

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
11	7	7/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Mrs. Nixon's Request for Reply to Mrs. Mays. 1 pg.
11	7	7/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mrs. Nixon. RE: Mrs. Hugh C. Mays' Letter Offering Assistance. 1 pg.
11	7	7/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Recommendation that \$5,000 be appropriated for questionnaire development for the In Depth Poll. 2 pgs.
11	7	7/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Letter	From Ed Harper to Gordon Strachan. RE: Message of F.Y.I. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
11	7	6/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tom Benham to Kenneth R. Cole, JR. RE: Family Issues Survey. 10 pgs.
11	7	7/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dick Moore to Gordon Strachan. RE: Family Issues Poll as an indicator of what motivates swing voters. 2 pgs.
11	7	6/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Larry Higby to Haldeman. RE: The Key State polls promulgated by the Domestic Council. 9 pgs.
11	7	6/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tom Benham to Kenneth R. Cole, JR. RE: Proposed draft for the State Surveys. 2 pgs.
11	7	7/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Confirmation that Senator Dole does not discuss the 1972 Convention site with the president on Air Force One.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
11	7	7/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects for the 1972 voters which include: The Place of Women, Young Voters for Nixon, Voter Registration, etc. 6 pgs.
11	7	7/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Rumsfeld Memoranda to the Attorney General. 2 pgs.
11	7	6/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Donald Rumsfeld to Haldeman. RE: Message that reads "Confidential." 1 pg.
11	7	6/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	For the Attorney General. RE: McCloskey's belief in Reagan's interest to become president. 1 pg.
11	7	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Donald Rumsfeld to Haldeman. RE: Message indecipherable. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
11	7	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: Attachments on New Jersey party organization. 4 pgs.
11	7	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Donald Rumsfeld to Haldeman. RE: "Confidential" message. 1 pg.
11	7	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: Attachment materials from Maryland; centering on its former statewide campaign manager, Al Abrahams. 5 pgs.
11	7	7/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Completion of the RNC film by August 20, and will require approval by Haldeman and the Attorney General. 1 pg.
11	7	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Mrs. Nixon's Request for Reply to Mrs. Mays. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
11	7	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mrs. Nixon. RE: Mrs. Hugh C. Mays' Letter Offering Assistance. 1 pg.
11	7	7/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Roy Morey to Gordon Strachan. RE: Two questions that might have been excluded from the Family Issues Survey. 1 pg.

July 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Mrs. Nixon's Request
for Reply to Mrs. Mays

Mrs. Nixon sent you a note asking for assistance in responding to Mrs. Hugh C. Mays' letter offering help to re-elect the President. A suggested memorandum to Mrs. Nixon for your signature is attached. Also a suggested draft letter for review and revision by her office is attached.

Attachment: Suggested memorandum to Mrs. Nixon, dated July 13.
Suggested draft reply for Mrs. Nixon's signature.

GS:elr

July 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. NIXON

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Mrs. Hugh C. Mays' Letter
Offering Assistance

In answer to your request for assistance in responding to Mrs. Mays' offer to help re-elect the President:

Any or anyone in her family interested should contact the Director of the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President. By copy of this memorandum he is requested to provide any and all office assistance from either the Mays family, Mr. C. Hugh Mays or Mrs. Hugh C. Mays.

The address is: Citizens for the Re-Election of the President, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C. 20006.

A suggested draft for review and revision by your office is attached.

Attachment: Suggested draft

cc: Job Magruder

GS:elr

Dear Mrs. Mays:

Thank you for your kind letter of June 16. Please excuse the delay in responding, but our schedule recently has been rather full.

Concerning your offer of assistance, you, or any members of your family should contact Jeb Magruder of the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President. He has been asked to assist you in anyway possible. However, all programs are just beginning so the requirement for help right now is quite limited. The address is: Citizens for the Re-Election of the President, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C. 20500

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Hugh C. Mays
Post Office Box 226
Taft, California 93268

July 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: In Depth Poll

Cliff Miller and I reviewed the revised proposal submitted by Charles Roll (attached at Tab A).

To summarize:

- 1) Questions beyond those addressed in Roll's Hopes and Fears on the worries about personal, neighborhood and government would be asked;
- 2) Specific areas of satisfaction and expectations including living standards and price levels would be covered; and
- 3) Confidence attitudes about the President in his various roles would be probed.

Although there are several technical questions to be resolved, including complete control of results and publication, it is our opinion that the proposal is such that questionnaire development and pre-testing should be authorized by you. The cost for this stage would be \$5,000. The total price of the survey is projected at \$49,500, but there are two modifications to that figure. First, Cliff Miller believes that Roll would be receptive to renegotiation downward. Second, the Domestic Council has proposed a Family Issues Survey (memorandum and questionnaire attached at Tab B; Dick Moore's comments at Tab C), which in reality only has eight questions. These are closely related to some of the areas to be covered in the In Depth Poll. The Domestic Council (Ed Harper) has offered to pay \$30,000 from their public fund budget for a survey which gets answers to the family issue questions if we will pay for their four Key State Poll (attached at Tab D).

Recommendation:

- 1) That \$5,000 be appropriated for questionnaire development

and pre-testing of the In Depth Poll.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

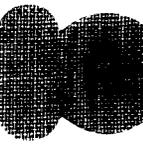
2) That you accept the Domestic Council offer to pay \$30,000 for the In Depth Poll in exchange for our purchase of a Key State Poll.

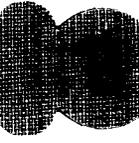
Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

Attachments

GS:elr





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 7/7/71

TO: G. STRACHAN

FROM: Ed Harper

F. Y. I.

June 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: KENNETH R. COLE, JR.
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

FROM: TOM BENHAM
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

SUBJECT: FAMILY ISSUES SURVEY

~~_____~~
~~_____~~

Attached to this memorandum is a draft of a questionnaire for a nation-wide survey whose focus is on family problems.

The survey begins with an open question regarding the community problems perceived as most in need of immediate action. This is a good question to get the respondent started talking before going into problems of a more personal nature. Additionally, Opinion Research Corporation asked this question of a national sample in August of 1968. Therefore, the data obtained can be trended.

Following this, we ask people to tell us about the two or three most serious problems facing their immediate household; and we ask them to tell us which one of these problems is of most concern to them so that some priority can be put on the various problems mentioned (Questions 2 and 3).

Next (Question 4 and 5), for each of the three most serious family problems the respondent is asked what he believes to be the cause of the problem -- anybody or anything in particular who's to blame for the problem. He is then asked what might be done to solve this problem -- whose responsibility solving it is.

Then (Question 6) we specifically ask if any of the three family problems mentioned can be solved best by some action on the part of the Federal Government. This direct question will pinpoint specifically where people believe Federal Government action might be useful, even if they had not voluntarily mentioned it previously.

Finally, to get some feeling as to those aspects of family life which people find both satisfying and dissatisfying, respondents will be presented with a list of personal items and asked with which of those they are fairly well satisfied and with which they are dissatisfied (Questions 7a and 7b).

Then a considerable amount of background material will be obtained -- more than we normally ask for in a political study. Such background information, however, will permit us to analyze the data on family problems in terms of such things as life cycle, number of wage earners in household, working women, occupation, education of head of household, as well as by the usual demographic characteristics.

While somewhat fewer questions in total number are being asked in this survey than, for instance, in the recently completed survey on domestic issues, much of the material in the proposed survey is open-ended and requires considerable probing. The responses then have to be coded in some detail. This will be followed by an analysis that will put family problems in priority order; and for each problem mentioned, it will be related to what people perceive as the cause of that problem and what they perceive as the solution to it.

We recommend personal interviews with a nationwide sample of 1500 persons age 18 and over -- comparable to the sample used in the recent domestic issues study.

Cost: \$30,000. Schedule: six weeks from questionnaire approval.

TWB/jfs
Attachment

TIME INTERVIEW STARTED: _____

OPINION SURVEY

I'm _____, and I'm working on a survey about the kinds of problems and issues that are bothering people today. I'd very much like to have your views.

1. To begin with, what are the problems in this whole community or city that, in your opinion, are most in need of immediate action?
(PROBE: Any others?)

--	--	--

2. Now, how about you and your family? What are the two or three most serious problems facing you and the members of your household?

<u>Problem 1</u>		
<u>Problem 2</u>		
<u>Problem 3</u>		

3. Of those problems you just mentioned, which one are you most concerned about?

- 1 PROBLEM 1
- 2 PROBLEM 2
- 3 PROBLEM 3
- 4 NO OPINION

--	--

ASK FOR EACH OF THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN Q.2

4. You mentioned _____ as a problem. What would you say is the cause of the problem? Is anybody or anything in particular to blame for the problem?

5. How about solving this problem? What do you think might be done to solve it, and whose responsibility is it?

a.	<u>Problem 1</u>	b.
	→	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	<u>Problem 2</u>	d.
	→	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	<u>Problem 3</u>	f.
	→	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Which, if any, of these problems could be solved best by some action on the part of the Federal Government?

- 1 PROBLEM 1
- 2 PROBLEM 2
- 3 PROBLEM 3
- 4 ALL
- 5 NONE
- 6 NO OPINION

HAND RESPONDENT CARD "A"

7a. Here is a list of some aspects of your life. Please look the list over carefully and pick all the items that you are fairly well satisfied with. You may just give me the numbers.

	<u>Q.7a</u> <u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Q.7b</u> <u>Dissatisfied</u>
1. The kind of work I do	1	1
2. My job security	2	2
3. My education	3	3
4. The education of my children	4	4
5. The chance my children will have to do what they want in life	5	5
6. My health	6	6
7. My family's health	7	7
8. My marriage	8	8
9. Our family income	9	9
10. The health of my parents	10	10
11. My parents' financial situation	11	11
12. The home we live in	12	12
13. The community we live in	13	13
14. The opportunity to improve my position in life	14	14
15. The behavior of my children	15	15
16. Relationships with my friends	16	16
17. The way people treat me	17	17
None	18	18
No opinion	19	19

7b. Now look over the list again; and this time tell me which of the items, if any, you are dissatisfied with. Again, you may just give me the numbers.



TAKE BACK CARD "A"

Finally, a few questions for background purposes only.

8. What is your current marital status?
Are you . . .

1 MARRIED
2 SINGLE, WIDOWED,
DIVORCED, SEPARATED

9. Altogether how many people live in this household?

10. Are there any children 17 years of age or younger living in this household?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

IF "YES" ON QUESTION 10, ASK:

11. How many are there altogether who are 17 years of age or younger living here?

1 ONE 4 FOUR 7 SEVEN
2 TWO 5 FIVE 8 EIGHT OR MORE
3 THREE 6 SIX 9 DON'T KNOW

12. What are the ages of the children 17 years or younger? Please give me the ages of the boys and girls separately. First, boys (CIRCLE AGES). Now, girls (CIRCLE AGES).

BOYS			GIRLS		
X NO BOYS	6 YEARS	11 YEARS	X NO GIRLS	6 YEARS	11 YEARS
1 ONE YEAR OR YOUNGER	7 YEARS	12 YEARS	1 ONE YEAR OR YOUNGER	7 YEARS	12 YEARS
2 YEARS	8 YEARS	13 YEARS	2 YEARS	8 YEARS	13 YEARS
3 YEARS	9 YEARS	14 YEARS	3 YEARS	9 YEARS	14 YEARS
4 YEARS	10 YEARS	15 YEARS	4 YEARS	10 YEARS	15 YEARS
5 YEARS		16 YEARS	5 YEARS		16 YEARS
		17 YEARS			17 YEARS

13. Do you have any relatives over 65 living at your home or who depend on you for aid?
Of which of these age groups are you? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)

1 18 TO 20
2 21 TO 29
3 30 TO 49
4 50 TO 64
5 65 OR OVER
6 NOT DETERMINED

14. Do you or does anyone in your household belong to a labor union?
Is anyone in your home a Vietnam or American veteran?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW

15. What is your religious preference? (READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)

1 PROTESTANT
2 CATHOLIC
3 JEWISH
4 OTHER
5 NONE
6 REFUSED OR DON'T KNOW

16. What was the last grade in school you completed?

- 1 8TH GRADE OR LESS
- 2 HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE (GRADES 9, 10, 11)
- 3 HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETE (12TH GRADE)
- 4 COLLEGE INCOMPLETE
- 5 COLLEGE GRADUATE

17. (IF MARRIED): What was the last grade in school completed by your (husband/wife)?

- 1 8TH GRADE OR LESS
- 2 HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE (GRADES 9, 10, 11)
- 3 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE (12TH GRADE)
- 4 COLLEGE INCOMPLETE
- 5 COLLEGE GRADUATE

18a. What kind of work do you do? (If unemployed, what is your usual occupation?)

18b. What kind of business is that? What do they make or do? _____

PLEASE CIRCLE:	1 OWNS BUSINESS, HIRES OTHERS	2 SELF-EMPLOYED, HIRES NOBODY
	3 WORKS FOR SOMEONE ELSE	4 OTHER: _____

ASK ONLY OF WOMEN

19. Which of these best describes you: are you employed full time, that is, 30 hours a week or more for pay; employed part time for pay; or are you not employed at this time?

- 1 EMPLOYED FULL TIME (30 HOURS A WEEK OR MORE) FOR PAY
- 2 EMPLOYED PART TIME (LESS THAN 30 HOURS A WEEK) FOR PAY
- 3 NOT EMPLOYED FOR PAY AT THIS TIME
- 4 DON'T KNOW

20a. Are you the chief wage earner in this household?

- 1 YES → SKIP TO Q.21
- 2 NO



IF RESPONDENT IS NOT CHIEF WAGE EARNER, ASK:

20b. What kind of work does the chief wage earner in this household do? (If unemployed, what is usual occupation?) _____

20c. What kind of business is that? What do they make or do? _____

PLEASE CIRCLE:	1 OWNS BUSINESS, HIRES OTHERS	2 SELF-EMPLOYED, HIRES NOBODY
	3 WORKS FOR SOMEONE ELSE	4 OTHER: _____

21. How many wage earners are there in this household?

(NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS)

22. Do you own or rent your home at this address?

- 1 OWN
- 2 RENT

23. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

- 1 DEMOCRAT
- 2 REPUBLICAN
- 3 INDEPENDENT
- 4 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED
- 5 SOMETHING ELSE

IF "INDEPENDENT" OR "UNDECIDED" ON Q.23, ASK:

24. As of today, do you lean more toward the Democratic party or more toward the Republican party?

- 1 DEMOCRAT
- 2 REPUBLICAN
- 3 DON'T KNOW OR UNDECIDED

25. Regardless of the political party you might favor, do you consider yourself to be a liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

- 1 LIBERAL
- 2 CONSERVATIVE
- 3 SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN
- 4 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED

IF "SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN," "DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED" ON Q.25, ASK:

26. Do you lean more toward the liberal side or more toward the conservative side?

- 1 LIBERAL
- 2 CONSERVATIVE
- 3 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED

HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD

27. Finally, so that we can group all answers, what was your total annual family income before taxes in 1970? Just give me the number of the category that applies.

- 1 UNDER \$5,000
- 2 \$5,000 TO \$9,999
- 3 \$10,000 - \$14,999
- 4 \$15,000 - \$19,999
- 5 \$20,000 OR OVER
- 6 REFUSED ()
Estimate
- 7 DON'T KNOW

TAKE BACK INCOME CARD

28. 1 MAN
2 WOMAN

29. RACE: 1 WHITE
2 BLACK
3 OTHER

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

Time Interview Completed: _____

Total Interviewing Time: _____ Minutes

Respondent's Name: _____

Respondent's Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____

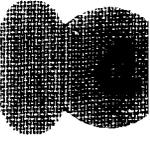
Location Number: _____

I certify that this is an honest interview taken in accordance with my instructions.

Interviewer's Name: _____

Date: _____

Interviewer's Code Number (if any): _____



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: DICK MOORE *DM*
SUBJECT: FAMILY ISSUES POLL

The ORC proposal looks like a very interesting way to identify the so-called gut issues which people feel strongly about personally, and I am all for it.

The individual responses could give us a real clue as to what motivates the swing voters if we can just identify who they are. For example, a person who voted one way in 1960, and the opposite way in 1968, is the kind who can be switched if we know what's bothering him. Therefore, I would strongly recommend that we ask the respondent whom he voted for in 1960, 1964, and 1968. The names of the candidates should be given, including Wallace.

I recognize that 1964 was a special situation, and the result will not help us to identify swing voters. However, persons who voted for Goldwater are clearly non-swingers, and identifying them will enable us to compare the attitudes of solid Republicans with those who are subject to switching.

I would also like to recommend that we ask whether the respondent is leaning toward Nixon or away from Nixon for 1972. When their answers are taken in conjunction with the substantive answers, it should give us a very good guide as to what may be moving the swing voters toward us or away from us.

It seems to me that some of the topics listed in Question 7a could be replaced with more useful ones. For example, "my health", "relationships with my friends", "the way people treat me", don't seem to offer us much.

July 9, 1971

In any event, I would suggest the inclusion of one or more of the following:

My prospects for happy old age
My parents' prospect for a happy old age

(The President struck a good nerve in his Chicago speech. It would be helpful to know at what point in their life people begin to be concerned about retirement and nursing homes, and what proportion of people are concerned about them for their parents.)

Financial protection in case of serious illness

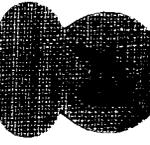
(Coupled with other responses, this could give us an indication of how strongly people are concerned about catastrophic illness.)

My personal freedom -- to say what I please, etc.

(Are people really concerned about repression?)

The newspaper I read
The TV news programs

(These could give us some useful correlation between people's attitudes on the one hand and the source of their information on the other.)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/29/71
11

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

This is the key State folks
that the Domestic Council
is going with Thursday providing
~~the~~ funding is arranged

500 520 520
Revised State Survey for California, Illinois, New Jersey
and Texas -

Roll
Over

I'm _____, and I'm working on a survey about current issues being made for Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, New Jersey. I'd like very much to have your views.

Aside from the Vietnam War and foreign affairs, what are some of the most important problems facing people here in the United States?

(Probe: Any others?)

What are some of the most important problems facing people here in (name of State)?

(Probe: Any others?)

Would you say that you are better off or worse off financially than you were a year ago?

1. BETTER OFF FINANCIALLY
2. WORSE OFF FINANCIALLY
3. ABOUT THE SAME
4. NO OPINION

I am going to read a number of items. For each one, please tell me if you personally think it is very important, fairly important, or not too important. (INTERVIEWER: READ EACH ITEM IN TURN AND REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY.)

	<u>Very</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Fairly</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Not too</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u>
1. Holding down inflation	1	2	3	4
2. Combatting crime	1	2	3	4
3. Requiring zoning laws in suburban communities that permit lower or moderate income housing	1	2	3	4
4. Holding down the unemployment rate	1	2	3	4
5. Reducing air and water pollution	1	2	3	4
6. Solving state and local problems like crime rates, run-down local services, or poor school system	1	2	3	4
7. Passing laws to speed up racial integration of suburban communities	1	2	3	4
8. Making Federal operations more responsive to public needs	1	2	3	4
9. Providing adequate health care services for the American people	1	2	3	4
10. Training enough doctors	1	2	3	4
11. Creating a national compulsory health insurance program	1	2	3	4

Very Fairly Not too No
Important Important Important Opinion

12.	Extending Federal bussing legislation to the whole country, not just the South	1	2	3	4
13.	Reforming the Federal Welfare system	1	2	3	4
14.	Providing adequate living standards for the needy through welfare programs	1	2	3	4
15.	Working to restore and enhance the natural environment	1	2	3	4
16.	Providing increased Federal aid to education	1	2	3	4

5. I am going to name some government programs. For each one would you tell me whether you think government spending should be kept at the present level, if spending should be increased, or if spending should be decreased. (INTERVIEWER: READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT THE ANSWER CATEGORIES AS NECESSARY.)

		<u>Kept at</u> <u>Present</u> <u>Levels</u>	<u>Should</u> <u>be</u> <u>Increased</u>	<u>Should</u> <u>be</u> <u>Decreased</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u>
1.	Foreign Aid	1	2	3	4
2.	Space program	1	2	3	4
3.	Aid to education	1	2	3	4
4.	Farm support program	1	2	3	4
5.	Rural development	1	2	3	4
6.	Highway building program	1	2	3	4

	<u>Kept at Present Level</u>	<u>Should be Increased</u>	<u>Should be Decreased</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
7. Medicare	1	2	3	4
8. Financing Vietnam War	1	2	3	4
9. Anti-crime and law enforcement programs	1	2	3	4
10. Welfare programs	1	2	3	4
11. Low-income housing	1	2	3	4
12. Air and water pollution	1	2	3	4
13. Programs to enhance and restore our environment	1	2	3	4
14. National defense	1	2	3	4
15. More doctors and hospitals	1	2	3	4
16. Financial help to the cities	1	2	3	4
17. Finding a cure for cancer	1	2	3	4

6. In your opinion, who should have primary responsibility for providing health care services in this country -- the Federal Government, or private individuals through their medical insurance, their savings, or their income?

- 1 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
- 2 PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS
- 3 NO OPINION
- 4 OTHER (Specify):

7. Would you be for or against a Federal Government health insurance program paid for through higher taxes?

- 1 FOR
- 2 AGAINST
- 3 NO OPINION

How serious a need do you think there is for government sponsored health care services for the elderly in this area -- very serious, fairly serious, or not too serious?

- 1 VERY SERIOUS
- 2 FAIRLY SERIOUS
- 3 NOT TOO SERIOUS
- 4 NO OPINION

Which comes closest to describing what the Federal government should do to control inflation:

1. Let business conditions take their normal course.
2. Take steps that will slow down inflation without any sharp rise in unemployment.
3. Do whatever is necessary to stop inflation, even if it means an increase in unemployment.

If you had to fix the blame, who do you think is most responsible for the inflation we have had in recent years?

(Probe: Any others?)

As far as you are concerned, does it make any real difference whether or not the Federal budget is balanced?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW

Should parents who send their children to parochial or private elementary and secondary schools be allowed to deduct the cost of tuition from their Federal income tax?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 3 DON'T KNOW

Question - varies by state

Texas Is it worth closing plants & creating some unemployment in order to clean-up the Houston ship Channel. (Illinois same question but w. Chicago River, shores of Lake Michigan & Ohio River. New Jersey same question but w. Raritan Bay + Delaware Bay.)

Calif Is it worth it to ration the use of your automobile + use of electricity to clean-up the smog in Los Angeles. - See letter from Calif.

In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

- 1 DEMOCRAT
- 2 REPUBLICAN
- 3 INDEPENDENT
- 4 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED
- 5 SOMETHING ELSE

(If "INDEPENDENT" or "UNDECIDED" on Q. 13, ASK):

14. As of today, do you lean more toward the Democratic party or more toward the Republican party?

- 1 DEMOCRAT
- 2 REPUBLICAN
- 3 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED

Regardless of the political party you might favor, do you consider yourself to be a liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

- 1 LIBERAL
- 2 CONSERVATIVE
- 3 SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN
- 4 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED

(IF "SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN," "DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED" ON Q. 15, ASK):

16. Do you lean more toward the liberal side or more toward the conservative

- 1 LIBERAL
- 2 CONSERVATIVE

In order to clean up San Francisco Bay would you favor an increase in your taxes to pay for additional sewage treatment?

17. Of which of these age groups are you?
(READ CHOICES TO RESPONDENT.)
- 1 18 TO 20
 - 2 21 TO 29
 - 3 30 TO 49
 - 4 50 OR OVER
 - 5 NOT DETERMINED
18. Do you or does anyone in your household belong to a labor union?
- 1 YES
 - 2 NO
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
19. Do you have any relatives over 65-years-old living with you in your home or who depend upon you for financial aid?
- 1 YES
 - 2 NO
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
20. Is there anyone in your household who has served in the armed forces during the last 5 years?
- 1 YES
 - 2 NO
 - 3 DON'T KNOW
21. What is your religious preference?
- 1 PROTESTANT
 - 2 CATHOLIC
 - 3 JEWISH
 - 4 OTHER
 - 5 NONE
 - 6 REFUSED OR DON'T KNOW
22. What was the last grade in school you completed?
- 1 8TH GRADE OR LESS
 - 2 HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE (GRADES 9, 10, 11)
 - 3 HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETE (12TH GRADE)
 - 4 SOME COLLEGE OR COLLEGE GRADUATE

Finally, so that we can group all answers, what is your total annual family income before taxes: Under \$5,000; \$5,000 to \$15,000; or over \$15,000?

1 UNDER \$5,000
2 \$5,000 to \$15,000
3 OVER \$15,000
4 REFUSED
5 DON'T KNOW

1 MAN
2 WOMAN

Are you white, Negro, or some other race?

1 WHITE
2 BLACK
3 OTHER

THANK YOU VERY
MUCH

Time Interview Completed: _____

Total Interviewing Time: _____

Respondent's Telephone No: _____
Area Code Number

Date: _____

Location Number: _____

I certify that this is an honest interview taken in accordance with my instructions.

Interviewer's Name: _____

Opinion Research Corporation

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

telephone: 609/924-5900

June 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: KENNETH R. COLE, JR.
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

FROM: TOM BENHAM
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

SUBJECT: STATE SURVEYS

Attached to this memorandum is a draft for the proposed state surveys. As requested by you, we have taken from the recent domestic issues survey the open-ended issue question, the questions on the importance of various issues, the questions on spending for government programs, and most of the questions on health care. Obtaining information on these would allow the results from each state to be compared with the results of the country as a whole.

In addition to these questions that we visualize as standard in each survey, additional questions will be asked, specifically designed for an individual state in consultation with you.

If the number of questions designed for an individual state are too great, then we will have to cut back on some of the questions that form the standard part of each state survey.

It is our recommendation that these state surveys be conducted by telephone. If personal interviews were to be conducted, it would be quite costly in some of the less populous and less urbanized states, as interviewers have to travel further and the length of time necessary to complete the study increases.

For such state telephone surveys, 300 to 500 interviews is sufficient for a reliable view of total statewide opinion. A reasonable amount of subgroup analysis of the data is possible with five hundred cases, and some with 300. The only justification for the additional expense of going beyond 500 interviews would be if a fairly detailed subgroup analysis were desired.

Cost: \$6,950 per state for 500 interviews
\$5,200 per state for 300 interviews

Schedule: 2 weeks from questionnaire approval for 500 interviews;
a couple of days less for 300 interviews.

TWB/jfs
Attachment

July 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: 1972 Convention Site

Magruder asked the Attorney General to call Senator Dole to assure no discussion of the convention site with the President aboard Air Force One today.

However, the Attorney General requests that a final decision on the site be reached by Wednesday. When the decision is reached, Timmons and Magruder will be instructed to follow the scenario outlined in previous memoranda.

GS:dg

July 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Magruder's Projects

The Attorney General has been pressing Magruder for action by the task forces. The result is a series of memoranda for the Attorney General which are attached as tabs and summarized:

1. The Place of Women in the 1972 Campaign

Rita Hauser argues that there is a new social and political awareness among women that will have to be tapped carefully to assure their support for the President. The recommendation, which the Attorney General has not acted upon, is that a separate women's organization within the campaign should not be created, but rather that a woman be appointed at the Deputy Campaign Manager level to carry the responsibilities justified by experience and ability regardless of gender (memorandum attached at Tab A).

Tom Benham of ORC reviewed the polling material available on "Women's Lib" and concluded that there is no political significance to the movement per se. He suggests directing the appeal to equal job opportunities rather than to the movement itself (memorandum attached at Tab B).

2. Young Voters for Nixon

Ken Riets has been hired by the Attorney General to be Executive Director of Young Voters for Nixon. Riets submitted a memorandum to Magruder who delivered it to the Attorney General (attached at Tab C). The Riets memorandum relies on the Brock analysis for the President of the uses of young voters. As to decision items for the Attorney General, Riets urges that: a) "Young Voters for Nixon" be the official title of the group; b) YVN be separate from the regular campaign organization, especially on the state level; c) YVN control the "overall thrust and policy of the Nixon Youth movement", including YAs, New Generation for Nixon, etc.; d) YVN emphasize "first voters for Nixon" up to age 30; e) Senator Brock's ad hoc YVN advisory board of selected NCs under age 40 submit broad policy guidance for the National

campaign for young voters (members: Senators Brock and Weicker; Congressman Steiger (Wisc.), Lujan (N.M.), Frey (Fla.), Pettis (Cal.), Beister (Pa.), Whitehurst (Va.)) Members of this board will set up regional boards of Governors, Mayors, etc., who may not all be Republicans; Brock's Advisory Boards will have a staff which will expand in the next few months; f) After November 1st, the larger staff will create First Voters for Nixon, which will be a targeted, high visibility registration drive among young voters based on public opinion surveys; g) A campaign plan will be submitted which will describe in detail the YVN programs and schedule including hiring and training staff (Nov.-Jan.); public activities including regional and state staffs and concentration on Nixon voters among school groups in the 21 target states (Feb.-April); tighten organizational structure around the identified Nixon voters (May-July); target mailing and campaign appeals to deliver the 500,000 young workers for Nixon (Aug.-Nov.).

3. Voter Registration

You asked Magruder to reconsider the decision about non-involvement with registration drives. (Memorandum attached at Tab D.) Magruder's response is the plan developed by Senator Brock and Ken Riets. The plan, which the Attorney General approved Friday, suggests that the current Republican voter drives are of little value; that the Youth for Nixon Organization (Ken Riets) will have to control our registration drive; and that after thorough planning the registration drive (First Voters for Nixon) will concentrate on target individuals in key states. The First Voters for Nixon would seek some publicity during the next four months while the organization work is being done. Brock and Riets believe that any mass registration drive would work to the President's disadvantage. (Riets' material also attached at Tab D.)

4. Mock Conventions

You asked for a description of the campaign's plans for mock conventions (Memorandum attached at Tab E). Riets prepared the memorandum attached at Tab F which Magruder gave to the Attorney General for consideration. Riets urges a scheduled, organized series of conventions under his direction within Young Voters for Nixon. No specifics are offered as it is Riets' view that organization cannot begin until this winter.

It is Finch's view that the interest in and number of mock conventions this year will be much lower because now youth has the vote and will channel its energies toward real voter participation instead of substitute politics.

5. Target Voter Strategy

The Delaware test of the target voter strategy is part of a Magruder memorandum on Research (Tab G) which has been submitted to the Attorney General. No decision by the Attorney General has been relayed to Magruder. The Research memorandum draws heavily on the RNC priority states list, which you reviewed in the key states memorandum of June 23rd. Additional points made include descriptions of successful examples of "rifle-shot communication with target voters . . . to augment the mass-media campaign". Magruder requests authority from the Attorney General to "(p)roceed with detailed development of the target voter strategy".

6. Democratic and Republican Contenders

Pat Buchanan is the Chairman of this Magruder task force, which has concluded that the current system of collecting data is adequate. This conclusion will be tested this week.

The Buchanan memorandum (attached at Tab H) is excellent, delightful reading. This summary does an injustice: a) Kennedy could have the nomination if he wants it; he will decide to run in December 1971 if he feels the President is a loser; there is a split of opinion as to whether Kennedy would be the most difficult candidate; his strengths are: Kennedy myth, rank and file Democrat support, and the best political operation; his weaknesses are: Chappaquiddick, too far left, anathema to South; b) Muskie could unite Democrats and is strong on new priorities issues, but he has politically bumbled the clean shot at the nomination, issues, and the center conservative Democrats; c) Humphrey is not considered the strongest opponent but has the party connections and politically accurate stand on economic issues, he is also a strong campaigner; his weaknesses include: old face, hemlock to New Left, weak in polls, and no appeal to youth; d) Jackson would be an excellent VP for Kennedy because he is a rallying point for Democratic conservatives; if Jackson were the Presidential nominee a fourth party would result; e) McCloskey should be ignored from the National level but pushed left to tarnish his ex-Marine, honest White Knight image; f) the result is attack all Democratic candidates and party leadership but keep the President aloof by either keeping the entire official family out of politics or by using the available Republican guns, except the President,

to hit the Democrats; g) The current research by the RNC and Mort Allin is adequate and our resources should be allocated to increasing the output of attacks by MONDAY, Dole, letters, and Colson's shop; h) Future activities to be considered include Walker advance men implemented difficulties for contenders, mid-week version on MONDAY, and full time use of Ken Khachigian as the White House Staff Man to handle the contenders' material; i) For the next six months, output should seek to exacerbate the Democratic rift by relying on the good RNC collection system and seeking methods of getting information into media; this would not require funds for staff from the campaign for now.

7. Mrs. Lombardi

Pursuant to a request after Mrs. Lombardi saw the President, Magruder has asked the Attorney General to include her on the Citizens for the Re-election of the President.

8. Businessmen for Nixon

Flanigan urges the Attorney General to accept Don Kendall as the head of Businessmen for Nixon. The Attorney General agreed and Kendall has assigned Deke De Loach (former assistant to Hoover) and Harvey Russell, black, to begin working immediately with Magruder. The plan is to have the businessmen's group primarily organization, issue, and recruitment oriented, instead of fund raising oriented. The businessmen's group should review 1968 and other campaign experience to prepare a formal recommendation for action for the Attorney General by August 31, 1971. (Memorandum attached at Tab I.)

9. Advertising

Magruder's memorandum for the Attorney General (attached at Tab J) recommends that the Citizens form their own advertising agency in Washington. He cites 1968 experience with Fuller Smith as the reason against hiring an independent agency with a Citizens campaign group within it. Magruder argues that no independent agency could guarantee full time performance by the best people in all related fields. Disadvantages to the creation of a new ad agency such as the simple logistics of setting up a \$20 million advertising agency are dismissed as being no different than what an independent agency would face. Assumptions based on the campaign spending legislation, 1968 experience, and fixed commission costs indicate that creation

of a new advertising agency would save \$1,200,000. Magruder requests authority to form the new agency and recruit an advertising director and creative director for consideration by the Attorney General. Magruder concludes by recommending target advertising that should be pre tested in the primaries.

10. Farm Vote Plan

Whitaker, as Chairman of the Farm Vote Task Force, submitted the most detailed, considered, solution-oriented proposal of any of the task forces. It is attached at Tab K. Whitaker's task force includes Bryce Harlow, Hyde Murray, Donald Brock (AA to Hardin), and Phil Campbell. Twenty-two recommendations for action are ready for decision by the Attorney General. Whitaker prepared a one page summary of the report which makes these points: a) Some non-political recommendations are being implemented now; b) positive and negative issues are identified with suggestions for effective utilization or response; c) poll information is needed and; d) better communication among Washington groups concerned about farmers is needed.

11. Planning Schedule for the Re-Election of the President

Bill Horton, of Fred Malek's staff, prepared the planning schedule for Magruder to deliver to the Attorney General today. Copy 2 of 12 is attached at Tab L. In chart form, all of the major decisions to be made by the Campaign Director are superimposed on the 17 month political calendar. Tab A of the schedule is a summary of the 15 task force principal planning activities. Subsequent tabs detail each of the major planning task forces and decision points.

Horton's analysis points out a severe weakness in the coordinated planning for the Re-Election of the President; that is, the lack of unified campaign - State of the Union - Budget approach aimed at November 7, 1972.

12. Brochure

Magruder directed the RNC to prepare a brochure which could be used to send to people who write to the White House, the Citizens, or the RNC asking what they can do to help re-elect the President. All who write in receive acknowledgements and are catalogued by Anne Higgins, Bob Odle, and Ed DeBolt, respectively. (Attached at Tab M is memorandum describing the system.)

The Attorney General quickly reviewed the brochure but deferred to you for any comments. The brochure has not been "staffed" to Safire, Moore, etc., because of reluctance to put White House Staff in the position of second-guessing the Attorney General's campaign operation. If you feel this would not be a problem, the brochure will be staffed this week. (Mock-up attached at Tab N.)

Recommendation:

That the brochure be staffed to Chapin, Safire, Moore, and Klein for comment.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

GS:lm

July 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Rumsfeld Memoranda to
the Attorney General

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

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

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

GS:dg

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By *[Signature]* NARS, Date *4-21-82*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 26, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: DONALD RUMSFELD

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By

B. J. [unclear]

NARS,

Date

4-21-82

June 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR :

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1971

FOR

BOB HALDEMAN

FROM:

DONALD RUMSFELD

10 GS.
For Summary

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By *B. G. [unclear]* DATE, Date *4-21-80* June 25, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

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

cc: Bob Haldeman ✓

NEW JERSEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

U.S. Senate race: Incredibly, after thumbing his nose at rank-and-file Republicans for 18 years, Senator Case has as yet no serious primary opposition.. No Democrat looks strong against him. Labor polls show Case running strong within their ranks against any Democrat, including ex-Governor Richard Hughes. Assemblyman Walter Lee, ^{56/78} a Burlington County conservative, will likely run against Case in the primary but is not known at all. McCrane is anti-Case and could make a strong primary race with heavy financial support. There are reports he is contemplating just that. McCrane is race track owner Gene Mori's son-in-law and is a successful businessman in his own right. McCrane must be respected, but Case has the current state scandals going for him. In the end, he has retained Republican support because of his carefully-cultivated honesty image. He is one of the rocks in a scandalous state situation. But McCrane is Cahill. Gross could be very effective in an anti-Case primary and the possibilities cannot be overlooked. Gross and Case just don't get along.

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

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

What To Do:

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1971

FOR: BOB HALDEMAN
FROM: DON RUMSFELD

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12965, Section 6-102
By *B. J. [unclear]* NARS, Date *4-21-82*

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By B. J. [Signature] WARS, Date 4-21-72

June 25, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

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

cc: Bob Haldeman

MARYLAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What To Do:

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

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

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

July 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.A. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Film

Magruder advises that the Attorney General reviewed the script of the RNC film with Tom Evans and Jeb Magruder. The scenes on the dead soldier, integration, and burdens of the office will be changed by the producer at no cost.

The film will be completed by August 20 at which time it will be subject to approval by you and the Attorney General, as well as members of the White House Staff that you suggest.

The RNC now requests access to the Oval Office during the President's trip to California. Chapin agrees that access should be granted because control over the final product is now re-established.

Recommendation:

That Tom Evans at the RNC be granted authority to permit his film producer access to the Oval Office between July 7 and July 15, under the immediate control of Mark Goodale.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

cc: Dwight Chapin

GS:lm

July 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Mrs. Nixon's Request
for Reply to Mrs. Mays

Mrs. Nixon sent you a note asking for assistance in responding to Mrs. Hugh C. Mays' letter offering help to re-elect the President. A suggested memorandum for Mrs. Nixon for your signature is attached.

GS:lm

July 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MRS. NIXON

FROM:

H.R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Mrs. Hugh C. Mays'
Letter Offering
Assistance

You asked for suggestions to respond to Mrs. Mays' offer to help re-elect the President.

The first family unit, Lt. Col. and Mrs. John Thulin, can begin helping at the Citizens for the Re-election of the President offices in the near future. Jeb Magruder, who is the Attorney General's aide at the Citizens' Committee, has developed a plan for use of part time and volunteer help. Chuck Colson's wife, Patty, is heading up the women's organization. Jeb Magruder is personally working with men who offer assistance. Of course, all the programs are just beginning so the requirement for help right now is quite limited.

As for the two families in California, the chances are that Leonard Firestone will be the Citizens Chairman for the State. However, the Attorney General has not yet decided if that is to be the case. When he does, both families should get in touch with the California State Chairman of Citizens for the Re-election of the President. In the meantime, both families should contact Jeb Magruder at:

Citizens for the Re-election of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20560

HRH:GS:lm