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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

CONFIDENTIAL

November 2, 1971

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is the report on Middle America compiled by Chuck Colson, Douglas Hallett (Colson's staff), and Bart Porter. The report outlines general strategy and is not intended to be a specific action report. At TAB D, however, there is one specific recommendation relating to Veterans that requires a decision.

If you agree with the direction taken with this report, I will ensure that it is circulated among several key people here at the Campaign Committee (Youth, Advertising, Ethnic, Labor, etc.) and those at the White House concerned with overall strategy (Moore, Dent, Garment).

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

JEB S. MAGRUDER

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## PREFACE

As a strategy concept, Middle America is smaller than the sum of its parts. Although encompassing a wide variety of interests -- labor, agriculture, Ethnic/Catholic, veterans, etc.-- the interests it encompasses all have unique attributes which are independent of the Middle American framework. Consequently, a Middle American campaign strategy must be developed on three levels. The first level will deal with our so-called national issues -- Peace (Vietnam, China, Berlin, SALT, the Middle East), Prosperity (the New Economic Policy), Social Order (End of Era of Permissiveness, Law and Order, etc.), and Progress (Welfare Reform, Governmental Reform, Health Care, etc.). The second level will deal with the one or two broad issue bases with which all so-called Middle Americans are concerned. The third level will deal with the particular special interests of each group within the framework.

This report is not comprehensive. Middle America can be defined in terms of up to 70-80 percent of the nation's population. Instead of presenting a firm analysis of this group, this report covers what are considered to be the key elements of a Middle American strategy, first, second, and third level, key sectors within Middle America, and key issues which we can and should develop over the next year, again, first, second and third level.

This report does not cover such subjects as over-all communications,

organizational liaison, and the like. These are obvious, on-going activities of the government, the campaign, and the party; they do not require special elaboration in this report. Nor will this report focus on the national issues of the campaign -- Peace, Prosperity, Progress, and Social Order except insofar as they uniquely effect one or more of the component parts of Middle America. Instead, this report will take these national issues and propose a new way of looking at them and presenting them to Middle America.

#### DATA

Up-to-date income breakdowns from the 1970 census will not be available until the end of the year. But we already have the essential information. The key fact is that there are 66 million individual homeowners in the United States today, approximately 40 million of whom are in the middle (\$5,000--\$15,000) income bracket. Virtually all of them are concerned about the essentially conservative social and economic issues - crime, property taxes, social order, busing, etc. - which have traditionally gone along with property ownership. A more thorough analysis of the demographic layout of Middle America is, in many ways, superfluous. Unlike the individual special interest appeals, our Middle American appeal will be national. Indeed, it should become fundamental to our basic national stance, totally interwoven with our Peace, Prosperity, Progress and Social Order approaches, superseding this first-level appeal in some ways.

It cannot be concentrated in any one geographical or population group.

### ISSUES

Within the framework of our second-level, Middle American appeal, we can probably develop (as opposed to benefit from) two major issues in the campaign. It is too early to pick them now. It is, therefore, recommended that two very simple, but very encompassing concepts be developed now as the base for our second level approach -- the concept of social security and the concept of income security. Around the first can be clustered what the President has done to protect the social security of the individual; his foreign policy as it affects the draft, his various reform efforts, his opposition to busing and "dispersal" housing, and the social issue. Around the second can be clustered what this Administration has done to protect the income of the individual -- the New Economic Policy, tax reform, revenue sharing refocused as a device to provide property tax relief, social security increases.

The development of both of these second-level concepts should proceed in two directions. The first -- the positive direction -- the President has already initiated. With his competition, build America, work ethic rhetoric, the President has begun to establish the idealistic, uplift, philosophical, if you will, side of these two concepts. Government's role is to provide basic security and basic protection of personal income.

In doing so, it frees the individual to do what he can for himself and his family and his country by participating constructively in the economic system. Whatever the polls show to be the most pressing concerns -- be they health care or tax relief or whatever - can then be fed into this positive stance as the campaign progresses.

The other direction in which these two second-level Middle American concepts should be developed is the negative. Not only have we provided basic social security and basic income security, but we have also beat back those who would take them away. The President has resisted busing; he has ended the era of permissiveness; he has resisted "dispersal" housing. Whatever the polls show to be the most pressing concerns next summer -- be they crime or busing -- can be fed into this negative stance, and then used to attack the opposition as the campaign proceeds.

This over-all second-level approach is built on the two major concerns of the Middle American -- his concern for his social security and his concern for his own pocketbook. Integral to both are a positive and negative appeal. The President is against busing; inversely, the Democrats are pushing it. The President is for lowering property taxes; inversely, the Democrats are implicitly for raising them. The principal advantage of the approach is the flexibility it gives us for our thinking about the campaign in the months ahead. Right now, busing on the social

security side and property tax relief on the income security side would seem to be the key issues to focus on. But, six months from now, it might be something else. In the interim, we need a way of looking at our issue base which forces us to think in terms of the two principal concerns of Middle America and allows us to cluster our issues in such a way that we can later isolate two major issues for the campaign. By developing the basic concepts now, whatever we choose to push later will not be perceived as gimmicky, campaign-oriented, etc. They will, instead, be seen as fundamental to our over-all approach and philosophy.

The third level of our approach concerns the particular special interests of each group within the Middle American sector. Tab A contains a memorandum Mr. Colson wrote to Mr. Haldeman in the spring. It reflects his current thinking on how we should exploit the special interests of key Middle America segments. Tab B contains a report by George Bell to Lew Engman of the Domestic Council on dispersal housing. It is Mr. Bell's feeling that HUD may not be following the President's instructions in this area. Third-level issues are also dealt with in each of the interest group reports.

#### WALLACE VOTE

The Wallace vote constitutes perhaps our greatest threat (or opportunity) among Middle American voters, especially northern Blue Collar types. The evidence clearly suggests that Wallace cut heavily



in our vote last time and he could do so again. But that does not mean having Wallace out would necessarily be beneficial for us. Lou Harris has found that Wallace would take just about evenly from Muskie and us. But where he takes from Muskie and us is crucial. Wallace voters who would otherwise support us are more heavily found in the South. Consequently, having Wallace out could increase our margin in the South - but it is increasing our margin in states we would win anyway. Therefore, he doesn't help us or hurt us in the South in electoral vote terms. In the North, it is a different story. According to Harris, Wallace draws more from Muskie than from us in the North. Consequently, having him in - far from hurting us - may have no impact in the South and a positive impact in the North.

One more factor that is crucial is that Wallace is an anti-establishment candidate. In 1968, he hurt us because he drew anti-LBJ votes that might otherwise have gone to us. But this time we're the establishment. Therefore, the kind of anti-establishment vote that he took from us in 1968 may well be taken from the Democrats in 1972.

All of this, of course, is highly speculative. We need detailed, in-depth research on the Wallace voter in both the South and the North before trying to figure out how we should deal with him. Right now, it is dangerous to assume anything about his election impact.

If we do decide that it's helpful to have him in, we should keep our hands off, harassing him, of course, but doing nothing which would damage

him permanently. If we decide it's not helpful to have him in, we should develop a carefully planned and executed attack on his claim that he represents Blue-Collar aspirations. The AFL/CIO did so with considerable success in 1968, much to our, and not Humphrey's, benefit. It is not felt that we should compete with Wallace for redneck support. We can't beat him for that group and the cost of doing so, even in the South, far outweighs the benefits. Rather, we should attack his "Populist" image, demonstrating that his record does not pair well with his pronouncements and that he can't be elected nor can he solve problems. Our ethnic and Blue Collar speakers should be particularly effective at this.

Tab C contains a detailed portrait of the Wallace voter as of 1968 and an 1968 evaluation of Wallace's record. We need much more research than we have now if we are to make the proper decision on how to deal with Wallace. This should be initiated as soon as possible.

#### MIDDLE AMERICA: The Special-Interest Groups Within It

There is obviously a considerable degree of overlap among the groups within what we are calling Middle America. Nevertheless, there is value in isolating each one and independently analyzing it. Consequently for the purposes of this report, Middle America has been divided into the following sub-groups. Detailed analyses and recommendations, where relevant, are made within the reports for each sub-group.

(1) Labor Union Members	Separate Report
(2) Agriculture	Separate Report
(3) Ethnics/Catholic	Separate Report
(4) Veterans	See Tab D
(5) Suburbs	See Tab E
(6) Junion Chamber of Commerce	See Tab F
(7) The Aged	See Tab G

RNC RESEARCH DIVISION  
JUNE 10, 1971

A PORTRAIT OF THE WALLACE VOTER

This study of the Wallace vote is presented in three parts. Part I is a summary of studies conducted by the University of Michigan, Part II is based on Gallup surveys, and Part III is an over-view of the Wallace vote from miscellaneous books and studies.

PART I

The University of Michigan study contends that George Wallace actually had little effect on the election's outcome.

Despite that fact, the Wallace ticket drew a larger proportion of the popular vote than any third party since 1924, and a greater share of the electoral vote than any third party since the election of 1860.

The majority of Wallace voters were found to be nominal Democrats. In the South, 68% of the Wallace voters were Democrats, 20% Republicans. Outside the South, 46% were Democrats, 34% Republicans. The remaining Wallace voters identified themselves as Independents.

The following table shows the impact of party identification on the presidential vote.

Party Identification and Presidential  
Vote in 1968, SRC Survey Data

<u>Party Identification</u>	<u>Presidential Vote in %</u>			<u>Number of Cases</u>
	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	
Strong Democrats	84	8	8	222
Not so strong Democrats	58	27	15	241
Independents closer to Democrats	53	30	17	93
Independents closer to neither party	24	55	21	87
Independents closer to Republicans	4	82	14	102
Not so strong Republicans	10	82	8	163
Strong Republicans	2	96	2	119

The conclusion that Wallace had no major effect on the outcome of the election is based on the fact that the majority of Wallace voters were Democrats who would otherwise have voted for Mr. Nixon, rather than Republicans who might have given their support to Mr. Humphrey. Some 38% of the Wallace voters who had voted previously said they had always voted Democratic while another 10% said they had always voted Republican.

The Survey Research Center analyzed the Wallace vote and concluded that, "Of voters with both a party and a candidate preference, more than four-fifths prefer the nominee of their party. While Democrats are in a majority, it is clear that the tides are running against them since they are suffering the bulk of defections. Nixon Democrats so far outnumbered Humphrey Republicans that while Wallace drew at nearly equal rates from both groups, the majority of his votes were from Democrats who otherwise preferred Nixon rather than from Republicans who might have given their favors to Humphrey. "

The following table represents the data from which the preceding conclusions were drawn.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WALLACE VOTE, BY TRADITIONAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES  
PARTY IDENTIFICATION

		Democratic	Independent	Republican
Rating of Two Major Candi- dates	HUMPHREY over NIXON	Block I 4% (347)	Block IV 26% (23)	Block VII 21% (24)
	Tied	Block II 24% (79)	Block V 9% (11)	Block VIII 6% (17)
	NIXON over HUMPHREY	Block III 26% (132)	Block VI 15% (53)	Block IX 7% (314)

The percentage figure indicates the proportion of all voters in the cell who reported casting a ballot for Wallace. The number of voters is indicated between parentheses.

The chart reads as follows:

1. Block I represents the so called "hard core" "strong" Democrats. Only 4% defected to vote for Wallace. These 347 voters would have cast their vote for Humphrey - had Wallace not been a candidate.
2. Block II represents those Democrats who could not differentiate between Mr. Nixon or Mr. Humphrey. It is impossible to state how these 79 voters would have voted had Wallace not been a candidate.
3. Block III represents those Democrats who could be considered "marginal." These Democrats probably were not straight voting Democrats in the past. The 132 voters would have cast their votes for Mr. Nixon had Wallace not been a candidate. 26% of Wallace's votes were "nominal Democrats."

It is highly significant that this large a number of voters could have been attracted to the Nixon camp had Wallace not been a candidate.

4. Block IV represents Independents who would have preferred Mr. Humphrey over Mr. Nixon.
5. Block V represents Independents who had no preference other than Wallace.
6. Block VI represents Independents who preferred Mr. Nixon over Mr. Humphrey.
7. Block VII represents "marginal" Republicans. These Republicans are not "strong" Republicans and would have cast their votes for Humphrey.

The figures show that had Wallace not been a candidate, more Democrats would have been for Nixon than Republicans for Humphrey. (Compare Block III with Block VII)

8. Block VIII represents Republicans who had no preference had Wallace not been a candidate.

9. Block IX represents the so called "strong" or "hard core" Republicans. 7% of the Wallace voters would have voted for Nixon which is represented by 314 votes.

Most of the Wallace votes came from Independents or "weak" or "nominal" party members. The least came from "strong" party members. The figures do not add to 100% because it was impossible to classify all Wallace voters.

An analysis of the Wallace vote shows that two-thirds of the Wallace vote was from Southern or border states where he collected over 30% of the regional vote. These states include Alabama, Florida, Texas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Virginia, Arkansas, and South Carolina. Throughout the North and West, Wallace received almost 8% of the vote. Only in Hawaii and Maine did he receive less than 3% of the vote.

In the South, Wallace supporters are disproportionately from the small towns and rural areas compared to Nixon and Humphrey supporters, but in the North, Wallace has substantial support in the big cities as well as in suburbs and less densely populated areas. In both regions Wallace voters are more likely to have grown up on a farm, although significant numbers did come from big city environments.

Outside the South, the proportion of white union members preferring Wallace over the other major candidates was more than three times as great as it was within households having no unionized members (19% to 6%). Even in the South where other appeals were present and the unionization of labor is more limited, the contrast between the preferences of households with union members and non-union households remains dramatic (52% to 26%) giving top preference to Wallace over the conventional candidates.



The Wallace voter is likely to be male as 59% of the Wallace vote was cast by men. 85% of his vote came from married people. People between the ages 25-34 were most likely to vote for Wallace while the over 65 age group were least likely voters. Only 3% of people over the age of 70 outside of the South cast their vote for Wallace, while 13% of the voters under 30 years outside of the South were Wallace voters. Very few of the Wallace voters were black as none from a sample of 87 said they had voted for Wallace. (Only 3 of the 87 said they had cast their vote for Nixon).

Michigan Research Studies reveal the following breakdowns of the 1968 vote.

	<u>Nixon Voters</u>	<u>Humphrey Voters</u>	<u>Wallace Voters</u>
Had some college education	39%	26%	17%
Had only grade school education	12	22	25
Feel identified with a class	61	68	77
Identify with the working class	44	55	64
Feel close to the working class	25	34	38
Family was working class	57	68	80
Below average income	46	50	55
Home owner	76	67	76
Union member in household	20	29	29
Manual occupation	28	36	40
Farmer	6	6	10
Blacks	4	96	0
White Democrats	26	61	13
White Republicans	83	7	10
White Independents	54	28	18

PART II

In early Gallup studies (April 1968), it was reported that if Wallace continued to hold his support that "the strong possibility exists that third party candidate George Wallace would deny either major party candidate the electoral votes needed to win."

The poll continued to reveal that his largest support outside the South is among young persons (21-29), manual workers and farmers, and persons who describe themselves as Independents.

"Although it is generally assumed that Wallace is particularly strong in the large urban areas of the North, his support is actually greater in the smaller communities and rural areas."

Gallup found that Wallace is the strongest candidate in the deep South. In the border states, his vote falls slightly behind Nixon's. Outside the South, he runs a poor third to Nixon and Humphrey. The Alabamian's appeal is concentrated among blue collar workers, men and young persons.

Both the Michigan study and Gallup reported that the Wallace supporters tend to be "hawks" not only on Vietnam but on domestic issues as well. "A cross-analysis of Gallup Poll findings show that large majorities of Wallace supporters (among those who express an opinion) think integration is being pushed 'too fast,' oppose 'open housing,' have a low regard for the U.S. Supreme Court, disapprove of President Johnson's performance in office, think morals in this country are deteriorating and approve of the way the Chicago police dealt with the demonstrators at the time of the Chicago convention. The Wallace supporter is disenchanted with both major parties and frequently describes himself as an 'independent' in politics."

In September 1968 Gallup reported that if the election were held at that time Wallace might accrue 21% of the vote. As the election drew nearer, Gallup reported that Wallace would receive 14 or 15% of the vote. Humphrey was the candidate to gain from the drop in Wallace support. Gallup reported that, "key factors in Humphrey's dramatic gains of the last month have been the decline in the Wallace vote in the Northern states and the return of Democratic defectors to the party fold."

Many labor union members supported Wallace during the campaign but left the Wallace camp to support Humphrey on election day. Because of the "last minute" switch, the election became too close to call. It appeared throughout the election that Humphrey was being denied the votes that the majority of Wallace voters would cast -- but in the end it was Nixon who was denied the majority of the Wallace vote.

Gallup conducted a survey immediately after the election to measure how respondents voted and whether they had supported another candidate earlier in the campaign. The following three tables reveal Wallace's support and the people who considered him but did not cast their vote for him. Table I is based on the demographics of the whole country, Table II on the non-south and Table III on the South only.

Table 1

1968 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS  
(N = 1,479; nonwhites excluded)  
(Per Cent)

	Humphrey	Voted for Nixon	Wallace	Consid- ered <sup>a</sup> Wallace	Total Wallace Sympa- thizers <sup>b</sup>	Wallace Non- defection Ratio <sup>c</sup>	Total Voting	Total Sample
<i>Political Party Identification</i>								
Democratic	75	14	11	9	20	.56	433	567
Republican	5	89	6	7	13	.46	364	431
Independent	30	49	22	11	32	.67	333	449
<i>Congressional Vote in 1968</i>								
Democratic	68	18	15	10	25	.59	514	514
Republican	12	78	10	8	17	.55	542	542
<i>Presidential Vote in 1964</i>								
Democratic	66	26	8	8	16	.49	558	646
Republican	13	82	15	10	25	.61	380	413
Didn't vote	36	41	24	11	35	.68	167	374
<i>Region</i>								
South <sup>d</sup>	21	43	34	9	43	.79	249	373
Non-South	44	50	7	9	15	.43	894	1,106
Northeast <sup>e</sup>	49	44	7	7	14	.49	344	424
Midwest <sup>f</sup>	41	52	8	11	18	.42	368	452
West <sup>g</sup>	41	55	5	8	12	.36	182	230
<i>Occupation</i>								
Nonmanual	37	54	9	9	18	.50	456	536
Professional	36	57	7	5	11	.59	158	179
Business	37	55	9	9	18	.50	155	193
White collar <sup>h</sup>	38	50	12	7	19	.62	143	164
Manual	43	40	17	11	28	.60	400	563
Skilled labor	43	43	15	12	27	.55	208	284
Unskilled	47	35	19	12	31	.60	140	207
Service	33	44	23	6	29	.80	52	72
Farm <sup>i</sup>	22	65	13	13	25	.50	74	94
Union family	54	34	12	15	27	.43	210	274
Nonunion	31	47	22	8	29	.75	190	289
<i>Education</i>								
Grade school or less	44	37	19	10	29	.67	191	290
High school or less	39	48	13	10	23	.57	537	715
Some college	38	54	9	6	14	.62	330	377
<i>Income</i>								
Under \$3,000	37	47	16	6	23	.72	132	189
\$3,000 to \$6,999	38	43	19	8	27	.70	334	487
\$7,000 to \$9,999	38	50	12	11	23	.53	257	324
\$10,000 to \$14,999	42	50	8	9	17	.47	243	276
\$15,000 and over	35	59	6	9	14	.39	168	191
<i>Religion</i>								
Roman Catholic	53	38	9	9	18	.52	311	381
Jewish	86	14	—	2	2	.00	46	54
Protestant	29	56	15	10	25	.60	749	989
Baptist	22	46	32	11	43	.76	147	213
Methodist	29	57	14	8	22	.63	180	231
Presbyterian	23	70	7	12	19	.38	89	103
Lutheran	43	55	3	6	9	.29	85	101
Episcopal	39	54	7	7	13	.43	46	51
Others	29	55	16	12	27	.58	159	222

## 1968 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS—CONTINUED

	Humphrey	Voted for Nixon	Wallace	Consid- ered <sup>a</sup> Wallace	Total Wallace Sympa- thizers <sup>b</sup>	Wallace Non- defection Ratio <sup>c</sup>	Total Voting	Total Sample
<i>Size of Place</i>								
Rural	31	50	19	8	27	.63	323	416
2,500 to 49,999	36	49	14	6	20	.63	163	224
50,000 to 499,999	38	51	11	8	19	.56	268	361
500,000 to 999,999	43	47	10	6	15	.62	138	189
1,000,000 and over	50	44	7	8	15	.43	250	288
<i>Age</i>								
21 to 25	49	35	17	6	23	.77	81	137
26 to 29	37	49	15	9	24	.63	73	104
30 to 49	38	49	13	12	25	.52	488	608
50 and over	39	50	11	6	17	.65	491	618
<i>Sex</i>								
Men	39	46	15	11	26	.58	588	723
Women	39	51	10	7	17	.60	555	747

SOURCE: AIPO 771-k, November 7, 1968; rows may sum to more or less than 100 per cent due to rounding error.

<sup>a</sup> Thought about voting for Wallace earlier in the campaign, but eventually switched to another candidate.

<sup>b</sup> Combination of the "considered Wallace" category and the Wallace voter category.

<sup>c</sup> The ratio of the total number of Wallace sympathizers to the actual number of Wallace voters.

<sup>d</sup> Those states making up the old Confederacy plus Kentucky.

<sup>e</sup> New England and the Middle Atlantic states, including West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia.

<sup>f</sup> Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, and the Trans-Mississippi states of North and South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Oklahoma.

<sup>g</sup> All states west of the Midwest and South, excluding Alaska and Hawaii.

<sup>h</sup> Clerical and sales.

<sup>i</sup> Both farm proprietors and workers.

Table II

1968 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING IN THE NON-SOUTH BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS  
(Per Cent)  
(N = 1,106; nonwhites excluded)

	Voted for			Consid- ered Wallace	Total Wallace Sympa- thizers	Non- defection Ratio	Voting Number	Total Number
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace					
<i>Political Party Identification</i>								
Democratic	83	13	5	9	14	.36	342	424
Republican	6	89	6	8	14	.40	302	356
Independent	37	52	11	10	21	.53	240	303
<i>Congressional Vote in 1968</i>								
Democratic	78	16	6	9	16	.40	392	392
Republican	13	80	6	8	15	.43	440	440
<i>Presidential Vote in 1964</i>								
Democratic	70	26	5	8	13	.38	469	533
Republican	4	89	7	9	16	.42	275	291
Didn't vote	42	43	14	12	26	.55	123	248
<i>Occupation</i>								
Nonmanual	42	53	5	5	10	.52	350	406
Professional	42	55	3	4	6	.43	117	133
Business	39	55	6	4	10	.66	121	144
White collar	44	50	7	8	14	.47	112	129
Manual	49	42	9	13	22	.42	327	426
Skilled labor	47	46	7	13	21	.35	171	212
Unskilled labor	55	33	13	14	26	.48	119	162
Service workers	41	54	5	5	11	.50	37	52
Farm	21	77	2	16	18	.10	57	70
Union family	57	34	9	16	25	.36	189	234
Nonunion	39	52	9	8	17	.52	138	192
<i>Education</i>								
Grade school or less	53	40	7	10	17	.41	134	188
High school or less	43	49	7	9	17	.43	436	558
Some college	43	52	5	4	9	.56	257	286
<i>Income</i>								
Under \$3,000	41	53	5	5	11	.50	93	124
\$3,000 to \$6,999	46	44	10	9	19	.51	246	338
\$7,000 to \$9,999	42	52	6	11	17	.37	213	261
\$10,000 to \$14,999	46	47	6	8	14	.44	201	224
\$15,000 and over	39	58	3	7	10	.31	133	150
<i>Religion</i>								
Roman Catholic	53	39	8	9	17	.49	292	355
Jewish	87	13	—	3	3	.00	42	50
Protestant	34	53	6	10	15	.38	527	655
Baptist	33	51	16	10	25	.63	64	82
Methodist	32	65	3	10	13	.21	117	150
Presbyterian	28	68	5	11	15	.30	68	78
Lutheran	43	54	3	6	9	.29	83	98
Episcopal	40	61	—	5	5	.00	38	41
Others	31	59	9	13	22	.43	129	163
<i>Size of Place</i>								
Rural	37	56	7	11	20	.36	221	272
2,500 to 49,999	43	52	5	6	11	.42	115	149
50,000 to 499,999	44	51	6	5	10	.48	196	245

## 1968 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING IN THE NON-SOUTH BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS—CONTINUED

	Voted for			Consid- ered Wallace	Total Wallace Sympa- thizers	Non- defection Ratio	Voting Number	Total Number
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace					
<i>Size of Place (Cont.)</i>								
500,000 to 999,999	46	45	9	6	16	.59	112	152
1,000,000 and over	50	44	7	8	15	.43	250	288
<i>Age</i>								
21 to 25	54	34	13	7	20	.64	72	108
26 to 29	35	54	11	6	17	.67	54	79
30 to 49	43	49	8	14	22	.36	393	466
50 and over	43	53	3	5	8	.43	366	443
<i>Sex</i>								
Men	43	48	9	11	20	.44	458	550
Women	45	51	5	6	11	.41	436	556

Table III

1968 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING IN THE SOUTH BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS  
(Per Cent)

	Voted for			Consid- ered Wallace	Total Wallace Sympa- thizers	Non- defection Ratio	Voting Number	Total Number
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace					
<i>Political Party Identification</i>								
Democratic	46	17	37	3	40	.92	91	143
Republican	—	90	10	10	20	.49	62	75
Independent	12	41	47	13	60	.79	93	146
<i>Congressional Vote in 1968</i>								
Democratic	34	24	42	12	54	.78	122	122
Republican	8	69	24	5	28	.83	102	102
<i>Presidential Vote in 1964</i>								
Democratic	49	29	23	8	31	.73	89	113
Republican	1	62	38	11	48	.78	105	122
Didn't vote	19	33	48	10	57	.83	44	126
<i>Occupation</i>								
Nonmanual	22	57	22	14	28	.76	106	130
Professional	21	62	18	8	26	.70	41	46
Business	27	55	18	27	46	.40	34	49
White collar	17	53	30	7	37	.82	31	35
Manual	14	33	53	6	59	.90	73	137
Skilled labor	20	31	49	6	54	.90	37	72
Unskilled labor	5	45	50	5	55	.91	21	45
Service workers	13	20	67	7	74	.91	15	20
Farm	27	20	53	—	53	1.00	17	24
Union family	30	30	40	5	45	.89	21	40
Nonunion	8	34	58	6	64	.91	52	97
<i>Education</i>								
Grade school or less	23	28	49	8	57	.87	57	102
High school or less	21	42	36	11	48	.77	101	157
Some college	19	60	21	10	31	.68	73	91
<i>Income</i>								
Under \$3,000	27	30	43	8	51	.84	39	65
\$3,000 to \$6,999	18	39	44	5	48	.92	88	149
\$7,000 to \$9,999	17	42	42	12	54	.77	44	63
\$10,000 to \$14,999	23	63	15	13	28	.55	42	52
\$15,000 and over	24	62	15	15	29	.50	35	41
<i>Religion</i>								
Roman Catholic	47	29	24	6	29	.80	19	26
Jewish	*	*	*	*	*	*	4	4
Protestant	18	46	36	10	46	.78	222	334
Baptist	13	43	45	11	56	.80	83	131
Methodist	22	43	35	5	40	.89	63	81
Presbyterian	10	76	14	14	29	.50	21	25
Lutheran	*	*	*	*	*	*	2	3
Episcopal	*	*	*	*	*	*	8	10
Others	21	25	45	7	52	.87	30	59
<i>Size of Place</i>								
Rural	17	38	45	4	49	.90	102	144
2,500 to 49,999	21	43	36	8	44	.74	48	75
50,000 to 499,999	23	52	25	9	33	.63	72	116



## 1968 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING IN THE SOUTH BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS—CONTINUED

	Voted for			Consid- ered Wallace	Total Wallace Sympa- thizers	Non- defection Ratio	Voting Number	Total Number
	Humphrey	Nixon	Wallace					
<i>Size of Place (Cont.)</i>								
500,000 to 999,999	31	58	12	3	15	.75	26	37
1,000,000 and over	*	*	*	*	*	*	—	—
<i>Age</i>								
21 to 25	*	*	*	*	*	*	9	29
26 to 29	26	37	37	5	42	.88	19	25
30 to 49	14	52	34	8	41	.82	95	142
50 and over	26	41	33	10	43	.77	125	175
<i>Sex</i>								
Men	24	39	37	11	48	.78	130	182
Women	18	51	31	8	39	.80	119	191

\* Too few cases.

In August 1970, Gallup reported that "Governor Wallace is as strong today as at any previous time since the 1968 presidential election, both in terms of personal appeal and vote-getting potential.

"Wallace's standing in the South bears particular attention because it is in this region where, as a presidential candidate, he could gain the leverage needed to deny either major party candidate the electoral votes needed to win in 1972, thus throwing the election into the House of Representatives."

PART III

This section is based for the most part on The Politics of Unreason by Seymour Lipset and Earl Raab. Other sources are An American Melodrama by Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hogson and Bruce Page, The Making of the President 1968 by Theodore White, The Emerging Republican Majority by Kevin Phillips, various articles and general conclusions of the writer of this study.

Wallace's solid support for the most part came from such extreme right groups as the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils, etc. Lipset's book emphasizes the same supporters as were discussed in the first two sections of this study. In addition, it emphasizes the support of the police, domestic servants and the military. Many people admired Wallace and supported him on the issues but would not vote for him in the election. In April 1967, when Gallup asked whether the electorate viewed Wallace favorably or unfavorably, 43.2 per cent viewed him in positive terms while 46.7 per cent had a negative opinion of him.

In general, Wallace support eroded among those groups and areas in which his initial support was weakest. "In the North, he lost over half of his initial support. Only 43 per cent of his original supporters cast a ballot for him." (Lipset p. 395)

A most important gain for Humphrey was the switch of trade-union workers. Data from a Gallup survey suggests that the very extensive campaign of trade-union leaders to reduce Wallace support among their members had a strong effect in the North. "Almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of northern trade-union members who had backed Wallace initially did not vote for him, while over half of the southern unionist workers (52 per cent) who had been for him earlier voted for him on election day."

(Lipset p. 395) Regardless of the union vote -- three-fifths of those who shifted away from Wallace during the campaign ended up voting for Nixon.

The following table depicts the demographic breakdown of Wallace defectors.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH VOTING CHOICES OF WALLACE DEFECTORS			
Social and Political Characteristics	Actual Vote		Number
	Per Cent Humphrey	Per Cent Nixon	
<i>Region</i>			
South	23	77	(22)
North	45	55	(75)
<i>Party Affiliation</i>			
Republican	12	89	(26)
Democratic	79	21	(38)
Independent	18	82	(33)
<i>1964 Vote</i>			
Goldwater	11	89	(36)
Johnson	63	38	(43)
No vote	47	53	(17)
<i>Religion</i>			
Protestant	34	66	(71)
Catholic	60	40	(25)
<i>Age</i>			
Under 29	27	73	(11)*
30 to 49	44	54	(57)
50 and over	36	64	(28)
<i>Education</i>			
Grammar school	65	35	(17)
High school	46	54	(50)
College	18	82	(17)
<i>Income</i>			
Under \$5,000	50	50	(18)
\$5,000 to \$9,999	44	56	(43)
\$10,000 and over	26	74	(34)
<i>Occupation</i>			
Nonmanual	13	87	(30)
Manual	56	44	(43)
Farm	22	78	(9)*
<i>Unionism--Manuals only</i>			
Union members	69	31	(29)
Nonunion	29	71	(14)

\* Too few cases for a reliable estimate.

"The pattern of shifting among the Wallace voters points up the assumption that Wallace appealed to two very different groups: economic conservatives concerned with repudiating the welfare state, and less affluent supporters of the welfare state who were affected by issues of racial integration and law and order." (Lipset p. 396)

#### THE FUTURE OF THE WALLACE MOVEMENT

The future of Wallace and the American Independent Party is difficult to predict. "The party brought together almost every right-wing extreme group in the country and undoubtedly also recruited many new activists for the extreme right. Many of these new state parties now have a formal legal status as a recognized political party which may nominate candidates for local and state office.

"During the 1968 campaign, sharp public divisions occurred in a number of states, often revolving around the fact that complete control over the finances and conduct of the party's work was kept in the hands of coordinators directly appointed by Wallace." (Lipset p. 413) In a number of states, two separate organizations existed, both of which endorsed the Wallace candidacy while attacking each other as extremists. If such internal struggles continue to be prevalent in the Wallace organization it could put a damper on his 1972 efforts.

The perplexing question is, will Wallace run in 1972? If he does run, one issue might be the American "defeat" in Vietnam. Wallace has already condemned President Nixon's plan to gradually reduce America's troop commitment and Vietnamize the war. He argued that "there's no way to withdraw combat forces until the enemy is crushed," that "it

would take less casualties to win the war than withdraw." (Lipset p. 420, originally appeared in the Washington Post, December 1, 1969).

Wallace may capitalize on the continued dissatisfaction of the white working class and lower middle class. "If that disaffection grows, and at the same time the pressures of an increasingly disaffected black population grow, the soil will be fertile, of course, for a George Wallace kind of movement." (Lipset p. 420)

A major role of Vice President Agnew has been one of appealing to the possible Wallace supporter. Although he does attract some of this vote, the Supreme Court decision on busing which will be enforced by the Administration could influence some voters to favor Wallace.

Kevin Phillips in a column on June 10, 1971 wrote that if Wallace ran as a purely regional Southern candidate, that such an effort would hurt President Nixon and help the national Democratic Party. Phillips stated that there are three options open for Wallace. "First, Wallace could try to get his American Independent Party on the ballot again everywhere in the nation. Secondly, he could run in some of the 1972 Democratic presidential primaries. Third, he could simply drop out of the presidential picture." The best possible choice for the Republicans, according to Phillips, would be if Wallace ran in the Democratic primaries. "Such a campaign would tear the Democratic party apart and leave deep, lasting scars."

## CONCLUSION

To summarize a portrait of a Wallace voter, one would say the majority of Wallace's support comes from the South. The Wallace voter from both the South and non-south is most likely to be white, young, male, and married. His income is low, he is uneducated and lives in rural America, often on a farm.

It would appear from the data in this study that if Wallace should run for President, the chief benefactor would be the Democratic nominee. Even though, in 1968, Wallace cut into some of Humphrey's union vote-- it is Nixon who lost the farm vote and the southern vote because of Wallace's candidacy. Polls indicate the fact that the majority of Wallace voters would have cast their vote for Nixon had Wallace not been a candidate.

As for the 1972 election, it is too early to state who would be most affected by a Wallace third party. If liberals dominate the Democratic ticket, Nixon would be the most affected by Wallace. But consider the possibility of a "Scoop" Jackson or Senator Ernest Hollings on the Democratic ticket. These men could conceivably be injured most by a Wallace campaign. Also, such a man as Harold Hughes could appeal, through his populist style, to a potential Wallace supporter. The possibilities are many.

In the final analysis, George Wallace's potential effect on the election of 1972 depends on the political circumstances that are revealed in the coming months.

GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE

1972

There is no doubt that George Wallace is looking ahead to the 1972 presidential campaign. The evidence is overwhelming - most notably in two campaign fund-raising dinners and a permanent staff at the Wallace national campaign headquarters in South Montgomery, Alabama. However, Governor Wallace will not run unless he is sure he can make a significant impact at least equal to that of 1968.

Governor Wallace considers the economy, school busing, taxes, and Vietnam the most important issues of the day. If Governor Wallace does not see what he considers a marked improvement in these areas he will undoubtedly declare his candidacy.

George Wallace on 1972:

"If it becomes necessary, I will be active again, wherever you like me to be."

1970 Alabama Inaugural Speech

"I'm keeping my options open."

Pittsburg Press  
February 26, 1971

Governor Wallace says three things can get him to run for president:

1. If he can be convinced he will do as well in 1972 as he did in 1968.
2. If Democrats nominate someone from the "far-left".
3. If President Nixon makes some more "promises" concerning school desegregation.

UPI  
May 8, 1971

Strategy

South

George Wallace's goal for 1972 will be the same as that of 1968, that



is to undermine both traditional parties. The difference will be in strategy. Tom Turnipseed, national campaign director for Wallace, says, "We'll concentrate in five or six other states and go for the balance of power." What he means is they may concentrate on five or six states in the South and gather enough Electoral College votes to deny either major party candidate an Electoral College majority.

Fund raising dinners have been held in Dallas, Texas, and Nashville, Tennessee. Further, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Cincinnati, Ohio, have been mentioned as future fund raising sites.

#### Style/Image

Since 1968 George Wallace has become a considerably changed man - at least on the surface. The tone is softer, more reasoned, and the statements more moderate.

#### Examples:

"Alabama belongs to all of us - black and white, young and old, rich and poor alike."

Inaugural Speech  
January, 1971

Representative Fred Gray of Tuskegee, says of Wallace:

"George is interested in his image being as nationally oriented as possible, along with that, he wants a good racial image."

Detroit Free Press  
March 21, 1971

On Vietnam:

"We could have won if we had wanted to win. Now we are going to have to fight just to pullout."

Birmingham News  
April 3, 1971

#### Issues

In no specific order, Governor Wallace has said the issues for next year will be schools, the economy, high taxes and foreign policy.

In his appeal to the blue-collar worker Wallace has recognized the importance of the economic issue.

The issue that will most likely determine Wallace's candidacy is the economy. He said:

"if the economy is bad...and the inflationary spiral continues, that would increase the likelihood of another campaign."

Pittsburg Press  
February 26, 1971

"What Mr. Nixon failed to point out is that his own policies of deficit federal spending have far more to do with causing inflation than do the honest wages earned by construction workers."

The Wallace Stand (Newsletter)  
April, 1971

"Since our working men and women form the backbone of our economy, America is faced with economic peril. A tax revolt is brewing! Until the unfair burden is taken from the shoulders of the average taxpayer -- we shall continue our cause."

George Wallace Newsletter  
February, 1971  
emphasis not added

Recently, the Supreme Court busing decision provided Wallace with another 1972 campaign issue. Governor Wallace plans to file suit to force the reopening of some of the schools and to stop busing.

The Governor said that if he decides to run in 1972, the Supreme Court decision on busing would be a key issue.

Governor Wallace made an issue of the Calley verdict saying that the President should pardon Lt. Calley; however, there is no indication now that this will be an issue in 1972.

#### Polls

A poll of machinists' union members in Illinois showed surprising strength for Alabama's Governor Wallace for President.

The poll taken in mid-April, indicated that the machinists favored Senator Muskie, followed by George Wallace and President Nixon third.

President Nixon and Governor Wallace matched with various Democrats:

Muskie	58%
Wallace	21
Nixon	20

Humphrey	52%
Wallace	25
Nixon	25

Kennedy	52%
Wallace	26
Nixon	21

Birmingham News  
May 6, 1971

A Gallup poll shows that if the presidential election were being held today, the candidacy of Governor Wallace would eliminate the slim lead Mr. Nixon has over Mr. Muskie. The poll says the lead Mr. Nixon holds can be attributed largely to the South where Mr. Nixon has a 3 to 1 edge over Muskie.

With Wallace in the Race

Muskie	44%
Nixon	44
Wallace	9
Undecided	3

Wallace Not A Candidate

Nixon	48%
Muskie	46
Undecided	6

Baltimore Sun  
January 28, 1971

A. <u>State</u>	<u>Wallace Vote</u>	<u>% State Total Vote</u>	<u>% National Wallace Vote</u>
*Alabama	689,009	66.0%	6.96%
Florida	624,207	28.6	6.30
Texas	584,269	19.0	5.90
*Georgia	535,550	43.3	5.41
*Louisiana	530,300	48.3	5.35
North Carolina	496,188	31.3	5.01
Tennessee	424,792	34.1	4.29
*Mississippi	415,349	63.5	4.19
Virginia	321,272	23.7	3.23
*Arkansas	235,627	38.7	2.38
South Carolina	215,430	32.3	2.17

\*States carried by Wallace

B. <u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Nixon Plurality</u>	<u>% Total Vote</u>
Nixon	5,120,960		34.63%
Humphrey	4,573,254	+ 547,706	30.93
Wallace	5,072,554	+ 48,406	34.30
Other	<u>21,108</u>		.14
	14,787,876		

## II Non-Southern States (39)

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Nixon Plurality</u>	<u>% Total Vote</u>
Nixon	26,662,823		45.52%
Humphrey	26,692,752	- 29,929	45.57
Wallace	4,825,989	+ 21,836,834	8.24
Other	<u>390,528</u>		.67
	58,572,092		

III Major Metropolitan Areas National Summary  
 (Based on the 35 largest metropolitan areas)

	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>AIP</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Plurality</u>	<u>% National Vote</u>	<u>AIP % Total Vote</u>
Cities	4,418,542	7,310,668	990,862	12,720,072	2,892,126D	17.34%	7.78%
Suburbs	<u>8,420,152</u>	<u>7,247,367</u>	<u>1,724,572</u>	<u>17,392,091</u>	1,172,785R	<u>23.71%</u>	9.91%
Totals	12,838,694	14,558,035	2,715,434	30,112,163	1,719,341D	41.05%	5.70%

IV Population Group Voting (Wallace Percent)

Source: NBC Sample Precinct Analysis on Election Night

	Urban-Suburban Income			<u>Rural</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Slavic</u>	<u>Union</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Latin American</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Low</u>							
East	2	8	7	10	1	9	9	8	2	3
Midwest	2	9	10	9	0	12	13	13	3	--
South	16	32	25	41	2	--	--	--	--	1
West	2	8	4	9	2	--	--	9	--	2
National	5	13	12	21	1	10	11	10	2	--

Population Group Voting

Source: CBS Sample Precinct Analysis on Election Night

	% Total Vote		
	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>AIP</u>
A. Urban-Rural Cleavage			
Cities 500,000 +	34%	59%	7%
Cities 50,000 - 500,000	40	51	9
Small Cities	45	46	8
Suburbs	51	40	9
Rural - Small Towns	48	37	16
B. Party Identification			
Highly Democrat	19%	75%	6%
Moderately Democrat	39	51	10
Independent	47	44	9
Moderately Republican	57	35	9
Highly Republican	62	25	13
C. Income Levels			
High Income	54%	39%	6%
Middle Income	43	47	10
Low Income	40	49	11

VI Lower-Income Whites: Source of Wallace Strength  
 Source: U.S. News & World Report, November 18, 1968

<u>Areas</u>	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>AIP</u>
Philadelphia - 2 wards	33%	55%	12%
New York City - 4 assembly districts	33	61	6
San Francisco - 5 precincts	44	48	8
Los Angeles - 7 precincts	35	47	18

	% Total Vote		
	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>AIP</u>
Detroit - 5 precincts	9%	73%	18%
Chicago - 1 ward	23	66	11
Cleveland - 5 precincts	12	67	21
Winston-Salem - 3 precincts	47	18	35
Charlotte, N.C. - 4 precincts	54	18	28
Asheboro, N.C. - 3 townships	50	18	32
Houston - 5 precincts	18	50	32

VII Union-Labor Vote: Many Defected to Wallace  
 Source: U.S. News & World Report, November 18, 1968

<u>Areas</u>	<u>GOP</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>AIP</u>
Philadelphia - 4 wards	32%	54%	14%
New York City - 4 assembly districts	35	60	5
San Francisco - 5 precincts	14	80	6
Los Angeles - 6 precincts	56	35	9
Detroit - 5 precincts	17	69	14
Chicago - 1 ward	30	53	17
Gary, Ind. - 1 precinct	42	29	29
Cleveland - 2 precincts	35	47	18
Houston - 5 precincts	35	35	30

WALLACE PROFILE

In their efforts to find solutions to the last eight years of Democratic mismanagement and maladministration, many conscientious Americans have become increasingly aware of Alabama's former governor, George Corley Wallace.

Once thought to appeal only to the small percentage of segregationists in the United States, Governor Wallace has made large gains in public popularity since the beginning of his third-party Presidential campaign. The basis for that rise in popularity may be traced to two sources within the electorate.

First. Before Wallace began taking his campaign to the whole country, he was largely unknown outside the South. Many knew of Wallace -- perhaps from his stand in the school house door; but few knew about Wallace.

Second. Wallace has based his campaign on four important but -- in his mouth -- ambiguous concepts. In their normal or ordinary sense, these concepts:

1. increased emphasis on law and order;
2. reduced government spending;
3. reliance on local government, and
4. respect for the Constitution,

are well regarded by responsible Americans. However, in the rhetoric of George Wallace their meaning becomes obscured and often disappears.

It is becoming apparent that many Americans who harbor no ill-will toward Negro Americans, who are encouraged that generations of discrimination and inequality are finally coming to an end, are nevertheless also interested by these other aspects of George Wallace.



The Wallace record before 1968, however, stands in flat contradiction to what Wallace says in 1968. The disparity between Wallace words and Wallace deeds is evident at every point in his appeal to voters in 1968. This profile seeks to provide a sketch of George Wallace by comparing his words and his deeds.

(Further background and biographical material can be found at the end of this paper together with some of the unfortunate aspects of Wallace's career.)

#### Law and Order

George Wallace talks about cutting the crime rate and establishing more law and order. During Wallace's Administration the crime rate in Alabama increased faster than it did in the nation as a whole even though during that same period the crime rate in the nation was rising faster than ever before.

#### Government Spending

George Wallace often promises an end to big government spending and an end to heavy taxation. During his Administration Wallace became the biggest spender in Alabama's history. These increases were largely supported through deficit finance and increased taxes.

#### Reliance on Local Government

Wallace has supported every Federal grant-in-aid, every Federal welfare program, every Federal construction project, every Federal aid to education program. He has sought every dole available from the Federal government, publicly denounced the accompanying controls, and quietly accepted those controls in order to receive the funds.

#### The Constitution

Polls show that many citizens feel they are for Wallace because he is calling for a return to sound, constitutional government. George Wallace often talks about new or renewed respect for the Constitution. He derides the way in which the Supreme Court of the United States interprets the Constitution.

He is deceiving our citizens. He had no qualms, for instance, about trying to have Alabama's constitution changed when he found that he was barred from succeeding himself by the laws of Alabama. His response was to run his wife, the late Governor Lurleen Wallace, as his stand-in. One must have doubts about how our nation's Constitution might fare under such a man.

In sharp contrast with the flavor of his current promises, both Wallace administrations were marked with many scandals -- some involving men high in the Wallace campaign organization. His record is not that of a man who did anything about problems -- except of course to talk about them.

\* \* \* \* \*

These are the kinds of things that George Wallace has said to Americans in those areas in which his racial appeal finds little support. These are the records of his performance in the past. It is to those Americans who have been misled by this phase of the Wallace appeal that this profile is directed.

#### PROFILE

George Wallace is a student and protege of former Alabama Governor James (Big Jim, Kissin' Jim) Folsom. Whenever Governor Wallace criticizes the "liberal" past of men like Governor Reagan or Mr. Nixon, his own record of Folsomite liberalism should be sharply brought to his attention.

Folsomism was a mixture of the old southern populist "share-the-wealth" statist economics that brought Huey Long, Lyndon Johnson, Eugene Talmadge, Theodore Bilbo and other Southern big spenders to national attention. Wallace was nurtured in this tradition.

George Wallace spent six years in the Alabama legislature, four of them during Folsom's Administration when he was a consistent and loyal supporter of Governor Folsom and his policies. He managed the South Alabama campaign of Governor Folsom in 1954.

Folsom's 1948 platform, when he tried to get an abortive third party presidential movement going, included a pledge to "cover the entire United States with TVA's," to expand Federal benefits for roads, schools and buildings and urged a general welfare tax to support everybody over 65 years of age. In those days Wallace enthusiastically supported those programs. He was all for big government spending.

During the term of Governor Gordon Persons, who served between Folsom's two administrations, Wallace was considered to be, according to one Persons administration official, "the leading liberal in the legislature, no doubt about that. He was regarded as a dangerous left-winger. A lot of people even looked on him as downright pink."<sup>1/</sup>

Like the Wallace program of today, Folsomism supported all the Federal aid programs that were available -- and asked for more. And again, like the Wallace program of today, Folsomism wanted this Federal money to be supplied with no Federal control over its use -- in other words, the people of the nation who were to supply the money to the State of Alabama were not supposed to be able to say whether the money was to be spent wisely, fairly, honestly, and without discrimination. According to Wallace and Big Jim Folsom, this was just a matter of local control.

Wallace repudiated Folsomism in his race for governor in 1958, although up to that time he had been one of Folsom's strongest supporters. The real reason for the break was brought out recently in a biography of Wallace:

Wallace was afraid that public sentiment had turned against Folsom because of his drinking and because he had entertained then-Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in the Governor's mansion.<sup>2/</sup> Because of this fear, Wallace decided to run against Folsomism. Voters noted, however, that the George Wallace who was now promising to clean up Folsomism was the same George Wallace who had been Big Jim Folsom's south Alabama campaign manager only four years earlier, and that during that campaign Wallace had repeatedly told audiences that he thought the big spending Folsom Administration, which had been noted for graft and corruption, was a good one. "If that's Folsomism, then I'm for Folsomism," Wallace repeatedly told crowds.<sup>3/</sup>

#### Wallace's Campaigns

The most noteworthy feature of Wallace's two campaigns for the governorship was his vote-bidding and his sudden turn away from Folsomism.

In the 1958 race, when his opponent was former Attorney General John Patterson, Wallace campaigned on a promise to "save the state from Folsomism." Nevertheless, most of the old Folsom supporters were in Wallace's camp when the votes were counted.

But his ability to be all things to all men also won the Wallace campaign the support of the leading Alabama dailies, and the leading Alabama businessmen, both of whom supported him because of his "anti-Folsomite" stand, and the support of the Alabama AFL-CIO. It should be noted that Wallace, in order to get the support of the Alabama labor bosses, promised to repeal the state right-to-work law if elected.<sup>4/</sup>

As for the vote-buying, Wallace learned his lesson well. Patterson, in the 1958 campaign, promised a state old age pension averaging \$75 per month.

Wallace never committed himself to a specific figure. Big Jim Folsom is reported to have told Wallace during that campaign:

George, I taught you better than that, didn't I?  
the only answer to a \$75 pension program is an  
\$80 pension promise.

Wallace never forgot that. In the 1962 campaign, running against Folsom himself, Wallace heard his opponent come out for an \$80 monthly pension pledge. Wallace kicked off his campaign with a promise of \$100. Then, declaring he had studied the state's revenues and found some extra money, he upped that to \$110. (The average old age pension in Alabama today is about \$80.)<sup>5/</sup>

The other thing that Wallace never forgot was the race issue. In 1958 Wallace, who to that time had taken somewhat of a moderate stance on the question of race (though he always supported full segregation) was faced with an all out racist campaign from Patterson, who campaigned with support from the Ku Klux Klan. After his defeat, Wallace stated that Patterson had "out-segged" (some versions say "out-niggered") him, but that he would never be out-segged again.<sup>6/</sup>

He wasn't. In 1962, it was Wallace who had support from the Klan.

Wallace refused to repudiate his support from the Klan, even though he had come down hard on the Klan during the 1958 race. At that time he said his opponent was "rolling in a new wave of the Klan and its terrible tradition of lawlessness."<sup>7/</sup> Wallace received the support of Jewish groups and the NAACP, mostly because of his opposition to the Klan.

But four years later, determined not to be "out-segged" again, Wallace launched no attacks on the Klan. Turning his back on his earlier repudiation of the Klan, Wallace at the same time repudiated the good people who believed him when he promised to oppose lawlessness and terror. The Klan was for Wallace, and Wallace never repudiated them. Four years earlier he had told the voters

of Alabama that the election of John Patterson "would put starch in all those dirty bedsheets." In 1962 the starch in the sheets was manufactured by George Wallace.

#### Wallace as Governor

Wallace's term as governor was a mixture of racist policies where there was publicity to be gained, loud talk against the Federal government, and being always first in line for the Federal handouts.

Wallace always maintains that he is only taking back what the Federal government took from Alabama in the first place in taxes. Yet there is no record of Wallace ever calling for a reduction in Federal domestic spending programs that make high taxes necessary in the first place. Moreover, the statistics show that between two and two and a half dollars are received by Alabama from the Federal government for every one dollar Alabamans pay in Federal taxes.<sup>8/</sup>

One Member of Congress once said of Wallace, "he's a fiscal liberal if I ever saw one. In fact, he's a liberal on just about everything except civil rights. He cusses the Federal government, but it's always on something relating to civil rights. He doesn't turn down a nickel of Federal matching funds on anything. If there's a Federal-State welfare program that he's against, I don't know what it is."<sup>9/</sup>

The meaning of fiscal integrity has escaped George Wallace. Indeed, it is difficult to say which government has the worse record on the question of fiscal sanity -- the Administration of Lyndon Johnson or the Administration of George Wallace. But then they both come out of the same Southern-populist "something for nothing" economic philosophy.

During Wallace's term as governor the State spent more money than under any governor in the State's history, according to "Congressional Quarterly."

An indication of Wallace's "constitutionalism" can be seen in the way he changes the meaning of his words to suit the political winds. In his inaugural address in 1963, Wallace promised "Segregation now, Segregation tomorrow, Segregation forever." But in 1967 and 1968, as he is seeking to get national approval of his candidacy, he tells newsmen who remind him of his words, "That could have been phrased very well as, 'local government today, local government tomorrow, and local government forever.'" <sup>10/</sup>

Americans must ask themselves whether they want a man to give meaning to our laws who is himself capable of distorting the meaning of words when it suits him?

RECORD

Crime

George Wallace says the big issue in 1968 is going to be "law and order. Crime in the streets. The people are going to be fed up..." <sup>11/</sup> Governor Wallace should know. IN EVERY CATEGORY BUT TWO THE CRIME RATE INCREASED FASTER IN ALABAMA DURING THE WALLACE ADMINISTRATION THAN IT INCREASED NATIONALLY DURING THE SAME YEARS.

Here are the figures, taken from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1963 and 1966 -- the years George Wallace was Governor of Alabama:

The TOTAL CRIME rate (per 100,000 inhabitants) increased NATIONALLY 29.0 percent.

The TOTAL CRIME rate increased IN ALABAMA 42.4 percent.

The FORCIBLE RAPE rate increased NATIONALLY 40.2 percent.

The FORCIBLE RAPE rate increased IN ALABAMA 70.2 percent.

The AGGRAVATED ASSAULT rate increased NATIONALLY 30.1 percent.

The AGGRAVATED ASSAULT rate increased IN ALABAMA 39.9 percent.

The BURGLARY rate increased NATIONALLY 24.9 percent.

The BURGLARY rate increased IN ALABAMA 39.9 percent.

The LARCENY rate increased NATIONALLY 32.8 percent.

The LARCENY rate increased IN ALABAMA 44.5 percent.

The AUTO THEFT rate increased NATIONALLY 32.3 percent.

The AUTO THEFT rate increased IN ALABAMA 44.5 percent.

Only in the categories of murder and robbery did Alabama not outpace the national crime rate increase.

#### Fiscal Policy

During Wallace's term as governor the State spent more money than under any governor in the State's history, according to Congressional Quarterly.

Here is the fiscal record of George Wallace:

- Highway bonded indebtedness -- up \$125 million.
- Education bond issues -- up \$146 million.
- Seaport facilities improvement -- \$10 million.
- Expansion of state docks -- \$3 million.
- Industrial development -- \$2.6 million.
- Huntsville Space Center Museum -- \$1.9 million.

TOTAL HIGHWAY AND GENERAL BONDED INDEBTEDNESS -- \$288.5 million.

State spending increased under Wallace from \$963 million in 1962 to \$1.44 billion today.



Under Wallace's "second Term" in which his wife, Lurleen, served as a figurehead to get around the Alabama Constitutional provision prohibiting a governor from succeeding himself, indebtedness continued to increase -- Governor Claude Kirk of Florida estimates the total increase in Alabama's debt at \$750 million -- a tripling of the State's debt existing before Wallace took office.

Taxes:

- Beer tax -- doubled, to 4 cents a bottle.
- Sales tax -- up from 4 to 5 cents on the dollar.
- Cigarette taxes - up from 6 to 7 cents a pack.
- Additional taxes were imposed on hotel and motel bills.

Constitutional Government

In his famous "Stand in the School House Door" in 1963, Governor Wallace called for "strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States as it was written." But he doesn't believe in that same strict adherence to the Alabama Constitution. That document clearly states that a governor may not succeed himself. George Wallace first tried to get the Alabama legislature to amend the constitution, and failing that, ran his wife promising that he would continue as de facto governor. Wallace promised that if his wife was elected, "I'm gonna be her No. 1 assistant and we're gonna go on doing things just like we've been doing them." (Ray Jenkins, New York Times Magazine, 4/24/66). Wallace "... still acts as governor from his office directly across the hall from the executive suite (sometimes, late in the afternoon after Lurleen has returned to the mansion, he abandons even that appearance, quickly crosses the hall and serenely continues his work, his telephone calls and conferences, from behind her desk). He still personally draws up the programs and strives with the legislatures to get them passed, and the lobbyists and legislators

still approach him directly...." (Atlantic Monthly, August 1967). Does this sound like a man who respects the letter and spirit of constitutional government?

In addition to the evasion of the clear intent of the Alabama Constitution, George Wallace has been misusing Alabama State employees in his campaign for the Presidency. Governor Kirk estimates that the salaries and expenses of the Alabama state employees working full-time on the Wallace Presidential Campaign come to \$300,000 a year. Kirk estimates that if all costs to the State of Alabama were figured in, instead of just salaries paid to State employees to do non-official political work for Wallace, the total cost would come to \$750,000.

Wallace's "constitutionalism" consists mostly of rhetorical attacks upon various figures in the Federal Court system. He does not offer any interpretation of the Constitution, he states only that he "believes in it as it was written."<sup>12/</sup> That statement has, by itself, absolutely no meaning. Anyone who says it does, does not know what he is talking about. The Supreme Court of the United States is the only body officially authorized to say what the Constitution says. Wallace's "constitutionalism" is quite simply a lot of long-winded, semantic jiggery pokery.

Anytime anyone says George Wallace is for constitutional government, ask him what he means -- how does George Wallace propose to change the way we live under the Constitution.

#### Scandals in Government

In 1968 two scandals threatened Wallace's repeated claims of honesty in government.

A suit was filed in Montgomery on April 4, charging that State Finance Director Seymore Trammell -- who also serves as manager of the Wallace for President campaign -- was a party in a conspiracy to fix prices for asphalt paving contracts, and to force kickbacks or campaign contributions from the favored bidders.

Trammell was appointed to his job as state finance director when Wallace took office in 1962.

According to the suit, the conspiracy costs Alabama taxpayers from \$2 to \$4 million more than they need to pay for asphalt if the bidding were not rigged.

Among the companies named in the suit were the Wiregrass Construction Co. of Montgomery, incorporated only a year after Wallace took office. Its president is the brother of the company secretary, who was Wallace's aid and chauffeur during the 1962 governor's race.

Another company involved in the price fixing charges is the American Materials & Supply Co. of Gadsden, the State's biggest single supplier of asphalt. The firm was incorporated just a week before Wallace's inauguration as governor in January 1963. The secretary-treasurer of the firm was a long-time Wallace backer and advisor to Wallace on Minority groups in his 1964 Indiana primary campaign.<sup>13/</sup>

Another growing scandal is the liquor situation. Alabama has a state-owned liquor system, with county-option prohibition. In 1962 Wallace campaigned on a promise to "abolish the evil practice of paying off political debts with commissions on the sales of whiskey to the State of Alabama." Up to that time agents of distillers were under heavy pressure to contribute to political powers in order to get contracts for their companies to supply liquor to Alabama's state-owned monopoly.

When Wallace took office he immediately ordered the State's Alcoholic Beverage Control Board to notify the distillers that paid agents were no longer necessary.

Wallace then imposed a 3 percent license tax on the distillers who sold to the State of Alabama. The distillers, who had agreements with other state-owned liquor agencies not to sell to anyone at a lower price than was offered them, chose not to sell to Alabama, under the license agreement. Immediately, The Montgomery Wine Company, headed by a long-time friend of Wallace who had no previous experience in the liquor business, was formed, and landed a fat contract with the State. The tax, it turned out, was to be figured on the basis of the distiller's previous year's sales to the State -- which clearly favored the new company at the expense of the established sellers. Montgomery Wine bought whiskey from a small distiller and bottled it under unknown brand names. The company has no employees and isn't listed in the phone book.

Two other firms, located in Baltimore, Maryland, also were formed immediately after the Wallace Administration took over. Neither firm, Montebello Liquors, Inc., and Majestic Distilling Company, ever had produced whiskey before the Wallace reign. Montebello retained the Montgomery law firm of Gallion and Hare to represent them in Alabama. MacDonald Gallion, at the time the firm was retained, had just finished a term as Alabama's Attorney General, a post to which he was re-elected in 1966. His firm still represents Montebello Liquors.

The three firms, using private "house-brand" labels, today dominate Alabama's liquor business. National brands are available only in large-size bottles. The prices of the house brands are generally higher than the prices for the same quality nationally advertised brands that prevailed before the Wallace Administration took office.

The situation has become so bad that a lawsuit was filed in 1966 charging that the three companies "paid substantial monies directly or indirectly, by way of commissions, fees or otherwise one or more agents or persons" in Alabama because of ABC Board purchases. The suit is awaiting trial. <sup>14/</sup>

BIOGRAPHY

Born: August 25, 1919, Clio, Alabama

Education: University of Alabama Law School, LL.B., 1942

Religion: Methodist

Affiliations: American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Masons, Alabama Council for Better Schools.

Profession: Lawyer

George Corley Wallace was born in Clio (Barbour County), Alabama, in the southeastern corner of the state. His father, George C. Wallace, was a farmer and local politician. Upon the elder Wallace's death, mortgage holders foreclosed on all the family property except the home in Clio.

Wallace has two brothers and one sister. Jack, now Alabama's Third Judicial Circuit Judge, succeeded Wallace to that position in the November 1958 election. Gerald, a Montgomery attorney, was a close confidant of George Wallace during his gubernatorial term. Wallace's sister, Marianne, married Montgomery salesman Alton Dauphin.

Wallace attended Barbour County High School, where he was senior class president and a member of the debating team, quarterbacked for the school football team and twice won the State Golden Gloves bantam-weight boxing title (1936-37). He entered the University of Alabama in the fall of 1937. He occasionally fought under both his own and an assumed name on the "smoker" boxing circuit of those days.

Wallace received his law degree from the University of Alabama Law School in 1942. In the same year, he enlisted in the Air Corps and contracted a nearly fatal case of spinal meningitis that left him partially deaf.

On May 23, 1943, Wallace married Lurleen Burns, who 23 years later succeeded him as Governor of Alabama. They met while she was a clerk in a Kress chain store.

#### Early Political Career

Wallace's first political venture occurred at age 13 when he knocked on neighborhood doors in behalf of Fred Gibson, a Democratic candidate for secretary of state. Although Gibson lost the race, he did carry Wallace's hometown of Clio. In 1935, Wallace served as a page in the Alabama Senate. Always active in campus politics, he won election as president of his freshman class at the University of Alabama, but lost a race for president of the student body in his senior year. Wallace was particularly close to former Gov. Chauncey Sparks of Barbour County.

After his discharge from the Army Air Corps, Wallace was appointed an assistant attorney general of Alabama earning \$175 per month. In November 1946, he won election from Barbour County to the Alabama House of Representatives as a Democrat. Two of the more important bills bearing his name are the Wallace Trade School Act (1948), providing for the construction of vocational schools, and the Wallace Industrial Act (1952), which authorized Alabama towns to issue municipal bonds and was credited with bringing 100 new industries into the state within 10 years of its passage. Wallace was twice voted an outstanding legislator by his fellow state Representatives. Throughout his six years in the state House, Wallace maintained a law practice in Clayton, dealing primarily with wills and estates. He also undertook the defense in several criminal cases.

Wallace began to receive national attention during the 1948 Democratic National Convention, when he led an unsuccessful floor fight against a strong civil rights platform plank submitted by Northern Democrats -- an occasion that brought Hubert Humphrey national fame. He backed Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) for the Presidential nomination in 1948. Representing Alabama on the 1956 Democratic National Convention Platform Committee, Wallace was instrumental in achieving adoption of a compromise civil rights plank acceptable to Southern Democrats.

While a member of the state Legislature, Wallace ran successfully for judge of the Alabama Third Judicial Circuit, serving from 1953 to 1959. In 1955, he sentenced a white man to life imprisonment for slaying a Negro; it was the first such conviction in Alabama in several years. A friend of Wallace's recalled that "George was a good judge, fair, courteous, decisive in his rulings, but his heart wasn't in it. He's a fighter, not a referee."<sup>15/</sup>

In 1958, Wallace and state Attorney General John Patterson qualified for the Democratic gubernatorial run-off primary, edging out 12 other candidates. Wallace received 26.3 percent of the total vote. Although both men's platforms were similar, Wallace appeared to be the more moderate of the two candidates. He disavowed the Ku Klux Klan, which backed Patterson, and received a "favorable" rating from the Alabama Labor Council (AFL-CIO) and the support of several prominent Negroes. Patterson won the June 3 runoff, tantamount to election in November by a 64,902-vote plurality (55.7 percent). Wallace reportedly declared,<sup>16/</sup> "They out-niggered me that time, but they'll never do it again."

Wallace then returned to his court to complete the remaining months of his judicial term.

After his judicial term expired Jan. 19, 1959, Wallace joined his brother, Gerald, in a Montgomery law office. But for the next three years he devoted the bulk of his time to campaigning for the 1962 gubernatorial race, making numerous appearances throughout the state. Keeping his 1958 pledge in mind, Wallace ran on a militant segregationist platform. He promised to resist all efforts "of the Federal courts, the Justice Department and the Civil Rights Commission to destroy our social and educational order." He vowed to keep Alabama schools segregated "to the point of standing in the school house door if necessary." This time he was backed by the Ku Klux Klan.

Election as Governor. At the May 1, 1962, primary election, Wallace was the frontrunner in a seven-man contest, winning 207,062 votes (32.5 percent). In the May 29 runoff election he faced the late Ryan deGraffenried, then a state Senator and considered more moderate than Wallace on racial matters.

In the runoff, Wallace stepped up his campaign attacks on the Federal courts, describing the Supreme Court as not having "the legal brains to try a chicken thief." He called Federal Judge Frank Johnson, of the Northern District of Alabama, "an integrating, scalawagging, carpetbagging, bald-faced liar." Wallace won the May 29 runoff primary with 55.9 percent of the vote (a 71,608-vote plurality). He had only token opposition from independent Frank Walls in the November general election.

Election of Mrs. Wallace

When Wallace, in October 1965, failed to get legislative approval of a bill allowing him to seek a second consecutive term as Governor, he backed his wife, Lurleen, for the post.



She won the May 3, 1966, Democratic primary by overwhelming nine other candidates. In the Nov. 7 general election, she defeated her Republican opponent, then U.S. Rep. James D. Martin (1965-67), by 537,505 votes (63.4 percent).

Elected Governor at age 40, Mrs. Wallace was the first woman to fill the position in Alabama and the third woman Governor in U.S. history.

George Wallace became special assistant to his wife at a dollar-a-year salary. As Governor, she received \$25,000 a year. <sup>17/</sup>

### Conclusions

The record of George Corley Wallace speaks for itself. It is the record of a man strongly interested in power politics. His unsubstantial kind of something-for-nothing economic attitudes are an affront to the electorate which he asks for support. His ideas of social harmony are an affront to the million of Americans who look for decency in the relations between Americans. His campaign "pledges" cannot but be of little value in the light of his past performance. He is a man preying upon the genuine fears of troubled Americans.

A vote for George Wallace in November is not a protest against the Democrats or the Republicans. It is a vote for no government at all. It is a vote against the interest of all but a few people who would rather live in the 19th century than the 20th. A vote for George Wallace is scarcely the act of a responsible American.

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ "The Little Man," by Marshall Frady, Saturday Evening Post, June 15, 1968, p. 66. Excerpts from the biography, Wallace, by Marshall Frady, to be published this year by New American Library.
- 2/ Ibid., pp. 66-67.
- 3/ Human Events, January 27, 1968, p. 8.
- 4/ Montgomery Advertiser, May 1, 1958.
- 5/ Human Events, January 27, 1968, p. 9.
- 6/ See Note 2.
- 7/ Montgomery Advertiser, May 12, 1958.
- 8/ According to figures published by the Tax Foundation, Alabama received \$2.00 in Federal grants-in-aid alone for every \$1.12 it pays in taxes. These figures do not take into account the vast expenditures Alabama receives through the Redstone Arsenal, the Huntsville space center, Maxwell Air Force Base, or the Federal salaries paid to Federal employees in Alabama. Nor does it account for many forms of Federal welfare received by Alabama, where the rate of people on welfare is the second highest in the nation. When these items are included the estimates of Federal money spent in Alabama per \$1.00 of Federal taxes paid by Alabama rises to \$2.50 -- or higher.
- 9/ Congressional Quarterly, September 1967, No. 39, Part I, p. 1923.
- 10/ Meet the Press, April 23, 1967.
- 11/ Interview with James Jackson Kilpatrick, National Review, April 18, 1967.
- 12/ Meet the Press, April 23, 1967.
- 13/ Washington Post, April 15, 1968, April 29, 1968; Birmingham News, Apr. 7, 1968.
- 14/ Washington Post, May 5, 1968.
- 15/ National Review, April 18, 1967, p. 405.
- 16/ This widely-quoted statement has appeared, among other places, in Congressional Quarterly, Human Events, January 27, 1968, p. 9, and Saturday Evening Post, June 15, 1968, p. 68.
- 17/ The foregoing biography of Wallace was prepared by Congressional Quarterly and is reprinted by permissions from that publication's profile on George C. Wallace, which appeared September 1967, No. 39, Part I, pp. 1920, ff.

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Veterans and their families comprise 49 percent of the American population. There are over 5 million Vietnam era veterans alone. Including their immediate families, Vietnam veterans represent well over 17 million potential votes. A successful, well-played campaign to win their support could have a decisive impact on the 1972 elections. This group is particularly critical in the 18 to 25 age category and may well provide a balance to the volatile campus community.

We have already done fairly well with this sector. Quite literally, we own the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the two largest veterans' groups. Chief Rainwater of the Legion is now running the Jobs for Veterans program and doing a full-time PR job for us, traveling around the country developing contacts for us. With Mel Stephens on the staff, we have also begun to make important in-roads into the ranks of younger veterans; John O'Neill, the anti-Kerry man, is only one example. But we can probably still do better. Veterans' groups are one of the best organized and politically powerful special interest groups in the country. Their press is sophisticated and potent, reaching literally tens of millions of people each month. We can and should take every advantage of this.

The two principal concerns of veterans' groups are our foreign policy and our veterans benefit programs. We have them sold on the first despite considerable conservative criticism of our military posture

and the President's trip to China. As for the second, our program is basically very good, but one for which we get little credit. The Vietnam Veterans is a largely untapped potentially Republican resource. To encourage his movement in our direction, it is recommended that GI education benefits be increased (under consideration) and the recruitment of bright, young people for the Veterans' Administration be stepped up (in process).

It is recommended that a substantial part of our efforts this year and next be focused on the younger veteran. We believe that building up the younger veteran and his support for President Nixon can not only bring us veteran votes, but also increase our support in the broader national community. If the public has other kinds of youth with which to identify, we believe that it will be less likely to focus its attention exclusively on the campus community and its particular concerns. Whether we like it or not, we live in a youth-worshipping society. This being so, we can and should make an effort to identify and develop alternative youth symbols which can be brought before the public. In doing so, we will help to "legitimize" support for President Nixon from youth-concerned parents and others.

For all these reasons, it is recommended that we get somebody to work full-time at the Citizens' Committee on veterans. He should coordinate with Chuck Colson and work with Colson and Don Johnson on PR and, as time permits, substantive initiatives as well. His duties

would include communications (supplementing present VA releases with articles, columns, interviews, etc. for veterans' magazines), speakers (working with Pat O'Donnell in placing key spokesmen at key meetings; working on his own in key states to develop local Nixon speaking teams and placing them in local veterans' events), organizational liaison (continual stroking of major veterans' groups, pushing Colson for Presidential letters, messages, possible visits, etc.), and development of a solid Nixon veterans' organization. Mel Stephens, who has returned to law school, has already done a considerable amount of work in this field and he should be plugged in at Citizens next summer, but we should not suspend what has been done until then.

Charles P. Collins (resume attached), now at Labor, should be tied in. As an outside contact Anthony McDonald, a young veteran now serving as Director of National Security for the Veterans of Foreign Wars, is useful.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

If approved, please indicate an approximate date when this person should be brought on board the campaign staff.

Date to Hire \_\_\_\_\_

CHARLES P. COLLINS, III

Address 5919 Birchbrook Drive, Apt. 126  
Dallas, Texas 75206  
Telephone (214) 363-4838

Job

Objective Seeking a challenging career where advancement and management opportunities are not solely based on seniority or longevity but rather on the talent and ability of the individual to perform the job.

Education B.A. in Psychology from Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 1966.  
Marquette Institute of Foreign Language, Koln, Germany, 1964.

Military Service

U.S. Navy. Three tours in Vietnam as Officer in Charge of U.S. Navy Beach Jumper detachments. Military service completed in 1969.

Previous Positions

September 1965 to April 1966 - Varsity Travel Bureau, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Business and Sales Manager.

June 1966 to July 1969 - U.S. Navy, Beach Jumper Unit ONE, Coronado, California, Officer in Charge BJU Team ELEVEN.

August 1969 to October 1969 - Computer Age Industries, Inc., Fairfax, Virginia, Placement Officer.

November 1969 to April 1971 - Electronic Data Systems Corporation, Dallas, Texas, Recruiting Staff and Industrial Management Staff.

Experience

As Business Manager of the Varsity Travel Bureau, had responsibility for management of the company. Directed and conducted consulting activities with area universities and business enterprises. Planned and implemented several large charter contracts with major U.S. transportation services. As sales manager, developed marketing schemes and sales presentations; also designed promotional materials for travel tours.

As Officer in Charge, U.S. Navy BJU Team ELEVEN, supervised technical, logistical and administrative functions of 50 officers and enlisted personnel. Directed all planning and training operations in support of special Pacific Fleet operations and exercises.

As three times an Officer in Charge of U.S. Navy detachments deployed in Vietnam, advised task force commanders concerning the employment of special operations in their area of responsibility. Prepared and presented many briefings and reports to senior Army and Navy Commanders.

As Chief evaluator on several projects, conducted research, development, testing and evaluation of electronic warfare and psychological warfare equipment for the U.S. Navy. Consulted with civilian contractors and made and implemented many equipment design changes.

As Placement Officer for CAI, assisted in obtaining employment upon completion of their education through contacting employers of EDP personnel and coordinating interviews with them.

As a Recruiter for EDS, worked daily with senior staff members and traveled extensively in the Mid-west and North-east areas in search of qualified system engineers and computer center operators. Have approximately 1,000 hours of direct interviewing experience.

While on Industrial Management staff of a major EDS account, had overall responsibility for planning, coordinating and implementing major internal data processing procedures for the customer. Customer contact centered around working with division vice presidents and department managers to develop and maintain manuals covering procedures (both EDP and manual) and general administrative policies.

Honors and Awards

National Honorary German Fraternity - Vice President, 1964-1965.

Awarded Navy Achievement Medal by the Secretary of the Navy, 1967.

Receiving Presidential Unit Citation, 1967.

Awarded Gold Star in lieu of second Navy Achievement Medal by the Secretary of the Navy, 1968.

Received Meritorious Unit Commendation with one Bronze Star, 1968.

Received Letter of Commendation from Commanding Officer, Beach Jumper Unit ONE, 1969.

Personal

Single; Born 6-21-43 in Bradford, Pennsylvania; Interests: All athletic sports and stock market.

References

Gary M. Griggs  
Electronic Data Systems Corp.  
Dallas, Texas

Philip L. Moncrief  
Electronic Data Systems Corp.  
Dallas, Texas

The following is a summary of where we stand with the nation's 20 million older Americans on issues. Arthur Flemming, Jamie McLane, George Bell and Bud Evans have been charged with developing a comprehensive political strategy as well.

Without taking anything away from what follows, we should remember that it will only effect a minority of the older population. "Our elderly" are generally very conservative and very interested in essentially conservative issues; inflation and the social issue particularly. We're after Southern California and Florida retired people and people in the farm belt. These are not people to whom the attached will appeal significantly. They don't care as much as other sectors about special benefits. They're used to working and what they care about is keeping what they work for. What we must do is impress upon the elderly our conservative issues and such special-interest action as the provision in H. R. 1 raising the amount the elderly can earn while retired without losing Social Security benefits. This will have much more effect than what we do for the poor who cannot work.

We need some hard thought on how to reach the elderly. The largest group of retired people, the Senior Citizens Council, is solidly AFL/CIO. The American Association of Retired Persons, whom the President addressed last month, is favorable, but only represents 3 million people. There are no other really large-size groups. Presidential events following one another - the AARP speech followed by the visit



to the nursing home - is good, but not enough. We need to think seriously about what we can do in reaching the retired person. Presidential speeches and visits to Senior Citizen Centers and Population Centers should give us the mass media attention we need. Direct mailing may be another answer.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 18, 1971

DOMESTIC COUNCIL STUDY MEMORANDUM #16

MEMORANDUM FOR DIRECTOR, OMB  
SECRETARY OF HEW  
SECRETARY OF HUD  
SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE  
SECRETARY OF DOT  
SECRETARY OF LABOR  
SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

FROM

JOHN EHRLICHMAN *John Ehrlichman*

SUBJECT

Administration Strategy for the Aging

As you know, the President is anxious to develop a comprehensive national strategy, with specific action programs, to improve the quality of life, the dignity, and the productivity of the country's 20 million older people. As he stated recently in Nashua, New Hampshire:

"The vast majority of Americans over 65 years of age are eager and able to play a continuing role as active, independent participants in the life of our country. Encouraging them to play this role---and providing greater opportunities for them to do so---is a cornerstone of this Administration's policy concerning older Americans."

We need a fundamental strategy for the aging along the same lines as the strategy we have developed for this country's poor --- our income strategy. One element of this strategy has already been developed in the area of nursing homes. The President outlined the basic plan of action in this area on August 6 (Tab A).

ORGANIZATION

To develop the overall comprehensive strategy with specific program recommendations, the President asked that we create the Domestic

Council Committee on the Aging. This Committee will include the addressees of this memorandum, as well as Arthur Flemming, Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging. Joe Blatchford, Director of Action; and Leonard Garment, Special Consultant to the President are being asked to serve as consultants to the Committee. Elliot Richardson has been asked to chair the Committee.

Each of the members of the Committee and the consultants to the Committee are to appoint an assistant secretary level lead man to the interdepartmental Working Group being formed to accomplish the Committee's staff work. Jamie McLane, of the Domestic Council staff, will chair the Working Group and will be the White House / Domestic Council coordination point for all Administration activity on the Aging. Your member of the Working Group should be designated to Jamie McLane not later than close of business August 20 in order that we may meet the tight time schedule imposed upon us by events.

To conform to the budgeting decision cycle and to the demands of the forthcoming White House Conference on the Aging, a preliminary options paper should be sent to the President by October 6. Tab B outlines the proposed timetable for the next seven weeks.

#### FIRST STEPS

We have reviewed the 1970 report of the President's Task Force on Aging, the Domestic Council Review on Aging conducted last year, and the White House Conference on Aging's most recent findings and have identified ten major areas of broad concern. These areas are listed in Tab C, together with the Department which is primarily responsible for developing and implementing our policy recommendations for the particular area.

Tabs D (1) through D (10) contain a more detailed summary of this review. The problem of each area has been outlined and the proposals which have been advanced for both short-term administrative actions and longer term initiatives have been listed.

These preliminary fact sheets need to be reviewed in depth, revised and expanded into comprehensive background papers by each of the lead agencies. A requested format for the background papers is contained in Tab E. These background papers should be ready for initial review by September 15 so that the Domestic Council Committee and Committee Work Group might begin deliberations as soon as possible.

Attachments

cc: Arthur S. Flemming  
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Information Copies

All Domestic Council Members

## 1. HEALTH CARE

Almost all of the reports on Aging emphasize the need to make top quality health services available to every American as a matter of right, without regard to social position, income, race, or religion. Current proposals for meeting the needs of America's elderly include:

### A. Nursing Homes

1. Action on the President's Chicago speech in which he emphasized the critical condition of substandard Nursing Homes.
2. The authorization of Rep. David Pryor's proposed investigation of nursing homes in the House of Representatives.
3. The training of nurses aides and orderlies in nursing homes. Sen. Percy proposes a \$17.5 million bill to aid this over the next four years.
4. The training of medical assistants for nursing homes. Sen. Percy proposes a \$17.5 million program for grants to medical schools over the next 4 years. He suggests the schools' retraining of discharged armed forces medical corpsmen.
5. The removal of the 100-day time limit on skilled nursing home care for patients who continue to need care.
6. Strict federal enforcement of present standards for nursing homes receiving federal funds. This will mean elimination of the "substantial compliance" approval given homes that are in violation of the law. Standards needing upgrading and enforcement include:
  - a. physical environment (safety, electrical and mechanical systems, elevators, nursing unit, all rooms)
  - b. manpower
  - c. pharmaceutical services (through FDA)

- d. dietary services
  - e. restorative services
  - f. housekeeping services
7. Training of standards inspectors.
  8. Publishing ratings, through HEW, for homes that receive federal funds.
  9. Licensing of administrators and educational programs for health administrators.
  10. The identification, through, Congress and HEW, of nursing home owners. These owners should be held legally accountable for conditions in their homes.

#### B. Health Insurance

1. The enactment of the Health Security Bill (S-3 and H. R. 22) because it would pay 70% of the average citizen's health expenses under a federally sponsored, national health insurance. This could only be possible if we dissolved Medicare and Medicaid.

#### Medicare

2. Action on the President's Health Proposals which are still in the Ways and Means and Finance Committee. The proposal is aimed at a total reform of the medical system, creating a partnership between governmental and private medical programs to provide better services and facilities for all citizens. The elderly are most affected because of increased incidence of ill health. The Administration's proposal to absorb the monthly Medicare premium of \$5.60 is roughly equivalent to an average of a 5 percent Social Security increase.
3. Elimination of Part B premium charged for Medicare doctor insurance. Medicare Part A and Part B should be combined with B paid for through taxes on rising payrolls and federal general revenues.

4. Health services for Medicare beneficiaries under prepayment group health plans or other health maintenance organizations.
5. The full coverage of out-of-hospital prescription drugs by Medicare. Presently Medicare only pays for drugs or other medication prescribed during hospitalization. Other proposals relating to drugs include:
  - a. The listing and selling of drugs by generic names.
  - b. Lowered drug costs.
  - c. The reimbursement of pharmacies at a rate to include a fee for professional services not exceeding that particular state or region's median fee.
6. The abolishment of limitations on medical care. The Medicare benefit program should cover the entire period of treated illness or disability. Presently the patient must pay a \$60 initial fee, additional fees beyond 90 days hospitalization, and additional fees after the limit of 100 visits during a spell of illness.
7. Complete Medicare coverage for the cost of dental care, hearing aids, eye glasses, foot care or other prosthetic services.
8. Medicare coverage for health services provided in the patient's home. Presently many patients remain in the hospital too long or become confined to long-term care institutions.

#### Medicaid

9. Improvement and expansion of Medicaid---not phasing out as contemplated under a pending amendment to the Social Security Act.
10. The control of Medicaid costs through the use of pre-determined reimbursement rates for doctors and other providers of health services and not through additional charges to the patient.

### C. Long-Term Care

1. A bill which authorizes \$35 million over the next four years for grants to cover all or part of the cost of projects for rehabilitation programs of aged in-patients of long term care facilities or to assist such in-patients to attain self-support or self-care.
2. Coverage by Medicare for extended care facilities.
3. The immediate development of programs of long term care including such innovations as day care hospitals and neighborhood health services. The Presidential Task Force recommends financing of these services from the Medicare Trust Fund.
4. Development of a training program for those responsible for patient care in order to emphasize rehabilitation of long term care patients.
5. A bill to provide for a training program within the Public Health Service for State inspectors of long term health care facilities. \$17.5 million is proposed to finance the Public Health Service.
6. An HEW study or federal programs which provide assistance to the facilities and patients of long-term care in order to develop greater uniformity under these programs and their standards.
7. An HEW study of the feasibility of one state agency having the responsibility for administering the Medicaid program and for licensing and inspecting long term care facilities.

### D. Preventive Care

1. The establishment of health centers, by the federal government, across the nation offering patients diagnostic and referral service and other preventive medical care.
2. The development of these centers either adjacent to or part of hospitals. In areas where this is not possible, mobile health centers, with full preventive medical services should be provided.



3. Training of paramedical personnel at the proposed health centers.
4. Medicare coverage for early diagnostic and preventive measures.
5. Financing from the Medicare Trust Fund for geriatric health services which include preventive techniques such as screening and health education.

E. Mental Health

1. More psychiatric treatment for the elderly. This can reduce personnel problems as well as many medical costs for disturbed older persons.
2. Complete Medicare coverage on out-patient psychiatric care.
3. Complete Medicare coverage for in-patient psychiatric treatment after the 190 day life-time limitation.
4. The establishment of a commission on the Mental Health of the Elderly.

1. Age -- 26 years
2. Married to the former Dolores Vivian Bramblett  
One child -- Jennifer
3. Residence -- Maryland
4. Worked as an Executive Assistant at the Los Angeles  
office of J. Walter Thompson -- 1967-1968.
5. In June 1968 joined the Nixon for President campaign  
and then on the Nixon transition committee as a staff  
assistant.
6. In January 1969 -- Became Staff Assistant to H. R. Haldeman  
and is currently the Administrative Assistant to Mr. Haldeman.
7. From Southern California -- Attended University of  
California at Los Angeles -- Received BA June 1967 - Political  
Science; one year additional in MBA program.

Activities:

- (1) General representative to student legislative council;
- (2) Vice President of student body;
- (3) Selected outstanding student upon graduation;
- (4) Member of Sigma Nu social fraternity;
- (5) Vice President of Blue Key National Men's Honor  
Society.