current busing controversy is hurting us badly. The Administration's position on the war is no problem in Louisiana and the economic situation is not too damaging. Nevertheless, there is a feeling among many Republicans that they have been betrayed by the Administration. Wallace is expected to capitalize on this.

Governorship:

The Governor's race will be held in February with the first primary slated for November. The Republican nominee will probably be David Treen. The Democratic field is crowded and includes former Governor Jimmy Davis, former Congressman Gillis Long, and present Congressman Ed Edwards and Speedy Long. A scandal has marred the present Democratic Administration and should help the Republicans. Even so, this election will be uphill. Republicans have carried the state twice in Presidential elections (1956 and 1964) but have made few inroads at the state level.

Senate:

Senator Ellender is up for re-election and could be challenged in a primary by Governor John McKeithen. Tom Stagg, our National Committeeman, is weighing this race as well but there is little chance of our winning this seat.

Congressional:

Substantial redistricting is called for with the 1970 census. Considerable changes are necessary. The incumbent most likely to be adversely affected is Hale Boggs. Boggs had a very close race in 1968 and the legislature gerrymandered him into a ' safe ' seat for 1970. Demographic shifts now threaten to pull his district into approximately the 1968 boundary.

Page 2

Comments:

Although indications are that we are running behind, there is also evidence that Wallace has slipped, too. The Governor's race might be a good indicator of how strong Republicanism is in the state.

The state party structure is weak and will not be a great help to the President. Registration statewide, according to the party Chairman, is 50 to 1 Democratic.

WYOMING, JULY 19TH, 1971

1968 Presidential Race: Nixon: 70,927
 Humphrey: 45,173
 Wallace: 11,105

Presidential Prospects:

Although Wyoming is considered a conservative state, this does not guarantee the President's success in 1972. There is a large independent group and many hard-liners feel the President has gotten a little too liberal. He generally gets a so-so rating, . The economy looms as the biggest problem and it looks as if today, the winner would be the President by a slim margin.

Senate:

Senator Hansen is looking good and although his appeal to youth is little, he retains a solid footing among the wool, stock and oil people. Some oil people have been critical of the President but it is felt Hansen prevents hostility. No real problems are expected for the Senator, but state people feel that Hansen alone can't represent a strong enough slate for the President.

House:

Democratic Congressman Teno Roncalio could be difficult to beat. State people feel that the key next year will be the youth vote. If a Republican candidate could be found who is young, appealing, etc., we could take the seat and construct a slate strong enough to help insure the President's success. So far, however, such a man has not been found.

Comments:

The party organization looks good, well organized and has good rapport with Governor Hathaway. Money problems begin at about this time, so fund raising will be getting under way shortly. The Governor is a good fund raiser, too, and the whole organization should be effectively shored-up by Spring.

FLORIDA, JULY 15TH, 1971

1968 Presidential Race: Nixon: 886,804
 Humphrey: 676,794
 Wallace: 624,207

Presidential Prospects:

If the election were held today the President would carry Florida, according to our people. Wallace retains much of his popularity, especially in the northern part of the state.

The President is felt to have picked up support since '68 among Cubans and in the Miami area in general. However, the rest of the state is not overly enthusiastic with welfare reform and the busing controversy ensuing in neighboring states. Republicans like the Vice President and Governor Reagan are also regarded as popular in the state.

The economy is not too bad here. Unemployment around the Space Center is being aided by the Disney boom in Orlando.

House Redistricting:

There are no statewide races other than the Presidency in '72. However, Florida gains three House seats with the new census. As Democrats control the legislature and the governor's mansion the new districting will probably be drawn to our maximum disadvantage.

Since two of the three seats will go to Republican Central Florida, there is a good chance we can pick up one of them. Also, incumbent Democrat James A. Haley may be hurt by redistricting. He has had close races the past two elections.

The three seats we now hold are not representative of Republican strength in the state. We should gain one to three seats in 1972.

Comments:

The State Republican organization is recovering from the fratricide of 1970. A campaign war chest is being solicited through a series of fund raisers this next year.

The party organization is also becoming better organized and should be an asset to the President for the '72 campaign.

IOWA, JULY 16TH, 1971

1968 Presidential Race:	Nixon:	619,106
	Humphrey:	476,699
	Wallace:	66,422

Presidential Prospects:

The President has slipped slightly in Iowa since 1968, but is seen in no danger of losing the state today. The economic situation hurt us somewhat and the farmers, though economically as well off as ever, feel that they have been neglected. However, the President's announcement about going to China should help us quite a bit, the State Chairman believes. He thinks that fellow Hawkeyes see the President dealing with ' bigger stakes ' than the economy or the farm problem, and this should be politically beneficial.

Governorship:

This is where the real problem lies in Iowa. GOP Governor Robert Ray was re-elected narrowly in 1970 while Democrats were winning new Governorships in neighboring states. (Nebraska, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.) Ray faces a serious challenge for his third term in the primary from Lt. Governor Roger Jepsen. The primary threatens to split the party wide open as well as drain financial resources that would otherwise be used in the general election. Jepsen is more conservative than Ray and feels that it is ' his ' turn to be Governor after two terms in second spot. The Democrats are likely to field an attractive candidate who will be able to pick up the pieces in November. This could be a drag on the whole state-wide ticket.

Senate:

The Senate race is already shaping up into a battle between Congressman John Culver and Republican Senator Jack Miller. Our people feel that Culver will be tough. He is attractive, a good campaigner and should get plenty of money. However, Senator Miller has been back in the state frequently and rates the edge today. Even so, with the race potentially close any drag from our Gubernatorial candidate is a source of concern.

House:

Iowa lost one seat in redistricting. The legislature reapportioned earlier in the year. Three Republican seats appear safe- Mayne, Gross and Scherle. Congressman Schwengel's district will continue to be marginal. The State Chairman believes we can win Culver's vacant seat with a strong candidate. Also, two incumbents were thrown together, Democrat Neal Smith and Republican John Kyle. The new district seems to favor Smith, and Kyle is known to be upset about the new boundaries.

Comments:

The party organization seems to be in good shape at present. However, a bitter Gubernatorial primary could factionate the state party and hurt the overall organization effort.

The party people feel that a White House effort could possibly straighten out the Gubernatorial struggle. This would have to be done cautiously but could prove effective.

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COLORADO, JULY 18TH, 1971

1968 Presidential Race:	Nixon:	409,345
	Humphrey:	335,174
	Wallace:	60,813

Presidential Prospects:

The President is in fairly good shape in Colorado. A poll was just completed for the State Committee and shows 55% approval for the President and 37% disapproval. The President is hurt with the war issue, in the Denver area, according to the poll. The economic situation, though not particularly bad in Colorado, seems to hurt us too. 78% believe unemployment is a serious national problem at this time, and only 38% see the economy growing, at present.

Crime, the economy and drug abuse are the main concerns of Colorado residents with the country.

Senate Race:

Senator Gordon Allott is seen ahead today in his race for a fourth term. It is felt that the Senator can beat any of the Democrats most often mentioned to oppose him. Polls bear this out. Democratic Congressman Frank Evans of Pueblo is seen as one possible candidate against the Senator, but polls show him trailing Allott by two to one.

House Race:

Colorado gained one House seat with Congressional reapportionment. The present line-up is two Democrats and two Republicans. Since we control the Governorship and both Houses of the legislature we stand to get the new seat and possibly one other seat. The current plan is to throw both Democratic Congressmen- Aspinall and Evans- into the same district making way for two additional Republican districts. There is talk of strengthening freshman Congressman Mike McKeivitt as well, by splitting up the city of Denver.

Comments:

The party organization in Colorado is very strong and should be helpful to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 8, 1971

TO:

Bob Haldeman

FROM:

HARRY DENT

ABD

Please handle _____

For your information X

CONNECTICUT, JULY 1ST

1968 Presidential Race: Nixon: 556,721
 Humphrey: 621,561
 Wallace: 76,650

Presidential Prospects:

The President has probably picked up some ground in this state since 1968. There are three reasons for this. First we control the Governor's mansion. Governor Meskill is considered quite popular and his assistance will be a real asset in 1972. Secondly, the party organization, bolstered by victories in 1970, is united and spirited. Thirdly, National Committeeman, John Alsop feels that a 'kid lash' is developing among older citizens. The youth vote appears to be so heavily against us that Alsop sees many adults who opposed us in '68' taking a second look at the President and liking what they see.

On the minus side is the unemployment factor. The state Chairman believes that today the economy issue would kill us, but if and when the economy starts to visibly move upward, our chances for success will be good.

The state's feelings on the war were well reflected in last month's vote in the Assembly on a bill to exempt Connecticut citizens from fighting foreign wars (similar to one passed in Massachusetts.) The bill was beaten by an overwhelming margin.

House of Representatives:

Republicans currently hold two of the state's six seats. In 1970, a change of 3,000 votes would have given us two more seats. Demographic shifting in the state means reapportionment effecting all six districts. A deadlock between the legislature and Governor could occur leaving it up to the courts to decide on the new districts.

No basic change is expected in the new districts. However we should be able to hold our two seats and mount a strong campaign against Ella Grasso for Meskill's old seat if the right candidate can be found.

Comments:

The party organization should be a strong asset to the President in 1972. The support of Governor Meskill and his active interest in the party organization should be utilized.

Gains at the Congressional level in 1972 will depend upon the Presidential race. Connecticut has a history of coat-tail election victories at the Congressional level.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 2, 1971
TO: H. R. Haldeman
FROM: HARRY DENT

Please handle

For your information

CALIFORNIA, JULY 1 ST

1968 Presidential Race: Nixon: 3,467,664
 Humphrey: 3,244,318
 Wallace: 487,270

Presidential Prospects:

The President would have a difficult time carrying California today if he had no opponent. However, when he is matched against someone he fares much better. The strongest Democratic ticket today would probably be Muskie and Jackson. Kennedy and Humphrey are viewed as much more vulnerable.

Unemployment is hurting us badly. We cannot afford to let Lockheed fail. The state organization can be of little use to us for 1972 except for voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts. A strong Nixon committee should probably be organized to take over from the 'Livermore Vacuum' (Livermore is the State Chairman.) The feeling seems to be for the President not to enter the state's primary, but to let Reagan run as a favorite son instead. It will save us a couple of million dollars and avoid any kind of a bloodbath like the Democrats may have.

House of Representatives:

There are no statewide contests outside the Presidential race in 1972. Therefore, both parties will put major efforts into capturing the five new Congressional seats the state gained in reapportionment. Redistricting is still several months away, but the feeling is that we will get anywhere from two to four of the new seats. Incumbents are expected to be protected.

McClosky is rated highly vulnerable in a GOP primary. Names most often mentioned to oppose the peace-nik Congressman are Assemblyman Dixon Arnett or former GOP head Jim Halley. Today, either one could win. However, if McClosky switches parties he would probably be unbeatable.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 1, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT *ASD*

Please handle _____

For your information _____

MISSOURI POLITICAL PICTURE, JUNE 27TH, 1971

1968 Presidential Race:	Nixon:	811,932	(44.9%)
	Humphrey:	791,444	(43.7%)
	Wallace:	206,126	(11.4%)

Presidential Outlook:

In the opinion of our people, the President is stronger in Missouri today than in 1968. The war and the economy are not helping the President particularly, but the overall mood of the state's voters is one of patience and understanding about the problems we face.

Governor's Race:

Republican leaders are optimistic about the chances of electing the first GOP Governor in 32 years in 1972. Incumbent Warren Hearnes is very unpopular but is constitutionally ineligible for another term. Lt. Governor Bill Morris will try to succeed Hearnes but he will face tough opposition in the Democratic primary. Congressman Richard Ichord, Chairman of the House Internal Securities Committee is thinking of running. Other Democrats mentioned include State Senator Earl Blackwell and Congressman James Symington, son of the Senator.

The Republican candidates most often mentioned are Les King, former state House minority leader, 'Kit' Bond, the State Auditor who won by 200,000 votes last November and Attorney General Jack Danforth. Danforth would be the strongest candidate, but there is some question as to his meeting the state residency requirement for Governors. Bond would be a strong candidate.

House of Representatives:

The last redistricting done by the Democrats was such a 'good' gerrymander that no one believes it can be any worse for us this time. Democrats most likely to be hurt are Ichord and Symington, (hence their interest in the Governor's race.) There is one plan that puts Democrats Bolling and Randall in the same district as well, creating a potential Republican seat. Another plan would put Representative William Clay into a district with a white majority.

Whatever happens, we stand a decent chance to pick up a seat or two, especially with a strong state ticket. We now have one out of ten Congressmen.

Comments:

Party leaders in Missouri are feeling more confident today than at anytime since the 1940's. In 1968, they came within 36,871 votes of electing a Senator. Last year, Senator Symington won a fourth term by only 37,528 votes. While his Democratic colleagues in neighboring states won by large margins. Perhaps the efforts of 1968 and 1970 will bear fruit in 1972.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. Haldeman

FROM:

Harry S. Dent 

Attached is a political analysis of most of the states prepared by the field men of the RNC.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBoit

FROM:

Charles Bailey

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12063, Section 6-102

June 26, 1971

By CP RARE, Date 8-12-82

ALASKA

Organization

Statewide, the Party organization performed poorly during the 1970 elections. Two House districts did an "adequate" job of Voter Identification and Voter Turnout. The State Chairman of Alaska was a procrastinator, entirely ineffective in his leadership and had little organizational knowledge. The new State Chairman seems to be a good leader, his only experience in politics has been candidate oriented rather than Party organization. The Party now has a fulltime Executive Director who hasn't the vaguest idea what his job should be or how he should do it. He wants to give the statewide organization the help it needs and will travel extensively to re-implement the "Mission '70's" program. With the new State Chairman and new District Chairman using the "Mission '70's", the Party could perform the traditional Party roles in the central district, the south central district, and some portions of the southeast district. They do have a plan to reach the "bush" villages throughout the northwest district. At the present time the Party is being financed by 200 Party members who have pledged \$250.00 each. They are trying to redevelop a small donor sustaining program and if this is successful they will be in fairly good financial condition.

Major Elections

The incumbent Republican United States Senator, Ted Stevens, will run for re-election in 1972. This election will put Ted on his regular six year cycle. Senator Stevens should be re-elected, during the 1970 election he was the only Republican candidate who drew a majority vote out of the "bush". Additionally there will be the Congressional and Legislative races.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12066, 5/11/80-102
By EP, date 3-12-82

June 26, 1971

ARIZONA

Organization

The Arizona State Central Committee has a new Executive Director who is the former Executive Director of Maricopa County. He is strong on Party development and organizational work, Party development will be his number one priority for the next year. He is an enthusiastic supporter of "Mission '70's" and tried to sell the Victory Squad concept for Voter Turnout in Maricopa County for the 1970 elections. Maricopa County, while doing a good job in Voter Identification and Registration, did a poor job on Voter Turnout because they didn't accept the controls of the Victory Squad program. Yuma County also has hired an Executive Director. The Arizona Party organization will produce on Voter Identification, Registration, Special Ballots, Voter Turnout, and Ballot Security. All registrations have been cancelled in Arizona this year and both Parties have to start "from scratch" to register their members to vote. Maricopa County is presently conducting a registration program of all known Republicans and prior to the municipal elections in November, will have a concentrated Voter Identification and Voter Registration program. The financial condition of Arizona is sound and presently in the black. All indications are that they will go into the 1972 year with a considerable surplus and will be able to adequately finance their Legislative Campaign Committee and other Party programs.

Major Elections

Statewide municipal elections will be held during November of this year. The only major city that has partisan municipal elections is Tuscon. The Republican Party has at least five Republican candidates running for Mayor and there is a good chance of a rift developing during the primary that won't be healed in time for the general election. Although the city elections in Phoenix are non-partisan, the present Mayor and the majority of the City Council, who run as the "Charter Government", should be re-elected. During 1972, the only statewide elections will be the Tax and Corporation Commissioners. As redistricting isn't completed congressional elections are somewhat in doubt as Arizona will add one more Congressman. The Maricopa County elections are going to be very close for the Republicans during 1972. Incumbent Republican County Commissioners have received a considerable amount of adverse publicity that will result in a struggle to hold control of the Court House.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

FROM: Charles Bailey

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED TO: BY: A
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 13526, Section 1.4
By: ep, Date: 3-12-72

June 26, 1971

COLORADO

Organization

The Party leadership in Colorado is very good. The State Chairman works on a near fulltime basis and has a fulltime Research Director to assist him. The state Vice Chairwoman is new and receptive to organizational ideas. They have recently completed a workshop for new County Chairmen. The organization does a good job in most counties and can be expected to perform Voter Identification, Registration, and Voter Turnout. The state and county organizations are not flush but are in a sound financial position. The state organization generates approximately 75% of their gross revenue from their "1200 Club" sustaining program and will be in a good financial position for 1972.

Major Elections

The incumbent Republican United States Senator G. Allot, should win re-election without much problem. As Colorado has not redistricted and because they gain a Congressional seat, it is not possible to name the players in the Congressional races, however the Party leadership feel certain that a Republican will be elected in the new district as well as eliminating one of the incumbent Democrats.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

June 26, 1971

HAWAII

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE
E.O. 12065, Section
By EP MARS, Date 3-17-82

Organization

The Hawaii organization has been weak and ineffective for many years. They are starting to improve due to the election of Carla Coray as State Chairman, a good hard working organizational politician, the unity of the Republicans in the state Legislature, and the developing poor image of the Democrat Party. The Party organization will be able to do the Voter Identification, Registration, Voter Turnout, and Ballot Security programs effectively in Honolulu County, with some effectiveness in Hawaii and Kawaii County, while Maui County will not produce. The Party organization plans extensive organizational workshops during September. The number one objective of the new State Chairman is to build the organizations ability to produce. At the present time the Hawaii organization is in good financial condition with the proceeds from Chairman Dole's dinner during May. They plan to follow-up by implementing the statewide small sustaining program. The former National Committeeman, Randolph Crossley, has offered to pay the salary of an Executive Director for one year.

Major Elections

The highlight campaign will be the Mayoralty race. Most Republicans feel that the only candidate that can possibly beat the Democrat incumbent Mayor is Mary George, the only Republican member of the present City Council. Additionally there will be the two Congressional races and during 1970 Democrat incumbent Patsy Mink had no opposition, Democrat incumbent Sparky Matsunaga had only token opposition. There are at this time three good candidates to oppose Mink and Matsunaga. State Senator Fred Rholting plans to oppose Matsunaga and State Legislator Diane Hansen will oppose Mrs. Mink.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12065, 5/8/77, 5-102
By Ep 3-12-82

June 26, 1971

IDAHO

Organization

Due to recent developments in the state of Idaho, I think its impossible at this time to assess Party strength and their ability to produce during the 1972 elections. National Committeewoman Gwen Barnett, who has resigned, played a predominant role in the Party leadership especially with communications and Party organization training. It is too early to tell if her resignation will have a negative or positive effect. The financial situation of the Party organization is critical at this point and they are trying to keep their heads above water by a door to door canvass solicitation. The Executive Director is spending his time and effort to raise the month to month operating expenses. I forwarded a copy of the "1200 Club" manual to the state organization for their consideration.

Major Elections

The incumbent Republican, United States Senator Len Jordan, will be up for re-election in 1972 and should carry the state without any problem as should both of our incumbent Republican Congressmen McClure and Hansen.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12958, Section 6-102

June 26, 1971 By Ep -----MKS, Date 3-12-82

MONTANA

Organization

The Party organization in Montana is able to produce in several counties principally in the western district and has performed poorly in other counties that should produce good Republican margins. The Party has not had effective leadership on the state level for the past two years. Montana has a new State Chairman, William Holter of Great Falls. Until I meet with Mr. Holter the week of July 12th, I will not be able to make a good estimation of how the Party organization will be, going into the 1972 election. Their Executive Director is enthusiastic, sold on strong organization, and will try to re-implement "Mission '70's". However, at this point he isn't sure himself of what the new State Chairman expects of him or what his priorities will be. The new State Chairman has given complete financial control to the Finance Chairman who is not producing on memberships in the sustaining clubs. They do have some money in the bank to support their legislative candidates and are managing to meet minimal operating costs.

Major Elections

Democrat United States Senator, John Metcalf is up for re-election in 1972 and could be vulnerable if the Republican Party comes up with the right candidate. At this time Bud Wallace, who ran against Mansfield, wants to go at Metcalf but the best candidate appears to be Attorney General Woodahl. In the congressional races Democrat Melcher is going to be very difficult to beat in the eastern district and I believe we are going to have a real fight to re-elect Dick Shoup in the western district. I believe that the Democrat Governor, Forrest Anderson is beatable. The principal Republican candidates are, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Jim Lucas and former Republican State Chairman, "Doc" Keller.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12063, Section 6-102
By CR, date 3-17-82

June 26, 1971

NEVADA

Organization

Although the state Party organization in Nevada is heavily in debt, organizationally in shambles, and has ineffective leadership at the state level, Clark County, the largest county of the state has a new County Chairman whose first priority is to eliminate the \$20,000.00 debt of the county organization and improve and change the Party image in Clark County. The Washoe County organization has a good Chairman, is debt free and has some funds in reserve. I believe that these two county organizations will be functioning effectively for the 1972 campaign if the Clark County organization gels in time. The state organization has a debt exceeding \$28,000.00 (\$23,000.00 to one computing firm), does not have a state Finance Chairman and have not responded to suggested programs to eliminate this debt. I mentioned in an earlier report, the Presidential campaign should have a Co-Chairman for the state of Nevada.

Major Elections

The United States Congressman Walter Bearing, will probably have only token opposition in the 1972 Congressional race. At this time there are no Republicans who indicate a desire to run against Mr. Bible. Nevada will redistrict to single member legislative districts. Because of the lack of a viable candidate for the Congressional race, the Party organization will probably concentrate on the Legislative and Presidential races.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

June 26, 1971

NEW MEXICO

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By CB Date 9-17-82

Organization

The Party performed poorly during 1970. They didn't produce on Voter Identification, Voter Registration, Special Ballots, Voter Turnout, or Ballot Security except in isolated cases. It is doubtful if the Party organization will perform adequately for the 1972 elections. The present State Chairman Bob Davidson, has asked to be replaced by August 1st and the Executive Director will resign also effective August 1st. With a new State Chairman the organization could improve prior to 1972. At this point it is likely that an Albuquerque attorney, Tom McKenna, will be the new State Chairman. Mr. McKenna is a former Supreme Court Justice who lost his bid for re-election in 1970. The state organization is at least \$6000.00 in debt including \$3800.00 owed to the National Finance Committee from the 1970 Agnew dinner. The state Party is able to meet their payroll and operating expenses for the month of June and the number one priority for the Executive Director is to raise enough money to pay these costs for the month of July. The new Executive Directors primary responsibility will be to raise enough money to cover his salary and office operating costs. The state Party organization has planned eight regional dinners during the fall of 1971 and is counting on these dinners to gross \$60,000.00. However, these dinners are dependant on the National Chairman speaking in Albuquerque, and additional Senators or outside speakers. Also scheduled is a Legislative Campaign Committee cocktail party to be held in January 1972, which should net \$10,000.00. It appears that the only way New Mexico is going to get out of the financial problems is for the new State Chairman to replace the Finance Chairman George McKenna.

Major Elections

Incumbent Democrat Senator Clinton Anderson, isn't expected to seek re-election and many believe he will retire during his present term to allow the Democrat Governor to appoint someone to fill in the last year and run as an incumbent. It appears we will have the same problem in the New Mexico Senate race as we had in the Governors race in 1970, where we had eight candidates seeking the nomination for Governor. At the present time there appears to be six potential candidates including Bob Davidson the present State Chairman, 1970 senatorial candidate Andy Carter, State Senator Bill Seagle, State Senator Junio Lopez, former Lieutenant Governor Lee Francis, former Governor Dave Cargo, and a slight chance of Pete Domenici. Manuel Lujan shouldn't have any problem being re-elected to his First District Congressional seat and the strongest candidate the Republicans had in the Second District was Steve Helbing who has moved to Oklahoma, it appears that former Congressman Ed Forman wouldn't have a chance to be re-elected if he does return to the state.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12063, Section 6-102
By SP MARK, Date 3-17-82

June 26, 1971

OREGON

Organization

Republican Party of Oregon is going through a transition from a "caretaker" leadership to a State Chairman that is aggressive and determined to build a Party organization that can effectively produce on a statewide basis. The primary problem in the Party organization is the control of 12 counties by the John Birch Society members. The state organization is trying to isolate these people and re-gain moderate control of the county organizations. The State Chairman is a past Legislator and understands organizational politics. The Executive Director is very capable and will be able to do a good job of Party development prior to April when he plans to resign to run for the State Legislature. The present financial condition of the Party organization is tight but stable. They are in the black with a substantial amount of proceeds from Chairman Doles appearance. The long range condition looks good. They have hired a local fund raiser who is engaged in running a statewide mail solicitation program.

Major Elections

Incumbent Republican U. S. Senator Mark Hatfield is up for re-election and will be opposed in the primary. The Party organization will concentrate their efforts on the State Senate and House races.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

June 26, 1971

UTAH

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By Ep WARS, Date 3-12-82

Organization

Indications are that the Utah Party organization could function better during the 1972 campaign than they did in 1970. The organization performed very well in Salt Lake and some of the other counties and very poorly in the second and third largest counties in the state. These counties had poor county chairmen and while the State Chairman was a nice guy, he was unable to get the organization functioning properly. The new State Chairman, Kent Shearer, is a good organizational politician. However, Mr. Shearer could have problems and become ineffective due to excessive alcoholic consumption. Although the Utah Party has no significant financial reserves, they are in a fairly stable condition with regard to current bills and operating costs. The National Committeeman Ken Garff, has provided most of the state organizations operating expenses with a \$100.00 sustaining program. Additionally they conduct the yearly Legislative Ball and Neighbor to Neighbor drive. They do have a good sustaining program for small donors.

Major Elections

Utah will have statewide non-partisan municipal elections in 1971 and will have a gubernatorial, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Treasurer, and Auditor elections in 1972. There is a probability that the Democrat Governor will run for re-election although Utah has never elected a Governor for three terms. The two term incumbent Calvin Rampton, will probably be re-elected if he runs. The Utah Republicans do not have a candidate who is emerging to be a strong contender. Most, who were possibles, are drawing back as Rampton sounds out a third term. It is entirely possible that Utah will carry heavy for the President and for the Democrat Governor as they did in 1968.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Ed NARS, Date 8-12-82

June 26, 1971

WASHINGTON

Organization

The Washington Party organization has good leadership with the State Chairman, National Committeeman and National Committeewoman. Washington has had very good organizational programs similar to "Mission '70's" and excellent candidate training programs. They will implement "Mission '70's" this year. The state organization and three of the largest county organizations have been badly split, dissipating the effectiveness of the Party. There is more unity at this point than there has been in several years and the Party organization will probably function effectively for the 1972 elections. While the financial condition is tight, they have developed and are implementing a good sustaining fund program for small and large donors. If this program produces what it should, Washington should be in very sound financial condition going into 1972.

Major Elections

The top election in the state of Washington will be the gubernatorial race. Republican incumbent Dan Evans, will probably run for re-election. He should be re-elected depending on the role Democrat United States Senator Jackson plays on the National scene. The Party organization is going all out to maintain the majority in the House of Representatives and the Legislature will concentrate on getting the majority in the State Senate. They are organizing a Legislative Campaign Committee which cannot be rated at this time.

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MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt
FROM: Charles Bailey

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EL NARS, Date 3-12-82

June 26, 1971

WYOMING

Organization

The Wyoming Party organization is very strong in most of the north and east counties, is organizationally weak in the south counties of the state. Wyoming has a new State Chairman and a new Executive Director who are of unknown quality at this time. However, I will be meeting with the State Chairman and Executive Director during the week of July 12th and will be able to make an estimation of their ability to produce for the 1972 election. To my knowledge, the Wyoming state organization is financially in the black and have good small contributor programs.

Major Elections

The incumbent Republican United States Senator, Cliff Hansen, will run for re-election in 1972. The Senator shouldn't have any trouble being re-elected. With a good strong race from him, good strong effort on the Party organization, a good candidate, we should be able to beat the incumbent Democrat Congressman, T. Roncalio in the Congressional race. Wyoming is unique in the western states in that there are more registered Republicans than Democrats.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By ep NARS, Date 4-12-82

Republican
National
Committee.

June 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Illinois

I. Political

a) Presidential. In the opinion of state Republican leaders, President Nixon would not receive more than 45% of the vote against the strongest candidate considered to date due principally to the economy, i.e., unemployment, farm attitude and Viet Nam. Assuming improvement in the economy, farm income, and an end to the Viet Nam War, the President is given an even chance to win.

b) State GOP Leadership. Victor Smith, Chairman. The state Republican leadership is inclined to be influenced by candidate-oriented leaders, particularly those leaders close to Governor Ogilvie. Therefore, the party organization is not an entity in itself and as a result is ineffective, lacking capability to perform in areas of voter identification, voter registration, and get-out-the-vote. There is no visible evidence of any substantial change in the future.

c) Financial condition of state Republican organization: Present income is adequate to meet current operating expenditures which have been reduced since 1970 election. The staff has been reduced from 24 to 8 members. Present United Fund-raising organization is ineffective. Plans are being developed to improve fund-raising capability and to increase the level of political activity. The party has no appreciable debt.

II. Major election contests in 1971-1972

No contests in 1971.

U. S. Senate: Charles Percy is in a strengthened position and believed by Republican leaders to be unbeatable against the possible candidates emerging to date, such as Lt. Governor Paul Simon and Daniel Walker (Stevenson Campaign Manager)

U. S. House of Representatives: 12 (R) - 12 (D). 1972 elections not likely to result in any change as two southern district are only slightly improved for GOP reapportionment and produced no significant change in GOP strength.

Governor Richard Ogilvie's position for reelection has recently improved and judged approximately equal to that of President Nixon. Possible candidates to oppose Ogilvie include Lt. Governor Paul Simon if he decides against challenging Percy; Tom Foran, former Federal Attorney who was involved in the Chicago Seven trial and has Mayor Daley's support; former State Auditor Michael Howlett; and Daniel Walker, former Campaign Manager for Senator Stevenson. Ogilvie is expected to win over these possible opponents.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP, date 3-17-82

June 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed Debolt - Deputy Chairman
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Iowa

I. Political

a) Presidential: Assuming current conditions and the Presidents popularity, Republican leaders give President Nixon a narrow margin win over all opponents suggested to date: Nixon's vote expects to be appreciably improved with an improved economy and an end to the Viet Nam War.

b) State Republican Leadership: Under the direction of volunteer chairman John C. McDonald, an attorney, the organization maintains a fairly high level of activity, is united, and is effectively managed with considerable capability. There is a permanent staff of five persons with four to six field men added during the campaign. McDonald; vice-chairman, Mrs. Gleen Pardun; National Committeewomen, Mrs. Elmer Smith; and Executive assistant, Steve Robinson are responsible for policy and major decisions- with Robinson and staff performing headquarters responsibilities.

c) Financial: Organization is without debt, however current income is at 10% of normal fund raising. Fund raising is expected to improve with accelerated fund-raising activities and increased interest in 1972 election possibilities.

II. Major election contests

State Republican leaders anticipate US Senator Jack Miller will win over visible potential candidates however by a close margin. Front running Democratic potential candidate is 2nd Congressman John Culver who is supported by the Kennedy - clan.

Congressional

5 (R) 2 (D) will lose 1 seat in 1971 due to reapportionment. 3 Republican seats considered safe: Gross, Mayal, and Shirley. Kyle will run against Neil Smith. Schwingle's opponent is unknown both seats are marginal. Reapportionment will likely result in loss of one or two additional seats.

Governor

As it appears new Governor Robert Ray will be opposed in the primary by Lt. Gov. Roger Jepson - Ray has gained strength with conservative fiscal

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed Debolt - Deputy Chairman

Page 2

proposals. While Jepson appears less conservative, Republican leaders fear a bitter primary will leave the Republicans divided providing for for a possible Democratic victory in November. The Democratic possible candidates are former state legislator William Conner and Paul Franzenburg- attractive former state treasurer. Robert Ray has frequently supported the administrations programs.

State Legislature

Senate: R-28 D-12
House: R-63 D-37

GOP strength to remain approximately the same. The effect of reapportionment was insignificant.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12958, DATE 8-102
By cl, DATE 3-17-82

June 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Kansas

I. Political

- a) State Republican leaders, assuming current conditions do not worsen, believe President Nixon would win over all Democrat candidates presently being considered, with a margin of upward of 5%. Nixon has broad-based support on Viet Nam with diminishing support of farmers.
- b) State Republican leadership. Because of the division in the party which prevails due to the procedure for selecting their state chairman, volunteer Chairman William Falstad has been unable to produce unity and provide effective leadership. Meaningful activity is close to non-existent.
- c) Financial. Present cash flow barely sufficient to meet operating expenses of a minimum staff organization. Capacity of the state organization is not expected to improve significantly until State Chairman or the Executive Committee assume complete responsibility for management of the party organization. An approximate debt of \$30,000 is not considered serious, providing the struggle for leadership is eliminated.

II. Major election contests for 1971 and 1972

No major election contests for 1971.

U. S. Senator James B. Pearson will stand for reelection in 1972. Pearson's reelection possibilities have been considerably strengthened with weekend appearances in Kansas, continuing since November of 1970. Probable Democrat opponents include Governor Docking; Dale Saffels, Chairman of State Corporation Commission (Docking appointment); Harold Herd, Minority Leader of State Senate and a liberal; and there is recent talk that Congressman Ray may oppose Pearson. At this time, Republican state leaders give Pearson 6 to 7% margin of election over any opposition candidates mentioned.

Congressional.	1st District	Keith Sebelius (R)	fairly safe
	2nd District	William R. Ray (D)	marginal
	3rd District	Larry Winn (R)	marginal
	4th District	Garner Shriver (R)	fairly safe except for unemployment in Wichita
	5th District	Joe Skubity (R)	safe

There is a possible Republican candidate in 3rd District in State Senator Ed Riley. Reapportionment will have little effect on election results with change in only 8 counties.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman
Page 2

Governor Docking is evaluating his chances against Pearson or seeking an unprecedented 4th term. Inside reports indicate Docking's private surveys place him short against Pearson. The state is on a cash basis, so as Governor he would be compelled to reverse his major position and raise taxes, which leads GOP to believe Docking beatable.

Possible Republican candidates are Lt. Governor Reynolds Shulty (unannounced but running); and Bob Wells, member of Federal Communications Commission; and Tom Van Sickle, State Senator and candidate for Attorney General in 1970.

State Legislature.	Senate	32 (R) - 8 (D)
	House	84 (R) - 41 (D)

It is anticipated that the Republican margin in both houses will remain unchanged. Reapportionment will have little effect upon 1972 election.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12958, SECTION 6-102
By EP RMB, Date 3-12-82

June 29, 1971

Republican
National
Committee.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Minnesota

I. Political

a) State Republican leaders believe that President Nixon would receive 45 to 47% vote against Muskie or Kennedy and a 40% vote against Humphrey. This assumes current conditions and a reduction of Nixon's margin in 1968 of 1.5%. Unemployment, general economy, Viet Nam, farm attitude is reflected in this evaluation. Senators Humphrey and Mondale have contributed to an erosion of Republican support among Republican industrialists and businessmen and professionals which cause leaders to give the President up to 50% vote, providing economy, war, and farm attitudes are favorable and Humphrey is not the candidate.

b) Republican state leadership. Under Chairman George Thiss the party maintained a high level of activity and broadened the base of people involvement. Recently elected Chairman Dave Krogseng will bring new ideas and new emphasis and priorities which should result in a somewhat firmer Republican profile and an improved unity and capability.

c) The state is relatively free of debt. However, current cash flow is below levels projected. The new Chairman will likely reorganize the fund-raising organization and increase their efforts. The staff organization has been drastically reduced; however, additional functions will be re-established in the near future.

II. Major election contests

U. S. Senate: Mondale is exceptionally strong, to the extent that recruiting a Republican candidate is difficult. Possible GOP candidates include Douglas Head, 1970 candidate for Governor.

Congressional: 4 (R) - 4 (D)

Four Congressional seats are believed relatively safe, --Quie, Zwach, Nelson and Frenzel. Zwach and Frenzel's districts were improved as a result of redistricting. While Quie's district was slightly diminished, the possibility of winning the 7th district, lost in 1970, appears good with the interest of two attractive and articulate possible candidates, State Senator William Doesland from Moorhead and Jon Haaven, Executive with Alexandria TV - Radio. Both have name identity. Former Congressman Odin Langen is reported to be considering the possibility of challenging Don Berglund to regain the 7th district Congressional seat he lost in 1970. The possibility of Langen's candidacy is not welcomed by some Republican state leaders.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed Debolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : E. Allen Parker

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By EP BAR., Date 3-12-82

FIELD REPORT

New England Region

June 28, 1971

E. Allen Parker

CONNECTICUT

SUBJECT: 1. POLITICAL SITUATION
2. MAJOR 1972 RACES

1. Political Situation:

- a. CLIMATE: The climate for Republicans in Connecticut has been improved considerably with the election of Governor Meskill and Senator Weicker, and there is every evidence that this has generated increased support for the President. Additionally, some party leaders report that the President's programs have gained him gradually increasing support in the state.

Based on current trends, it is not inconceivable that the President could carry the state in 1972. If so, there could be a bonus of at least two congressional seats and the control of the state Senate.

- b. PARTY LEADERSHIP: State Representative Brian Gaffney recently took over as State Chairman, and Lewis (Chip) Andrews was named Executive Director. Both worked in Governor Meskill's campaign, and their appointment to the party posts indicate an active interest on the part of the Governor in the party organization. This should ensure the kind of recognition and rewards for party workers that keeps an organization viable. Coupled with the fact that Connecticut will have no statewide races, other than the President's, in 1972, this should ensure a near optimum effort by the party organization in the President's campaign.
- c. PARTY FINANCES: Connecticut is in relatively good shape financially and plans a full schedule of party training and organization activities after the legislature adjourns.

2. Major 1972 Races:

Connecticut has no statewide races in 1972, other than the President. There will be a considerable party effort in some of the congressional races, but I do not as yet have information on target districts or prospective candidates.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: E. Allen Parker

Republican
National
Committee.

FIELD REPORT

New England Region

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12812, 8/16/82
By-EP, Date 3-12-82

June 28, 1971
E. Allen Parker

MAINE

Subject: 1. Political Situation
2. Major 1972 Races.

1. Political Situation.

(a) CLIMATE - The current political climate is not favorable to the President, primarily because of Senator Muskie's prospective candidacy. However, the state chairman and many other party leaders believe that the President has not lost any of the support he received in 1968 (43.8%) and his support may even increase as the war winds down and the economy improves. If Senator Muskie does not become the Democrat candidate, it is quite possible that the President could carry the state.

Barring a substantial win in the state by the President, the Republican prospects are not good for gaining additional seats in congress or the state legislature in 1972.

(b) PARTY LEADERSHIP - The Maine organization is well led by a new, young and aggressive chairman. He is beefing up the state committee staff with a full-time Executive Director, Research Assistant and one or more field men. Emphasis will be on strengthening the organization at the county and town levels through encouragement and assistance from the state committee.

The organization can be expected to become increasingly more effective and be fully capable of taking full responsibility for the President's 1972 campaign in the state.

(c) PARTY FINANCES - Maine is one of the two New England states where the party is in the black. The new state chairman is pointing toward a substantially larger budget for 1971 and 1972, however, it is believed that they will be able to raise it. They have a full-time Finance Director.

2. Major 1972 Races.

The only statewide race in 1972 will be for the U.S. Senate, Senator Margaret Smith's seat. It is presumed that she will run for reelection and will be opposed in the primary by a Portland oil man by the name of Monks. Monks moved to Maine from Massachusetts about two years ago with the stated intention of running for Senator Smith's seat.

Democrat Congressman Hathaway (2nd district) has announced that he will run for the seat and is not expected to have any opposition.

Under those circumstances, there would probably be several more candidates on both sides.

In any event, the second congressional district seat will be up for grabs and probably represents the best opportunity that Maine Republicans will have in 1972.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: E. Allen Parker

FIELD REPORT

New England Region

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP, Date 3-12-82

June 28, 1971
E. Allen Parker

MASSACHUSETTS

Subject: 1. Political Situation
2. Major 1972 Races

1. Political Situation

a) CLIMATE - Massachusetts voters are less party-oriented than any of the other New England states so that the political climate may be good for one Republican and bad for another. With respect to the President, it is bad but Senator Brooke should have no trouble. Prospects for increasing Republican representation in Congress or the State Legislature are not bright. As a matter of fact, the congressional redistricting plan being drafted by the Democrat legislature will reportedly create problems for every incumbent Republican congressman except Keith. This from H.R. Minority Leader Linsky.

The new Republican State Chairman, Herb Waite, has announced and is implementing, a program to build the President's image in Massachusetts, on the basis of his accomplishments and legislative proposals. Although this is receiving something less than enthusiastic support from some of the more liberal party people, a majority of the State Central Committee members appear to be supporting the program. Given enough ammunition and good news (the war and economy) to work with, this project could raise the President's support in the state significantly. Although it is doubtful that it could be enough for him to carry the state, it might be of considerable help to congressional and state legislative candidates.

b) PARTY LEADERSHIP - The party is well led by chairman Herb Waite and there is considerable experience throughout the state committee. The biggest problem has been ideological division, most often evidenced by refusal to support certain candidates. If Chairman Waite is able to generate an active and visible program of support for the President, in which all state committee members participate, he may get a lot of the differences subordinated by 1972.

c) PARTY FINANCES - The party just held a reasonably successful fundraising dinner but will have to raise something on the order of \$250,000 more just to keep the machinery running through 1971 and 1972. However, the Massachusetts organization will be the biggest beneficiary of the projected closed-circuit TV dinners in November 1971 which, together with their other fundraising activities, should raise what they need.

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2. Major 1972 Races

The only statewide race in 1972 will be for the U.S. Senate, Senator Brooke's seat. To date there has been little speculation as to who the Democratic candidate might be and no indication of any primary opposition to Senator Brooke.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: E. Allen Parker

DEPARTMENT TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER
E.O. 12065, SECTION 6-102FIELD REPORT By EP, date 3-12-82

New England Region

June 28, 1971
E. Allen ParkerRepublican
National
Committee.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Subject: 1. Political Situation
2. Major 1972 Races

1. Political Situation.

(a) CLIMATE - The current political climate in New Hampshire is favorable to the President and Republican candidates generally, and should remain so into the 1972 campaigns. The Governor is in some trouble over the state fiscal situation and proposed tax reforms; however, it is not believed that this will hurt the Republican image particularly, as the issue has been rather definitely identified as the Governor's. There could be an effect on all of the 1972 campaigns, however, if the Governor should run for a third term and win the nomination. The party is sharply divided into pro-Peterson and anti-Peterson camps with the anti's having the edge. Fortunately the Democrats are also badly divided--and over the same issue.

(b) PARTY LEADERSHIP - The New Hampshire party leadership has suffered somewhat in that the current chairman is not in a position to devote as much time to it as his predecessor and the headquarters staff has been reduced due to financial problems. However, it can be expected that the situation will improve when funds become available for increased party activity. There is considerable experience and leadership ability in the organization that will undoubtedly come to the fore as we get nearer to the 1972 campaign.

(c) PARTY FINANCES - The party's financial condition is marginal. Neither the Sustaining Member drive or the recent \$50 dinner were particularly successful and will probably do no more than erase the current indebtedness. As a result party activities will probably continue at a relatively low level until 1972.

2. Major 1972 Races.

New Hampshire will have two statewide races in 1972--Governor and U.S. Senator (the McIntyre seat). Primary races can be expected in both parties for the gubernatorial nomination and the American Independent party will probably nominate a candidate without a primary. Former Governor Wesley Powell has stated that he will run for the U.S. Senate and it is possible that the American Independent party will put up a candidate also. It isn't clear at this point whether Powell will have any Republican primary opposition or not. Congressman Cleveland or Wyman have been urged by some people to run but I doubt that either of them would do so--unless the President requested it.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NEW HAMPSHIRE

- 2 -

June 28, 1971

Among the possible Republican candidates for Governor are: Governor Peterson, John Palazzi--former state chairman, Marshall Cobleigh--Speaker of the House, Hugh Gregg--former Governor 1952-1954, Robert Hill--Ambassador to Spain.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: E. Allen Parker

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12065, Section 3-102

FIELD REPORT

By EP, dated 3-12-82

New England Region

June 28, 1971
E. Allen ParkerRepublican
National
Committee.

RHODE ISLAND

Subject: 1. Political Situation
2. Major 1972 Races

1. Political Situation

(a) CLIMATE - Although the current climate, with respect to the President, is not favorable this situation could improve considerably by the 1972 election date. First of all a general improvement in the President's image is evident as the war issue fades. Secondly a recent poll shows that Chafee is running way ahead of Pell in a trial heat for Pell's Senate seat. Also DeSimone is ahead of Licht in a trial heat poll for Governor. These despite the fact that Chafee and DeSimone have been outspoken in their support of the President.

It is not expected of course that the President will carry Rhode Island. However, an increase of 8 - 10% in his vote could be of great help in some of the legislative races.

(b) PARTY LEADERSHIP - As titular head of the party, by virtue of being the 1970 candidate for Governor, DeSimone is taking a very active interest in the party's organization and activities. The new state chairman, Tucker Wright, worked in DeSimone's campaign and so they have a good working relationship. Beyond that, the party has a considerable amount of experience and leadership ability in the state committee membership, which will surface in active roles as the 1972 campaigns approach.

(c) PARTY FINANCES - The Rhode Island organization is adequately financed, although their latest fundraising dinner produced considerably less than was hoped for. However, this only means that a second fundraiser of some kind will be necessary this fall. Rhode Island has never experienced any particular difficulty in raising the funds necessary to meet their budget.

2. Major 1972 Races.

Rhode Island's 1972 campaign will include a gubernatorial race and a campaign for Senator Pell's seat.

Herb DeSimone who ran against Licht in 1970, is expected to be the Republican candidate for Governor and John Chafee is expected to run against Pell.

Although Governor Licht will probably run for a 3rd term, he might be contested for the nomination by Lt. Governor Corcoran.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RHODE ISLAND

- 2 -

June 28, 1971

Garrahy has been at some pains to try and disassociate himself from some of the Governor's programs, particularly his tax proposal.

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: E. Allen Parker

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT
E.O. 12812, 10/13/82

By AP, Date 3-12-82

Republican
National
Committee.

FIELD REPORT

New England Region

June 28, 1971
E. Allen Parker

VERMONT

Subject: 1. Political Situation
2. Major 1972 Races

1. Political Situation

(a) CLIMATE - The political climate in Vermont is favorable to the President, and Republicans generally, and should remain so through the 1972 campaign. The large Republican majorities for Governor Davis, and Senator Prouty, served to strengthen the Republican majority in the state and concurrently demoralize the Democrat organization.

(b) PARTY LEADERSHIP - The party in Vermont is well led by Chairman Russ Merriman and he is backed up by a very experienced state committee. It is rumored that Merriman may step down soon, to take a job in the President's campaign organization. However, there are a number of people who could do a good job as chairman. Former State Senator Reihl has been mentioned as Governor Davis's choice to succeed Merriman.

(c) PARTY FINANCES - The Vermont organization is rather deeply in debt (\$50,000) and as a consequence party activity has been curtailed quite a bit. The Finance chairman, R. Q. Seward, feels that they will get back on their feet financially but probably not before their annual fundraising dinner this fall.

2. Major 1972 Races

The only statewide race in 1972 will be for Governor and it is expected that there will be a primary fight for the Republican nomination. Governor Davis is not expected to run for reelection but neither is he expected to let that be known before next year.

State Secretary of Administration (and former Speaker of the House) Dick Malloy is a likely candidate to succeed Davis and would probably have the support of Davis and most of the party regulars. However, Lt. Gov. Burgess and Speaker of the House David Kennedy would both like the job and one or both of them may run against Malloy. Also, Tom Hayes or Dick Snelling, who ran against each other in the 1966 primary, might try again, if the circumstances looked favorable for winning the primary.

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.S. 100 0. 00 1 on 6-102
By EP Date 3-17-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Arkansas

- 6 electoral votes
- 1968 - Wallace
- 1964 - Johnson

The party organization in the state is widely split. On one side is State Chairman Charles Bernard, who is desperately trying to strengthen the county and precinct structure to keep the support of the County Chairman who elected him in November, 1970. He is quietly replacing weak County Chairmen and is promoting County activity.

The other faction in the state centers around former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, the National Committeeman. Rockefeller formally financed the Republican Organization and virtually built the state party around himself. After his defeat and the split with Bernard, Rockefeller cut off the funds to State Headquarters and built a staff around his post of National Committeeman.

A successful fund-raising dinner in June by Bernard, featuring Chairman Dole, was a successful attempt to test his organization's strength and to raise funds for operating costs.

The Presidential campaign effort must utilize the resources of both factions. One possibility would be to appoint a strong, mutually acceptable head of the Citizens Committee to co-ordinate the strength of both sides.

1972 - Senator John L McClellan's term expires

1972 - Governor Bumpers' term expires

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12958, Section 1-102
By EP NARA, Date 3-12-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed Debolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Indiana

- 13 electoral votes
- 1968 - Nixon
- 1964 - Johnson

There exists a wide split in the state organization resulting from Governor Whitcomb openly trying to replace John Snyder, State Chairman since 1970. Keith Bulen, the National Committeeman, and County Chairman of Marion County (Indianapolis) is a powerful force in the state and is currently working with Snyder for seemingly practical reasons.

The basis of the split was an agreement between Whitcomb and Snyder to back each other for Governor and Senator respectively. When Whitcomb became Governor, he chose to back Roudebush, believing he would be a winning candidate. Hostility increased when Roudebush was defeated.

The Governor has cut off a 2% state employees fund from state headquarters and is not helping to support fund-raising efforts by the state headquarters in an effort to oust Snyder. The Governor has agreed to pay the party debt, but will not finance state headquarters' operating expenses.

Snyder needs help if he is going to survive. He is strongly organizationally oriented and has and will continue to devote full time to structure building. To do this he needs assistance in Patronage since State patronage has been cut off by the Governor and federal patronage has not been coming through. He also needs assistance in promoting, and getting prominent speakers for fund-raising events.

Presidential Primary - May 2

1972 - Governor's Race - Edgar Whitcomb cannot succeed himself

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP NARS, Date 3-17-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Kentucky
- 9 electoral votes
- 1968 - Nixon
- 1964 - Johnson

State Chairman John Kerr (April 1968) and Executive Director Gordon Wade are an extremely qualified team and are making great gains in a state where Republicans are out-registered 2 to 1. The Governor has been able to help build the state party structure through the use of patronage and appears to be in complete co-operation with the state chairman.

The state organization seems to be relatively sound financially. An Agnew visit this summer is expected to enhance their stable treasury.

Practically all political activity is centered around the Governor's and Legislative races in 1971. Since Governor Nunn can not succeed himself, he is strongly backing Emberton.

Party organization has realistically evaluated what they can accomplish in the coming year and has decided to limit the scope of their operation to vital areas of (a) voter registration, and (b) training of Republican poll workers and watchers.

If they are successful, they will elect Emberton and set the stage for the Presidential campaign.

- 1972 - John Sherman Cooper's seat will expire. He is not expected to seek re-election. Governor Nunn will probably decide to run, pending the outcome of the Emberton race.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By DP, date 3-17-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Michigan
- 21 electoral votes
- 1968 - Humphrey
- 1964 - Johnson

The State Chairman, Bill McLaughlin (Feb. 1968) and his Executive, Jerry Roe work extremely well together and give the state able leadership. The State Headquarters is youth oriented and has made great gains outside the traditional YR-CR, FAR approach.

McLaughlin would like to start the Nixon Campaign as soon as possible. He believes much can be done if the "right" people get started soon enough. Since the Republican Senator (Griffin) is popular with the State party workers and is also up for reelection in 1972, McLaughlin believes the best people will be drawn into the Senate race, if the Presidential Campaign does not start soon.

Due to a substantial debt and being an off year, state projects are limited. However, there is emphasis on county fund-raising events and state-wide leadership seminars.

To a large degree the State Chairman believes he is isolated from Washington (White House and R.N.C.) and has to be shown that someone is interested to the degree of actually giving help rather than just offering it.

1972 - Senator Robert Griffin will seek reelection

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Republican
National
Committee.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 11652, EXEMPT FROM GDS-102
By EP, date 3-12-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Mississippi
- 7 electoral votes
- 1968 - Wallace
- 1964 - Goldwater

State Chairman Clarke Reed, elected February 1966, is one of the strongest and most capable party leaders in the South. He has considerable obstacles in the state and almost all elected officials are Democrats. Reed believes the only way to build the party in Mississippi is to concentrate on filling county and city offices in an effort to develop a base.

Much of the state-wide activity is centered around attracting good candidates and preparing them for the Republican ticket.

The state party appears to be sound financially and an Agnew appearance in May helped substantially. Reed has an effective, working organization including a three man field force.

Democratic Governor Williams can not succeed himself in 1971. Since declaring his candidacy, black Democrat Charles Evers has made a contest out of the Primary race to be held in August. The present Lieutenant Governor, Democrat Charles Sullivan is going to make a bid for the nomination and may support Nixon in '72 if he is elected with Republican support.

1971 - Governor John Bell Williams' term expires

1972 - Senator James O. Eastland's term expires

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12812, 10/16/81, 6-102
By AP, Date 3-17-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Ohio
- 25 electoral votes
- 1968 - Nixon (26)

State Chairman, John Andrews, elected April 1965 has been weakened by the defeat of former Governor Rhodes in a bitterly fought Republican primary race for the Senate nomination. Taft, the ultimate winner had publically announced intentions to take over party leadership, but his efforts were turned back by Andrews' strong supporters. There has been mention of Ray Bliss replacing Andrews but is unlikely since Bliss is actively helping Andrews in fund-raising efforts.

Andrews still maintains the support of former Governor Rhodes who still has considerable control, although he has retired to private business.

The breakdown of the states financial organization during the 1970 elections has left Andrews with a substantial debt. This debt plus the loss of the Governor's seat has left Andrews with considerable problems.

Several fund-raising appearances by Chairman Dole, plus visits by Senators Buckley and Tower in June have helped the Ohio Finance Committee to reduce the debt.

Presidential Primary - May 2

On May 26, Senator Taft announced that he will be a Favorite Son Candidate for President, standing in for President Nixon.

His candidacy will probably help the President, but many in the state view his announcement as a move to replace Andrews.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By EP, date 2-12-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: Tennessee

- 10 electoral votes
- 1968 - Nixon
- 1964 - Johnson

Tennessee has been making great gains as a Republican state. State Chairman, S.L. Kopold, elected February 1971, with the aid of the Republican Senators and a Republican Governor is working hard at the grass roots level. His executive director travels the state extensively and is presently trying to attract the young voters into the Republican Party.

All concerned appear to be working in the same direction and are rapidly learning to use the office of the Governor to promote Republican politics.

The state party has financial problems, but is working in many directions to correct this situation.

Political activity in the state is limited because of an off year. Senator Baker's popularity is helping to stimulate interest in the '72 campaign.

1972 - Senator Howard Baker's term expires

Presidential Primary - May 4

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By DP NARS, Date 3-12-82

June 24, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY

TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Director
FROM: Paul Russo - East Central U.S.
CONCERNING: West Virginia
- 6 electoral votes
- 1968 - Humphrey
- 1964 - Johnson

Tom Potter, State Chairman since June 1968, is facing a difficult situation in a Democratic State with only 6 electoral votes. Finances are a problem and political activity is limited.

Governor Arch Moore, elected in 1968, has been the only source of Republican strength and will be a key person in the Presidential Campaign. He has not yet decided if he will seek re-election in '72 or make a bid for Randolph's Senate seat. The source of Moore's uncertainty is John D. Rockefeller, presently Secretary of State, and a probable Democratic candidate for Governor.

Moore's popularity is helping the Republican party as is the fact that former Democratic Governor Barron was sentenced to 25 years in a Federal Penitentiary for bribing a jury forman. In addition to the Governor's conviction, 108 indictments came out of the Barron Administration's four years in Charleston.

Presidential Primary - May 9

1972 - Senator Randolph's term expires

1972 - Governor Arch Moore's term expires

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Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By Emf Date 3-12-82

June 25, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of Delaware

The Republican Party of Delaware has been under the leadership of State Chairman, and Delaware Secretary of State, Gene Bunting, for thirteen months. The state organization has established a permanent headquarters in the city of Wilmington; this office is headed by Pat Phalon, public relations man, while Mr. Bunting is in Dover on state business. Delaware is in sound financial shape for this year and has plans for some fund raising for next year's campaigns. The Republican National Committee has selected Delaware as the test site for several experiments in voter response in preparation for the 1972 Presidential campaign. The results of this series of tests will be completed in the fall of this year.

At the present time, the Delaware party does not have a debt; the state committee, under Mr. Bunting is however, planning a set of four dinner-dances for this fall to raise funds for current expense and for the 1972 races within the state. These events should not conflict with the November 9th National Gala Dinner.

1971 Campaigns:

1972 Campaigns:

The seat of Governor Peterson will be up for election in 1972. The Governor is serving his first four-year term; he is expected to run for re-election.

The seat of Senator J. Caleb Boggs will be up for election also. Boggs may run for re-election; if he does not, Cong. duPont or Mayor Haskell are expected to try.

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Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102 June 25, 1971
By EP Date 3-12-82

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of Florida

The Republican Party of Florida has been under the leadership of State Chairman, L.E. (Tommy) Thomas since January of this year. Mr. Thomas' first move as State Chairman was to establish a permanent state headquarters staffed with a competent cadre of workers. The state seems generally pleased with the President and White House policy, yet some more prominent Republicans are not sure about Welfare Reform. A recent straw vote taken among Florida Republicans indicated that 7 out of 10 rate the President's effort at good to excellent. Republican registration is up 55.2% compared with Democrat registration of up 0.7%.

Financially, the Florida party has just discovered its clout. Recently I attended a \$100 dollar-a-plate dinner (Mr. Dent was the speaker) where Tommy Thomas had brought together the lobbyists and prominent Republicans to raise funds for next year's legislative races. The party is in sound financial shape now, and with several dinners planned for the November 9th Gala, the state should be in fine financial condition going into 1972. More important, however, is the fact that the Florida party is organizing its counties and state committees now in preparation for next year, as opposed to waiting until the funds are in. Florida gains three Congressional seats and Tommy is looking for candidates and Republican Congressmen, in 1972.

1971 Campaigns:
1972 Campaigns: No Senate, No Governor
Congressional & State elections

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12958, 1995-11-18 6-102
By EL DATE 3-12-82 June 25, 1971

Republican
National
Committee.

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of Maryland

The Republican Party of Maryland has been under the leadership of State Chairman, Alexander Lankler, since May of 1970. Mr. Lankler is presently attempting to put the state organization back on its feet following the 1970 unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign of C. Stanley Blair. The Maryland State Organization will need some concentration on precinct and turnout work if and when the financial problems are lessened. Communication between the state headquarters and the counties is also an area where time and effort ought to be spent following the fund-raising schedule.

The State Committee still owes about \$ 40,000.00 on the campaign for governor last fall. Mr. Lankler has secured the services of "Civic Services" however, to assist with Maryland fund-raising projects. The first activity was very successful, which is the first step and first good sign toward the solution of Maryland's organizational problems. The State Committee will be holding a fund-raising bull roast over the 4th of July holidays. In the long-range scope of things, Maryland, should be ready to concentrate on county level organization and communication this November, following the National Gala dinner.

"Sandy" Lankler has been selected as chairman for the Northeast Regional Conference to be held in Washington this fall.

1971 Campaigns:
1972 Campaigns: Congressional, No Senate, No Governor

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Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12066, 5/11/77, G-102
By , DATE 3-17-82 June 25, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of New Jersey

The Republican Party of New Jersey has been under the leadership of State Chairman, John E. Dimon since April of 1970. The New Jersey party will be working this summer and fall toward the election of the State Legislature this November. All one hundred and thirty seats will be up for election; presently the GOP holds control and is expected to retain that ratio due to the fact that taxes were not raised. John Dimon plans to hold with RNC assistance, a candidate school this fall to train his new ticket of legislators and their staffs. Governor Cahill maintains fairly good communications with the state committee, however, he also relies heavily on Secretary of State Paul Sherwin for political help.

The New Jersey party is financially sound, with no debts at present. There will be no November Gala dinner due to the fact that current campaigning within the state will drain all available resources. On the books is a Golden Dose Dinner at \$ 125.00 per plate this July 17th and in October a \$ 250.00 fund raising affair to wrap up the Legislative campaign. Dimon has put the party on its feet with the help of the Governor's office. The Governor will campaign extensively this fall for the GOP ticket.

1971 Campaigns: 130 State Legislature
1972 Campaigns: Seat held by Senator Clifford Case,
Sen. Case is expected to run for re-
election

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Republican
National
Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES DIVISION
E.O. 12812, 12813, 12814, 12815, 12816, 12817, 12818, 12819, 12820, 12821, 12822, 12823, 12824, 12825, 12826, 12827, 12828, 12829, 12830, 12831, 12832, 12833, 12834, 12835, 12836, 12837, 12838, 12839, 12840, 12841, 12842, 12843, 12844, 12845, 12846, 12847, 12848, 12849, 12850, 12851, 12852, 12853, 12854, 12855, 12856, 12857, 12858, 12859, 12860, 12861, 12862, 12863, 12864, 12865, 12866, 12867, 12868, 12869, 12870, 12871, 12872, 12873, 12874, 12875, 12876, 12877, 12878, 12879, 12880, 12881, 12882, 12883, 12884, 12885, 12886, 12887, 12888, 12889, 12890, 12891, 12892, 12893, 12894, 12895, 12896, 12897, 12898, 12899, 12900, 12901, 12902, 12903, 12904, 12905, 12906, 12907, 12908, 12909, 12910, 12911, 12912, 12913, 12914, 12915, 12916, 12917, 12918, 12919, 12920, 12921, 12922, 12923, 12924, 12925, 12926, 12927, 12928, 12929, 12930, 12931, 12932, 12933, 12934, 12935, 12936, 12937, 12938, 12939, 12940, 12941, 12942, 12943, 12944, 12945, 12946, 12947, 12948, 12949, 12950, 12951, 12952, 12953, 12954, 12955, 12956, 12957, 12958, 12959, 12960, 12961, 12962, 12963, 12964, 12965, 12966, 12967, 12968, 12969, 12970, 12971, 12972, 12973, 12974, 12975, 12976, 12977, 12978, 12979, 12980, 12981, 12982, 12983, 12984, 12985, 12986, 12987, 12988, 12989, 12990, 12991, 12992, 12993, 12994, 12995, 12996, 12997, 12998, 12999, 13000
By df, dated 3-12-82 June 25, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of New York

The Republican Party of New York has been under the leadership of State Chairman, Charles T. Lanigan, since June of 1969. New York State has one of the finest, if not the finest, Republican organizations in the country. The various elections and incumbency of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller both prove and sustain this operation. The organization has prospered due to the close relationship between Lanigan and the Governor's office. The state headquarters has enlisted a man full-time to develop the Mission 70's program on a day-to-day basis. Thus far some forty of the state's sixty-two counties have had a thorough Mission 70's presentation with a state-developed booklet and precinct kit. Lanigan and his Executive Director, Charles Bams have organized a good county operation and have even taken their influence to putting together a viable youth effort. The New York State organization has established itself well in its endeavors into all areas of political organization.

The New York State Committee had a debt of \$ 900,000.00 resulting from last year's governor's race. However, a sum of \$ 750,000.00 was raised at the New York City fund raiser recently, most of which went toward that debt. The State Committee is financially sound, and should have a very successful Gala Dinner this November. There are no state-sponsored fund-raisers this summer or fall, but the various counties are holding money raisers for their local elections this year.

1971 Elections:
1972 Elections: No Senate, No Governor
Congressional

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Republican
National
Committee.

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
E.O. 12812
By CP , 3-17-82 June 25, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of North Carolina

The Republican Party of North Carolina has been under the leadership of State Chairman, James E. Holshouser since March of 1966. Jim Holshouser intends to step down soon, for several reasons: first, he is considering running for Governor against Gov. Scott, also as a State Legislator, he has a very busy schedule and feels that he cannot devote the necessary time to the position, finally, he would like to step down for a young man who would have the time and energy for the job. Gov. Scott has used his influence to campaign for Edmund Muskie in North Carolina and has already openly endorsed his candidacy. The governor cannot run for his seat again in 1972, thus there will be several Republicans running for the position, in addition to Holshouser's interest in the job, is the interest of Congressman Broyhill.

The state organization has a financial debt of \$ 25,000.00 which Field Director, Steve Krouch, with Holshouser's help will attempt to do away with this summer. Plans call for a July fund-raiser with either Gov. Holton of Virginia or Sen. Gurney of Florida speaking to a \$ 100 Dollar a-plate dinner. Long-range plans for North Carolina are somewhat hazy, in that, with new leadership there is no way of predicting the financial condition leading up to the 1972 campaign for President and Governor.

1971 Campaigns:

1972 Campaigns: Seat held by Sen. B. Everett Jordan is up for election; the Governor (Scott) cannot succeed himself thus the seat is up for election.

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Republican
National
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DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 11652 108-102 June 25, 1971
By ap , 3-12-82

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)

FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States

RE: State of Pennsylvania

The Republican party of Pennsylvania has been under the leadership of State Chairman, Clifford L. Jones, since June of 1970. Although there was a recent attempt to unseat Mr. Jones, by Martin Hamberger of Senator Hugh Scott's staff, this challenge died out before any motion went to the state committee. Cliff Jones has emerged from this situation as the head of the state committee, however Senator Scott still maintains top control statewide, as well as with Washington.

The primary reason for the challenge to Jones' seat was the poor financial condition of the state committee as is evidenced by the \$ 300,000.00 dollar debt. The bulk of this deficit results from the 1970 Broderick Campaign for Governor. The Pennsylvania party will be in relatively stable financial condition by the beginning of next year. Cliff Jones intends to first, take care of current creditors, and second, to prepare fund-raising plans for 1972 warchests.

1971 Campaigns: -Special election (November 2) for the 18th Congressional District, Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) John Heinz is the Republican nominee.

 -Allegheny County Commissioners races, Dr. William Hunt and Robert Stokes could win control of County Board which would mean some 8,000 patronage jobs.

 -Philadelphia Mayor's race, Thather Longstreth is the Republican nominee.

 -The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the Barbieri and Eppinger campaigns will be handled by the State Headquarters, with Terry Abrams the Deputy Chairman calling the shots.

1972 Campaigns: No Senate races
 No Governor's race
 U.S. Congress
 Pennsylvania will lose TWO (2) Cong. seats - 72.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12066, OF 6-102
By EA Date 3-17-82 June 25, 1971

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of South Carolina

The Republican Party of South Carolina has been under the leadership of State Chairman, C. Kenneth Powell since January of this year. Ken Powell is our youngest state chairman. He has had a difficult time with the political problems of his state, partially due to the fact that he is overshadowed by Sen. Thurmond and Harry Dent who have much more political clout and experience. The primary problem has been patronage; Sol Blatt was recently appointed to a U.S. District judgeship as a political move which would help the Senator and the President, hopefully for 1972. This move completely upset the South Carolina party allied with Powell. This move has brought an uneasy peace between the Powell portion of the party and those South Carolinians who favor the Senator and Harry Dent. Since the Senator will be running for re-election in 1972 as a more Thurmond race than an administration race, this will drain party members into that election campaign leaving a small group to work with Powell and the Citizens effort. Thus Powell's power has been undercut resulting in his uneasiness with any Washington personage.

Senator Dole will appear in South Carolina in the month of July to raise funds for the State Committee. The immediate future of the financial situation in South Carolina will rest on that appearance by the Chairman. The long range forecast is vague at this point pending as to what the Citizens Committee plans to do with this state.

1971 Campaigns:
1972 Campaigns: Sen. Strom Thurmond's seat will be up for re-election.
No Governor race.

CONFIDENTIAL

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt - Deputy Chairman (RNC)
FROM: Mike Scanlon - Eastern United States
RE: State of Virginia

The Republican Party of Virginia has been under the leadership of State Chairman, Warren B. French, Jr., since January of 1970. Mr. French maintains a close relationship with Gov. Linwood Holton who is an ardent supporter of the President's policies. The Republican party has gained 1 Congressional and 10 State Legislative seats since the President carried the state in 1968. Mr. French with RNC assistance plans two Candidate Schools this summer and fall now that Re-districting is approved.

The Virginia State Committee owes some \$ 15,000.00 dollars remaining from Gov. Holton's campaign. Another \$ 10,000.00 is owed in the 4th Congressional District. The State Committee is able to meet current expenses but the debts remain. The sustaining fund operation out of the Richmond headquarters could use some organization which would result in a better return on mailings. A Booster's Club is in the planning stages, however, a prominent person to run this operation has not yet been found. All in all the Virginia party is in "good" condition. Warren French has brought sound organizational thinking into the state party, which looks as if it will pay off in next year's elections, both on the national and on the State Legislative scenes.

1971 Campaigns: State Legislative elections (140 seats)
1972 Campaigns: William Spong - Seat up for election.
He is expected to run for re-election,
No Governor race

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By WARS, Date 3-12-82

Dole, Chairman

June 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt
FROM: Mike Woodson
SUBJECT: California Briefing

Everything is normal in California.

Lockheed cannot fail. The President and others should use San Clemente as much as possible. If Mr. Firestone is the Nixon State Chairman we need to know it. A strong Nixon Committee MUST be established to take over from the "Livermore Vacuum." Pete McCloskey will be beaten in the Primary if he runs as a Republican; unbeatable as a Democrat! Secretary of State Pat Brown Jr. says he can run for Congress and President at the same time. Dixon Arnett or Jim Halley are easy winners. The R. S. C. C. C. should be given early responsibility for registration and victory squad only. Paid registrations should be considered to overcome "Front Lash" which is at the high school level.

The R. S. C. C. C. is in bad shape in all categories so is L. A. County C. C. Put Livermore is committed for \$150,000 for re-apportionment to the total exclusion of everything else. He took \$20,000 raised for start money for a small donor program to raise \$750,000 and spent it on computer time.

Mike Van Horn will be out as L. A. C. C. C. Chairman on July 26, 1971. That meeting is designed to declare a vacancy and to appoint a new chairman. L. A. County at this stage is out of money although Al Sauce of U. R. F. C. raised \$40,000 this month which is the best effort in 29 months.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

All State Senators may have to run in 1972. No state-wide offices. Governor Reagan should run as a Favorite Son pledged to Nixon in the June Primary. This would save 2 or 3 million and a test of strength--let the Democrats have a blood bath alone. The 1974 Republican stars must be held at bay until after the November election.

MEW/mjn

CONFIDENTIAL

July 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

Attorney General John Mitchell
H. R. Haldeman ✓

It would be good to work with the State GOP Chairmen on a project to have the President recognize the top GOP leaders in each state this fall about a year from the election. This would (1) enhance the stature of the State Chairmen and their organizations; (2) increase morale; and (3) make them feel more a part of the team for next year.

We could use a simple formula based on size of state, its importance to us, etc., and allocate a certain number of names for each state. The State Chairman would then submit his leadership list and something (letter or Christmas card) could be sent directly from Washington. Two possible occasions which might be used for such a mailing are the election anniversary or Christmas. We should think in terms of a minimum of 100 names per state to have some impact. We might just increase the Christmas card mailing list.



Harry S. Dent

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *ASD*

In checking on a possible chairman for our primary campaign effort in Tennessee, the best prospect appears to be Louie Donaldson, a city councilman in Memphis. He is recommended highly by Bill Timmons from the Brock camp and Lamar Alexander from the Baker and Dunn camps. This man is very strong with all three of our top elected officials in Tennessee. Also, he is a good friend of Harlow and he handled Rumsfeld's recent speaking engagement in Tennessee. He is said to be a very prominent and outstanding attorney.

On the negative side, he does catch some flak from time to time as a city councilman on having to take public stands on various issues. While Memphis has approximately 1/4 of the votes in the state, the GOP primary votes will be biggest in the other end of the state. For instance, in the 1970 primary campaign 240,000 people voted -- 40,000 in Memphis, 150,000 in east Tennessee and 50,000 in middle Tennessee.

So, Lamar Alexander suggests that we come up with a lovely young lady in east Tennessee to be a co-chairman with Donaldson. He will give me a ring next week on a possible suggestion.

Donaldson is also a good friend of Congressman Dan Kuykendahl.

✓ cc: Bob Haldeman

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: June 29, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT



Please handle _____

For your information _____

Hallman
A.G.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT FROM L.E. TOMMY THOMAS, CHAIRMAN,
REPUBLICAN STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF FLORIDA

PHYLISS SCHAFLEY, WOULD-BE POLITICAL SOOTHSAYER FROM ILLINOIS SHOULD WORK AT POLITICS IN HER NATIVE STATE, WHERE SHE HAS YET TO WIN AN ELECTION AND LEAVE FLORIDA POLITICS TO FLORIDIANS. HER UNFOUNDED, UNBELIEVABLE, AND IRRESPONSIBLE REMARKS CONCERNING PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATURE IN THE SUNSHINE STATE ARE ABSURD. A RESPONSIBLE POLL CONDUCTED RECENTLY BY THE REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE PROVES THAT THE PRESIDENT IS STRONGER TODAY THAN HE WAS TWO YEARS AGO IN FLORIDA. NOT ONLY WILL HE WIN AGAIN IN '72, HE WILL WIN BY A LARGER MAJORITY THAN HE DID IN '68. HOW MRS. SCHAFLEY, WHO HAS NOT EVEN VISITED OUR STATE RECENTLY CAN PRESUME TO SUGGEST THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD LOSE FLORIDA TO A DEMOCRAT, IS BEYOND MY COMPREHENSION. HOW SHE CAN FLY IN THE FACE OF THE STRONG ENDORSEMENT OF OUR PRESIDENT BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN, IS RIDICULOUS. I'M SORRY SHE LOST HER RACE FOR CONGRESS BY MORE THAN 10,000 VOTES LAST YEAR, BUT I WOULD SUGGEST TO HER, THAT UNTIL SHE EMERGES A WINNER, THE BEST ADVICE I CAN GIVE HER IS.....YANKEE STAY HOME.

#

(RADIO ACTUALITY, RELEASED TO EVERY MAJOR MARKET)

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 9, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

*H received
information
and copy of
Poll from
L. Frestone in
Cal and RF
in D.C.
ASD 6
7/11*

Please handle _____

For your information _____

Republican
National
Committee.

Thomas C. Reed
Member for California
Executive Committee
Republican National Committee
P. O. Box 371
San Rafael, California 94902
(415) 456-7310

July 6, 1971

Mr. Harry S. Dent
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harry:

While in Washington last week for the meeting of the National Committee I talked to Tom Davis about possible opposing candidates for the presidency in California in 1972.

I thought you might like to see the enclosed two memoranda which were prepared for the delegation organizing committee which the Governor has named.

The committee will not be announced until August but consists of: myself as Chairman, Eleanor Ring (National Committeewoman), Governor Reagan (to be represented by one staff member), Holmes Tuttle (Governor's campaign co-chairman), Leonard Firestone (close friend of the President).

I discussed the above concept with John Mitchell when I was in Washington at the time of the National Committee meeting last Tuesday.

Warmest Regards,



Thomas C. Reed

TCR:st
Encls.

Presidential Job Rating and the Issues in California - June 8, 1971

DMI Survey, California Statewide, May 12 - 16, 1971.

605 Telephone Interviews, 493 Registered Voters. Sample appears to be valid.

PRESIDENTIAL JOB RATING: "How would you rate the job Richard Nixon is doing as President - excellent, good, fair, or poor?"

	This Survey, May 1971			Statewide, last Campaign Survey Oct., 1970	City of S.F. only April, 1971
	Registered Voters Statewide	Northern Calif.	Southern Calif.		
Excellent	10%	9%	9%	14%	9%
Good	29%	28%	29%	36%	26%
Fair	39%	40%	41%	34%	33%
Poor	19%	20%	18%	14%	28%
No Opinion	3%	3%	3%	2%	4%

PRESIDENT'S BALLOT STRENGTH: "If the election for President were held today, and Richard Nixon were running for re-election, would you vote for him?"

	All Regis. Voters	Rep.	Dem.	Those who voted for		Northern Calif.	Southern Calif.
				Reagan in '70	Unruh in '70		
Yes	30%	60%	12%	53%	4%	28%	31%
No	49%	17%	70%	24%	84%	48%	47%
Undecided	21%	23%	18%	23%	13%	24%	22%

For comparison, the 1968 vote results in California were:

Nixon: 48.0% Humphrey: 44.9% Wallace: 6.8%

THE ISSUES: "What do you think is the most important problem facing the State of California in 1971?" Note that the question precludes international problems such as Vietnam.

	May, 1971	October, 1970
Taxes	19%	11%
Unemployment	13%	5%
Too much welfare	10%	4%
Ecology: Air/Water	8%	9%
More welfare to needy	7%	1%
Air pollution	7%	22%
Finances, inflation	5%	2%
Drugs, Narcotics	5%	4%
Ronald Reagan	4%	3%
Education, financing	4%	1%

It is apparent that since the close of the '70 election, the economic issue has mushroomed. When people are out of work, ecology and even "law and order" shrink. Air pollution may not be named simply because it's spring. After a hot smoggy summer in L.A., it may re-emerge. Taxes are already the No. 1 issue. A state tax increase this year could have serious repercussions.

CONCLUSIONS:

A 1972 Nixon victory in California looks quite difficult. The President's job rating is slipping, and by a 5:3 margin Californians claim they would vote against him. Given a specific opponent, however, this situation would undoubtedly improve.

With serious Republican defections (17% is three times what Richard Nixon can afford to lose) and the apparent 6:1 trade-off in Reagan voters opposing Nixon versus Unruh voters favoring Nixon, Reagan assistance and involvement in California would be most beneficial.

To achieve victory, taxes must be kept down, unemployment must be solved, and people must have confidence that unemployment has been solved.

June 11, 1971

The 1972 Presidential Primary in California.

California's presidential primary will be held a year from now. The earliest filing date is March 8. The latest is April 7, - subsequent to the Alaska, Florida, New Hampshire and Wisconsin primaries.

To adequately plan and select a Presidential primary slate in California, one should be aware of the possible challengers - both within and without the party. For this purpose we asked* two types of questions throughout California.

First of all, "If Richard Nixon did not run again for President in 1972, who would you personally like to see become the next President of the United States?" The open-ended nature of the question allows one to measure interest now - a year before the primary. The results, among Republicans, are listed below, and are compared to a published statewide Mervin Field poll (S.F. Chronicle, May 12, 1971). The Field poll was, presumably closed end, i.e., 7 or 8 names were listed on a card.

REPUBLICANS:	This survey	Field Poll
Don't know, undecided	60.6%	8%
Reagan	13.8%	40%
Muskie	4.6%	-
Agnew	3.1%	12%
Goldwater	3.1%	-
Rockefeller	2.1%	18%
Lindsay	1.5%	17%
McCloskey	.5%	5%
All others (none over 3%)	<u>11.3%</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%

The same question, among Democrats:

Don't Know, Undecided	52.0%
Muskie	18.7%
Kennedy	9.5%
Humphrey	5.1%
Others (none over 3%)	<u>14.7</u>
	100%

* California Statewide, DMI, May 12 - 16.
605 Telephone Interviews.

Secondly, we asked specific head-to-head questions of Republicans to gauge the general strength of McCloskey and Lindsay. A head-to-head, President vs. Governor, was included only to measure the President's base of strength.

The results, Republicans only:

Nixon	76%	Nixon	76%	Nixon	65%
McCloskey	7%	Lindsay	12%	Reagan	21%
Don't Know	17%	Don't Know	12%	Don't Know	14%

The above strongly suggests that no serious opposition is currently evident within the Republican party, that Democratic voters have not yet focused on a candidate, and that preliminary planning for the delegation and primary should proceed with the serious problems of the general election in mind.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN ✓
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G
SUBJECT: Dent Office Analyses of States

Dent forwarded the first two state analyses prepared by Tom Davis, David Eisenhower's best friend. The discussions of Delaware and Georgia are well done. To summarize:

Delaware: The war is the issue; Nixon is not blamed for the economic situation; and the Wallace appeal is down. Senator Boggs has not decided whether to run for re-election in 1972. Tom Evans argues that the President personally encourage Boggs to run because his candidacy is considered crucial in carrying the state for the President. The Republican Party is in shape and will be an asset.

Georgia: The President could carry Georgia if Wallace doesn't run. (Bo Calloway thinks Wallace will not run.) The Republican Party is faction-ridden and would be little help especially if Calloway enters the Republican primary for Senator Grambell's seat.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
BOB HALDEMAN ✓

FROM:

HARRY DENT *HSD*

Attached is the first in a series of state political reports prepared by a summer intern in my office named Tom Davis. Davis is a very sharp political science graduate who is David Eisenhower's best friend.

I asked him for PR purposes and also to provide us with a political analysis of each state, that he call key GOP leaders in all of the states and put together a political summary on a state by state basis.

I told him to record exactly what the people say, whether it be gripes, praise, their analysis of our potential for 1972 and what other races there may be and the effect these races may have on our race in 1972.

DELAWARE

1968 Presidential:	Nixon	96,714
	Humphrey	89,194
	Wallace	28,459

Presidential prospects:

Both the State Chairman and Tom Evans agree that the President would face a very close race for re-election here if the election were held today. The war is not popular, but as an issue does not seem to hurt us as much as in other states. Lay-offs at DuPont have brought the economic picture close to the minds of the state's voters, but the Wilmington area faces such cutbacks periodically and not so likely to "blame Nixon." Nevertheless, a unanimity persists among Party leaders that the President has gained little ground since 1968. The Wallace appeal is also perceived to be on the wane.

The leading Democrat appears to be Senator Muskie, at present. He has been into the state a couple of times during the past year and Party leaders seem to like him. Humphrey also has some appeal here.

The State Chairman feels that we are hurting ourselves by not using trade associations to help boost the Administration's agricultural policies and that we have lost ground among the farmers in the southern end of the state. He feels that the "Salute to Agriculture" day was pathetic in terms of utilizing the resources we have available.

The Senate picture:

The great concern here is whether Senator J. Caleb Boggs will seek a third term or not. If the Senator runs again, everyone seems to agree that he will be unbeatable (he polled 59% in 1966). If he does not run, a bitter primary may develop over who is to replace him. The leading contenders for the nomination would be Congressman Pete DuPont and Wilmington Mayor Hal Haskell. Tom Evans fears a divisive primary could cost us the seat. He suggests that the President personally intervene and ask Boggs to seek another term. He believes the Senator's presence on the ballot would help the rest of the ticket as well as hold the seat for us.

Governor's race:

Governor Russell Peterson is thought to be in excellent shape for a second term. He will probably be opposed by Democrat Sherman Tribbetts, a former Lt. Governor.

House race:

If Pete DuPont doesn't seek the Senate seat, he should be in good shape for re-election. However, if he vacates this seat it could go Democratic.

Comments:

The key to a strong state ticket would seem to be Caleb Boggs. If he retires, we could lose the Senate and House seats. If he seeks re-election, we are virtually assured victory in the top races - which would help the President along, too. Reed thinks that the Senator is inclined not to run at present, but that every effort should be made to keep him in the race.

The Party organization seems strong and well oiled. No Democrat has managed a statewide victory for major office since 1964. The State Chairman is already pulling together the organization for 1972. The Party should be an asset to the President here.

GEORGIA

1968 Presidential race:	Wallace	535,550
	Nixon	380,111
	Humphrey	334,440

Presidential prospects:

Both the State Chairman and Bo Callaway agree that Wallace would win in a three-way race today by sweeping rural Georgia. The President is not unpopular, "no one is cussin' him", Bo Callaway says, but he doesn't seem to evoke much enthusiasm either. Bussing has hurt us a great deal. However, with Wallace out of the race the President should be able to win handily, sweeping rural Georgia and breaking even in the metropolitan areas. Muskie appears to have some support here and our leaders seem to agree that he has a moderate image. Governor Carter and a lot of the Court House crowd can be expected to line up behind him in a two-way race, but this shouldn't stop a Nixon victory. Jackson and Mills are, of course, very formidable Democrats if they could get a nomination.

Senate race:

The Democratic Senate picture looks very crowded at present. Maddox is a heavy favorite if he runs, but he has not yet decided whether or not to make the race. Senator Gambrell is probably too liberal for the state, but he has been campaigning hard ever since he was appointed and will get a big Negro vote. He will probably make the run-off. Carl Sanders and Ernest Vandiver are making noises about running, but both would have tough races. State Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell is also running and may pull some votes. Congressman Stuckey is also running and could be the winner if Maddox doesn't run. Stuckey is attractive, conservative and has lots of money. Bo Callaway discounts him but the State Chairman feels that this is the man to beat if Maddox doesn't run.

The Republican Party is unsure of its nominee as well. Congressman Thompson is committed to making the race, according

to Callaway, and could run a strong race. Bo has not made up his mind yet whether he will run or not. He says it is too early for that, but he knows he can win against Thompson in a primary.

Our chances for this seat depend on a couple of things. Most importantly, it will be hard to win if the President doesn't run well. Secondly, Gambrell or some other liberal would be the most vulnerable in the opinion of our people. Gambrell has moved steadily left since taking his seat and Bo thinks he may have gone too far on SST and the European troop cut. Another key factor in this race might be to keep a unified Party together for the general election effort. The State Chairman fears that a blood-letting Callaway-Thompson primary would seriously jeopardize any chance we might have for the seat.

House of Representatives:

The Congressional districts are supposed to be reapportioned sometime this summer. Population shifting within the state gives the Atlanta area more Congressional clout. This could result in a one seat gain for us, but more likely we will be fortunate to hold what we have. Ben Blackburn is solid no matter what the Legislature gives him. Thompson's seat, if the black vote is consolidated, could go to a Negro. Thompson may be forced into the Senate race simply because of a 40% Negro district, according to Callaway. Cobb County will be in a third district and will furnish a strong GOP base for a House district.

There is an outside chance we could win Stuckey's seat (Way Cross, Brunswick, southeast Georgia), but only in a GOP sweep. Bo says that if Jack Brinkley goes for the Senate and vacates the third district, we may be able to reclaim it -- but he bets Brinkley will stay where he is.

Outlook:

The actions of George Wallace (Callaway doesn't think he will run) and Lester Maddox will determine what happens to the

Republican ticket in Georgia in 1972. With both of them out of the race, we have a real chance to make inroads. At present, both look very strong if they decide to run.

The Party organization is badly faction-ridden. Our best bet here seems to be to pay lip service to the Party and work through the Citizens Committee. We need Democratic support to win here, much as in South Carolina, so Party labels should be played down.

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GS:elr

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WASHINGTON

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ADMINISTRATIVELY THE WHITE HOUSE
CONFIDENTIAL WASHINGTON

July 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

SUBJECT:

Rumsfeld Memoranda to
the Attorney General

Counsellor Rumsfeld's recent memoranda (copies attached) for the Attorney General cover:

- July 22: A Florida fact sheet with deadlines for the Presidential Preference Primary Election on March 14, 1972 indicates that the seven member Presidential Candidate Selection Committee will receive a list of "presidential candidates generally advocated and recognized in news media" during the second week of January 1972 from the Secretary of State. After notice to the candidates, their names will appear on the ballot "unless he (one of the candidates) submits an affidavit that he is not a candidate". The delegates (of which two-thirds must be from each Congressional District and 10% from the State Executive Committee) submitted by the candidate are bound to support their candidate until he releases them or receives less than 35% of the votes.
- July 14: McCloskey could be kept off the Florida primary ballot by the vote of the three Republicans on the seven member commission according to Lou Frey. Rumsfeld says: 1) It might help McCloskey in other states to be excluded in Florida; 2) McCloskey might get on the ballot anyway; and 3) The President might want to swamp McCloskey in Florida.
- June 14: Concerning women's support for the President some argue that: 1) The Republican Party doesn't understand the "Woman's Revolution"; 2) This Administration has made only token moves toward traditional women's job's; 3) Key officials are insensitive to the issue; 4) We mishandled the equal rights for women amendments to the 1963 Civil Rights Act; 5) Women must have equal substantive responsibility in the Campaign; 6) The Democrats are positioned better on the issue; 7) Barbara Franklin and the Citizens must do more.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1971

MEMO FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

July 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

Attached is an up-to-date fact sheet relating to the Presidential Preference Primary Election to be held in Florida, March 14, 1972, compiled by the Elections Division in Florida.

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY - MARCH 14, 1972

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SELECTION COMMITTEE

Secretary of State Richard (Dick) Stone, Chairman and Non-Voting Member
Richard A. Pettigrew, Speaker of the House
Jerry Thomas, President of the Senate
John Moyle, Chairman, Democratic State Executive Committee
J. E. Thomas, Chairman, Republican State Executive Committee
Donald H. Reed, Jr., House Minority Leader
Warren S. Henderson, Senate Minority Leader

EVENT	DATE
Secretary of State shall prepare and publish a list of presidential candidates generally advocated and recognized in news media throughout the United States and submit the names to the Presidential Candidates Selection Committee.	DURING SECOND WEEK IN JANUARY 1972 (WEEK OF JANUARY 10-14, 1972)
Presidential Candidates Selection Committee shall meet in Tallahassee at a date to be announced by the Secretary of State.	DURING THIRD WEEK IN JANUARY 1972 (WEEK OF JANUARY 17-20, 1972)
The Presidential Candidates Selection Committee submits to the Department of State the names of the candidates.	NOT LATER THAN JANUARY 20, 1972
The Secretary of State notifies the presidential candidates selected, in writing by registered mail.	NOT LATER THAN FEBRUARY 1, 1972
A candidate who is not selected by the Secretary of State or who is deleted by the Presidential Candidates Selection Committee may request in writing to the chairman that his name be placed on the ballot.	PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 10, 1972
The Presidential Candidates Selection Committee shall meet to consider such request as mentioned in Item Number Five.	NOT EARLIER THAN FEBRUARY 10 AND NOT LATER THAN FEBRUARY 15, 1972
The Department of State shall notify the candidate within five (5) days that his name shall appear on the ballot.	NOT EARLIER THAN FEBRUARY 15 AND NOT LATER THAN FEBRUARY 20, 1972
The names of the candidates shall be printed on the ballot, unless he submits an affidavit that he is not a candidate. (The Department of State is required to notify the State Executive Committee that his name will not appear on the ballot.)	NOT LATER THAN NOON, FEBRUARY 15, 1972
The candidate may submit to the Department of State a list of delegates.	NOT LATER THAN NOON, MARCH 1, 1972
The State Executive Committee of each party, ninety (90) days prior to the presidential preference primary, shall by party rule establish procedures to be followed in the selection of delegates.	NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 15, 1971
A candidate who fails to submit a list of delegates and is entitled to delegates shall have delegates selected according to party rule adopted ninety (90) days prior to the presidential preference primary.	NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 15, 1971
Delegates selected shall file with the Department of State an oath pledging support at the convention to the candidate of their party for whom selected to support; that he will support such candidate until he is either nominated or receives less than thirty-five (35) per cent of the votes, or until released. The State Executive Committee shall determine when the delegates must file their qualification papers.	
The State Executive Committee by rule at least ninety (90) days prior to the presidential preference primary shall determine the number of delegates and alternates, from:	NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 15, 1971
(1) State-at-large. (2) By the State Executive Committee. (Not more than 10%) (3) From each Congressional district. (At least 66 2/3%)	
NOTE: At least sixty-six and two-thirds (66 2/3) per cent are required to be filled from the Congressional district and at least two (2) by the Executive Committee, provided that not more than ten (10) per cent may be selected by the Executive Committee, and the remainder at large.	

Compiled by Dorothy W. Glisson,
Director of the Division
of Elections of the Florida
Department of State
July 12, 1971

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1971

FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

July 14, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By CP, date 9-12-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

SUBJECT:

Florida Primary per Lou Frey

Don Reid, Minority Leader in the State House reports that under Florida law a commission is appointed to determine the names of the individuals who should be placed in the Florida Primary and is composed of three Republicans and three Democrats. The three Republicans would be Don Reid, House Minority Leader; Warren Henderson, Senate Minority Leader; and Tom Thomas, Chairman of the Republican Party. A 3 to 3 vote will keep a name off. Thus if all three Republicans voted against having McCloskey on the ballot, he would not be put on. Don Reid indicates that he would be willing to do that if it were thought desirable, and believes the other two could be persuaded to do so and take the heat. Further, it might hurt in the press if the GOP members kept him off and thus help McCloskey in another state. It may be, however, that there is a way that McCloskey could get on regardless of the Commission's decision. Beyond that, it might be desirable if the President would swamp him, to allow McCloskey to go on the ballot.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

DATE: July 7, 1971

F. Y. I.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 14, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12958, Sect. 1.6-102
By SP Date 3-12-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

Some supporters of the President have expressed concern to me over the role of women in the Party, especially in relation to our efforts for 1972. They seem convinced that we do not fully understand what will be required to attract women's support (volunteers, money, votes). The following items are most often cited:

1. The Republican Party does not understand what the "Woman's Revolution" is all about. The role of women is changing and the changes are supported by a large segment of the population, even though most women do not subscribe to the excesses of vocal women's lib advocates;
2. Their perception is that our efforts to include women constitute tokenism at best; that when challenged on this point, our response is always to cite statistics indicating we have done better than previous Administrations, but the statistics also indicate that very few women occupy positions of importance; that the jobs they do get are traditionally "women's jobs" (i. e., head of Consumer Affairs);
3. That key officials, including senior White House staff members, are insensitive to the issue often treating it as a joke and that there are no senior White House staff members who are women;
4. That our position on the equal rights for women amendment and changes in the 1963 Civil Rights Act demonstrated insensitivity toward women, indicating a lack of interest on our part in the concerns of women;

Page 2

5. That no amount of campaign rhetoric or special organization arrangements (i. e., a "women's division") can compensate for a failure to involve women on an equal footing with men in the substantive work of the Administration; and

6. That to date, the Democrats have done a more effective job of capitalizing on women's concerns, especially in preparation for their upcoming convention.

Whether one agrees with any or all of the criticisms, the significant fact is that they are too often voiced by good and loyal supporters of the President. In gearing up for 1972, it would seem wise to give attention to this problem whenever possible. In addition to our recruitment effort under Barbara Franklin, we may want to seek out qualified women for major posts at the Citizens' Committee, and ways to handle the equal rights amendment.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: Rumsfeld Memoranda to
the Attorney General

Counsellor Rumsfeld's recent memoranda (copies attached) for the Attorney General cover:

- June 26: McCloskey believes Reagan is actively pursuing the Presidency because Florida's primary on March 14 will force New Hampshire to change to March 7 thereby permitting Reagan to assess the results before filing deadline for the California primary (March 10);
- June 25: An analysis of New Jersey by Al Abrahams makes three points: 1) Governor Cahill and his top three - Paul Sherwin, Joe McCrane, and Pete Garvin - are becoming stronger and should be cultivated by the President in light of the disintegration of the 1968 Nixon team; 2) there is no serious primary challenger to Case, who appears honest among the scandals, but who may try to block the Nelson Gross position at the State Department; 3) State Senate President Ray Bateman should be tapped to assist the President and assure that McCloskey goes nowhere in the primary;
- June 25: Al Abrahams also did an analysis of Maryland which covers: 1) personal rather than Republican Party organizations control the state though Alexander Lankler, the Republican State Chairman is effective and trusted by Agnew; 2) Senator Mathias and Lankler have seen Dent about a black Republican Baltimore mayoral candidate but no one believes any of the possible Democratic nominees could be defeated;

3) Mathias is pushing Beall's brother to be the gubernatorial candidate in 1974 though James Gleason, former AA to then Senator Nixon, is considering running for governor or against Mathias in the Republican primary; 4) citizens committee headed by Milton Eisenhower is suggested as well as a return visit by the President to Maryland with Beall.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12958, Section 5-102
By EP, date 3-12-82

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WRITING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP Mac, 3-12-82

June 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR :

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

When McCloskey was in Florida a week ago, he passed along the following comment to a friend of mine who related it to me. McCloskey said, "Tell the White House that now that Florida has established a presidential primary date for March 14 New Hampshire will unquestionably change their primary date from March 14 to March 7. In California the last day to file for the Presidential primary is March 10. That means that Reagan will be able to wait for the results of the New Hampshire Primary before having to make up his mind as to whether or not to enter the California Primary."

Obviously McCloskey believes Reagan is actively interested in becoming President and that the date changes will work to the advantage of those Republicans ambitious to be President--not to the President's advantage.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1971

FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

10 GS.
For Summary

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

June 25, 1971

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By ep NARS, Date 3-12-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

Attached is some very current material on New Jersey that was prepared by Al Abrahams who has managed statewide campaigns in the State of New Jersey in the past.

cc: Bob Haldeman ✓

NEW JERSEY

Organization: John Dimon of Burlington County (near Philadelphia) is State Chairman, but the state party structure is weak in the presence of a strong Governor.

Governor Cahill and his men are the N.J. organization. He is coming on stronger with the Party organization all the time. At first distrusted because he vests power in a few and comes from South Jersey in a traditionally northern-oriented power system, Cahill is beginning to be recognized by the Party as effective and a strong decision-maker. His personal team is communicating now with the Party organization. Previously, they were either ill-informed or rode roughshod.

Some county organizations are strong: the Nelson Gross-Stetile combination in Bergen County is potent, with Gross still the tough, effective influence he has long been. (Look for Sen, Case opposition to reported Gross State Department appointment. Gross lacked bar endorsement when Cahill wanted to name him a state judge and Case may use this.)

Lew Gray is an effective chairman (Somerset County). Henry Syan of Mercer is coming along; the bad party split in populous Essex County is improving slightly under George Wallhauser Jr., whose father was a well-regarded Republican Congressman.

William Strang, leader of Gloucester County, has a strong hold on his organization.

Ben Danskin of Monmouth County is a heavy-weight who inherited the late Russell Woolley's machine and is doing well with it.

But essentially, all power flows from and to Governor Cahill and his personal leaders.

The team that provided RN a smashing convention victory over the state organization is disintegrating.

John Baier Theurer, former Hudson County Chairman, has been indicted in the scandals there and has pleaded guilty; State Senator Farley (long-standing Nixon man) of Atlantic County is weakened and reportedly about to come under heavy scrutiny from the State Crime Commission. John Gallagher, Middlesex County Chairman, strongly pro-RN, has resigned and a weak chairman, Leon Jannecki, has replaced him. Pro-Nixon State Senators William Hiering (Ocean County) and Harry Sears (Morris) are retiring. Only Gross is strong and he has lost statewide influence in the wake of his defeat for U.S. Senator.

Congressman Charles Sandman Jr., Cape May County leader, has just lost in an attempt to name the party's State Senate choice from there. Young Assemblyman Andy Cafiero Jr., beat the Sandman forces and is a comer in South Jersey.

The State picture: Cahill is coming along, probably is stronger with Democrats than with rank-and-file Republicans. He calls his shots through three people. They are into everything and their effectiveness is increasing with their tenure. The most powerful Republican in the state is long-time Cahill associate, Paul Sherwin, Secretary of State. All major decisions have his imprint. Almost as potent are Joe McCrane of Camden, strong conservative and pro-RN, who is State Treasurer, and Pete Garvin of Bergen County, Cahill's chief link to the legislature.

U.S. Senate race: Incredibly, after thumbing his nose at rank-and-file Republicans for 18 years, Senator Case has as yet no serious primary opposition. No Democrat looks strong against him. Labor polls show Case running strong within their ranks against any Democrat, including ex-Governor Richard Hughes. Assemblyman Walter Lee^{7A}, a Burlington County conservative, will likely run against Case in the primary but is not known at all. McCrane is anti-Case and could make a strong primary race with heavy financial support. There are reports he is contemplating just that. McCrane is race track owner Gene Mori's son-in-law and is a successful businessman in his own right. McCrane must be respected, but Case has the current state scandals going for him. In the end, he has retained Republican support because of his carefully-cultivated honesty image. He is one of the rocks in a scandalous state situation. But McCrane is Cahill. Gross could be very effective in an anti-Case primary and the possibilities cannot be overlooked. Gross and Case just don't get along.

How does all this affect RN? It doesn't much. He has no opposition from any Republican of any standing. Case will play a loner game in the general and will likely be anywhere but in major evidence during RN appearances.

McCloskey will go nowhere in a Republican preferential primary and RN strategy should likely be not to enter anyone's name against McCloskey, including his own, in New Jersey.

What To Do:

An impressive citizens committee could be effective at this time. Lean on State Senate President Ray Bateman, a young, completely capable and well-regarded leader for advice. Bateman is a natural for RN, loyal dedicated, decent and sound.

Cultivate Cahill at every turn. Sherwin has a low regard for the political sagacity of RN's advisers and this is important. Gross can't keep Cahill in line. First, Cahill doesn't like him that much. Second, Cahill is essentially a loner with a good deal of "brown derby" deep inside him. New Jersey takes work to keep it stable. It can be won in '72. RN has always been strong there.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By EP, Date 3-12-82

June 25, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

Attached is some very current material on Maryland that came from a number of sources, principally Al Abrahams, a former statewide campaign manager in the State of Maryland.

cc: Bob Haldeman

MARYLAND

Organization: The decisive defeat of the Republican gubernatorial candidate has not helped the general condition, already deteriorated, of the Republican county and state organizations in Maryland. Maryland has not been noted for the strength of its organizations at the county level with few exceptions. The hitherto reasonably strong Montgomery County organization has been deteriorating in the past couple of years. Prince Georges County, a rising star on the Republican horizon, is now threatened by a factional dispute between Congressman Larry Hogan and William Gullett, the newly-elected County Executive. Hogan had his own candidate for County Executive and the beginnings of what could be a bitter dispute are becoming evident. And the difficult part of this, from a party standpoint, is that Prince Georges County could become the banner Republican spot in the greater Washington suburban area. This is particularly so because the quality of the Hogan and Gullett leadership is high and because Montgomery County's heavy measure of liberalism is unreliable.

A formerly strong Montgomery County organization has deteriorated in the past two years; Baltimore County, which has been delivering sizeable majorities for Senators Mathias and Beall, the President and the Vice President has just undergone a change in leadership; western Maryland, where State Senator Ed Thomas of Frederick County and Ed Mason of Allegany County are among the most effective leaders, continues to be relatively strong; the special election of Congressman Bill Mills in Rogers Morton's old district represents a continued claim on the success of a personal, rather than a party organization; and a continued sad decline of Republican organization efforts in Baltimore City portray a generally negative picture on the strengths and importance of the county Republican organizations.

Who is the organization: A bright spot in the picture is the hard work of Alexander Lankler, the Republican state chairman. He is a long-time Rockefeller man who is trusted by the Vice President and his Maryland people and who aspires to full recognition as an accredited and effective Republican non-factional leader. He is doing a good job of shoring up the party's financial problems which have always been extreme. The only successful Republican fund-raiser for many years has been the Vice President, both as Governor and as the vice presidential candidate. He has strong ties to conservative Democratic businessmen, along with Republicans who dominate the Baltimore financial scene. No other Republican in Maryland can make the Agnew kind of dent. But Lankler has consolidated party fund-raising and is making it work to a far greater extent than before.

The personal organizations of State Senators Jervis Finney, Porter Hopkins and Jack Bishop, all from the western part of Baltimore County, are effective. A new member of the House of Delegates, Bill Linton, from the eastern blue-collar end of Baltimore County, also was a recent victory for an effective personal organization. Senator Mathias and, particularly, Senator Beall have strong followings in various sections of the state, especially in western Maryland. Senator Mathias is also strong in the Washington suburbs. Beall, if properly motivated, could be the strong leader that the state party has needed since, and even before, the departure of Governor Agnew from the state scene.

An issue is developing over the Republican choice for Baltimore mayor. Lankler and Mathias have visited Harry Dent bringing the message that a black Republican needs to be the party choice for mayor. The probably front-runner for the Democratic nomination is a black (and former Republican) George Russell. But he will have spirited opposition from State Senator Clarence Mitchell III, also black and the son of NAACP Washington representative, Clarence Mitchell. The upshot is likely to be that City Council Chairman Schaefer will win the Democratic nomination for mayor.

Lankler and Mathias are concerned that in the absence of some "message" or leadership, Ross Pierpont, a former Democrat, will walk off with the Republican nomination and that he will run a Klan-type campaign and hurt Republican chances in that area and state-wide. Pierpont is evidently planning to become a candidate because he thinks a black will be nominated by the Democrats.

Mathias apparently believes that Republican candidates could be selected who would strongly enunciate the President's positions as they affect urban areas. He believes this is one way of selling what the President has been trying to do for the people of the cities. There is a real question as to the effectiveness of such an approach. For example, one potential black candidate that the Republican leadership may put forth is the Reverend Marion Bascom. He would be highly unlikely to base his campaign on support of the President or on what the President is trying to do. It is impossible to find anyone who believes a Republican can be elected mayor of Baltimore regardless of his platform. On the Mathias-Lankler point, local people running in the Baltimore mayoralty election could help "sell" RN programs like revenue-sharing, and it would be a plus to get further exposure for the heart of the Administration's urban-suburban programs. The danger is that in the inevitable Republican loss, the President would be tagged with the defeat.

The gubernatorial picture for 1974: Representative Hogan, an ardent Nixon supporter, wants to be Governor. This is do-able. He has a strong personal following in his Congressional district and is the kind of candidate who could appeal in Baltimore County and, quite probably, in western Maryland. Hogan has this growing inhibition -- his split with County Executive Gullett, which, if not healed, could deny him the home base he needs to be nominated. A strong local leader who would like to be Governor is Joseph Alton of Anne Arundel County, part of the Morton-Mills district, who apparently was a key factor in the Mills special election. Alton wanted to run for Governor in 1970 and likely considers himself a candidate in 1974. Another potential statewide office seeker is Montgomery County Executive James Gleason, a former Administrative Assistant to then-Senator Nixon and, later, Senator Knowland. Some believe he might test Mathias in a Republican primary for the Senate. He has run for the Senate before with a previously inadequate power base.

The Mathias wing would like to focus on Senator Beall's younger brother, George, for Governor, as early as 1974 but probably as late as 1978. Young Beall is the U.S. Attorney in Baltimore; he is vigorous, attractive and has the family name.

Some concerns are expressed about Maryland's preferential primary which, on the Democratic side, Governor Mandel is apparently seeking to change out of concern for the possible candidacy of George Wallace. In the event that the primary law is not changed, a party-line Democrat, Fred Wineland, Mandel's Secretary of State, would determine who should be on the Republican ballot. There is no support for Congressman McCloskey from the party. But the Washington Post and the Montgomery County Republican voter could have a field day with his candidacy in a Maryland preferential. Neither the President nor the Vice President has any party opposition whatsoever, although Mathias obviously does not see eye-to-eye with either. Lankler got the Maryland State Central Committee on record in support of a Nixon-Agnew ticket in 1972. National Committeewoman Katherine Massenberg is not strongly pro-Nixon, but National Committeeman Allen is. A strong voice in western Maryland continues to be D. Eldred Rinehart, a former national committeeman and now a member of the Federal Renegotiation Board.

What To Do:

Lankler wants a citizens committee for the ticket. Milton Eisenhower, the acting President of Johns Hopkins University, was the citizens committee head for both Mathias and Glenn Beall in their successful races. He would be a good choice for the President. Another respected figure from the eastern shore, Clarence Miles, a Democrat, was active for Senator Beall in the recent campaign, and could be pro-Nixon on a citizens committee.

Senator Beall is not taking a state-wide party-building interest, but could be the most unifying force in the Maryland picture today and would be a useful influence on Mathias. He could also be an effective influence in the Prince Georges situation.

Senator Beall might entertain a victorious return to Dundalk, the eastern Baltimore County blue-collar Democratic bastion which he earned following RN's appearance with him in the 1970 campaign. It would be in the nature of a "thank you" for supporting a Republican. The President should consider going with him to dramatize: 1) he is still after the blue-collar voter and 2) that voter can be won.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB HALDEMAN

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD 

Attached are copies of three recent memos to John Mitchell and one to Harry Dent on the subject of politics. In the future, I will send you carbon copies.

May 17, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, SECTION 6-102
By DR 3-12-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR :

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM :

DONALD RUMSFELD

The attached memo answers the question we discussed the other evening at dinner.

Attachment

DR/bw
WH files

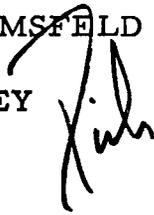
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
L. O. 12065, Section 6-100
By EP NARS, Date 3-12-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD RUMSFELD
FROM: DICK CHENEY 

Max Friedersdorf reports the following on Birch Bayh's financing.

His number one money man is Miklos Sperling 777 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Sperling heads the Merz Engineering Corporation, which makes precision machine tools. He is a multi-millionaire, operates out of Indianapolis and Miami Beach.

Sperling financed Birch Bayh's first Senate campaign, and is now providing the money for the operation of Bayh's Washington headquarters.

Max reports that Sperling "owns Bayh." He holds fund-raisers for him at various places around the country, parades Bayh around Indianapolis and Miami Beach and pays for Bayh's annual vacations in Miami. He has done this for Bayh and his family since Bayh was first elected to the U.S. Senate.

According to Max, the fact that Bayh's campaign is currently well financed should not be taken to mean that large numbers of people are contributing, merely that Sperling has made a substantial investment and has been successful in getting a few other friends to contribute. There has not been a groundswell of Democratic money flowing to Bayh.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By cl Nak, Date 3-17-87

May 18, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

I'm told that Percy has gotten agreement from Bill Graham, head of Baxter Laboratories, to head up his fund raising effort for the 1972 campaign. Bill Graham's one of the really fine men in Illinois, very prominent industrialist in the drug business and an energetic go-getter when it comes to raising money. I'm told that Ogilvie is in the final throws of selecting his fund raiser for the '72 campaign. That leads me to believe that the competition is going to be fairly fierce in the state and very likely will start early as far as Republican dollars go. This tends to add impetus to any efforts we may anticipate undertaking in the state with respect to fund raising.

DR: clfL 5-18-71
White House files.
JMitchell file.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By DR -----, Date 3-17-82

May 18, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

The latest I've heard is that Paul Simon may be the candidate against Senator Percy. My guess is that he'd much prefer to run against Ogilvie because he undoubtedly knows Percy is stronger than Ogilvie and he's presently Lt. Governor.

I would assume that the reason that he seems to be the likely candidate against Percy is because that is the office that Mayor Daley will okay him for, which lends credence to the thought that the candidate against Ogilvie may very well be Foran. My guess is that Daley would prefer to have Foran win and feels that Ogilvie is the weaker and also feels that Simon will be a better candidate against Percy and probably doesn't cotton to Simon too much.

DR: clf: 5-18-71
White House files.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12958, Section 8-102
By EP Date 3-17-82

April 15, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

HARRY DENT

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

Has anyone given any thought to the possibility of utilizing the Republican candidate who ran for Mayor against Mayor Daley. He lost badly, but I understand that he ran a credible campaign and has what today amounts to the only campaign organization in the City of Chicago from a Republican standpoint. It might be that either a fulltime appointment or some sort of a parttime appointment would be a good move. Why don't you give some thought to that. I don't know the man at all.

DR/lg