

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	8	7/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Larry Higby and Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Request for an ORC poll of all State Chairman and members of the National Committee. 3 pgs.
11	8	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Haldeman to Larry Higby. RE: The need for a poll run by the ORC, of all State Chairmen, Republican State Committee members, and members of the National Committee. 1 pg.
11	8	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Dent Office Memoranda which includes: thought pieces by Dick Richards, analyses of states by Tom Davis, RNC field men's reports, etc. 10 pgs.
11	8	7/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Fuller & Smith & Ross Inc. Versus "House Agency." 1 pg.

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11	8	7/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Haldeman to Arthur B. Duran. RE: Possible need for Duran's services should the president seek re-election in 1972. 1 pg.
11	8	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Gordon Strachan. RE: AP Wire Story on Politics. 2 pgs.
11	8	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Larry Higby to Gordon Strachan. RE: Request by Haldeman to find out who was speaking with Mears at the Committee. 3 pgs.
11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Mort Allin to Gordon Strong. RE: Message "FYI". 1 pg.
11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	By Walter R. Mears (AP Political Writer). RE: The shaping of President Nixon's re-election campaign. 1 pg.

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11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		Letter	Unknown handwritten letter. 1 pg.
11	8	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: AP Wire Story on Politics to find out who gave Mears the information. 2 pgs.
11	8	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: ORC Popularity Percentages for the June 5-6, June 21, and July 20-21 Surveys. 1 pg.
11	8	7/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Foreign Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: China Trip Announcement Poll, July 20-21, 1971. Total respondents: 1002. 2 pgs.
11	8	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Survey taken from July 20-21, 1971 on whether the public approves or disapproves of Nixon's job as President. 1 pg.

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11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Survey results of Nixon's approval/disapproval ratings. 1 pg.
11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Catagories of those surveyed about Nixon's job approval. 1 pg.
11	8	7/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Harris Presidential Popularity Releases. 1 pg.
11	8	7/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Location of San Diego as a favorite among many staffers for the RNC Convention. 2 pg.
11	8	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Letters Offering Assistance to Re-Elect the President. 1 pg.

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11	8	7/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From an illegible name to Haldeman. RE: The need for grass roots support for Nixon, and his availabilty for assistance if needed. 1 pg.
11	8	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Raymond E. Ballard. RE: Mr. Billard's offer to assist in the campaign to re-elect the President. 1 pg.
11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	A draft letter from Gordon Strachan. RE: The appreciation for offering to aide in Nixon's re-election campaign. 1 pg.
11	8	7/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bruce. RE: Letter attachments from those who offer help in the upcoming campaign. 1 pg.
11	8	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Robert C. Odle, JR. to Raymond E. Ballard. RE: Gratitude toward Mr. Ballard for his offer to help in Nixon's re-election campaign. 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	8	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Finch Memorandum for The President on California Delegation, Convention, and Campaign. 1 pg.
11	8	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>		Other Document	Indecipherable note entitled, "G's file". 1 pg.
11	8	7/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Notes on the meeting between Leonard Firestone, Holmes Tuttle, Tom Reed, and Wm. French Smith. 3 pgs.
11	8	6/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Telephone conversation between LKF and RR. RE: The speculation over LFK's involvement as leader of the Citizens for Nixon campaign. 3 pg.
11	8	7/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	RE: "Policy for Selection of the California Delegation to the 1972 Republican National Convention." 2 pg.

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11	8	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Finch to the President. RE: California Delegation, Convention and Campaign. 2 pg.
11	8	7/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	RE: "Policy for Selection of the California Delegation to the 1972 Republican National Convention. 2 pg.
11	8	7/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Thomas C. Reed to the Delegation Organizing Committee. RE: The selection process that will take place at the upcoming meeting of the Organizing Committee. 1 pg.
11	8	7/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	To: Delegation Organizing Committee. RE: Enclosed surveys that portray the President's strengths and weaknesses, in an effort to overcome the challenges facing the 1972 election. 1 pg.
11	8	6/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Survey taken in California to gage Nixon's popularity. (2 questions asked). 2 pgs.

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11	8	6/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Survey results on the "Presidential Job Rating and the Issues in California." 2 pgs.
11	8		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Survey of the Black Population, catagorized by State in 1970. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 232

Folder: G. Strachan-Chron-to HRH only July 16, 1971 Book II

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
1	Return Private/Political Memo, Higby & Strachan to HRH, 7/29/71.
2	Retain Open
3	Retain Open
4	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/28/71.
5	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/29/71.
6	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/28/71.
7	Retain Open
8	Retain Open
9	Retain Open
10	Retain Open
11	Retain Open
12	Retain Open
13	Retain Open
14	Retain Open
15	Retain Open
16	Retain Open
17	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/26/71.
18	Retain Open
19	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/26/71.
20	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/24/71.
21	Retain Open
22	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/23/71.
23	Retain Open
24	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/21/71.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 232

25	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/21/71.
26	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/20/71.
27	Retain	Open
28	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/20/71.
29	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/19/71.
30	Retain	Open
31	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/19/71.
32	Retain	Open
33	Retain	Open
34	Retain	Open
35	Return	Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7/15/71.
36	Return	Private/Political Memo; reports, Strachan to HRH, 7/16/71.

Yellow Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY  
GORDON STRACHAN

The request that we run a poll conducted by ORC of all State Chairmen and members of the National Committee developed the following:

Have RNC pay?

1) Assuming the poll were to be 25 questions of which five are open ended, to telephone interview the 48 State Chairmen and 96 National Committeemen of the 48 contiguous states would cost \$6,000;

2) The reason the cost is so substantial is that the attempts to reach the individuals will be very time consuming. O'Neill estimates that only five actual contacts will be completed each day. The survey might go quicker, but plans should be considered on the basis of five weeks to complete;

3) As an alternative mailing, a poll to the Republicans was considered. However, to get a statistically accurate survey there would have to be follow up calls to those who did not respond by mail. The estimated cost of this type of poll would be \$4,000; ?

4) Suggested questions are attached.

Recommendations:

That the \$4,000 mail and follow up telephone call poll be started immediately in light of the time required to complete the survey.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

That the Republican State Committee members not be interviewed because of the high cost.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?
2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Spiro Agnew is handling his job as Vice President?
3. Do you approve or disapprove of the President's handling of foreign policy?
4. Do you approve or disapprove of the President's initiatives in the domestic policy area?
5. Do you personally believe that it is a good thing that President Nixon has decided to visit the Peoples Republic of China, or isn't it?
6. As you see it, what are some of the good and bad things about President Nixon visiting with Chinese officials in Peking?
  - A. What are some of the good things about it?
  - B. Now what are some of the bad things about such a visit?
7. Why do you think President Nixon is capable of conducting negotiations and relations with Communist China?
8. It has been suggested that 3% of the money which Washington collects in Federal income tax be returned to the states and local governments to be used by these states and local governments as they see fit. Do you favor or oppose this idea?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
G-Jan 9-10, 1971	77%	14%	9%

9. Do you think President Nixon has strengthened or weakened the Republican Party during his 2 1/2 years in office?
10. Which of the following issues do you think will be the strongest for the President in your state -- Vietnam, crime prevention, drug abuse action, or the economy?

11. Why do you think \_\_\_\_\_ issue will be strong for the President?
12. Do you consider the Republican Party unified behind the President or will he face serious challenges in the primaries?
13. Would any of the three leading Democratic contenders -- Muskie, Kennedy and Humphrey -- defeat President Nixon in your state if the election were held today?
14. Why would President Nixon defeat \_\_\_\_\_ Democratic candidate for President?
15. Do you feel that the Republican Party's financial situation is stronger or weaker now than it was in 1968?
16. Do you believe that the Democrats will be able to retire their \$9 million debt before November 1972 or don't you?
17. Do you believe that the President's campaigning in your state on behalf of lesser candidates is helpful or isn't it?
18. Do you approve or disapprove of President Nixon's decision to work closely with Governors Reagan and Rockefeller?
19. Do you believe that President Nixon's foreign policy initiatives will assure a "full generation of peace" or don't you?
20. Do you believe the President's decision to travel to China will help or hurt his chances to obtain the "youth vote"?
21. Which of the Democratic contenders -- Muskie, Kennedy, Humphrey, Jackson and Bayh -- will be chosen by the Democrats at their Convention?
22. Why do you believe \_\_\_\_\_ will be chosen by the Democrats?
23. Why does George Wallace continue to run for President?

*JS*  
See me  
L.

July 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR : LARRY HIGHY  
FROM : H.R. HALDLIMAN

We need to run our own poll, conducted by ORC, of all State Chairmen, maybe also Republican State Committee Members, and Members of the National Committee, with some solid questions that will develop some good answers overall and some good quotes. In other words, some open ended questions.

We need to counteract the impression that our Republican leadership is falling into the trap of taking a negative approach on everything. This was played up out of the National Committee meeting by the press. A little intelligent polling of the overall membership of National Committee should produce a more positive result and such a poll should be put together right away.

*6 prepere possil.*  
Benham has Rep St ~~Chairman~~ Chairman ↗  
declining members of Natl Comm ↘  
Phone + Cost:  
25 Ps, 5 open → \$6000 *because might be very hard to reach. complete 5 per day.*  
54 St. Comm + 108 (includes Guam)  
just 48 contiguous states 144  
→ Prefers Mail + call those who don't respond  
→ \$4000

Yellow Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1971

Administratively Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Dent Office Memoranda

Dent forwarded copies of thought pieces by Dick Richards, analyses of states by Tom Davis, RNC field men's reports, and copies of his memoranda for the President and the Attorney General.

Richards, Senior Citizens, July 21: For perspective, the 18-21 age group will probably have 5 million voters while 25 million senior citizens will vote. The potential support for the President is greater among Senior Citizens because they respect "the President", support President Nixon's moral values, and are more conservative except on the social service issues (social security, medicare, pensions, etc.). May Gallup statistics on approval and trial heats demonstrate the President's stronger standing among the senior citizens. To increase this support they must be convinced that we understand their basic financial problem of living on a "fixed income" with inflation and real estate taxes eroding their life style. Senior citizen's organizations are lobbying for financial advantages through social security, health, housing, and transportation benefits. They will vote their pocket book and support Ted Kennedy or Ed Muskie who have made large promises to appeal to the senior citizen voter. The senior citizen should be our highest priority so that support for the President can be delivered from the senior citizen's organizations and clubs. Administration sponsorship and support of legislation coupled with communication and support through senior citizen's organizations and publications is essential.

Richards, Kennedy, July 16: Assuming Kennedy will be a candidate he must maintain his high support among blacks, increase it among youth, and reduce the President's support by the senior citizens. The blacks are locked on Kennedy. His pandering approach to senior citizens is exemplified by his committee positions on public welfare, human needs, and aging. Kennedy's nationwide hearings appeal to the elderly as does his attack on the AMA.

Richards' independent analysis of the RNC and Citizens approach to the youth vote emphasizes:

1. Five million 18-21 year old voters are being sought by registration drives by Common Cause, Frontlash, Incorporated, and the National Movement for the Student Vote. All profess to be bipartisan but indications are that their focus is anti-Nixon/Republican. The numerous youth polls should be catalogued by the RNC;

2. Anne Armstrong's programs for the youth vote include: TARs, who are led capably by Barbie Wells, and the College Republicans and YRs, which are mere shells with questionable programs; they will be used to the extent helpful by the Citizens Young Voters for Nixon, which with Ken Rietz' direction will pursue off-campus youth.

3. The youth vote is not a bloc; it is reluctant to join either party; youth does not realize the President is with them on the issues (Vietnam, pollution, government, reform); some non-traditional "movement" avoiding the appearance of using youth is necessary.

Tom Davis --

Louisiana: Wallace would win again because of the busing controversy. The victor in the crowded Democratic primary in December will beat the Republican gubernatorial candidate in the general election in February. Ellender or McKeithen will hold the Senate seat. Hale Boggs may face another tough race in 1972 in light of the 1970 Census redistricting. The Republican Party is weak.

Wyoming: The President would win but by a slim margin because of his liberal positions and the economy. Hansen will be re-elected; no young Republican has emerged who could beat Democratic Congressman Teno Roncalio. The Republican Party is strong.

Florida: The President would carry Florida in spite of welfare reform and busing, in the only statewide race in 1972. Democratic redistricting will hurt but one to three Congressional seats should still be gained. The Party should be an asset since the 1970 fratricide is subsiding.

Iowa: Iowa will support the President though the economy is off and farmers feel neglected. A gubernatorial primary battle between GOP Governor Ray and Lt. Governor Jepsen could split the Party, waste money and cause defeat in 1972. Senator Miller has a slight lead over Congressman John Culver. Redistricting will not cost us any seats in Congress. The Party needs a White House effort to prevent a gubernatorial primary.

Colorado: The President will carry Colorado. The issues, in order, are the War, crime, the economy and drug abuse. Allott will be re-elected. Republican control of the Governorship and Legislature assures Congressional gains after redistricting. The Party is very strong.

Connecticut: The President might carry Connecticut because Governor Meskill is popular and has made the Party organization strong. Unemployment is the big issue against the Republicans. Congressional seats will follow the coat-tails.

California: Muskie or Jackson would make the race very close. Unemployment is hurting the Republicans badly. The Party is useless because of the vacuum left by State Chairman Put Livermore. Reagan should be the favorite son. Five new Congressional seats give the Republicans the chance to carry two to four. McCloskey is highly vulnerable. Assemblyman Dixon Arnett or former GOP head Jim Halley could win in the GOP primary, but if McCloskey runs as a Democrat he will win.

Missouri: The President is stronger in Missouri than in 1968 though the War and the economy are the issues hurting him. Democratic Lt. Governor Morris faces a tough primary against several strong contenders. Danforth would be the strongest candidate to be the first GOP Governor in 32 years. Les King and Kit Bond may challenge Danforth, who has legal residency problems. The last Democratic gerrymandered redistricting can't be made worse for the Republicans so there is a chance of getting more than one of the current 10 Congressional seats. The Party is strong and confident.

RNC Field Men Analyses of States

Charles Baily (Far West) --

- Alaska: After the Party's poor performance in 1970, personnel changes were made, but with little effect. Senator Stevens should be re-elected.
- Arizona: The new leadership of the Party is strong but faces the challenge of re-registering all their members; the financial situation is sound. There are only two minor statewide races in 1972, though Tucson and Phoenix have mayoralty races that could divide Republicans.
- Colorado: The Party is strong; Allott should win the re-election; and a Republican should pick up the Congressional seat.
- Hawaii: The Party is weak, though the new State Chairman, Carla Coray, is improving the situation. Finances are not a problem because of Randolph Crossley. The Democrats will remain in control.
- Idaho: Financially the Party is hurting; it is impossible to assess other indications of Party strength. Senator Jordan and the two Republican Congressmen will be re-elected.
- Montana: Financial problems and new leadership make determination of Party strength difficult. Republican Attorney General Woodahl would be the best candidate against vulnerable Senator Metcalf. Republican Congressman Dick Shoup faces a real fight. Democratic Governor Forrest Anderson could be defeated by Jim Lucas or "Doc" Keller.
- Nevada: Organizational and financial disaster at the state level is partially compensated for by strong county organizations in Clark and Washoe. Senator Bible and Congressman Bearing (sic) face no opposition.
- New Mexico: Finance Chairman George McKenna should be replaced because the Party is in debt with no plan for repayment or development of a war chest. Senator Anderson may resign so that the Democratic Governor

may appoint a candidate who can run in 1972 as an incumbent. The Republicans will have too many candidates to wage an effective general election campaign for the Senate seat available in 1972. There is no chance of capturing another House seat.

Oregon: The Birchers control 12 counties in Oregon that the new state leadership is trying to isolate. The financial situation is stable. Senator Hatfield will be opposed in the primary.

Utah: The new State Chairman, Kent Shearer, is a good organizational politician but "could have problems and become ineffective due to excessive alcoholic consumption." Small donors keep the Party in the black. If Democratic Governor Calvin Rampton seeks an unprecedented third term he will win; the President should carry Utah in spite of Rampton's victory.

Washington: The financial condition is tight but the Party organization excellent. Republican Governor Dan Evans should be re-elected.

Wyoming: Small contributors support the strong Party. Senator Hansen will be re-elected and might even help defeat Democratic Congressman Roncalio.

A.J. Miller, Jr. (Midwest) --

Illinois: The economy, farm attitude and the war would prevent the President from receiving more than 45% of the vote; Ogilvie oriented leaders instead of Party politicians dominate the scene; there is no debt but fund raising is not very effective. Percy is unbeatable; the Congressional seats are stable. Ogilvie's chances for re-election have improved recently.

Iowa: The President would win by a narrow margin. There is no debt but current income is at 10% of normal fund raising. The Party is strong. Senator Miller should defeat Kennedy's candidate, Congressman John Culver. A gubernatorial Republican primary fight could mean Democratic victory in November.

Kansas: A 5% margin of victory for the President is predicted. He has support on the War but less among farmers. The Party organization is nothing but has a \$30,000 debt. Senator Pearson is said to have a 6% margin over any opposition, including Governor Docking, who will seek a fourth term if victory over Pearson does not seem probable.

Minnesota: The President would receive 45% to 47% against Muskie or Kennedy and 40% against Humphrey. Unemployment, the War, and the farm attitude are the issues against the Republicans. Although there is no debt, new State Chairman Dave Krogseny faces low cash flow and drastic staff reductions. Senator Mondale cannot be defeated though Douglas Head might challenge him.

E. Allen Parker (New England) --

Connecticut: The President would carry Connecticut in light of Governor Meskill's and Senator Weicker's actions. Former Meskill campaign workers now head the debt-free Party and with no other statewide races in 1972 the President's position is strengthened.

Maine: If Muskie is not the candidate the President could carry Maine. The Party is in the black and led well by a young chairman. Senator Smith is the other statewide race in 1972 but is expected to win over primary and general election challengers.

Massachusetts: The President will lose but Senator Brooke will win because of ideological divisions within the weak Republican Party.

New Hampshire: The Republican Party is split between pro and anti Governor Peterson people. However, the President is strongly supported. The Party's finances are marginal. Both Parties will have hard fought primaries for the Governor and Senate spots open in 1972.

Rhode Island: Chafee is ahead of Pell for the Senate seat and De Simone is ahead of Licht for Governor. Still, the President is not strong in Rhode Island because of the War issue. Republican Party leadership is strong and the finances are adequate.

Vermont: The victories by Governor Davis and Senator Prouty have strengthened the President's favorable position. State Chairman Merriman is rumored to be joining the President's campaign but there are other strong leaders though the Party is in debt. Governor Davis is not expected to run for re-election and there will be a primary fight.

Paul Russo (East Central States) --

Arkansas: The Party is split between Rockefeller and State Chairman Bernard. The President needs a Citizens head acceptable to both. Governor Bumpers and Senator McClellan are both up for re-election in 1972.

Indiana: Governor Whitcomb has cut off funds and patronage from State Chairman Snyder, who is backed by Keith Bulen. Snyder is strong organizationally and needs help.

Kentucky: Governor Nunn may seek Senator Cooper's seat; Nunn supports Emberton to replace him as Governor. The Party is strong with sound finances.

Michigan: State Chairman McLaughlin is a good youth oriented state leader. He is faced with debt and the possibility that the best people to work for the President will be drawn to Senator Griffin's campaign.

Mississippi: State Chairman Reed is a strong leader of a Party without debt. The Democratic gubernatorial primary between Charles Evers and Lt. Governor Sullivan in August may result in support for the President in 1972. Senator Eastland's term expires in 1972.

Ohio: State Chairman Andrews is faced with a substantial debt and heretofore unsuccessful attempts by Taft to replace him. Ray Bliss is helping Andrews raise funds.

Tennessee: The Party is getting stronger though there is some debt. Senator Baker's popularity is stimulating interest in the 1972 Campaign.

West Virginia: Republican Governor Arch Moore is the only source of Republican strength. He can help the President. Moore may seek Senator Randolph's seat in 1972. The Party is weak and in debt.

Mike Scanlon (Eastern States) --

Delaware: State Chairman Gene Bunting heads a strong Party without debt. Governor Peterson will seek re-election in 1972. Senator Caleb Boggs may seek re-election. If he does not, Congressman du Pont or Mayor Haskell will seek the seat.

Florida: State Chairman L.E. (Tommy) Thomas has a new strong staff and a sound financial situation. There are no statewide races in 1972 though three new Congressional seats will be sought. The President is strongly supported by the Republicans.

Georgia: State Chairman Robert Shaw and Finance Chairman Tom Lowe are working against a substantial debt while trying to make the Republicans a viable second Party. Senator Gambrell, who was appointed to Russell's seat is up in 1972.

Maryland: State Chairman Lankler is faced with a \$40,000 debt though the amount is being reduced. There are no statewide races in 1972.

New Jersey: Governor Cahill and State Chairman John Dimon head a strong, debt free Party. Senator Case is expected to win re-election.

New York: State Chairman Lanigan heads the finest Republican organization in the country and is reducing the debt from the Governors race. There are no statewide races in 1972.

North Carolina: State Chairman Houlshouser will resign so that he can seek the Governorship, where he may be opposed by Congressman Broyhill. The Party's debt is being reduced.

Pennsylvania: The Party has a \$300,000 debt which prompted Martin Hamberger of Senator Scott's staff to try to oust State Chairman Jones. He failed. Scott retains control statewide. There are no statewide races in 1972.

South Carolina: State Chairman Powell is overshadowed by Senator Thurmond and Harry Dent. Thurmond's re-election bid will drain the Party of workers and further widen the split.

Virginia: Governor Holton and State Chairman French run a "good" Party that has a small debt. Senator Spong is expected to run for re-election.

Mike Woodsen --

California: The "Livermore Vacuum" is spending money exclusively on computer time for re-apportionment. The Los Angeles County Republicans also have no money. McCloskey would be defeated in the Republican primary though would win as a Democrat. "The 1974 Republican stars must be held at bay until after the November election."

Dent's Memorandum for the President on Southern Politics: Dent re-drafted his memorandum for the President which, according to the Staff Secretary, has been with the President for one month. Basically, Dent summarizes his work with Southern GOP leaders, media, citizens, college students, and blacks. Dent believes Wallace will run. Attempts to discredit Wallace in Alabama are progressing. A Readers Digest article on the "President and the New South" and more Southern appointments are urged. The memorandum which asked for decisions on continuing the Southern strategy of "give the South equal treatment" and whether Connally can do fund raisers, has not been returned by the President.

In two memoranda for the Attorney General, Dent suggests:

1. A mailing of Christmas cards by the President to the State Chairmen and 100 top party leaders in each state;

2. That Louie Donaldson, a city councilman in Memphis, be the Chairman of our Primary Campaign in Tennessee. Donaldson apparently has the support of Timmons from the Brock Camp and Lamar Alexander from the Baker and Dunn camps.

July 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Fuller & Smith & Ross Inc.  
Versus "House Agency"

Arthur Duram offered his agency's services in 1972. He believes they served well in 1968 and so was discouraged to hear that a "house agency" may be used in 1972.

A check with Magruder about where Duram obtained his information produced his July 26 response with the Advertising Age article. Magruder believes the "house agency" story leaked from his Advertising Task Force meeting with senior White House Staff people.

A suggested reply to Arthur Duram is attached.

GS:lm

July 29, 1971

Dear Art:

The July 19 column in Advertising Age which led to your July 20 letter is typical of the type of information that floats out of Washington on occasion. Jeb Magruder is talking to many advertising people about different approaches to the Campaign. However, all discussions at this stage are preliminary. No final decisions have been made.

If the President decides to seek re-election, your service in 1968 and potential for 1972 will be given very careful consideration.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

H.R. Haldeman  
Assistant to the President

Mr. Arthur E. Duran  
President  
Fuller & Smith & Ross Inc.  
666 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10019

yellow circled

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

July 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

AP Wire Story on Politics

To implement your request to find out who gave Mears the information for his AP wire story in Saturday's News Summary, low key conversations were held individually with Harry Dent, Lyn Nofziger, Jeb Magruder, and Rob Odle. To summarize:

Harry Dent -- "I didn't talk to Mears and do not know who did, but my guess is that it was some knowledgeable person at the RNC because the RNC people do not like the Citizens Committee. The concluding remark 'Besides,' (said the Republican) 'we usually get caught and the Democrats don't' sounds like a Nofzigerism to me. I doubt that Magruder, Flemming or Odle as the Citizens representatives would talk because they would be fully aware of the Attorney General's displeasure. With 37 people from the RNC in Denver and all of the National Committee members drinking and bigshotting with the press constantly around, it is amazing more information is not out."

Lyn Nofziger -- "Neither I nor Tom Evans talked with Mears, but it was someone here at the RNC. I don't squeal or spy and disclose the name. However, at the RNC general staff meeting today Evans will say 'no more of this crap' (disclosing too much to reporters). The Mears story is a composite of several interviews which form a wrap up political story."

Jeb Magruder -- "Mears talked with several people in Denver including Nofziger, Dent, Dole, and McWhorter. Mears probably did not talk with Flemming. The information in the story about the Campaign being in the planning stage is from me (Magruder). Similarly the line about McCloskey 'we do not feel he is a serious threat' is also from me (Magruder). This information was given because it is the standard line and changed the Mears story from a negative one about how Citizens forced San Diego on the RNC."

Rob Odle -- "Charlie McWhorter definitely talked with Mears. Harry Dent did not talk with Mears to the best of my knowledge. Harry Flemming definitely did not talk to Mears because he was in his suite constantly meeting with the 50 State Chairmen. I doubt that Nofziger of the 37 from the RNC was the one who talked to Mears. Van Shumway probably talked to Mears; it would be odd if he didn't because they are friends. Jeb Magruder definitely talked with Mears in order to turn the thrust of his story from 'Citizens is forcing San Diego down the RNC's throat' to a more positive story."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

L. HIGBY 

SUBJECT:

Action Item

Bob asked that we find out by the end of today who was talking to Mears over at the Committee.

- Neuf* - not Neuf; not Evans either; won't squeal or spy; but at gen'l staff mtg no more of this crap;  
- most from RNC, but also RNC; a wrap up combined pol story
- Odle* - JSM → Mears to turn story around from "lets forcing S.D. down RNC throat"  
Charlie McWhorter definitely  
Bent did not  
Nothing to him politically  
- 37 RNC people there, but not Lynn  
- "pubal Van, but odd if he didn't"  
- Novak w/ JSM  
- Flemming did not talk to him bef in 51 different meetings w/ St Chmn
- Bent* - didn't talk to Mears + doesn't know  
- thinks someone fed him or knowledgeable RNC  
- Neuf at end

One key message: The current operation, Citizens for the Re-election of the President, will one day become Nixon's formal campaign organization. At that point, RN's campaign manager will take over as director. Republican sources expect AG Mitchell to fill that role again in 1972. Mitchell and Haldeman were said to have been closely advised of the current political operation. "We have a close relationship with all of the senior people at the White House," the source said. "What we're doing is trying to figure out what the options are. We're looking at what we can do, rather than what we will do." The President's political draftsmen see three possible courses: Let the primaries go by with no campaign, enter stand-in candidates, or have the President do some campaigning. They are wary, on the basis of past political performances, of stand-in campaigns. Their current planning, subject to RN's decision later, would point toward active campaigning, with or without the overt entry of RN. The source said primary election planning would be based on political impact looking toward the Nov. 7 election, not on the challenge of McCloskey. "We do not feel he is a serious threat," the source said. The source said RN planners would be far more concerned with a challenge from the conservative wing of the party, but do not anticipate any. He said the kind of operation now under way for RN has been conducted in the past, by Dem Admin's inside the WH but RN considered that inappropriate. "Besides," the Republican said, "we usually get caught and the Democrats don't." (Mears, AP)

Find out  
who this was  
Get me  
know

\* \*

"Don't look for another childrens' crusade in 1972," said N. Hampshire GOP State Chairman Whelan. "There are no riots, burning or bombing. The mood was changed, and this is to Nixon's advantage. He is always population in New Hampshire." "The youth vote will not be a factor," he said. "Let's face it, only a small percentage in the 21-26 age group even bother to register." With a minimum of fanfare, and no visible support from state political chieftains, McCloskey has talked informally with groups of

VICE PRESIDENT

VP Agnew, for the third time on his current world trip, demonstrated that one of the best ways for him to get public attention is by deliberately throwing some "red meat" to the press. The VP has said he sometimes does this to attract attention and last Saturday did it again with an attack on US black leadership, which he contrasted unfavorably with the strongman leaders of Ethiopia, Kenya and the Congo. Earlier on the trip, the Veep twice fired off blasts at familiar targets -- the media -- and in doing so drew more attention than he has with his diplomatic efforts so far in eight Asian and African nations. In both cases, the attacks came at a time when press criticism was mounting on different aspects of his trip.

\* \* \* \*

GOP

The RNC -- on a rare roll call vote -- voted 119-12 to hold the 1972 National Convention in San Diego, Calif. GOP leaders -- including Rockefeller and Goldwater -- addressed the Committee, praising RN. Rockefeller lauded RN for his effort in "bringing to an end the long war which has torn the very fiber of our country as never before in history."

\* \* \* \*

RN's re-election campaign already is being shaped, and one of the men involved in the off-stage planning said it may include major efforts to roll up the vote in key Republican presidential primaries. Nixon men are at work opening their lines and assessing the political situation in conferences with Republican state chairmen and national committee members. "We're showing the flag," an Admin source said. In the RN campaign buildup, Harry Flemming is conferring privately with the state party leaders, asking for advice and political assessments, and assuring them that the regular GOP organizations will not be undercut in 1972.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FROM: MORT ALLIN

TO:

Gordon Strong

FYI

r. v. : 2-ob23  
Republicans B.T. 470, & takes 700  
By ~~WALTER R. WELLS~~  
Political writer

~~REUTERS AP~~ - President Nixon's re-election campaign already is being shaped, and one of the men involved in the off-stage planning said today it may include major efforts to roll up the vote in key Republican presidential primaries.

Nixon men are at work opening their lines and assessing the political situation in conferences with Republican state chairmen and national committee members.

"We're showing the flag," an administration source said. The Republican National Committee was expected to choose today between San Diego and Miami Beach as the site for the 1972 convention at which Nixon presumably will be nominated for a second term.

Also on the agenda: action on party reform measures. Sen. Robert J. Cole of Kansas, the party chairman, said that was expected to include a recommendation that there be numerical equity for blacks, other minorities and young voters in the presidential nominating delegations. In addition, the party was expected to urge that women make up half the delegations.

But those recommendations would not be binding on the state parties, as are the representation reforms enacted by the Democratic National Committee.

In the ~~Nixon~~ campaign buildup, Harry Flemming, formerly a special assistant to the President, is conferring privately with the state party leaders, asking for advice and political assessments, and assuring them that the regular GOP organizations will not be undercut in 1972.

One key message: the current operation, Citizens for the Re-election of the President, will one day become Nixon's formal campaign organization.

At that point, ~~Nixon's~~ campaign manager will take over as director. ~~Att. Gen. John N. Mitchell~~ ~~announced Nixon's last~~ campaign, and Republican sources expect him to fill that role again in 1972.

Mitchell and presidential assistant Robert Waldeman were said to have been closely advised of the current political operation.

"We have a close relationship with all of the senior people at the White House," the source said. "That we're doing is

trying to figure out what the options are. We're looking at what we can do, rather than what we will do."

Among the options are the presidential primaries, with at least 23 on the 1972 schedule that begins March 7 in New Hampshire. Nixon's name will automatically go on the ballot in a half-dozen states under state laws which list all prospective nominees who do not disavow candidacy.

The President's political draftsmen see three possible courses: Let the primaries go by with no campaign, enter stand-in candidates, or have the President do some campaigning.

MORE  
ff-ob234aed July 23

ac12

r vlbylob23

DELAVER take 2 Republicans Bjt AC11; campaigning, 23C  
They are wary, on the basis of past political performances, of stand-in campaigns, in which a state political leader would go on the ballot as Nixon's representative.

Their current planning, subject to Nixon's decision later, would point toward active campaigning, with or without the overt entry of the President. As yet, their option planning does not indicate what states would be likely targets, but the first primary that will list all candidates will be in Florida March 14.

The administration source said primary election planning would be based on political impact looking toward the Nov. 7 election, not on the challenge to Nixon of Rep. Paul L. McCloskey, of California, who has said he will enter several primaries.

"We do not feel he is a serious threat," the source said. "It would not seem he is making much progress in the Republican party at this time."

The source said Nixon planners would be far more concerned with a challenge from the conservative wing of the party, but do not anticipate any.

He said the kind of operation now under way for Nixon has been conducted in the past, by Democratic administrations, inside the White House but Nixon considered that inappropriate.

"Besides," the Republican said, "we usually get caught and the Democrats don't."

cb23aed July 23

(Mears; AP) x x

J&M → Mears → several people  
at conventions  
→ Ref, Dent, Role,  
J&M, probably not  
to Flemming,  
and McWhorter  
"planning info  
for J&M" —  
instead of story  
on dubbing over  
head on site  
— "We do not see he is  
a serious threat" — J&M  
— end — get caught —  
anyone.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

July 28, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

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July 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: ORC Popularity Percentages  
for the June 5-6, June 21,  
and July 20-21 Surveys

Benham's explanation of the statistical variations among the three surveys is attached.

Discussion with Benham and O'Neill about the Republican, Democrat and Independent demographics developed the following points:

- 1) There is a group of "unclassifieds" that could be shown below the Republican, Democrat, and Independent category. In the June 5-6 survey the weighted number of "unclassifieds" was 117, in the June 21 survey it was 40, and in the July 20-21 survey it was 98;
- 2) The approval of the President by this unclassified group in the June 5-6 survey was 61% (71 individuals); in the June 21 survey it was 42% (17 individuals); and in the July 20-21 survey it was 47% (45 individuals);
- 3) Without the "unclassifieds" in any of the three surveys, the President's popularity would have been 48% in the June 5-6 survey, 52% in the June 21 survey, and 49.6% in the July 20-21 survey.

The net result is that the highly unstable group of "unclassifieds" shifted their approval of the President from 61% in the June 5-6 survey to 42% in the July 20-21 survey. This explains the constant approval at 54% in spite of the increase in the approval by the Republicans from 73% to 80% and the Democrats from 38% to 43% between the June 5-6 survey and the June 21 survey. The 2% drop by Independents and the 19% drop by "unclassifieds" accounts for the difference.

GS:lm

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

China Trip Announcement Poll  
July 20-21, 1971  
Respondents: 1002

You asked for three additional items on the China Trip Announcement Poll:

1. The demographic comparison of the approve/disapprove of the President for the last two polls is attached at Tab A.
2. The Republican, Democrat, Independent demographic information on the detailed statistics tables reflects the answer to question 19: "In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?" The charts then do not include "leaners", which are determined by asking those who answer question 19 with "Independent or something else": "As of today, do you lean more toward the Democratic Party or more toward the Republican Party?"

The reasons for not including leaners are: 1) to increase the sample; and 2) to accurately reflect the population division of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. The statistical significance of the demographic groups interviewed in the China Trip Announcement Poll is attached at Tab B. Partial information about 1968 voter participation is also shown. This information will be sent regularly by ORC.

Discussion with Harry O'Neill at ORC developed the suggested that we drop total/lean conservative distinction also. The new tables will follow your suggestion of yesterday that "Republican" not include the "lean Republican". "Leaners" would appear on the tables, however. The ideological (conservative/liberal) information will also have similar 5-way split.

3. ORC's only explanation for the consistent 4-5 point difference between Gallup's field polls and the ORC telephone polls is that people with telephones are generally wealthier and better educated and therefore more inclined to support the President. ORC advises against a standard 4-5 point compensation factor.

GS:dg

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY RICHARD NIXON IS  
HANDLING HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT

	PERCENTAGE BASE		1. APPROVE				2. DISAPPROVE				3. NO OPIN.			
	UNWTD	WTD	1.6/21	6/5-62	6/21	6/5-62	6/21	6/5-62	6/21	6/5-62	6/21	6/5-62		
TOTAL PUBLIC	1002	1022	54	54	54	53	32	3						
SEX														
MALE	480	495	54	53	54	53	36							
FEMALE	508	513	54	55	54	50	29							
AGE														
18-20 YEARS OF AGE	73	75	57	42	48	35	43							
21-29 YEARS	214	188	57	43	46	32	36							
30-49 YEARS	416	353	55	60	57	32	27							
50 YEARS AND OVER	294	401	52	57	57	31	28							
EDUCATION														
8TH GRADE OR LESS	87	243	47	61	59	25	26							
HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE	144	163	53	50	53	30	38							
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE	359	364	57	54	53	30	31							
STATE COLLEGE	407	247	59	50	53	30	41							
MARRIAGE														
SINGLE FAMILIES	230	298	48		53	31								
CONJUNCTION FAMILIES	722	724	58		54	30								
RACE														
WHITE	899	885	58	56	57	28	31							
NONWHITE	99	133	28	43	34	38	39							
RELIGION														
PROTESTANT	532	526	60		57	25								
CATHOLIC	231	274	51		53	39								
INCOME														
UNDER \$5,000	158	231	51	47	49	31	38							
\$5,000 - \$15,000	523	507	57	54	55	29	31							
OVER \$15,000	230	178	56	61	56	38	34							
VOTING BEHAVIOR														
ALREADY REGISTERED	828	843	55		55	31								
WILL REGISTER	132	127	54		54	30								
REGISTERED OR WILL REGISTER	960	970	55		55	31								
DO NOT REGISTER	42	52	46		38	45								
POLITICAL AFFILIATION														
REPUBLICAN	213	218	80	80	73	12	11							
DEMOCRAT	343	394	36	43	38	45	44							
INDEPENDENT	348	312	61	56	38	28	27							
IDEAS														
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	432	433	62		64	24								
MODERATE CONSERVATIVE	218	228	61		59	24								
TOTAL LIBERAL	383	368	53		43	36								
MODERATE LIBERAL	171	170	51		46	37								
IN BETWEEN	125	136	45		59	35								
NIXON VOTERS	410	413	74		77	15								
NON-NIXON VOTERS	223	238	31		26	34								
COLLEGE VOTERS	68	64	35		53	37								
NON-COLLEGE VOTERS	223	231	51		43	33								
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION														
PROTESTANT	244	240	48	46	52	39	38							
CATHOLIC	294	299	54	56	50	30	31							
JEW	314	314	58	58	59	20	27							
MUSLIM	150	170	56	57	55	29	35							

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

000

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SURVEY RESULTS

Stub Item	Number of Interviews (Unweighted)	Approximate Sampling Tolerances for a Survey Percentage at or Near These Levels					1968 Voting Partic- ipation
		10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%	
Total public	1002	2	3	4	4	4	67.8
Men	480	3	4	5	5	6	69.8
Women	508	3	4	5	5	5	66.0
18 - 20 years of age	73	9	11	13	14	14	33.3*
21 - 29 years	214	5	7	8	8	8	57.1
30 - 49 years	416	4	5	6	6	6	70.0
50 years and over	294	4	6	7	7	7	71.3
8th grade or less	87	8	11	12	13	13	54.5
High school incomplete	144	6	8	9	10	10	61.3
High school graduate	359	4	5	6	6	6	72.5
Some college	407	4	5	6	6	6	81.2
Union families	280	4	6	7	7	7	
Nonunion families	722	3	4	4	4	5	
White	899	2	3	4	4	4	69.1
Nonwhite	99	7	10	11	12	12	56.2
Protestant	532	3	4	5	5	5	
Catholic	261	5	6	7	7	8	
Under \$5,000 income	158	6	8	9	10	10	56.0 <sup>#</sup>
\$5,000 - \$15,000	523	3	4	5	5	5	72.0
Over \$15,000	230	5	6	7	8	8	84.1
Now registered	828	3	3	4	4	4	91.2
Will register	132	6	9	10	10	11	
Registered or will register	960	2	3	4	4	4	
Won't register	42	11	15	17	19	19	
Republican	213	5	7	8	8	8	
Democrat	343	4	5	6	6	7	
Independent	348	4	5	6	6	7	
	<u>904</u>						

\*The 18 - 20 years of age category includes only persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 years old in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii. The other age groupings are extrapolations from census data.

#Data for these income groups are "primary family" income.

Stub Item	Number of Interviews (Unweighted)	Approximate Sampling Tolerances for a Survey Percentage at or Near These Levels					1968 Voting Participation
		10% or 90%	20% or 80%	30% or 70%	40% or 60%	50%	
Total conservative	434	4	5	5	6	6	
Lean conservative	218	5	7	8	8	8	
Total liberal	383	4	5	6	6	6	
Lean liberal	171	6	7	9	9	9	
In between	125	7	9	10	11	11	
	<u>1331</u>						
Nixon voters	410	4	5	6	6	6	
Humphrey voters	223	5	7	8	8	8	
Wallace voters	66	9	12	14	15	15	
Nonvoters	223	5	7	8	8	8	
East	244	5	6	7	8	8	71.0
Midwest	294	4	6	7	7	7	71.0
South	314	4	6	6	7	7	60.1
West	150	6	8	9	10	10	71.0
Aware Nixon China announcement	880	2	3	4	4	4	
Not aware	122	7	9	10	11	11	
Approve Nixon handling job	559	3	4	5	5	5	
Disapprove Nixon handling job	314	4	6	6	7	7	
No opinion	129	6	9	10	11	11	
Admit Communist China to U.N.	454	3	5	5	6	6	
Do not admit	371	4	5	6	6	6	
No opinion	177	6	7	8	9	9	

\*Census data show only the average voting participation for East, Midwest, and West combined (71.0%). Voting participation data for the South are computed separately.

NOTE: In those cases where subgroups do not add to the total, it is because respondents refused to answer the question or interviewer could not determine accurate reply.

July 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Harris Presidential  
Popularity Releases

A check with Chuck Colson's office and the RNC as the two recipients of all Harris Polls indicates that no Harris Presidential Popularity Poll was released between May 13 and July 8. The Harris July 8 release gives the monthly trend data back to June 1969 and no Presidential popularity figures are shown between the May 13 and July 8 release dates.

If Harris conducted a poll within this time frame he has not made the information public, nor has he given the results to Colson.

GS:lm

Administratively Confidential

July 21, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Magruder called the Attorney General last night to report on the Dole meeting with the President about the RNC Convention site. Magruder's source of information was Timmons, who was overly concerned that San Diego might not be selected.

The Attorney General told Magruder that: "I want it assured that the Convention is to be in San Diego. I want Haldeman to make sure Dole doesn't do anything other than what he is instructed to do (select San Diego)." Of course your memorandum for the President's file, following the Dole meeting, indicates that Dole will assure the selection of San Diego. Therefore, it is probably unnecessary for you to call Dole and review a decision which has already been reached.

The attached wire story indicates that Chicago withdrew its bid for the RNC Convention.

On a related subject, Timmons called concerning whether or not the Convention is to be two or three days long. In Timmon's June 26 memorandum one of the decisions presented to you and the Attorney General was whether or not the Convention was to last three days. No decision has been relayed to Timmons. Since there must be five sessions, Timmons has been discussing with San Diego a three day Convention because of the hotel room commitment problems.

Question: Has a decision been reached on whether the Convention is to be two or three days in length?

Two days: \_\_\_\_\_ Three days: \_\_\_\_\_

No decision, raise with the Attorney General: \_\_\_\_\_

26  
You received a list yesterday of the Pre-Convention Committees. Dole accepted all of them except that Kendall Garff of Utah has replaced L.E. Thomas of Florida as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation.

GS:lm  
7/1/64-2

July 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Letters Offering Assistance  
to Re-Elect the President

Approximately once a week you receive a letter offering help to re-elect the President. A sample is attached at Tab A.

To date, we have been forwarding them to the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President for response. These letters on Citizens stationery refer to you by name to indicate the individual's letter is being answered (sample attached at Tab B). The question is whether you want to have the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President answering campaign mail addressed to you. The alternative is to send a standardized response on White House stationery which indicates that the request has been forwarded to Citizens. A suggested draft is attached at Tab C.

- Continue current practice of having Citizens answer letters addressed to you.
- Send standard response on White House stationery.
- Other.

Attachments

GS:elr



28 North Orange Street  
Medford, Oregon 97501  
July 7, 1971

Mr. H. R. Halderman  
Assistant to President Nixon  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Mr. Halderman:

I am writing you because you are a  
Christian Scientist which is the church I attend  
and hope to affiliate with that church again.

Also it seems to me its time we laid some  
ground work at grass roots for Mr. Nixon's  
re-nomination and re-election. Would it be  
be privileged as a professional campaigner  
in the effort needed for his continuation  
of the work so nobly performed by him to date?

Respectfully,

Raymond E. Ballough  
28 North Orange Street  
Medford, Oregon 97501  
Telephone 512-8532

B

July 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Ballard:

Mr. Haldeman has asked us to thank you for your kind letter of July 7 offering to be of assistance in the campaign to re-elect the President.

We are indeed grateful for your kind offer to help, and appreciate your taking the time to write. At this particular point in time we are just beginning to plan our activities in the area in which you have expressed an interest and develop our thinking as to what should be done in the forthcoming campaign. I would like to put your name in an active file, however, so that your offer of assistance can be acted upon at the appropriate time.

In the meantime, we hope you will continue your active support for and interest in the President's re-election which is so vitally important to a successful campaign.

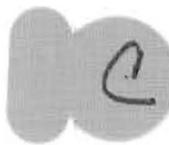
With Mr. Haldeman's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Robert C. Odle, Jr.

Mr. Raymond E. Ballard  
28 North Orange Street  
Medford, Oregon 97501

bcc: ✓ Mr. Gordon C. Strachan *w/attachment 7/20/71*  
ODLE CHRON.  
✓ ODLE RESUMES: CITIZENS



8.11.20

Dear :

Mr. Haldeman asked me to thank you for your kind letter of offering to help re-elect the President.

He has requested that your letter be forwarded to the Citizens Committee for the Re-Election of the President which, as the title states, is a group of citizens like yourself who have begun thinking about and planning for the campaign.

You should be hearing from them in the near future. Thanks again for your offer of support.

Sincerely,

Gordon Strachan  
Staff Assistant  
to H. R. Haldeman

Name  
Address

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

G.S.

Date: 7/19

TO: Bruce

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Attached is a sample  
of the type of  
letter received  
by those who write  
to H and offer  
help in the  
campaign

Does this go out?  
to Committee STRACHAN  
IF so, should  
H be aware  
of same?

July 16, 1971

Dear Mr. Ballard:

Mr. Haldeman has asked us to thank you for your kind letter of July 7 offering to be of assistance in the campaign to re-elect the President.

We are indeed grateful for your kind offer to help, and appreciate your taking the time to write. At this particular point in time we are just beginning to plan our activities in the area in which you have expressed an interest and develop our thinking as to what should be done in the forthcoming campaign. I would like to put your name in an active file, however, so that your offer of assistance can be acted upon at the appropriate time.

In the meantime, we hope you will continue your active support for and interest in the President's re-election which is so vitally important to a successful campaign.

With Mr. Haldeman's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Robert C. Odle, Jr.

Mr. Raymond E. Ballard  
28 North Orange Street  
Medford, Oregon 97501

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

July 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Finch Memorandum for The  
President on California  
Delegation, Convention,  
and Campaign

Finch acquired some of the information relayed to you in California by a memorandum from Leonard Firestone (Attached at Tab A).

Finch's interpretation of this information and a DMI telephone poll raise the following points (original memorandum attached at Tab B):

- 1) The selection of the California delegation represents a power play by Reagan's people (Tom Reed, Holmes Tuttle, and Bob Walker, and Eleanor Ring). It is Finch's view that the delegation will not help carry California in November; further that delegation may raise money which will not go to the campaign.
- 2) Authority is requested to recommend to Mitchell these steps:
  - (a). Reed should submit suggested delegates to Firestone for review and recommendation to the Attorney General;
  - (b). An agreement about funds should be reached soon;
  - (c). No public announcements in August about delegate selection should be made; "records" should not be kept by Reed; future polls in California should be controlled by the campaign.

Recommendation:

That Finch's memorandum be forwarded to the Attorney General with a notation that the President did not see.

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

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

GS:elr

A

G's file

7/20 per L

H saw  
in Cal

LKF Notes on Meeting  
9:00 AM - Thursday, July 8, 1971  
Holmes Tuttle residence, Los Angeles

attended by  
Leonard Firestone  
Holmes Tuttle  
Tom Reed  
Wm. French Smith

After some small talk and pleasant chatter, Tom Reed produced the attached memorandum, which we all went over, discussing various points.

At the outset, Reed informed the group that the program outlined in the memorandum has been discussed with and was approved by the Attorney General in Washington, D.C. on June 29, 1971, as noted at the end of the memorandum.

Reed indicated they wanted a broad-based delegation, representing all elements of the Party, and that, in order to keep the heat off the Governor, they were going to have a small organizing committee that would be responsible for picking the delegation.

LKF asked him if it was the intention to broaden the Organizing Committee into a selection committee, including legislators and other interested groups. Reed responded that he felt it would not be wise to do so, and that the selection committee should be the five names on the Organizing Committee.

LKF suggested that it would be very necessary for the campaign group to be able to select and invite delegates, based on such factors as contributions to the campaign, desire and ability to work in the campaign, and other considerations that would benefit the campaign committee.

Reed agreed this was necessary, but thought that the Organizing Committee could bear these factors in mind as they were making their selections.

Holmes Tuttle said, "That's the reason you (LKF) were asked to join the Committee, since you are close to the President and the Administration.

LKF made it clear that he had accepted on the basis of the Governor asking him, and that he had received no request or instruction from anyone else to serve on the Committee.

It was announced that Bill Smith will act as Counsel to the Organizing Committee and the Delegation, and will be in charge of operations of the Delegation, under Reed. However, since he is Chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of California, the Governor did not want to have Smith's name made public in this connection.

---

notes on meeting  
July 8, 1971  
page 2

Bill Smith suggested that August was a little early to announce the Organizing Committee, but Reed insisted it should be done at that time, in order to stop speculation around the State, and in Sacramento in particular.

There was some discussion as to the possibility of a competing delegation, but, generally, we all felt that McCloskey would wash out and would probably not be a threat.

With regard to the schedule item in the memorandum that, late in March 1972, the delegation list would be submitted to the Governor for approval, LKF asked if, since it would be essentially a delegation for President Nixon, it was not the intention that the President would also approve the list?

Reed said we would assume the Governor would take it up with the President.

Finally, Holmes Tuttle said to Reed, "Well, do you want to bring up that other matter?"

Reed sort of mumbled, "What other matter?"

Tuttle said, "Well, you know, about the campaign."

Reed: "Oh, yes. I talked to the Attorney General about it, and he agreed that there would be nothing done on the campaign until the whole thing could be structured at one time and the Attorney General had had a chance to talk about it on the spot here in California."

LKF: "In that connection, I think I should tell you -- you probably are aware of the fact that there was an announcement about three weeks ago that was, to say the least, premature. I don't understand how it got out, but the way I have been explaining it is that, because of my association with the Nixon Foundation, the Californians for Revenue Sharing program, and the Citizens for Nixon organization in Washington, D.C., someone might have gotten mixed up and come to the conclusion that I was heading up something else out here. However, the article was simply confused. I talked personally with the Attorney General after that article came out, and simply told him I would be willing to do anything he asked me to do."

LKF also told the group about the call he received from the Governor while in Pebble Beach on Sunday, June 27th.

Bill Smith said the Governor hadn't meant to say that he didn't want LKF, or that LKF would be disruptive. The Governor was only trying to indicate that he didn't think any one name should be put up at this time. Instead, should wait until the full leadership group for the campaign could be structured.

LKF repeated what the Governor had said to him during the telephone conversation.

notes on meeting  
July 8, 1971  
page 3

Bill Smith again said the Governor was only implying about waiting to fill out the whole structure.

LKF: "I'm the one who talked to the Governor and I'm telling you what he said."

Bill Smith: "I don't think he meant that. He doesn't consider you disruptive."

LKF concluded by saying he didn't think he was disruptive or divisive and repeated the strong support he has given to Governor Reagan in two campaigns, and also to Senator Murphy last year. He added that he thought he would be able to do the job to the satisfaction of the Party and all concerned, and that, if asked, he would do it.

During the discussion, Reed spoke up and said he thought the Governor meant only that he didn't want one name put up there in front, to be shot at.

\* \* \* \* \*

next meeting of Organizing Committee scheduled for September 14, 1971.

MEMORANDUM for The File

Telephone Conversation, LKF and RR  
Sunday, June 27, 1971.

RR telephoned LKF, approx. 10:30 AM, Sunday, June 27th, at Pebble Beach. (LKF had come down to Pebble Beach about midnight, Saturday, June 26th, from San Mateo, after attending Margaret Heatley's wedding, and had learned that Holmes Tuttle was staying with the Darts for the week-end at Pebble Beach, but LKF did not have occasion to talk with either of them)

LKF feels sure that RR could have known of LKF's travel plans only through Mr. Dart or Mr. Tuttle, and he is inclined to believe that it was Mr. Tuttle who "programmed" the telephone call.

At the outset, the telephone conversation was about the wedding, golf, and things of a general nature, all in a pleasant exchange.

RR then said: "I was talking to the Attorney General a few days ago about the delegation. In the course of the conversation, the article that was in last Sunday's Los Angeles Times came up."

At that point, LKF said: "Yes, Ron, that was sort of premature. Fortunately, I had to leave for Akron, and did not have to comment on it to the press. However, when I got back to San Francisco, several of my friends asked me about it, and I simply told them that, since I am head of the President's Foundation, and have also been head of the California Revenue-sharing support program, I could only assume someone had jumped to the conclusion I might be heading up a Citizens for Nixon campaign, and in the speculation this kind of an article got published."

That response seemed to slow him down a little. However, he said:  
"The reason I called you is to tell you that, since we are good friends, I didn't want you to feel I was talking behind your back, and I told the Attorney General I didn't think it would be a good idea for you to serve as Chairman."

He went on to say that the Party had been badly fractured in the past, that the cracks had been painted over with a thin layer, and we just couldn't disrupt things again.

He said: "Of course, we couldn't have Salvatori in the job, from one side of the spectrum, or you (meaning LKF) in the job from the other side of the spectrum."

When he was through, LKF said: "Ron, you have every right to your opinion, and I respect your thoughts, but I simply can't accept the concept that I am divisive in the Party, or would be disruptive. You will recall that I have supported you very liberally on two occasions, and that I probably gave as much or more to George Murphy's campaign than anyone, and I have always supported the Party."

He responded: "Oh, you should be in the campaign, but it probably should be run by means of a co-chairmen or committee arrangement, in some manner we could all agree on."

LKF resisted the temptation of asking RR who he had in mind, as he didn't want to bring that up. LKF simply replied that he was dedicated to the re-election of the President, and that he had told the Attorney General he would serve in any capacity the President or the Attorney

Telephone Conversation, LKF and RR  
Sunday, June 27, 1971  
page 3

General wanted him to serve, adding "I want you to know that if either of them ask me to serve as Campaign Chairman, that is what I am going to do."

LKF further told RR that "if I am asked to do it, I have already told the Attorney General the first thing I would do would be to come to see you and discuss the possibility of you being Honorary Chairman, and to go over the general campaign plans and strategy with you."

RR said he was also going to work hard for the re-election of the President.

LKF said one thing he could suggest for RR to do was to get hold of Reinecke, Younger and Flournoy, and anybody else in the Republican Party who was working now for 1974 and tell them that they are to keep their eyes on 1972 until the President is re-elected. LKF pointed out the fund-raising dinners that Reinecke and Younger are planning.

RR knew about this, but said the trouble was the Democrats are all running now for 1974, to the point where you can't find anyone in Sacramento.

LKF ended up the conversation by commenting we would just have to wait and see how things develop, and said he hoped to see RR soon.

POLICY FOR SELECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION  
TO THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

MAKEUP:

96 delegates: 2 from each congressional district, 10 at large (no more than 4 from each congressional district), and 96 alternates.

LEADERSHIP:

Governor Reagan, Chairman of delegation. T. C. Reed, Vice-Chairman. Delegation firmly pledged to the renomination of President Nixon.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE:

T. C. Reed, Chairman; Eleanor Ring; Governor Reagan (to be represented by one staff member); Holmes Tuttle; Leonard Firestone.

Counsel (not for public announcement): W. F. Smith.

Staff: To be selected by Chairman (Reed) with approval of the Committee. Initially, Helen Healey will act as Secretary of the Committee.

Records and Files: Office of the National Committeeman.

SCHEDULE:

August 1971 - Public announcement of organizing committee.

September-December 1971 - Informal "hearings." Luncheon meetings with key leadership. Somewhat formal "hearings" by Reed and Ring at RSCCC State Convention, October 1-3.

January 1972 - Committee commences deliberations as a group, including others as appropriate.

Late March 1972 - (After New Hampshire, Wisconsin, primaries) Submit list to Governor for approval. List to include suggested officers of delegation. No "draft" lists to be released prior to this date.

March 8, 1972 - Earliest date to file for primary.

April 7, 1972 - Latest date to file for primary.

PRIMARY CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT:

To be determined by the President and the Governor in the spring of 1972 in light of apparent challenges.

PROCEDURES:

Every effort will be made to involve the rank and file of the Republican Party in California in the nominating process; to avoid problems under

rule 14 adopted at the 1968 convention; to assure that as many communities and constituencies as possible are represented; and to build political strength for the President and the Governor consistent with the above. Computer time-sharing and file maintenance will be used to assure the retention and analysis of all nominations.

POLLING:

The Organizing Committee will undertake regular surveys to analyze the probability and nature of a primary challenge to this delegation, and to ascertain the opinions of all Republicans.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION AT THE CONVENTION:

To be the responsibility of the National Committeeman and Committeewoman (Reed and Ring). Financial arrangements to be started by the Organizing Committee.

---

The above discussed with and approved by RR, 7/5/71, Sacramento.

The above policy, but not specific memo, discussed with and approved by John Mitchell, 6/29/71, Washington, D.C.

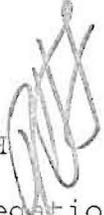
B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

July 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: ROBERT H. FINCH   
SUBJECT: California Delegation, Convention  
and Campaign

The two attached memoranda from Tom Reed regarding the selection of the California delegation represent a power play with potentially disastrous consequences.

The very existence of this material and the polls in them is inexcusable.

Several things are obvious:

1. In terms of fund raising party unity and symbolism, you can not separate the delegation from the California campaign. This is strongly reinforced if San Diego is the convention site.
2. The delegation must be structured solely on the basis of what will help carry California in November.

Any delegation picked by a committee chaired by Reed and composed of Reagan, his designee (Bob Walker), Tuttle, Eleanor Ring, and your designee (i.e. Firestone it is presumed) will not meet this standard.

In 1968 you will recall, Tuttle "assessed" each delegate \$5,000 or \$10,000 for the "Reagan Fund." As in 1956 and 1964, a so-called "Host Committee" headed by the national committeeman, national committeewoman and state chairman, will raise a substantial sum of money for favors and gifts to delegates. This is money which will be denied us for the campaign.

I plan to meet with John Mitchell as soon as he returns and would like to recommend the following:

1. Reed should be advised that suggestions for delegates would be welcomed from each of the persons Reed proposed for his committee (except Bob Walker), plus each statewide Republican office holder as well as Republican congressmen from California and state legislators.

To keep it away from the White House, I would suggest Firestone or someone else -- clearly your man -- be designated as the person who will make final recommendations to Mitchell for the composition of the President's delegation.

2. There should be an agreement as soon as possible on "assessments" or other monies raised from delegates or others in connection with the convention. I would suggest that a given quota be established with one-half to be set aside for convention purposes and one-half for the Nixon campaign in California. There must be an accounting of these funds.

3. The other steps in the memos which must be countered are:

- (a) No public announcements in August about delegation selection.
- (b) "Records and Files" not in Reed's office.
- (c) If further polls in California are taken someone from the Nixon organization should help formulate as well as have access to results -- who is paying for them? We certainly don't need any other polls on "If Richard Nixon does not run for President ...."
- (d) OR memos saying "Nixon is in trouble in California."

4. This is your delegation, your convention, your campaign. Reagan should be chairman but if the Reeds and Walkers run wild with the kind of stupidity reflected in these documents and if they run the campaign we are in trouble.

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Party in California in the selection of delegates to the 1972 Republican National Convention.

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The Organizing Committee will undertake regular surveys to analyze the probability and nature of a primary challenge to this delegation, and to ascertain the opinions of all Republicans.

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---

The above discussed with and approved by RR, 7/5/71, Sacramento.

The above policy, but not specific memo, discussed with and approved by John Mitchell, 6/29/71, Washington, D.C.

13 July 1971

Thomas C. Reed  
Chairman for California  
Delegation Organizing Committee  
Republican National Committee  
Box 371  
San Rafael, California 94902  
456-7310

MEMO TO: Delegation Organizing Committee

FROM: Thomas C. Reed, Chairman *TCR*

Confirming my conversations with each of you, the Organizing Committee will meet for lunch at the Los Angeles Club at 12:00 noon on Tuesday, 14 September 1971. At that time we should plan to work out the basic ground rules for the selection process.

To facilitate communication, I understand the addresses and phone numbers of the committee members to be as follows:

Thomas C. Reed, Chairman                      415 + 456-7310  
503 D Street  
San Rafael, Ca. 94901

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
State Capitol  
Sacramento, Ca. 95814  
✓ Attention of Mr. Robert C. Walker                      916 + 445-0875

Mrs. Eleanor Ring                                      714 + 435-4524  
801 Tolita Avenue  
Coronado, Ca. 92118

Mr. Leonard K. Firestone                              213 + 583-4411  
10375 Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, Ca. 90024

Mr. Holmes Tuttle                                      213 + 933-5911  
145 North La Brea Avenue  
Los Angeles, Ca. 90036

Counsel:

Mr. William French Smith                              213 + 620-9300  
634 South Spring Street  
Los Angeles, Ca.

Memo to: Delegation Organizing Committee  
13 July 1971

To better understand the nature of the challenge we may face in 1972, I have undertaken several surveys on the President's strengths and weakness. I enclose two memoranda resulting from these polls.

Prior to our September meeting we will have taken an August survey to update these and will have started work on a simple computerfile maintenance system for our name lists.

Thanks very much for your help.

Enclosures:

"Presidential Job Rating and the Issues in California" 6/8/71

"The 1972 Presidential Primary in California" 6/11/71

Thanks very much for  
taking time to get together  
~~last~~ last week.

John

June 11, 1971

The 1972 Presidential Primary in California.

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

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

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

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

The same question, among Democrats:

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

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

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

The results, Republicans only:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For comparison, the 1968 vote results in California were:

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSIONS:

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

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

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

## PERCENT OF BLACK POPULATION BY STATE

(1970 CENSUS)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>PERCENT BLACKS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF BLACKS</u> (thousands)
Total U. S.	11.2	22,673
District of Columbia	71.1	538
Mississippi	36.8	816
South Carolina	30.5	789
Louisiana	29.9	1,089
Alabama	26.4	908
Georgia	26.0	1,191
North Carolina	22.4	1,138
Virginia	18.6	865
Arkansas	18.6	357
Maryland	17.9	701
Tennessee	16.1	632
Florida	15.5	1,050
Delaware	14.2	78
Illinois	12.8	1,426
Texas	12.7	1,420
New York	11.9	2,167
Michigan	11.2	991
New Jersey	10.7	770
Missouri	10.3	480
Ohio	9.1	970
Pennsylvania	8.6	1,017
Kentucky	7.5	241
Oklahoma	7.0	178
California	7.0	1,400
Indiana	6.9	357
Connecticut	6.0	181
Nevada	5.7	28
Kansas	4.8	107
West Virginia	4.2	74
Massachusetts	3.1	176
Arizona	3.0	53
Alaska	3.0	9
Colorado	2.9	66
Wisconsin	2.9	128
Nebraska	2.7	40
Rhode Island	2.7	25
Washington	2.1	71
New Mexico	1.9	20
Oregon	1.3	26
Iowa	1.2	33
Hawaii	1.0	8
Minnesota	1.0	35
Wyoming	0.8	3
Utah	0.6	7
North Dakota	0.4	2
Idaho	0.5	2
Maine	0.3	3
Montana	0.3	2
New Hampshire	0.3	3
South Dakota	0.2	2
Vermont	0.2	2