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6	77	3/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to John Mitchell RE: Tom Evans and Campaign Management Training. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
6	77	1/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: use of political polls. Handwritten note added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
6	77	1/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From "A. J. F." to Tom Huston RE: voting ethnic groups in New York in the 1972 campaign. 4 pgs.

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

file
Tom Evans at the RNC has offered to take charge of the Campaign Management Training project originally suggested by Chofiner. You probably have this project on track already, but for the record we have no objection.

Rose Woods advises that Jack Mills has offered time and fund raising help.

She reports that he was with the House Congressional Committee and raised a "substantial sum in 1968 -- confidential".

GS:kb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1971



MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY 
SUBJECT: Release of Polls

After discussion with Derge, Colson and Magruder we have all reached the conclusion that the best way and probably the only way that we're going to be able to get out our polls on a consistent basis, without the RNC tag, is to begin using ORC instead of Chilton when we're interested in releasing polls.

Chilton refuses to release polls in part and, also, will state who commissioned a poll if asked by the press. Besides, putting out a poll by Chilton doesn't mean very much since they are not noted for polling, particularly in the political field.

On the other hand, ORC will put out a poll in toto or in part if we ask them to do so. They have no problems about disclosing who paid for the poll and will do mailings to newspapers under their name should we desire.

With your concurrence we're going to try doing some of our upcoming telephone polls through ORC to see how satisfactory this arrangement will be.

Agree H. Disagree _____

January 4, 1971

Tom C. Huston
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Huston:

Your recent letter raised some excellent questions regarding national ethnic approaches, polish intransigence, Jewish voting potential in New York and the President's election chances in New York State. I will try to respond to each in reverse order. You also mentioned the Gardner-Baroni organizational efforts in Gary, I regret I am unfamiliar with this and will not be able to comment.

It is, of course, possible that the President could carry New York State in 1972, however I do not consider it probable. There are a multitude of reasons why the President's chances are slim in New York State even with Conservative party line support:

1. 30% of the electorate (Jews, Blacks and Puerto Ricans) is strongly antagonistic to the President. This antagonism is rooted deeply in 20 years of fear - heightened by the unusually strong attacks made by the New York City media.
2. James Buckley ran without this ingrained fear and as a fresh personality. This freshness allowed Buckley to do as well among the 30% referred to above in a three man race as Nixon was able to do in a two man race. (Wallace surely was no factor among this group.)
3. Buckley (and for that matter Rockefeller) was able to carry Blue Collar areas with large margins. The President is held responsible for the economic plight in these areas at present and therefore, would not run as strong. I do believe the President could carry these areas but not with the 60% or so necessary to carry the state.

4. The Democratic nominee will not be Jewish. Both Rockefeller and Buckley ran against Jews and therefore, were relatively unrestrained in building their coalition. If Muskie is the nominee then the Eastern European ethnic block, which is substantial, is going to be more difficult to move. If Kennedy is the nominee, then the problems are multiplied in the Irish-Catholic community, etc.

5. For Nixon then to move the ethnic groups and Blue Collar types away from Muskie/Kennedy in New York, He would have to move further to the right and make race the issue, while obscuring economics. If he were to take this approach, the price he would have to pay in the middle-spectrum would probably be fatal in the state as well as the nation. Therefore, the President in horse-racing terminology is "boxed in."

6. The Conservative party has reached its objectives and has done so convincingly. However, I think it can be shown that the Conservative party has peaked. Adams, for example, received considerable less votes in 1970 than he did in 1966 and had the election for Governor been close, he probably would have pulled even less votes. Rockefeller made the successful move to the right as will, with the exception of Jacob Javits, all other state Republican candidates for the next decade as well. As the Republican party moves right, the Conservative party will either be absorbed, stand and endorse all Republican candidates except Javits, or move further to the right. Any one of these three options will eventually lead to smaller vote totals and less real influence.

7. I am not at all convinced of the second line myth. How many voters who voted for James Buckley on Line E would have voted for Buckley on Line C had there not been a Line E? I suspect virtually all. Line voting is, I suspect, only important on the two major party lines and had electors for Richard Nixon been allowed to be placed on the Conservative party line in 1968 his vote total would not have risen more than 50,000 if that much. Yet it is a myth that many people hold to be true and I have no real proof that it is not so. Yet the Second-line conceivably could make the difference in a very close race. I do not now believe the 1972 Presidential New York State race will be close.

8. Sumarizing this section I would have to say that a conservative Republican victory in 1976 is a distinct possibility if a base for such a development were laid over the next six years. I do, however find it difficult to perceive a Nixon victory in 1972.

When I stated, in my earlier memo, that Jewish voters in New York State must be garnered in significant amounts, I was not referring to a majority of Jewish voters. There are at least four major types of Jewish voters in the state:

1. Older more Orthodox New York City Jews;
2. Manhattan New York City Jews;
3. Other New York City Jews;
4. Suburban Jews.

Our basic Jewish vote comes from the first category. These more Orthodox Jews tend to be at least as Conservative as the state as a whole. Within this group, there is a militant group, the Jewish Defense League (JDL) which is very much for us politically. However, I feel it would be a major mistake to cater to what I nicely refer to as a Jewish Nazi organization.

Yet within this Orthodox group the movement which Kevin Phillips observes elsewhere is also going on. I am enclosing a cartoon from the Jewish Press, an Orthodox Jewish paper, and an article from the Sentinel, another Jewish paper which bears out this observation. I must point out that we have not exploited all that we can in this group which is fundamentally lower-middle class and "ghettoized." Race, anti-semitism, soviet Jewry, etc. are strong issues which can easily be played to.

The second category of Jews mentioned is the one from which the "Jewish Myth" has developed. I assure you that all Jews are not Leonard Bernstein. There is nothing that we can do to move this group. This group geographically is cloistered in Manhattan, and in mid-town Manhattan at that, and certain older more affluent sections of the boroughs, but mostly in Manhattan.

The third group is our pivotal group. The average middle-class Brooklyn, Bronx or Queens Jew has been written off due to myth. The Republican party and the Conservative party have shared responsibility in this neglect. With the exception of John Marchi, who received better than 20% of the Jewish vote, no Conservative-Republican has made the least effort to appeal to these Jews. What must be understood here is that Republican as well as Conservative is a dirty word to this constituency. (Jacob Javits has never received better than 50% of the Jewish vote, again contrary to myth.)

This average group, enormous in voting potential, is concerned with the same things every other smaller ethnic group is concerned with but they are more concerned with education, race-social position, World War II Germany and Israel. The last two are noted with only slight sarcasm.

The fourth group is an extension of the second and therefore, not worth going into. I would however, like to suggest that Jews, like Protestants, are not really an ethnic group and should not be perceived as such. Jews certainly can be categorized separately from non-Jews but not without an understanding of sub-categories.

As to the third topic - why Poles seemingly contradict the Phillips Thesis? - I assume a sociologist would be more helpful than a political scientist. May I however, suggest that it may be rooted in the fact that the Polish community is generally on a lower social base than the other ethnics and thereby may be moved more similarly to the Blacks than previously thought. This would be true statewide and nationwide. Perhaps now with the turbulence in Poland, political steps could be taken by the President which would attune him with the Polish community.

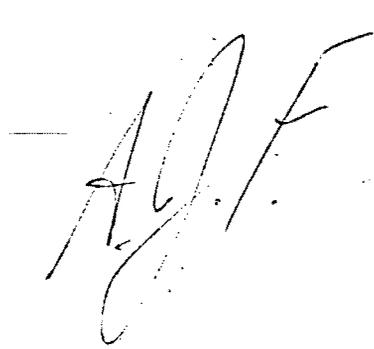
We have seen in New York that those of Polish origin tend to align more strongly with the Democratic party than any other ethnic group. They also are more strongly tied to labor than most groups. During our recent campaign, we noted that the Polish community was greatly moved by the busing issue, once again proving that the competition on the bottom of the social structure is stronger than the competition on top.

As to the movement of ethnics nationally, the first suggestion would be to have the President more visibly involved with ethnic holidays. (i.e. attending Polaski Day parades, inviting German-American leaders to the White House on Steuben Day, pinching Sophia Loren on Columbus Day, etc.) Secondly, nationwide ethnic groups for Nixon should be developed as soon as possible and bombard local ethnic radio stations. On a grander scale the President, in Scammon-Wattenberg terms, must appear un-black not anti-black. To promote this concept, the President should praise some small Black self-help group while condemning a militant Black group - say the panthers.

Further, the President should attempt to identify with the life-style of the new middle-class. The football/baseball games are fine. He should repress his own background alluding constantly to faith in the American system and the rewards of hard work. Less Billy Graham - more Cardinals and local religious leaders. The next appointment to the Supreme Court, if one becomes available, should go to an Italian-Irish-German-Catholic-Conservative-border stater-unknown, and acceptable. The last point is unimportant, since if there were a public outrage over a McMillan, the President can only look good in his defense.

Some random thoughts: A. The Connolly appointment is excellent. As I stated earlier, Texas is very important and this helps. Also, this is, in fact, the first step towards defusing the economic issue. Two very important goods for the small price of a Democratic appointment. I realize there are angry Republicans but.....

B. The 18 year old vote should not be seen as a major setback in fact, can be seen as an overall plus. It will hurt in New York, perhaps a little in California but elsewhere, it should be fine, particularly in the border states. For all the noise about the generation gap, young people (1) do not vote and (2) vote very much like their parents only more so. (Wallace did better among the young than among the old.)

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'A. J. F.', is located in the lower right quadrant of the page. The signature is stylized and somewhat cursive.