

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	10/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of various elections in West Virginia. 1 pg.
23	5	9/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of various elections in Delaware. 1 pg.
23	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of various elections in Montana. 1 pg.
23	5	9/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached document from McWhorter dealing with the National Governors' Conference. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	9/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	From McWhorter to Haldeman RE: the 1971 National Governors' Conference and the success of Republican governors at that event. 2 pgs.
23	5	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From A.J. Miller, Jr. to Ed DeBolt RE: political races in Texas in 1971 and 1972. 2 pgs.
23	5	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Mike Scanlon to DeBolt RE: 1972 campaigns and the Republican Party of Georgia. 1 pg.
23	5	8/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached reports. 1 pg.
23	5	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From DeBolt to Dent RE: attached political reports on Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, and Wisconsin. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	7/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Miller to DeBolt RE: the political state of Missouri in 1971 and the prospects of putting Republicans in office in 1972. 2 pgs.
23	5	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Miller to DeBolt RE: the political state of Oklahoma in 1971 and the prospects of putting Republicans in office. 2 pgs.
23	5	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Miller to DeBolt RE: the political state of Wisconsin in 1971. 1 pg.
23	5	8/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McWhorter's meeting with Republican State Chairmen. 7 pgs.
23	5	8/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McWhorter's meeting with Republican State Chairmen. 5 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	8/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information obtained by McWhorter during his meeting with GOP leaders in Denver. 1 pg.
23	5	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From McWhorter to Flemming presenting detailed notes of important issues across the United States generated during a meeting with various Republican officials. 21 pgs.
23	5	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: McWhorter's role in a Western Governors' Conference. 2 pgs.
23	5	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information from McWhorter. 1 pg.
23	5	5/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: McWhorter's information on Muskie. Handwritten notes added by two unknown parties. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information from McWhorter. 1 pg.
23	5	7/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Dent's comments on Ohio. 1 pg.
23	5	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	5	7/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Overview of various elections in Ohio. 2 pgs.
23	5	7/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman summarizing information from Richards, Davis, and other officials in Dent's office. Third page of document not present. 9 pgs.
23	5	7/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman summarizing information from Richards, Davis, and other officials in Dent's office. 10 pgs.
23	5	7/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
23	5	7/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Richards to Dent RE: the role of senior citizens in the 1972 election. Information on Kennedy's legislative record with regard to senior citizens attached. 8 pgs.
23	5	7/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
23	5	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Richards to Dent RE: Edward Kennedy's support from key demographics, should he choose to run for president in 1972. Polling information and a pamphlet from the National Retired Teachers Association attached. 11 pgs.
23	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Information on young voters. Statistical information on voter age across the United States and voter registration organizations attached. 14 pgs.
23	5	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Richards to Dent RE: capturing the African-American and senior citizen voting groups. 3 pgs.
23	5	7/13/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Barnard S. Van Rensselaer to Bell RE: thoughts for the 1972 election. 3 pgs.

WEST VIRGINIA POLITICAL BRIEF

<u>1968 Presidential Race:</u>	Nixon	307,555
	Humphrey	374,091
	Wallace	72,560

Presidential Prospects:

The shift in economic policy raised the President's stock. But winning remains an uphill battle. Unemployment recently fell slightly, but coal strike will dampen enthusiasm. The economy is main issue here, with Viet Nam second. On state level, strip mining is a touchy issue.

Governor's Race:

Arch Moore, National Governors Chairman, is looking better now. The more Jay Rockefeller is exposed, the more his inexperience shows and he has slipped. Got hurt some opposing strip mining. Rockefeller also runs against paltry and crooked records of Democratic predecessors. Moore has looked at Senate race and would definitely go if Sen. Randolph quits, as Moore thinks. However, party people want him to go for State House. Moore retains popularity in the state.

Senate Race:

Jennings Randolph remains strong. Moore probably would lose to him. Randolph's primary opposition will come from left, maybe Rep. Ken Hechler. But, with unions and Byrd in his nest, Randolph wins.

House Race:

Hechler's House seat has been divided among three incumbents. Moore's old district has been held by Democrat Bob Mollohan, who was weakened in reapportionment. GOP has chance to get it back.

State Party Situation:

Remains tough state for Republicans. Party is built around Moore. Better the President runs, the stronger Moore is, and, consequently, the party. Moore and party want John T. Copenhaver appointed to a judgeship vacancy, but Justice will favor Sen. Byrd's man, K.K. Hall, if he passes ABA test. Byrd has demanded appointment. Moore is demanding, too, and will complain, though Byrd's insistence has been explained to him. Hall is marginal. Judge Field recently given 4th Circuit vacancy.

GOP Leadership: Chairman - Thomas Potter, Charleston, 304/344-3446.
 Nat'l. Committeeman - Arch Moore, Charleston, 304/348-2000. Nat'l.
 Committeewoman - Mrs. Irvin Humphreys, Huntington, 304/522-2198.

DELAWARE POLITICAL BRIEF

<u>1968 Presidential Race:</u>	Nixon	96,714
	Humphrey	89,194
	Wallace	28,459

Presidential Prospects:

The State Chairman and Tom Evans agree that the President would face a very close race if the election were held today. The war is not popular, but does not seem to hurt us as much as in other states. Lay-offs at DuPont have accentuated the economic picture, but Wilmington faces such cutbacks periodically and is not so likely to "blame Nixon." Party leaders feel the President has gained little since 1968. Wallace's appeal is on the wane.

The leading Democrat appears to be Muskie. He has visited the state and party leaders seem to like him. Humphrey has some appeal.

The State Chairman feels that we are hurting by not using trade associations to help boost the Administration's agricultural policies, and that we have lost ground among the farmers in the southern end of the state.

Senate:

Concern here is whether Senator J. Caleb Boggs will seek a third term. If the Senator runs again, feeling is he will be unbeatable (he polled 59% in 1966). If he does not run, a bitter primary may develop over who is to replace him. Leading contenders would be Congressman Pete DuPont and Wilmington Mayor Hal Haskell. Tom Evans fears a divisive primary could cost us the seat. He and the Attorney General are making some progress in convincing Boggs.

House:

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

Governor's Race:

Governor Russell Peterson is in some trouble for a second term over high spending. He will probably be opposed by Democrat Sherman Tribbetts, a former Lt. Governor.

Party Situation:

The Party organization seems strong. No Democrat has managed a statewide victory for major office since 1964. The State Chairman is already pulling together the organization for 1972. The Party should be an asset to the President here. GOP Leadership: Chairman: Gene Bunting, Dover, 302/678-4111. Nat'l. Committeeman: Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Wilmington, 302/656-4417. Nat'l. Committeewoman: Mrs. Bruce F. Dav, Wilmington, 302/475-8177.

MONTANA POLITICAL BRIEF

1968 Presidential Vote:

Nixon	138,835
Humphrey	114,117
Wallace	20,015

Presidential Prospects:

Economics and agriculture shadow the President here. But the economic message of August 15 has definitely improved the situation, GOP leaders say. Great Falls Tribune called the new policy the "key" to economic strength in the '70's. Montanans also like President's ecology position, particularly executive order against industrial water pollution. Full federal highway funding restoration has helped President's stance here, although Governor Anderson is no friend of the Administration.

Muskie is strong, but would have a hard time with Jackson in a primary.

Congressional Situation:

Senator Metcalf never wins by big margins. There is talk he might resign so Representative John Melcher could be appointed. Bud Wallace, Mansfield's 1970 GOP opponent is announcing his candidacy the day before the President arrives. He is not considered the best GOP man for the run. GOP Ex-Governor Tim Babcock is also interested.

In the House, Democrat Melcher remains strong in the eastern district. Republican incumbent Dick Shoup could have trouble in the western district if Lt. Governor Tom Judge decides to go against him.

State Party Situation:

Governor Anderson has image of using office for personal financial gain. Lt. Governor Judge might take him on in primary, but GOP has chance to win it. Potential GOP nominees include House Speaker Jim Lucas and Attorney General Bob Woodahl, who is also mentioned for Senate. Feeling is Woodahl would be our best candidate. Holter is a newcomer and naive.

GOP Leadership:

State Chairman: Bill Holter, Great Falls, 406/453-2811
Nat'l. Committeeman: James Murphy, Kalispell, 406/756-3644
Nat'l. Committeewoman: Mrs. Isabel C. Moberly, Shelby, 406/434-2420

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

September 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

McWhorter Report on Governors'
Conference - San Juan

Charlie McWhorter submitted the attached report on the National Governors' Conference, September 12-15, 1971. The report makes these points:

- 1) The Conference was a success because the Democratic Governors could not unite behind Larry O'Brien and Marvin Mandel to attack the Nixon Administration;
- 2) Louis Nunn and Bill Milliken ably led the Republicans, who met with Dole on Campaign assistance for the President;
- 3) The Vice President had a positive impact on the entire Conference;
- 4) Muskie's speech on Attica was not particularly well received, but McWhorter was impressed with the Senator's sincerity and force of conviction;
- 5) Although few Democratic Governors are committed, they seem to favor Muskie.

September 23, 1971

Memorandum

To: Bob Haldeman
From: Charlie *McWhorter* McWhorter

Re: National Governor's Conference - San Juan, Puerto Rico -
September 12-15, 1971

The recent meeting of the National Governor's Conference in San Juan has to be regarded as a success from the point of view of the Nixon Administration. This was the first policy making session of the National Governors since the 1970 elections when the Democrats gained a strong majority (29-21). Most of the Democratic Governors had met in Miami Beach on Saturday, September 11 under the auspices of Democratic National Chairman Larry O'Brien. At that time they had attempted to reach agreement on a resolution with regard to the President's new economic program. As a result of disagreement in Miami, a group of four Democratic Governors headed by Governor Mandel of Maryland was named as a "drafting committee." After several false starts in San Juan, the Democratic Governors finally were able to have a meeting where they gave their support to a somewhat watered down but still critical resolution.

Under the rules of the National Governor's Conference no resolutions can be considered which are not circulated to all members at least 30 days in advance of the Conference unless the Governors, by a 3-4th vote, agree to suspend the rules. This requirement gave the Republican Governors power to prevent any vote on the Democratic proposal. The political question became one of whether there would be any extended discussion at the time Governor Mandel proposed his resolution. As a result of GOP consultation with Governor Hearnes who was serving as the Chairman of the Conference, a ruling was obtained that such a motion was not debatable and, as a result, the Mandel resolution was never even read and there was no discussion on the merits.

It is important to note that the media covering the Conference was almost unanimous in its distain for this Democratic effort. The Republican Governors stood united and, under the leadership of Louis Nunn and Bill Milliken, they built up a considerable spirit of cooperation and determination to stick by the President in an organized way. Bob Dole attended the luncheon meeting of the Republican Governors and agreed to devote a major working session of the Republican Governor's Conference to be held in French Lick, Indiana on November 17-19, 1971 to a discussion aimed at producing a specific program for campaign assistance by the Republican Governors next year.

Vice President Agnew played a very positive role while he was at the Conference and this was commented upon most favorably by many Governors of both parties and by the media. There had been a considerable amount of unhappiness expressed by the Governors at their Executive Committee meeting at Lake Tahoe last summer which probably reflected their annoyance over not being given a greater role in the Federal program for hiring the unemployed. As a result, these Governors had requested a meeting with the President to discuss the question of liaison with the White House. The Vice President met with the Executive Committee in San Juan before the Conference began and, from all reports, this was a good meeting which resulted in their agreement that the Vice President and his staff be responsible for liaison with the various Governors.

Senator Muskie had been invited by Governor Hearnes to make the major speech of the Conference. This invitation caused some critical comment by both Democrat and Republican Governors but was not a serious problem. According to a press aide, Senator Muskie rejected a draft of a speech dealing with welfare reform and revenue-sharing in favor of a general statement of personal concern with the implications of Attica and related problems. Senator Muskie was not able to give his speech until nearly midnight and his audience was not very responsive. The press was clearly divided on the effectiveness of the speech but in my opinion he was able to convey great sincerity and force of conviction which would be appealing to many open-minded voters. This kind of rhetoric and expression of personal feeling will undoubtedly have to be accompanied at some point by a program to implement his views and that will provide a much better target.

Senator Muskie seemed to be a clear favorite among the Democratic Governors in San Juan although most of them are uncommitted. Muskie benefits from the fact that there is practically no interest among these Governors in the other Democratic alternatives such as McGovern, Humphrey and Lindsay although Senator Jackson does have a good reputation among the more conservative Democratic Governors.

In summary, the Conference must be regarded as a success for the Administration and for the efforts of Republican Governors at the Conference and as a significant step forward for Senator Muskie whose relative strength compared to his other rivals was most apparent to the national media attending the Conference.

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July 15, 1971

TO: Ed DeBolt
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Texas

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By 2P, Date 3-12-82

I Political

- a. Presidential - Republican state leaders anticipate that assuming current conditions President Nixon would receive less than 39.9% of the Presidential vote he received in 1968 due to broad based disenchantment with what is interpreted to be the Administrations position and record on school busing, economy...There is talk that if support for the President continues to decline it may be necessary for Senator John Tower to project an image of Independence from the Administration.
- b. Republican state leadership - Under the direction of volunteer State Chairman Dr. George Willeford the state organization is expanding its staff and role in an effort to improve its capability in the 1972 election campaign and election.
- c. Financial - \$40,000 of a \$96,000 debt carried over from 1970 has been paid thus far in 1971-- although fund raising is currently down, there is considerable optimism with regard to ability to liquidate balance of debt and increase fund raising to levels projected for the 1972 campaign.

II Major election contests 1971 - 1972

- a. There are no major contests in 1971.
- b. United States Senate - Senator John Tower (R) candidacy is not likely to be challenged in the Primary. Possible Democrat candidates include Governor Presten Smith, Lt. Governor Ben Barnes, and Robert Armstrong Austin Attorney and Land Commissioner, Dolph Briscoe, former candidate for Governor and Texas' largest land holder and rancher. Smiths political failure is due to scandal in his administration and is becoming more uncertain.

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- c. Governor - Lt. Governor Ben Barnes has recently made public his interest in seeking the office of Governor. Also former Senator Ralph Yarsborough 68 year old, is considered as possibly interested in either the Senate or Governors seat. Newspaper articles have mentioned a possible deal has been made that would indicate Barnes will seek the Governorship leaving John Tower without foreseeable strong opposition and likewise assuring Barnes of a relative easy contest.

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Republican
National
Committee.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WRITING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102 June 25, 1971
By EP, date 3-17-82

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE STATE SUMMARY:

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

The Republican Party of Georgia has been under the leadership of State Chairman, Robert Shaw, since March of this year. In this short period of time, the situation has changed quite rapidly. Mr. Shaw has shown his determination to show the people of Georgia that there is a difference between the two major parties. He has traveled the state extensively since his election to attempt to establish some sort of viable party structure in counties where none has existed before. Prior to his election the state party was in serious financial straits; this situation has been turned around so that now the party with its new Finance Chairman, Tom Lowe, is paying off the debt and reducing the formerly extravagant expenses of the Atlanta headquarters.

Debts in the amount of nearly \$ 50,000.00 are due in the month of September; the interest has been paid and the principal sum is slowly being whittled away through Tom Lowe's efforts on private solicitations. The party is a long way from two-party government on the state level, however, with district organizational work, several of the Democratic Congressional seats could be in jeopardy (namely the 9th and possibly the 1st & 10th).

1971 Campaigns:

1972 Campaigns:

The seat of former Senator Richard Russell, now held by David Gambrell, who assumed office by appointment.
No Governor
Congressional

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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August 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

ABD

Here are three additional RNC political reports to add to the group I sent you earlier. I will also continue to send you reports prepared by my office as they are available. Please note that these are two separate sets of reports.

Republican
National
Committee.

July 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: The Honorable Harry S. Dent
Special Counsel to the President

FROM: Ed DeBolt *Ed*

RE: Field Reports

Please add the enclosed reports of Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas,
and Wisconsin to the group of reports I sent you earlier.

July 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Missouri

I. Political.

- a) Presidential: Republican state leaders consider the President's electibility rating so very fluid at this time with Nixon a fairly certain win over all Democrats considered potential candidates with the exception of Muskie and Kennedy, against whom Nixon is rated a toss-up.. The prediction assumes Wallace would not be on the ballot as Wallace would be expected to draw voters in areas predominately Democrat; and it assumes that current status of economy and war remain the same. With Wallace on the ticket and with an improved economy and war casualties down, the President would be expected to win over any of the potential Democrat candidates by a somewhat larger margin.
- b) State Republican leadership: Because of the domination of Republican candidate oriented organizations, the state organization has not performed a major role in past campaigns. There is evidence of interest and effort on the part of Republican leaders to strengthen the state party organization. However, it is anticipated the dominant role in the '72 Campaign will be maintained by candidate organizations.
- c) Finance: The state party is free of any debt and has recently acquired the service of professional fund-raisers to improve the level of funds raised.

III. Major election contests, 1971-1972.

No major contests in 1971.

Governor: Republican R. J. "Buss" King, Minority Floor Leader, is the only announced candidate. However, it is reported his candidacy is not particularly welcomed by prominent Republicans. Other possible Republican candidates include Christopher "Kit" Bond, elected State Auditor in 1970 by a healthy margin. 32 years, attractive, articulate with family financial sources, Bond is considered by state political assessors as potentially the stronger of the candidates mentioned in this report; with a year to establish a record of performance as Auditor and to improve his name identity, he would be a strong candidate. G. McNary, Prosecutor for St. Louis County, has indicated interest and desire to seek the office.

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MEMORANDUM TO: Ed DeBolt

Page 2

Missouri

Democratic possible candidates include Lt. Governor Ed Dowd, candidate for Governor against Governor Morris in 1968, losing by a slight margin; Earl Blackwell, state legislator from St. Louis County and considered a savvy operative; Joseph Teasdale, articulate and reported to have employed Mat Reis, political consultant, indicating serious interest in becoming a candidate; Congressman Richard Ichord, Chairman, House Internal Security Committee. Ichord would attract Republican support and has given outward appearance of intentions to become a candidate for the office.

Scandal in the state government is producing a number of Democrat candidates and is likely to result in a better primary.

Congressional: Republicans claim opportunity to gain seats in two districts, --in the 6th district, Symington will likely be weakened as a result of possible redistricting. Republican possible candidates include Don Danforth, brother of Jack Danforth, and Robert Snyder, Legislator from Kirkwood. J. McNary is a possibility if he decides not to enter the Governor's contest. In the 8th district, Al Sikes, Administrative Assistant to A. G. John Danforth, is assessing the situation and may become a candidate, depending upon the effect of redistricting and the decision of Ichord.

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July 15, 1971

TO: Ed DeBolt
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Oklahoma

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12065, APRIL 14 6-102
By EP DATE 3-17-82

I Political

- a. Presidential - According to state Republican leaders President Nixon's support among Conservative elements in the state have decreased which would result in a reduction from the 47.7% who voted for Nixon in 1968. Assuming current conditions, ie; economy and Viet Nam war. Administrations proposals such as Guaranteed Annual Wage, Deficit Spending, are cited as causing President Nixons decline in popularity.
- b. State Republican leadership - Full time state Chairman Clarence Warner is a young hard working ambitious leader who's effort has significantly improved the image and role of the state organization. Continued progress under Warner is anticipated.
- c. Financial - Due to Warner's drive the state Finance Committee has undertaken a special task force to court the state to illuminate and emphasize the urgency and importance of meeting county finance quotas. The special effort shows evidence of being successful which will liquidate a small debt and increase the level of fund raising.
- d. United States Senate - Incumbent Fred Harris is likely to be challenged by Democrat 2nd District Congressman Ed Edmondson. The contest will according to Republican leaders, will surely become a bitter primary between these two long standing rivals.

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Republican potential candidates include Robert Stewart, former State Chairman of Ozark (Commission (considered just short of his announcement), Col. Tom Stafford, Astronaut with name identity and conservative support, Bud Wilkinson former Presidential Aide, and former Governor Dewey Bartlett.

It is generally believed by Republican leaders that Bartlett would be the strongest candidate against Harris who is considered a shrewd effective politician who will be difficult to beat.

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July 15, 1971

TO: Ed DeBolt
FROM: A. J. Miller, Jr.
SUBJECT: Wisconsin

DEFERRED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12812-102
By *lf* *B-12-R*

I Political

- a. Presidential - Republican state leaders are divided as to whether President Nixon would be expected to receive a majority of the vote for President assuming current conditions would apply...With the economy improved and the Viet Nam war halted it is the belief the President would carry the state vote by no less than the 52.0% of the vote cast by the major parties in 1968.
- b. State Republican leadership - The state organization under volunteer Chairman John Hough is operating at a very substantially reduced staff organization and diminished level of activity due to a substantial debt carried over from 1969 and 1970. Executive Director Stanley York is directing the Party's activities.
- c. Finance - Carry over debt amounting to approximately \$650,000. With current fund raising, they may liquidate debt by early 1972.

II Major election contests in 1971 - 1972

- a. There are no major contests for 1971 - 1972.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Administratively Confidential

August 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

McWhorter Report on
RNC Denver Meeting

At Harry Flemming's request Charlie McWhorter attended meetings with 51 GOP State Chairmen. He submitted a long report to Flemming, who is preparing a detailed analysis for the Attorney General. To summarize:

- 1) If the President loses in 1972 it will be because of the economic picture; the national media exaggerates the problem by preventing any understanding of the economic game plan and taking the local politicians' minds off of the local economic picture which may be quite good. The farmers believe the President is not concerned about them;
- 2) The China announcement preempts Vietnam and the entire foreign policy issue;
- 3) HEW is causing serious problems in southern and border States;
- 4) The Republican "Party is very nervous about the President's decision on a running mate and that there is very little affirmative support for the Vice President";
- 5) Wallace will probably run again but his weakening base should be further attacked in the South;
- 6) McCloskey is organizing but weak. The GOP does not want to attack him and make him a martyr.

McWhorter also submitted comments on each of the regions by State:

NORTHEAST

MAINE -- Senator Smith will run independent if Muskie is the candidate since she can expect a close race from Congressman Hathaway. Ned Harding would be a good Nixon Chairman;

- NEW HAMPSHIRE -- To prevent McCloskey inroads, Mildred Perkins talked to Senator Cotton and former Governor Lane Dwinell about using the 1960 "Plans Board" technique to get Nixon delegates with broad appeal. The Gubernatorial race is wide open. Bill Loeb opposes the China trip;
- VERMONT -- The President is strong but former Lt. Governor Tom Hayes may be working for McCloskey. The 1968 Nixon Chairman, Douglas Cairns, is probably best for 1972;
- MASSACHUSETTS -- Governor Sargent and Senator Brooke should be courted for Campaign assistance in the Massachusetts Primary, northeast and nationally. The 350th anniversary of Plymouth Rock might be appropriate for a Presidential visit;
- RHODE ISLAND -- The media is very anti-Nixon and to counter a strong McCloskey primary showing John Chafee's advice should be sought and followed. Either George Vetter or Jim Nugent should be the Nixon Chairman; Olef Anderson should be Finance Chairman;
- CONNECTICUT -- Governor Meskill's organization is the starting point for the 1972 Nixon organization; Senator Weicker and the GOP State Chairman should be included;
- NEW YORK -- The dispute between the Republican and Conservative Parties will damage the President's chances. High priority should be assigned to resolving the dispute;
- NEW JERSEY -- Governor Cahill will be very helpful; Senator Case's assistance should be sought. "There is a strong feeling against Vice President Agnew in New Jersey." There is no logical choice for Nixon Chairman yet;
- PENNSYLVANIA -- Governor Shapp is unpopular and is causing internal Party problems. Scott and Schweiker can play a strong role for the President. GOP leader Billy Meehan in Philadelphia should be handled carefully. Scranton may be over used as Nixon Chairman. Arlen Specter is mentioned. Elsie Hillman is violently opposed to Agnew;

DELAWARE -- Governor Peterson and Senator Boggs will support the President in their re-election bids. The Party and finances are strong;

MARYLAND -- Senators Beall and Mathias would be good co-Chairmen. Morton should be used. There is no indication of the level of Agnew activity in Maryland;

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MIDWEST

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INDIANA -- Governor Whitcomb is not popular and the internal Party fights may hurt the President in the primary against McCloskey;

MICHIGAN -- Economic conditions and unpopular HUD activities in the suburbs are hurting the President. A visit to help Senator Griffin is suggested. The conservative wing of the Party, led by State Senator Huber, may establish a third party, which will hurt the President and Griffin. Milliken should be instructed to resolve this dispute. Lt. Governor Brickley should be Nixon Chairman, and Milliken should be used fully;

- ILLINOIS -- Percy is strong and Ogilvie is improving re-election chances. All agree Tom Houser should be Nixon Chairman when he leaves the FCC October 10. Downstate Illinois should be visited;
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1) Humphrey/Mondale strength; 2) Republican debt;
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- SOUTH DAKOTA -- Nixon's co-Chairman should be Congressman Berry and "Obie" O'Brien. The farmers are upset;
- NORTH DAKOTA -- The farm policy and opposition to Administration "agro-business" spokesmen result in recommendations for the President to speak to a "real farm group";
- MISSOURI -- Larry Roos is suggested as Nixon Chairman. The economic situation is not serious. The Democrats face a tough primary which may permit Buzz King or Kit Bond to be strong GOP candidate potentials for Governor;
- IOWA -- The President is seen as aloof to farm issues. A Republican Gubernatorial Primary may result in a Democratic Governor. Senator Miller faces a tough race;
- NEBRASKA -- Hardin is not doing well, even in his home state of Nebraska. George Cook is the suggested Nixon Chairman;
- KANSAS -- Economic conditions are emphasized by the Democrats and damaging to Republicans. Bob Wells of FCC may be GOP candidate for Governor;
- OKLAHOMA -- The President is strong but the Senate race will be tough though former Governor Dewey Bartlett is the favorite;

WEST

- ALASKA -- The President is in trouble. The pipeline is the issue and should be announced by Secretary Morton and Senator Stevens in Fairbanks. Hickel is spending a great deal of time in Alaska and may run an independent state of delegates;

- HAWAII -- Bill Quin, President of Dole Corporation, or John Bellinger could be Nixon Chairman. The President should release some federal land in Hawaii;
- CALIFORNIA -- "Livermore is doing a first rate job", though the economy is the issue. McCloskey is weakening in light of China;
- OREGON -- Congressman Wyatt should be Nixon Chairman. Governor McCall and Senator Hatfield will have a better primary with support for the President a major issue. McCloskey has some support;
- WASHINGTON -- Jackson is strong. Luke Williams is the suggested Nixon Chairman, though Joel Pritchard is also mentioned;
- ARIZONA -- The President is popular. Jim O'Connor, a Democratic friend of Kalmbach is the recommended Nixon Chairman;
- NEW MEXICO -- Former Lt. Governor Bohack is the possibility for Nixon Chairman. Primary battles for Senator Anderson's seat are developing;
- NEVADA -- The President will carry the state though Jackson is strong. Bob Wordman or Bob List are possible Nixon Chairmen.
- COLORADO -- Governor Love should head the Nixon group in this state where the President's popularity is still strong;
- WYOMING -- The President is strong; Senator Hansen should be re-elected;
- UTAH -- The President can carry Utah in spite of the economy according to National Committeeman Ken Garff;
- MONTANA -- Frank Whetstone is the only nominee so far for Nixon Chairman. Economic conditions are critical. All expect the President to visit Glacier National Park soon;
- IDAHO -- The President will carry Idaho; Jack Murphy is the recommended Nixon Chairman.

McWhorter wants copies of his report sent to Rumsfeld, Finch, Ehrlichman, and Colson, which has been done on your behalf. Dent received a copy from McWhorter. A copy has also been sent to the Attorney General through Harry Flemming.

Administratively Confidential

August 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

McWhorter Report on
RNC Denver Meeting

At Harry Flemming's request Charlie McWhorter attended meetings with 51 GOP State Chairmen. He submitted a long report to Flemming, who is preparing a detailed analysis for the Attorney General. To summarize:

- 1) If the President loses in 1972 it will be because of the economic picture; the national media exaggerates the problem by preventing any understanding of the economic game plan and taking the local politicians' minds off of the local economic picture which may be quite good. The farmers believe the President is not concerned about them;
- 2) The China announcement preempts Vietnam and the entire foreign policy issue;
- 3) HEW is causing serious problems in southern and border States;
- 4) The Republican "Party is very nervous about the President's decision on a running mate and that there is very little affirmative support for the Vice President";
- 5) Wallace will probably run again but his weakening base should be further attacked in the South;
- 6) McCloskey is organizing but weak. The GOP does not want to attack him and make him a martyr.

McWhorter also submitted comments on each of the regions by State:

NORTHEAST

MAINE -- Senator Smith will run independent if Muskie is the candidate since she can expect a close race from Congressman Hathaway. Ned Harding would be a good Nixon Chairman;

- NEW HAMPSHIRE -- To prevent McCloskey inroads, Mildred Perkins talked to Senator Cotton and former Governor Lane Dwinell about using the 1960 "Plans Board" technique to get Nixon delegates with broad appeal. The Gubernatorial race is wide open. Bill Loeb opposes the China trip;
- VERMONT -- The President is strong but former Lt. Governor Tom Hayes may be working for McCloskey. The 1968 Nixon Chairman, Douglas Cairns, is probably best for 1972;
- MASSACHUSETTS -- Governor Sargent and Senator Brooke should be courted for Campaign assistance in the Massachusetts Primary, northeast and nationally. The 350th anniversary of Plymouth Rock might be appropriate for a Presidential visit;
- RHODE ISLAND -- The media is very anti-Nixon and to counter a strong McCloskey primary showing John Chafee's advice should be sought and followed. Either George Vetter or Jim Nugent should be the Nixon Chairman; Olef Anderson should be Finance Chairman;
- CONNECTICUT -- Governor Meskill's organization is the starting point for the 1972 Nixon organization; Senator Weicker and the GOP State Chairman should be included;
- NEW YORK -- The dispute between the Republican and Conservative Parties will damage the President's chances. High priority should be assigned to resolving the dispute;
- NEW JERSEY -- Governor Cahill will be very helpful; Senator Case's assistance should be sought. "There is a strong feeling against Vice President Agnew in New Jersey." There is no logical choice for Nixon Chairman yet;
- PENNSYLVANIA -- Governor Shapp is unpopular and is causing internal Party problems. Scott and Schweiker can play a strong role for the President. GOP leader Billy Meehan in Philadelphia should be handled carefully. Scranton may be over used as Nixon Chairman. Arlen Specter is mentioned. Elsie Hillman is violently opposed to Agnew;

DELAWARE -- Governor Peterson and Senator Boggs will support the President in their re-election bids. The Party and finances are strong;

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT



Attached is a copy of a memo prepared by Charlie McWhorter based on conversations he and Harry Flemming had with GOP leaders at the recent RNC meeting in Denver. The purpose of their meeting with the various leaders individually was to discuss the upcoming 1972 campaign and explain the operation of the Citizens Committee. Hope this information might be useful to add to your file.

July 26, 1971

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

For: Harry S. Flemming

From: Charlie ^{CKW} McWhorter

Re: Information and comments from recent meetings of Western Governors,
Midwestern Governors, GOP State Chairmen and Republican National
Committee.

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General Areas

1. Economic

There is almost unanimous agreement among Republican Governors and officials that the principle difficulties facing the Administration are in the economic area. This "conventional wisdom" is often not well documented or supported by specific information. For instance, a state chairman would frequently site unemployment as a factor but not really be familiar with the level of unemployment in his own state. Others would refer to the fact that business was pretty good in their own areas but that this was still a problem. I believe that a large and difficult area of the political problem with our national economy lies in the fact that it is reported nationally by the media in a way which exaggerates the bad news and makes everyone conscious of difficulties. This creates worry and concern in areas which have relatively few economic problems. As a result, it will be highly important to get the media talking about any general trends which indicate we are making progress in moving the economy forward.

In terms of immediate political impact there is a definite problem for the group of people who are presently unemployed. In addition, there are a large number of people whose take home pay has been reduced or limited because of the reduction of overtime. Then there is the consumer, which means everyone, who is pinched by the inflationary increase in the cost of living. Political leaders rarely make any distinction among these groups in discussing the adverse political impact of the economy but, of course, all must be examined and dealt with separately. There is wide spread agreement, however, that if the President loses the election next year it will be primarily a result of dissatisfaction with the Administration's economic policy. There is general agreement that not enough people really understand the President's economic "game plan" resulting in a high level of frustration and irritation.

A special word needs to be said about agriculture and farm problems. No administration seems able to be successful in handling these matters from a political standpoint, but it is imperative that this Administration move quickly to correct the impression that many farm people have to the effect that the President is really not very much concerned about agricultural problems and that there is nobody close to him that is in a position to speak for the farmer. I know this must sound a little discouraging to those who have worked so hard to improve this situation. However, it is clear to me that it would be extremely beneficial if a change could be made in the Secretary of Agriculture between now and the end of this year. Those planning the President's schedule should give more urgent attention to invitations which would bring him close to farming and to rural areas such as the National Plowing Contest or a convention of REA groups.

2. Foreign Policy

There was wide spread agreement that the President had pre-empted the Indochina issue by his dramatic announcement of a visit to Red China.

2. Foreign Policy (Cont'd)

Apart from Vietnam, there is little ground for complaint with the President's handling of foreign policy. In fact, the President's expertise in foreign policy is regarded as his strongest asset, but there was considerable doubt among GOP leaders whether this would be enough to offset the adverse impact of inflation, unemployment, lack of economic growth and specific difficulties with agriculture.

3. Civil Rights

There was wide spread agreement among GOP officials from the border and southern states that over zealous efforts by HEW officials in devising various desegregation schemes for public schools can be politically disastrous. Interestingly enough, the deep south is already so thoroughly integrated that not much more can be done there. Politically speaking, however, efforts by HEW to come up with massive bussing schemes in order to achieve school integration on a rigid formula basis in the rest of the south and border states would be a political disaster and would create deep bitterness and racial animosities which would also be counter productive in achieving overall racial reconciliation.

4. Vice President

There is wide spread recognition that a choice of a Vice President is a decision which must be made by the President and accepted by the Party. At the present time, Governors and Party officials are most reluctant to express any public views which are critical of Vice President Agnew. It is equally clear that there is a considerable body of opinion among Governors and officials that the President's cause would be better served if there were a change in his running mate for 1972. Nobody seems to be insisting on an early decision about this matter and I think that most GOP officials would welcome anything which tends to strengthen Vice President Agnew's standing with the voters. I believe it important for everyone to keep in mind that whether or not Agnew runs for reelection, he still will be Vice President during 1972. For this reason alone his effectiveness should not be undermined by any Republican comment or activity. There is wide spread recognition that part of the Vice President's problem is with the media but by this time it is almost impossible to make any drastic change in his public image.

Some state chairmen are frank enough to state that if Vice President Agnew remains on the ticket they hope that he will not campaign in their states. Others have questioned his effectiveness in being able to provide additional strength to the President or on behalf of local and state candidates in their states. At this point in time I would summarize the situation by saying that the Party is very nervous about the President's decision on a running mate and that there is very little affirmative support for the Vice President.

5. George Wallace - 1972

There was a general concensus among southern Party officials that Wallace was weaker now than in 1968. For example, Clarke Reed of Mississippi

5. George Wallace - 1972 (Cont'd)

reported that the President was now ahead in a private 3-way poll in his state. A recent poll in Tennessee showed the President leading with Wallace a poor third in a 3-way race which included Humphrey as the Democrat. Jim Martin of Alabama said that Wallace is having a great deal of difficulty with his Legislature and is losing popular support. This was confirmed by Tommy Thomas of Florida who is originally from Alabama and now lives in North Florida. Thomas reports that the weakening of the Wallace position in Alabama has had the effect of reducing his appeal in North Florida. Thomas mentioned increasing public annoyance with Wallace's efforts to emphasize a Populist role and in the changes in his personal appearance which have apparently resulted from his new marriage. In other words, the orange shirts are not going over too well. Never the less, it must be recognized that Wallace does have a strong base of support in the south and that it must be assumed that he wants to run again next year if he has any chance at all.

Anything which can be done to undermine his position in the deep south should be given high priority and every effort must be made to avoid unnecessary activity which help the Wallace cause in the perimeter south and border states. Wallace thrives on the volatile nature of southern politics where Republican traditions are weak. Loyalty to the National Democratic Party is increasing through the infusion of new and moderate Democratic leadership in many southern states.

6. McCloskey

There was general agreement that the President's initiatives with Red China had effectively undermined McCloskey's position on Indochina and would reduce his appeal among Republican primary voters. GOP leaders in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Minnesota, and California reported some signs of organized activity in behalf of McCloskey, but none of them indicated that this represented a serious threat to the President at this time. There was complete agreement that nothing should be done by party officials at the national, state or local levels which would make McCloskey a "martyr" or develop sympathy for him as an underdog candidate.

State by State Comments

Northeast

Maine

At the present time GOP chances turn on whether Muskie gets the Democratic nomination. If he does, then it is unrealistic to expect the President to make a strong showing in Maine. Senator Smith can expect a tough race from Congressman Hathaway. She will run an independent campaign and probably not become personally involved in the campaign for President if Muskie is the Democratic nominee. The GOP organization is solvent and is building a staff. Ned Harding would be a good Nixon chairman. There is no race for Governor in 1972 and the GOP will concentrate on trying to find two decent Congressional candidates and to hold on to control of both houses of the State Legislature.

New Hampshire

We can expect McCloskey to make a major effort in New Hampshire. Party officials believe that the President's initiative on Red China has substantially undermined McCloskey's position. It is recommended that our people immediately start a program of contact with various Party leaders who might be likely to support a McCloskey effort for the purpose of assuring them that the President believes in a broad based Party and that their support for the President would be welcomed.

It is important to get a slate of Nixon delegates who will have broad appeal and the delegate selection process must be carried out in a way which minimizes personal resentments. Mildred Perkins has recommended that we follow the same general plan of organization for the Nixon campaign which was followed in 1960. This involved setting up a "Plans Board" of five co-equal chairmen who met weekly with a campaign staff. Mildred said that she had obtained favorable approval for this plan in 1972 from Senator Cotton and from former Governor Lane Dwinell. Economic conditions are not favorable in New Hampshire at present with pockets of high unemployment and concern with foreign imports in such industries as shoes and textiles.

The race for Governor is wide open with a lot of resentment against the incumbent Governor Peterson. Bill Loeb and the Manchester paper are attacking the President's visit to China although it is unlikely he would do anything to help McCloskey. The state GOP has no serious problems of indebtedness but has a very limited staff operation.

Vermont

The President's standing is still strong and economic conditions are not as serious as elsewhere. Uncertainty remains about the race for Governor next year and there is no Senate contest. An eye should be kept on the activities of Tom Hayes, a former Lt. Governor, who might be a possible leader of any McCloskey activity in the state. Douglas Cairns, the 1968 Nixon chairman, has not been well for several months but would like to be of help in setting up the 1972 organization.

Vermont (Cont'd)

He is semi-retired from his business and might still be the best man for next year.

Massachusetts

The President's popularity is not high and economic conditions are bad in many places. The Massachusetts primary could be dangerous. A key factor could be whether Governor Sargent and Senator Brooke would be willing to identify themselves with the President's campaign in Massachusetts during the primary. Senator Brooke will not face any serious opposition within the GOP or from the Democrats. It would make sense to try to get both Governor Sargent and Senator Brooke to campaign in the primary for the President together with all of the GOP Congressmen. At the very least, an effort should be made to avoid unnecessary controversy or arguments with the Governor and Senator since they could be quite helpful campaigning for the national ticket in New England and elsewhere.

A visit by the President to Plymouth Rock for the 350th anniversary during this Thanksgiving might be worth considering. The current State GOP Chairman, Herbert Waite, is a former Goldwater supporter and is pro-RN. His relations with Governor Sargent are good and he should be able to identify all elements of Nixon's support in the state. Former state Senator William D. Weeks might make a good Nixon chairman if provided with some campaign staff. Weeks may make another primary race against Congressman Keith next year which would make him unavailable.

The present State Committee is quite weak although the debt is only \$50,000. Reapportionment is likely to hurt GOP Congressmen but this is not yet settled.

Rhode Island

Economic conditions are close to the national average but it is possible to blame the Democratic Governor for many state problems. The GOP expects a strong campaign for both Governor and Senate next year with former Attorney General Herbert DeSimone making another race for Governor and John Chafee running against Senator Pell. GOP resources will be concentrated in these two campaigns. A possible Nixon chairman would be George Vetter who has assisted RN activities in the past or Jim Nugent from Barrington. Olef Anderson would be a good Nixon finance chairman. The media in Rhode Island has been very much opposed to the Nixon Administration. Fred Lippett, the GOP National Committeeman and Minority Leader in the State House of Representatives, is very lukewarm about the President. John Chafee can provide the best help to the President particularly if there is a Presidential primary on April 12.

Guidance is needed from the Nixon Headquarters in Washington about the necessary strategy for this primary. Tucker Wright, the State GOP

Rhode Island (Cont'd)

Chairman who is pro-Nixon, recommends that a prominent GOP slate of delegates run on an uncommitted basis as the best way of minimizing McCloskey's showing. At the same time every effort must be made to turn out a good vote for the President in the popularity contest. Wright said that there would be opposition to the designation of George Vetter as the Nixon chairman if this gives him an advantage for consideration for appointment to the coming vacancy on the U.S. District Court for Rhode Island.

Connecticut

Economic conditions are still adverse in Connecticut. Governor Meskill is a strong supporter of the President and his organization from 1970 would be a good starting point although it is important that Senator Weicker and others be included. The major statewide race in Connecticut next year will be for President. Since Connecticut still has the straight ticket lever, it is most important that a strong campaign for the President be organized.

There are still difficulties with reapportionment and much dissatisfaction with the new income tax. There is a debt of \$114,000 from 1966 which is owed to Gingras their candidate for Governor that year. Connecticut is a state where we have a much better starting point for 1972 than we did in 1968, and the state GOP did well in 1970 inspite of extremely adverse economic conditions. Brian Gaffney, the new state GOP Chairman, is close to Governor Meskill and is pro-RN.

New York

Party leaders believe that the President has a good opportunity in New York in 1972 but there are still many uncertainties. Several GOP County Chairmen in such strategic areas as Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester, Monroe and Rockland are strongly opposed to any cooperation with the Conservative Party on a local basis and are insisting that there be no joint electors for the GOP and Conservative Party in 1972. State GOP officials reflect this same point of view. Senator Buckley seems to be popular with both Republicans and Conservatives but GOP officials take the view that sooner or later he must drop any official ties with the Conservative Party if he wants to be regarded as a Republican.

The President may be hurt by this infighting between the Republicans and Conservative Parties. While it is difficult to demonstrate that the President would lose any votes if Republican electors did not also run on the Conservative Party ticket, it is clear that the President's showing will be weakened if the campaign in New York in 1972 is characterized by a bitter struggle at the state and local level between Republican and Conservative officials. For this reason, it is recommended that a high priority be given towards resolving this inter-party dispute. At least it must be clear to all concerned that the individuals running the Nixon campaign in New York intend to work in cooperation with all groups and individuals who support the President even though there may be differences with regard to candidates for other office. A natural compromise might be to have the GOP agree to

New York (Cont'd)

a cooperative arrangement between Republicans and Conservatives in the Presidential campaign in return for giving up efforts for joint electors.

New Jersey

Economic conditions are probably not much worse than the national average but Newark is in an extremely difficult plight. In November, 1971 there will be critical elections for the State Legislature and local office. The GOP organization is out of debt but reapportionment questions remain unresolved. This is most unfortunate since the GOP could gain substantially next year in the races for Congress if a decision could be reached in the overwhelming Republican Legislature and the Governor. If reapportionment is put off until next year, the new Legislature elected in November will make the decision and this could be more difficult. Governor Cahill is doing a good job and can be very helpful to the President's campaign next year.

At this time there is no logical choice for a Nixon chairman according to John Dimon, the state GOP Chairman. New Jersey has a primary on June 6 which must be given careful consideration since there is some basis for McCloskey to get support. Senator Case will be running for reelection and will have a broad based campaign. Every effort should be made to get his cooperation and assistance in New Jersey on behalf of the President. There is strong feeling against Vice President Agnew in New Jersey and it is questionable whether he could campaign effectively in the state at this time.

Pennsylvania

Economic conditions in Pennsylvania are not aggravated although there seems to be genuine concern about the future. Governor Shapp is not popular and is causing many internal party problems. His leadership can be blamed for some of the economic problems facing Pennsylvania. Cliff Jones plans to remain as state GOP Chairman. He seems to have good relations with Senator Schweiker but he recognizes that both Senator Scott and Schweiker must play a role in any Nixon campaign in Pennsylvania.

The race for Mayor in Philadelphia this November could affect our campaign next year. There is an outside chance that Thatcher Longstreth might win over Rizzo and this would be a great boost for the GOP in Pennsylvania. High priority must be given by the President and the Administration to develop a better political and personal rapport with Billy Meehan the GOP leader in Philadelphia. This has been botched up badly in the past and must be straightened out. The state GOP is carrying a debt of \$300,000 currently and owes another \$500,000.

The Democratic Party has been superseded by organized labor in many parts of the state. Any personal attention which the President can give to Pennsylvania in terms of a visit or identification would be most helpful. There is no race for Governor or Senate in Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania (Cont'd)

next year and the race for President will be critical for the GOP in the state. Cliff Jones feels that Bill Scranton may be over used as a campaign chairman and mentioned Arlen Specter as a person who might be considered for a Nixon chairman. Elsie Hillman is so violently opposed to Vice President Agnew that she should not be considered for any role at this stage.

Delaware

The President's standing is still fairly high in Delaware according to Gene Bunting the state GOP Chairman. Governor Peterson and Senator Boggs will be running for reelection next year and both will support the President. Other Party leaders such as Senator Roth, former Senator Williams and Wilmington Mayor Haskell should be included in any discussion of a Nixon chairman. The Party finances are in good shape and there seems to be no interest in McCloskey. John Rollins will be heading up the GOP dinner on November 9 and can be of help in Delaware.

Maryland

There is an opportunity to put together a much better organization for the President in 1972 than we had in 1968. Economic conditions are not good but Democratic leadership is somewhat divided. The GOP still owes \$100,000 from 1968 but this is manageable. Senators Beall and Mathias would be good co-chairmen for the Nixon campaign, with a full-time campaign manager in charge. Secretary Rogers Morton is extremely popular in Maryland and can provide a great deal of help.

Vice President Agnew's interest and involvement in Maryland is unknown at the present time but this will be critical. Alexander Lankler, the state GOP Chairman, is strongly pro-Nixon and caused the Maryland State GOP Committee to become the first in the nation to endorse the reelection of the President. The Maryland Presidential primary would result in a strong showing for the President if all Party leaders can be brought into the effort. We are still weak in the Baltimore area, both county and city.

West Virginia

The President is relatively weak in West Virginia although he may make a better showing next year than in 1968. Governor Moore has not decided whether to run for reelection or for the seat now held by Senator Randolph. Governor Moore is quite popular at this time and his control over the Party is firm. The state GOP is out of debt and doing well in building a staff for next year. The Nixon chairman must be someone who can work closely with Arch Moore and it definitely should not be former Governor Cecil Underwood, a bitter opponent of Arch Moore. State Chairman Tom Potter strongly recommends that Judge John Field be named to the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals to replace

West Virginia (Cont'd)

retiring Judge Herbert Boreman and that John T. Copenhaver, Jr. be named to replace Judge Field on the U.S. District Court. Jay Rockefeller is the probably Democratic candidate for Governor and will be quite strong. Randolph has not indicated whether he plans to run again for the Senate seat.

District of Columbia

The President should make a strong race in the GOP primary based on primary results in past elections. However, this could be a tricky situation and every effort should be made to prevent any mishap. In discussions with Bob Carter who represented State GOP Chairman Ned Pendelton, he recommended that Perkins McGuire serve as Nixon chairman in 1972. An alternate suggestion was Bill McManus who is a retired official of the C. & P. Telephone Company and a member of the GOP State Committee.

South

Virginia

Party officials at the Denver meeting were generally optimistic and reported no particular voter enthusiasm for any of the leading Democratic candidates. I did not discuss organization matters with them on the assumption that Harry Flemming will take care of this.

North Carolina

Both Ed Broyhill and Thelma Rogers were optimistic about the President's chances in North Carolina next year. However, I did not discuss organization matters with them since the state GOP Chairman, Jim Holshouser, was not present. I would hope that we can get an early start in putting together a strong organization for the President in North Carolina which can make an excellent showing in their new primary.

South Carolina

Nothing new to report except that Senator Thurmond seems to be getting off to a good start in his bid for reelection.

Georgia

Jean Werst represented Bob Shaw the new state GOP Chairman at the Denver meetings. She strongly recommended Paul Jones as the Nixon chairman for Georgia. The GOP in Georgia does have a great many internal difficulties involving key Party leaders, but all can be expected to give strong support to the President next year. The GOP nominee for the Senate is still uncertain and David Gambrell who was appointed to replace Senator Russell is gaining strength.

Florida

The President's strength in Florida still holds up well according to Tommy Thomas the state GOP Chairman. The Democrats should be helped in Florida by having their convention in Miami. Governor Askew is expected to give strong support to the Democratic Presidential ticket but his current popularity is not too good. Tom recommended that Lawrence Lee of Jacksonville might make a good Nixon chairman or at least a finance chairman.

Florida has a primary on March 14. It is important to get a strong and broad based delegation. McCloskey has no particular strength in Florida. Senator Gurney is working hard to improve his relations with the GOP and is making progress. There are no races for Senate or Governor. Reapportionment is unresolved at this point. Bill Cramer is expected to run for Congress in 1972. The GOP decision to have it's convention in San Diego instead of Miami might create a problem but all Party leaders in Denver promised to do everything they could to be of help in this regard.

Kentucky

Kentucky elects a new Governor this fall and no real decisions can be made about the campaign for 1972 until after November. Governor Louie Nunn will work hard to elect a Republican Governor but it looks like an uphill fight at this point. Nunn is expected to run for Senator Cooper's seat next year. The GOP problems in Louisville remains unresolved and a lot of work needs to be done there. John Kerr, the GOP State Chairman, reports no particular enthusiasm in Kentucky for any of the Democratic Presidential hopefuls.

Kerr expressed the view that it was important to get Congressman Snyder's support for Tom Emberton in his race for Governor. It may be that Snyder wants to run for the Senate seat in 1972 and believes that Emberton would give his support to Nunn if elected Governor.

Tennessee

Nixon's strength in Tennessee is still very strong. In a 3-way race for President taken this month, the President had 46% to 31% for Humphrey and 20% for Wallace (3% undecided). This compares with the 1968 percentage of Nixon 38%, Humphrey 28% and Wallace 34%. Economic conditions are not too bad at this time in Tennessee but the school bussing issue could be extremely serious if aggravated. So far no Democratic candidate has any strong appeal in Tennessee.

Senator Baker is running for reelection and will be of help to President Nixon. Governor Dunn and Senator Brock both are in a position to help. Any Nixon chairman must be cleared by all of these principals.

Alabama

Jim Martin confirms the local problems facing Wallace. It is going to be important to get a good committee in Alabama as early as possible which will create additional pressure on Wallace not to run by helping to mobilize opposition at home. If Wallace does not run, the President should be able to carry Alabama.

Mississippi

Clarke Reed reports that the President is leading in Mississippi in all 3-way combinations but this is an extremely volatile situation. If Wallace does not run, then Nixon should carry Mississippi with no difficulty.

Arkansas

Charles Bernard is the new GOP State Chairman and a strong supporter of the President. He is convinced that Nixon can carry Arkansas and is giving this his top statewide priority. There will be no strong opposition to Senator McClellan next year. Governor Bumpers is probably going to get a second term with only token opposition by the GOP.

The recent statement by Vice President Agnew about black leadership in America was harmful to Bernard's efforts to get support from black leaders. Of course, if Congressman Mills is on the Democratic ticket, that would guarantee him state support. President Nixon is more popular in Arkansas now than in 1968 and Wallace has definitely slipped in popularity. No polls are available at this time for the Presidential race in Arkansas.

Economic conditions are not too bad and the GOP organization is out of debt and has a budget of \$80,000 for this year. It will be important to have a harmonious working relationship between the GOP organization and former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller. In 1968, Governor Rockefeller concentrated on his own campaign for reelection and gave very little assistance to the national ticket. He could be of great help in developing support for President Nixon among black voters in Arkansas. Participation by blacks in the Arkansas GOP is very wide spread and it is important to maintain and expand this base of support.

Louisiana

Louisiana will elect a new Governor on February 1, 1972. The GOP candidate is David Treen of New Orleans who nearly defeated Hale Boggs in two different Congressional campaigns. The Nixon campaign in Louisiana will have to follow a "citizens" approach if it is to succeed and Treen is following this strategy. Treen's organization would provide a good base on which to build the President's campaign in Louisiana since it will be broadly based and include many Democrats.

Louisiana (Cont'd)

Charlton Lyons is finance chairman for David Treen. Economic conditions are not too good and the HEW activities have been disastrous. The key factor is whether Wallace is a candidate again. His strength is less now than in 1968 but it could grow if he can take advantage of certain issues.

Texas

GOP internal problems are much improved and the President has a strong chance to carry Texas in 1972. Economic conditions are somewhat adverse and the HEW activities have been extremely damaging to the President and Administration. A major effort will be made to reelect Senator Tower who stands a good chance since Lt. Governor Ben Barnes will be running for Governor. I did not discuss details of Nixon organization with any Texas GOP officials in Denver.

Midwest

Ohio

After the setback suffered in 1970, the GOP is regaining its morale and this is extremely important. They have recently held eight fundraising dinners attended by over 5,500 people which is an increase over last year. The Party is now out of debt although Roger Cloud still owes \$30,000 from his race for Governor. Governor Gilligan's popularity is not good at this point stemming from tax and fiscal problems. Gilligan is building a strong Democratic organization working with union officials.

Bob Taft's announcement as a favorite son surprised people in Ohio as well as in Washington but it has been accepted. On reapportionment, the GOP sponsored bill will be enacted but vetoed by Gilligan. It will then be decided by the courts. The result could turn on whether it goes to the State court or the Federal court. It is clear that Ohio will be a major battle ground in 1972 and every effort must be made to carry this state.

There are no major statewide races in 1972 except for President and an early start should be made in putting together the strongest possible organization on behalf of Nixon in Ohio. This will require cooperation from the Administration as well as with elected and Party officials in Ohio. Economic conditions remain as a major difficulty but it now seems that Party people in Ohio believe that the job can be done if everyone works together.

Indiana

I did not discuss the details of a Nixon campaign organization with Indiana GOP officials in Denver. The incumbent administration of

Indiana (Cont'd)

Governor Whitcomb is not popular with the voters or a large segment of the GOP. The internal Party problems remain unresolved but this should not prevent a unified campaign for President Nixon. Economic conditions are adverse in many parts of the state. The race for Governor could be of extreme importance and it is necessary to get a unified base of Party support behind a strong candidate for Governor.

There will be a Presidential primary campaign where McCloskey should not run well but where GOP efforts might fail because of internal problems. Major emphasis in Indiana will be centered on the various local races this November. After these are out of the way, it will be important to start work immediately on the President's campaign throughout the state.

Michigan

Economic conditions in the state are very bad with unemployment up to 16% in Detroit. HUD is most unpopular in the suburbs where the GOP has to get its major support. There will have to be close coordination between the campaign for Nixon and with Senator Griffin who will be running for reelection in a tough race. Any visits by the President before the election would be a big help. The Party has a debt of some \$800,000 from 1968 and 1970 and is operating on the basis of a skeleton organization.

A critical problem which must be resolved soon is the relationship of the conservative element of the Party led by State Senator Huber and the Republican State Administration of Governor Milliken. If Huber sets up a formal 3rd party it could endanger both Griffin and the President. Somebody should have a pointed conversation with Governor Milliken in order to get his cooperation in resolving this problem as soon as possible.

A good Nixon chairman for Michigan might be Lt. Governor Brickley. He is a former prosecutor from Wayne County and is a progressive Republican. The Nixon campaign in Michigan will be uphill but it should be as strong as possible if only to help Senator Griffin, the State Legislature and GOP Congressional candidates. Governor Milliken has reiterated his willingness to be of assistance to the President in every way possible and he should be encouraged to become actively involved in Michigan and elsewhere.

Illinois

This is an extremely critical state for the President in 1972. Senator Percy and Attorney General Scott both seem to be assured of reelection next year. Governor Ogilvie is recovering his standing with the voters and plans to run a tough and well financed campaign. There is general agreement by all principals on Tom Houser as the man to run the President's campaign in Illinois once he leaves the FCC on October 1.

Illinois (Cont'd)

Economic conditions and inflation are major difficulties for the President in Illinois. Governor Ogilvie and State Chairman Vic Smith both urge the President to visit Illinois, particularly Downstate, as much as possible during the balance of this year and next.

A Muskie/Stevenson ticket would create serious problems for President Nixon in Illinois and efforts must be taken to develop support for the President with ethnic voters. It would be hoped that Senator Percy could help increase support for the President among minority voters.

Wisconsin

Wisconsin may be the most difficult of the midwest states for the President to repeat his victory of 1968. Much of the GOP Party organization is new and this might be an advantage. John Hough, the GOP State Chairman seemed quite pleased with the selection of John MacIver and Bob Knowles as temporary chairmen for Nixon. Because of the importance of the Wisconsin primary and the absence of major statewide races, it will be important to start the President's campaign as soon as possible.

The Party is seriously in debt (\$800,000) but this must not hamper efforts for the President. Ody Fish, who is now National Committeeman, would like to play an active part where he can.

Minnesota

The GOP in Minnesota is digging out from under a Democratic landslide in 1970. The new State GOP Chairman, David Krogseng, was a former aide of Clark MacGregor and is a strong supporter of President Nixon. The GOP will have difficulty getting a strong candidate against Senator Mondale next year. The GOP is carrying a debt of some \$170,000 of which \$60,000 is to be paid next year. Congressman McCloskey has been in the state and has some kind of a following. This will require a strong organization effort by the Nixon forces from the precincts on up to the district and state conventions where delegates are chosen. Of course, if Humphrey is the Democratic nominee for President, we would face the same problems of 1968. Without Humphrey or Mondale on the Democratic ticket, the GOP in Minnesota hopes to make a strong comeback in 1972. The new Democratic Governor, Wendell Anderson, has not been particularly popular although he is an attractive leader.

South Dakota

The GOP in South Dakota was nearly wiped out in 1970. Next year it must find candidates for U.S. Senate (Mundt), Governor and other statewide offices, and two Congressional candidates. The Party has been reorganized with Bob Burns as the new State Chairman. Jack Gibson has been trying to put together a group of candidates for the key races.

South Dakota (Cont'd)

There is agreement between Gibson and Burns that the Nixon campaign in South Dakota should be run under the co-chairmanship of former Congressman Berry and Reifel with "Obie" O'Brien of Madison as the campaign manager. Farm discontent is aggravated in South Dakota with additional problems from the ICC ruling on minors driving farm vehicles across state lines and the enforcement by Secretary Volpe of the highway program penalties for failure to remove billboards.

North Dakota

Agricultural problems still are the key issue. Both Ben Clayburgh, GOP National Committeeman, and Jack Huss, GOP State Chairman, strongly urge the President to appear before a farm group and deal specifically with agricultural issues. They were particularly concerned that any White House staff member speaking for agriculture be someone who can be identified as a "real farmer." This definitely should not be somebody from the area of "Agro-business."

In both North Dakota and South Dakota the Democrats are effectively attacking the President for a "do nothing" policy on the economy. Senator Milton Young could be the most helpful to the President in North Dakota but he is quite unhappy over Administration farm policy and leadership.

Missouri

Economic conditions are probably not as bad in Missouri as in other states. Missouri must elect a new Governor next year and the Democrats will have at least a 6-way primary fight. In the GOP, State Representative Buzz King has announced for Governor, but the likely GOP nominee will be State Auditor Kit Bond who won by a smashing plurality of 200,000 votes in 1970. It will be important to keep a close tab on the selection of delegates in Missouri. The state GOP is out of debt. The reapportionment issues are still open. Both Gene Taylor, National Committeeman, and Nick Gray, State GOP Chairman, strongly recommend that Larry Roos, St. Louis County Executive, be the Nixon chairman for Missouri. Attorney General Jack Danforth will be running for reelection. GOP Congressman Hall will probably not run for reelection and it will be important to get a good candidate there with a minimum of Party struggle.

Iowa

Farm issues are paramount in Iowa although the general economy is fairly good. The President's image on farm issues is one of aloofness but the foreign policy issues are still important in Iowa. Governor Ray plans to run for reelection but faces a bitter primary fight from Lt. Governor Roger Gebson. This will have an adverse impact on GOP fund-raising in Iowa and might lead to a Democratic Governor. Democratic Congressman John Culver is expected to run against Senator Jack Miller. This could be a close race.

Iowa (Cont'd)

State Chairman John McDonald recommended consideration of Ray Murphy, Tom Stoner or Bob Brinton as Nixon Chairman for Iowa with Dick Bergland and Sue Reed as possibilities for campaign managers.

Nebraska

The new State Chairman, Milan Bush, stressed both farming issues and the problems of rural areas. Secretary Hardin is handicapped in his efforts for the Administration even though he is from Nebraska. Bush seemed to have no particular objection to the choice of George Cook as Nixon chairman in Nebraska next year.

It is recognized that every effort must be given to Senator Curtis in his reelection effort next year. The Nebraska primary can be turned into a strong plus for the President and there seems to be little support for McCloskey.

Kansas

Economic conditions in Kansas are still difficult for the GOP. The Democratic Governor, following the lead of Senator McGovern and other midwest Democrats, maintains a steady barrage of criticism about the President and Administration economic policies. The race for Governor next year is open with Bob Wells, now on the FCC, as a good GOP possibility. Governor Darking has not yet indicated whether he will run against Senator Jim Pearson next year. There are several possibilities for Nixon chairman, but no firm recommendation as yet from Bill Falstad, the new State Chairman.

Oklahoma

The President is still popular in Oklahoma in spite of economic problems. None of the major Democratic candidates seems to have any particular strength. The new Democratic Governor, David Hall, will be working hard against President Nixon and is a strong partisan Democrat. The race for Senate could be quite tough since Oklahoma voters might not really want to have two GOP Senators (like the Bush situation in Texas in 1970).

Congressman Edmondson will make a strong Senate candidate for the Democrats. There is a definite split in GOP leaders with State Chairman Clarence Warner reflecting a different position from the Bellmon group. Doug McKeever of Enid is recommended by Dorothy Stanislaus as Nixon chairman. The GOP Senate possibilities include former Governor Dewey Bartlett (the favorite), astronaut Tom Stafford, and Bud Stewart. Bartlett hopes to develop enough strength to avoid an open fight.

West

Alaska

The Nixon Administration is not popular in Alaska at the present time. The Alaska pipeline is the key issue and a decision is expected this fall. It is most important that this announcement should be made by Secretary Morton and Senator Stevens in Fairbanks and not let the announcement come from Governor Egan or Senator Gravel. The State Chairman for Alaska, Al Bramstedt, was active in the 1968 campaign for Nixon. He reports that GOP morale with regard to the President's campaign is not good. State Senator Jack Coghill is a possible Nixon chairman. Former Secretary Hickel may run an independent slate of delegates. Hickel is quite frustrated and is spending a great deal of time in Alaska. At this point, Senator Stevens faces an uphill fight unless the pipeline issue is settled the right way. The state GOP has no debt and is trying to develop programs to reach the new people coming in because of the oil industry and the native population.

A real help would be if the Jones Act could be changed to permit foreign vessels to carry cargo from the mainland to Alaska. Unemployment is now at 13%. The shipping strike has been a disaster and will cause even more damage in the long run as business concerns are unable to reopen.

Hawaii

Hawaii has a woman as their new State Chairman. Carla Coray said the state organization is out of debt but there are many organizational problems. Bill Quinn, now President of the Dole Corporation, might be a good Nixon chairman. John Bellinger, a Honolulu banker, is also a possibility. The shipping strike is most serious and must be ended soon. Modification of the Jones Act and the release of Federal land would be of greatest benefit to the President's campaign in Hawaii.

California

Put Livermore, the GOP State Chairman, is doing a first rate job in trying to keep everything together. The economy is the key issue in California. Put has been concentrating his effort on reapportionment. He stressed that the 1972 delegation should be broadly based and selected on the basis of helping the President carry California in November. The President's proposed trip to China has done a lot to weaken McCloskey's position in California.

Oregon

There was approval by GOP officials in Denver of the choice of Congressman Wendall Wyatt as Nixon chairman for Oregon. Currently the Party faces a bitter fight between Governor McCall and Senator Hatfield for the Senate nomination next year. Governor McCall plans to make support for the President a major issue between himself and

Oregon (Cont'd)

Senator Hatfield and his activities at the Western Governors Conference in Jackson reflected this strategy. If Governor McCall is elected to the Senate, Oregon would have a Democrat as Governor since the State Senate President would move up to that spot. The new GOP State Chairman, Hank Hart, expects Senator Hatfield to do much better in a primary contest against Governor McCall than the polls now indicate. McCloskey would have some support in his campaign against the President in Oregon.

Washington

Senator Jackson's strength is very strong at the present time. Economic conditions are quite bad and help the Democrats. Governor Evans has not decided whether he will run for a third term. State Chairman Earl Davenport strongly urged a visit by the President to Washington State. Davenport suggested Luke Williams as the Nixon chairman. Williams is a conservative from Spokane who has good relations with Governor Evans.

Joel Pritchard of Seattle might also be a good Nixon chairman provided he does not make another primary fight against Congressman Pelly. The state GOP is out of debt and expects to pick up the 4th Congressional District lost by Catherine May in 1970. The GOP candidate will be Stewart Bledsoe who is a Republican leader in the State Legislature.

Arizona

The President is still quite popular in Arizona and economic conditions are not particularly bad. The GOP finances are in good shape. Reapportionment has a key priority with Arizona GOP which hopes to pick up the new House seat. Harry Rosensweig, GOP State Chairman, recommends Jim O'Connor as Nixon chairman. O'Connor is a friend of Herb Kalmbach and is a Democrat who supports the President.

New Mexico

The state has serious economic problems. Senator Montoya is quite popular with Spanish-American voters and is strongly anti-GOP. The state GOP is only \$6,000 in debt but extensive fund-raising is difficult in New Mexico. Tom McKenna will soon replace Bob Davidson as GOP State Chairman. Davidson recommends former Lt. Governor Bohack as a possibility for Nixon chairman.

Both parties are expecting primary contests for Senator Anderson's seat. If Anderson runs again it could change that situation. Senator Jackson is quite strong in New Mexico since his wife is from there and worked for Senator Anderson.

Nevada

None of the National Democrats are very popular in Nevada and the President should have a good chance to carry the state in 1972 according to George Abbott, the State GOP Chairman. Senator Jackson

Nevada (Cont'd)

would be the strongest Democratic nominee in Nevada. Abbott recommends Bob Wordman, a banker from Las Vegas, as Nixon chairman. He also had high praise for Attorney General Bob List. Former Governor Paul Laxalt has received some criticism since the 1970 election and would not be the best man to head up the Nixon campaign. The state GOP is \$30,000 in debt mostly from the Senate race in 1970. There are no races for Governor or Senate in Nevada next year.

Colorado

Nixon's popularity is still very good in Colorado and the GOP is well organized. Congressman Evans is the likely candidate against Senator Allott. The GOP is out of debt. Bill Armstrong, the Nixon chairman in 1968, may be a Congressional candidate next year. Reapportionment problems are still not yet settled. Governor Love might be the strongest man to head up the campaign for President Nixon in Colorado in 1972. The Governor is quite popular with all groups at this point.

Wyoming

The President is still strong in Wyoming although there are some economic difficulties in the state. Senator Hansen should win his campaign for reelection. The GOP still is unsettled on its candidate for Congressman-at-Large. There is no race for Governor. The new State GOP Chairman, David Kennedy, is close to Governor Hathaway and there seem to be no internal Party problems of significance.

Utah

Economic conditions are still causing problems and inflation hurts the GOP. The recent copper strikes have been extremely serious in Utah. The new state GOP Chairman is Kent Shearer, who was Utah chairman for Reagan in 1968. Ken Garff, the National Committeeman, thinks that the President can carry Utah again but that it will require a strong campaign effort. Governor Rampton has not indicated whether he will seek reelection. The GOP candidate for Governor is uncertain although it is most important that they obtain a strong person to run for this office.

Montana

The new GOP State Chairman, Bill Holter, from Great Falls, is a political amateur and very inexperienced. He seems to be well motivated and determined to spend a lot of time and effort in building an organization. Economic conditions are critical in Montana. The Democratic Governor, Forrest Anderson, will be working for the national ticket and Senator Mansfield may be of some help. Senator Jackson would have strong support. The GOP is out of debt and building an organization. There is no likely GOP nominee against Senator Metcalf next year.

Montana (Cont'd)

Holter expects a lot of good impact from the President's visit to Glacier National Park next month. Bill Holter suggested Frank Whetstone of Cut Bank as Nixon chairman for Montana, but he will look for additional prospects.

Idaho

The President should carry Idaho next year but with a reduced plurality. The Democrats, under Governor Andrus, are concentrating their efforts next year almost exclusively on the State Legislature. This means that they will not do much to help the national ticket. Roland Wilber, GOP State Chairman, suggests that Jack Murphy may be the best man to head up the Nixon campaign with Bill Campbell helping on organization. Senator Jordan seems to be in good shape for reelection. Wilber did express the view that Secretary Connally would not be a good choice for Vice President insofar as Idaho was concerned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

7/30/72
7/23/72

July 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Charlie McWorter -
Information System

*redone
for cc to
AG
7-19-71*

Discussion with Charlie McWorter, who just returned from the Western Governor's Conference, covered the following subjects:

- 1) McWorter talked to McCall, who made the statements about Reagan just to get the headlines and thereby increase his chances of getting Hatfield's seat. McCall says he was just trying to help the President;
- 2) None of the Democratic Contenders had men working the 7 Democratic Governors and staffs at the Western Governor's Conference;
- 3) Egan told McWorter the President would have trouble carrying Alaska; Burns said the same about Hawaii;
- 4) Governor Evans of Washington hasn't decided to run for a third term. McWorter suggests that "we" decide whether we want him to run and if so, encourage him;
- 5) The President should carry Oregon ~~through~~ support for Jackson is strong as it is in Washington;
- 6) In Idaho and Montana the Republican parties have deteriorated badly and McWorter suggests that the President campaign entirely separate from the party. Idaho's Democratic Governor Andrus and Montana's Democratic Governor Anderson are doing well.
- 7) In New Mexico the Republican efforts are chaotic, and the President should campaign separately;
- 8) Governor Love told McWorter that the President should carry Colorado. Love was very friendly and wanted to be cooperative;

- 9) Steve Shaddegg of Arizona had some very negative comments about the Administration's dealing with the Republican party. Shaddegg told McWorter that "Nixon can't carry Arizona," but McWorter disagrees;
- 10) McWorter will attend the Mid West Governor's Conference in Sioux City, Iowa, beginning Sunday. McWorter will then go to the RNC meeting in Denver where he will sit in with Flemming during meetings with every Republican State Chairman.
- 11) McWorter attended Western Governor's "because Stan Hathaway asked him." McWorter attends National Governor's meetings as a "member of the Vice President's Staff."

Recommendation:

That a copy of the memorandum be sent directly to the Attorney General.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____
Comment _____

GS:elr

FU

122715

June 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Charlie McWorter -
Information System

You mentioned that it would be helpful to contact Charlie McWorter concerning information that he acquires during his travels and meetings with politicians. Contact on Monday, June 28, with Mr. McWorter, after he had returned from a month vacation, indicated that he would still be very interested in funneling information to you through me. We agreed to talk at least once a week to review his information and projected itinerary.

He will begin making his first trip this week and reporting to me on July 7.

GS:elr

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6/28
7/5

May 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY

John Ehrlichman indicated to Haldeman that he had received information from Charlie McWhorter regarding Muskie and Stevenson and the fact that Muskie is seriously considering Stevenson to be his running mate. You may want to give McWhorter a call and let him know that you are handling all political things for Haldeman now and that if anything should come up in the way of intelligence or something, Bob would be very interested in knowing about it should Charlie want to forward the information.

Don't mention Ehrlichman

*465-5565 - G → me W 5/25
will send all to G after
1 mo. vacation.*

*N.Y. of
212-393-4459*

6/28 - will get me his itinerary

7/6 -

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Charlie McWorter -
Information System

FU
7/6

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good
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You mentioned that it would be helpful to contact Charlie McWorter concerning information that he acquires during his travels and meetings with politicians. Contact on Monday, June 28, with Mr. McWorter, after he had returned from a month vacation, indicated that he would still be very interested in funneling information to you through me. We agreed to talk at least once a week to review his information and projected itinerary.

He will begin making his first trip this week and reporting to me on July 7.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

H saw yesterday

Date 7-29-71

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Dent's statement on the Ohio political situation emphasizes that:

1. The President is in the same position today as he was in 1968.
2. Foreign policy is a plus and unemployment in large cities is a minus.
3. The Party situation is improving, which is crucial.
4. Stark County (Canton) has local Republican leaders who are strong supporters of the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 28, 1971

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: HARRY DENT *ASD*

Please handle _____

For your information X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

OHIO: AS OF JULY 27TH, 1971

POLITICAL BRIEF

1968 Presidential Race:	Nixon:	1,791,014
	Humphrey:	1,700,586
	Wallace:	476,495

Presidential Prospects:

The Presidential picture is cloudy here today. Our people see the President about as strong today as he was in 1968. On the plus side is foreign policy with the Red China visit and the Vietnamization program. On the minus side is the unemployment situation especially in larger cities like Dayton, Cincinnati and Cleveland. A recent headline article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer was entitled "Nixon can win Ohio again." It surveyed the state and found the President ahead for a second term vote, but only if the war can be brought under control and the economic situation doesn't worsen. College students were particularly anti-Nixon, though other youths tended to split their votes.

The party situation is much improved over the past several months, after a series of fund raisers. The party organization is always crucial to victory in Ohio.

Statewide:

Over one hundred cities will elect Mayors this fall, including Cleveland (where Mayor Stokes is retiring) and Canton. There are no statewide elections until 1974. However, Congressional redistricting will be a problem with the state losing a seat due to reapportionment. It is felt the courts will have to eventually draw the new districts, as the legislature is Republican and the Governor is a Democrat.

Locally:

Stark County (greater Canton) has been carried by the President in 1960 (15,676 votes and 55.2%) and 1968 (10,739 votes and 47.9%). The Mayor of Canton is a Republican, Stanley Cmich, who is seeking a fourth term in November. He is very popular and considered a shue-in. The Congressman is veteran Republican Frank Bow who won with 56.2% of the vote in 1970. The local Republican organization is headed by 'Cal' Wise a strong supporter of the President, and it is considered a good one. Unemployment has not hit Canton too badly and the President is thought to be in good shape there.

GOP Leaders:

Stark County Chairman:	Carl Wise, 216-453-8405
State Chairman:	John Andrews, 614-228-2481
National Committeeman:	Ray Bliss: 216-762-8903
National Committeewoman:	Miss Martha Moore: 614-432-2527

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date July 30, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This memorandum summarizes about 80 pages of memoranda forwarded by Dent. Should you wish to read the originals, they are in my office.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1971

Administratively Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

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.

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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 Pat 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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 21, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT 

Please handle _____

For your information XX

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1971

TO: Harry S. Dent
FROM: Richard Richards
SUBJECT: Senior Citizens.

I. BACKGROUND

With the passage of the 18-year old vote, political parties, candidates, and other special interest groups are moving feverishly to get the young voter registered, compile the mailing lists of the young voters to enable them to see that they vote on election day, and propagandize them in the interval. While this is certainly a legitimate objective, and the Republican Party and the Nixon campaign organization ought to be doing the same thing, we should not lose sight of an even larger group of voters who will play an even more important part in the 1972 campaign.

We can only guess at the numbers, or percentage, of young people who will vote, and further speculate on how they will vote in 1972. If the new voters vote in the same ratios as the 21-to-24-year olds have voted in the past decade, approximately 50% of them will participate in the electoral process.

At the same time, past history shows us that the elderly are more likely to vote than any other age group. Voting approximately 70% of their numbers in a Presidential election.

The 18-to-21 age group will number approximately 11 million, while the senior citizen - that is, persons 55 years of age or older - number 36 million. Based upon past history, approximately 5.5 million young people between the ages of 18 and 21 will vote in 1972, while 25 million senior citizens will cast their votes.

This is not to say we should forget about the young voter, but simply to put the importance of their votes in proper perspective, and certainly to remind us of the great importance of the senior citizen vote.

II. Potential support from the senior citizen.

Not only will the senior citizen vote in greater numbers and percentages, but the opportunity for success with this group is considerably better than with the younger voter.

Polls and surveys taken over an extended period of time show the senior citizen to be more conservative (with the exception of financial matters as they relate directly to the senior citizen, such as social security, Medicare, pensions, government assistance in housing, etc.). It is my impression that the somewhat more liberal attitude relative to these things occurs when the citizen reaches, or nears, the retirement age.

Furthermore, the elderly people are more concerned with the basic moral values that Richard Nixon talks about frequently. They have a greater sense of goodness, or rightness, about the United States and the role it has played in world affairs, and the opportunity and advantages it has offered to our citizens over the generations. I believe they are more concerned and more strongly opposed to demonstrations, lawlessness, violence, and crime than the other age groups. Maybe partially because they have less capacity to defend themselves when faced with these problems.

I further believe they have greater respect for Richard Nixon; the office he holds, and the things he stands for.

The foregoing is supported by some of the polls that have been taken in recent months. The following are examples from Gallup Polls taken in May, 1971:

Approval Ratings

<u>Age</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
* 18-21	43%	43%	14%
21-29	49%	43%	8%
30-49	53%	35%	12%
50 & over	49%	38%	13%

*published April 18, 1971.

On the question of Vietnam, in the over 50 category, more people believe that the Administration is telling the truth and a smaller percentage feel he is not. Their approval rating of handling the war in Vietnam is the same as some of the younger categories, but the disapproval rating is lower.

In trial heats with the various Democrat hopefuls, the President rates as follows:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
21-29	40%	39%	12%	9%
30-49	46%	37%	12%	5%
50 & over	48%	34%	13%	5%

Nixon vs. Muskie

<u>Age</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
21-29	34%	44%	12%	10%
30-49	42%	40%	12%	6%
50 & over	46%	36%	12%	6%

Nixon vs. Kennedy

<u>Age</u>	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>	<u>Wallace</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
21-29	32%	52%	11%	5%
30-49	45%	38%	11%	6%
50 & over	51%	33%	11%	5%

In 1968, President Nixon received 47% to Humphrey's 43%.

III. To capitalize on the natural advantage we have, however small it may be, we must understand the senior citizen and his problems. In the first place, their problem is basically a financial one. The great majority of the so-called senior citizens are now retired, or will soon retire, and therefore will be living on somewhat "fixed incomes"; therefore they

worry greatly about inflation and how it is diminishing their retirement benefits, their savings, pensions, or whatever the case may be. They are also greatly concerned about how inflation erodes their social security benefits each year. At the present time, over 1/4 of the so-called senior citizens in the United States live in the "status of poverty" by definition. Statistically, a sizable percentage own their own homes, but rising real property taxes are working a great hardship on them, actually forcing some to abandon their properties to live in rest homes, apartments, etc., when logically their preference would be to remain in the home they occupied for an extended period of time.

President Nixon alluded to both of the foregoing in his speech before the senior citizens in Chicago in early July, and when he mentioned these two problems and his concern and recognition of the problems, he received a fine response from his senior citizen audience.

IV. Senior citizens' legislative requests.

There are numerous senior citizen organizations, among them The National Retired Teachers Association and The American Association of Retired Persons. The number of elderly who belong to such organizations total approximately 5 million people. Their organizations are lobbying for many legislative programs to benefit the elderly, included among them are, (1) amendments to the social security law to provide for automatic increases in social security benefits as the cost of living increases; (2) a relaxation of social security rules to permit receipt of greater outside income before penalties are attached; (3) they want more comprehensive and better health services. I believe the greatest single concern of many of the elderly relates to "...what will happen if I become ill for an extended period of time and have to have special care?" As we all know, the incidents of illness are greater among the elderly, a sizable percent of the illness is terminal,

the costs for extended medical care are tremendous, and in many cases the elderly have to give up their property and depend completely on charity for the payment of those expenses; (4) they want better housing. They are convinced that the Administration has made housing for the poor and for minority groups a priority at the expense of decent housing for the elderly; (5) they want better transportation facilities. Many of the elderly are confined to their residences. They cannot even get to and from shopping facilities, medical clinics, etc. They have asked for a reduction in fares, including air fare, so they can travel and visit distant relatives and members of their family.

They want many other things too, but these are the "big" things.

I believe that notwithstanding the fact the elderly are more closely akin to the Republican philosophy and more inclined to support Richard Nixon, when the appropriate time comes they will vote their pocketbooks. And if at the age of 70 they are confronted with a choice between increased social security benefits and improved nursing home care, subsidized transportation facilities, etc., or an unbalanced budget, or deficit spending -- there is little doubt which they would choose. The candidates that make promises to the senior citizens will get their votes, and if the Administration appears unconcerned, or can be made to appear unconcerned, we will have trouble securing the senior citizen vote. Other candidates, particularly Ted Kennedy and Ed Muskie, are making a concerted drive to appeal to the senior citizen voter. Attached see a list of bills, together with a short description of the legislation, that were either introduced or co-sponsored by Senator Kennedy in this session -- obviously designed to appeal to the elderly voter.

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The elderly voter logically fits in the Republican camp and can be induced to support Richard Nixon again. This support

is natural and logical. It is now ours -- but if we desire it to remain so -- we must exert a major effort with these people.

It will be difficult to "organize" senior citizens. The Republican National Committee does not have the financial capacity nor the staff to do so, and I seriously doubt if we could get many of them involved to the extent they would actually go out and build Republican senior citizen organizations designed specifically to work for Richard Nixon. However, there are presently existing several senior citizen organizations on a national level, and there are literally thousands of senior citizen clubs, "golden hour" centers, etc., across the country, through which a sizable portion of the senior citizens participate in social activities, handicrafts, etc. These groups constitute a vast untapped resource, and with proper organization and effort we could recruit leaders within the small groups to work on behalf of the President, to propagandize their friends and associates, and even on occasion distribute favorable literature at the appropriate time. I believe the appeal to the senior citizen deserves our highest priority with a substantial financial commitment.

It is extremely important, however, that the Administration do and say the right things for the elderly voter, sponsor or support legislation to meet some of their needs, to be seen and heard through the senior citizen organizations and through their national publications, and embark on a program specifically designed to establish a closer rapport with the senior citizen. Without this, the organizational effort would not succeed. These people are concerned about very specific problems, and can relate them directly to themselves and their lives. These are the things that must be discussed and talked about, and the senior citizen made to feel that the President is fully aware of, and understands and sympathizes with them or their problems.

Legislative proposals introduced or supported by Senator Kennedy

- S. 3 - is the Senator's major legislative program designed to create a national system of health security, which would provide medical benefits for every resident of the United States and every non-resident citizen while within the United States. It would further establish a Health Security tax on employees, employers, and the self-employed to pay the cost of the program.
- S. 297 - an Amendment to the Social Security Act to provide a 15% across-the-board increase in monthly benefits, with a minimum payment of \$100.
- S. 555 - referred to as The Older American Community Service Employment Act, designed to provide part-time work opportunities for the unemployed and low-income persons who are 55 years of age or older.
- S. 936 - to amend the Social Security Act and provide increases in benefits and expand the coverage of qualified drugs.
- S. 1030 - an Amendment to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, and to assure rehabilitation through expanded services to the old or blind persons.
- S. 1035 - an Amendment to the Social Security Act to eliminate in certain cases the requirement for prior admission to a hospital in order to qualify for extended care or services.
- S. 1163 - an Amendment to the Older Americans Act of 1965, to provide money to the states for establishment, maintenance, and operation of low-cost meal programs, nutrition training, etc., for older Americans.
- S. 1172 - a bill exempting citizens over 65 from payment of entrance fees to certain recreational areas within the United States.
- S. 1173 - an Amendment to the Social Security Act to liberalize the criteria for determining disability.

S. 1307 - called the Middle-Aged and Older Workers Employment Act, designed to provide increased employment opportunities for middle-aged as well as older workers (middle-age begins at 45).

S. 1335 - to amend the Social Security Act to liberalize eligibility for blind persons to receive disability insurance benefits.

Note:

The Senator has become a sponsor of other legislation of particular interest to the elderly after the bills had been introduced and his name does not appear on the bill as a sponsor.

—
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 19, 1971

TO: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT 

Please handle _____

For your information _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1971

TO: Harry Dent
FROM: Dick Richards *RR*
SUBJECT: Edward M. Kennedy

With what many think is an increasing probability that Edward Kennedy will be a candidate for President, I suggest we look at what he must necessarily see as his best prospects for votes in a 1972 campaign against Richard Nixon.

BLACK VOTES

Obviously his best source of votes with Nixon as an opponent, is the black voter. Naturally this is not the greatest source of total vote because of the somewhat limited number of potential black voters in the Nation; however, even that number is significant, i. e., (1) there are 23 million blacks in the United States today, (2) approximately 14 million will be eligible to vote in the Presidential race of 1972, (3) based upon past history, approximately 50%, or 7 million, will cast their votes. (The percentage varies in different parts of the country.)

In a campaign for the 7 million probable black voters, Richard Nixon cannot realistically compete with Ted Kennedy, as evidenced by past voting history, polls, etc.

According to Gallup Polls, March, 1971, 74% of the blacks classify themselves as Democrats, with only 8% Republicans, 15% Independents, and 4% no response. Gallup says this was the make-up at the time Nixon took office and virtually has not changed since then.

Mr. Dent

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In January to May, 1969, when whites were giving Richard Nixon a 64% approval rating, the blacks recorded only 40%. Between March and June, 1970, whites rated Nixon 59%, blacks 26%. September, 1970, to January, 1971, whites rated 57% approval, blacks 28%. In January, 1971, in a Gallup trial heat, Nixon vs. Kennedy, nationally Nixon received 48%, Kennedy 38%, Wallace 9%. The blacks voted Nixon 10%, Kennedy 87%, Wallace zero. The situation has virtually remained the same in the May, 1971, Gallup trial heat, nationally Nixon received 46%, Kennedy 38%, Wallace 11%. The non-whites gave Nixon 10%, Kennedy 83%, and Wallace 2%.

Absent compelling reasons and substantial changes, Kennedy can rely on a very substantial portion of the black votes.

YOUNG VOTES

The next best source of votes for Kennedy is the young voter. Those between the ages of 18 and 21. The size of the group in 1972 will be 11 million in number. I have suggested that this is his next best source of votes because of those young people in that age group who claim a political party allegiance, the Democrats outnumber the Republicans approximately three to one. The following are excerpts from a Gallup Poll, April 18, 1971:

Of those between the ages of 18 and 21 -- 16% Republicans, 42% Democrats, 42% Independents. Of those over 21 -- 28% Republicans, 45% Democrats, and 27% Independents.

Furthermore, the young people consistently give Nixon a lower approval rating than the 21-year and over group. The difference is approximately 7%, i.e., under 21 -- approve 43%, disapprove 43%, no opinion 14%. 21 years and over -- approve 50%, disapprove 37%, no opinion 13%.

Mr. Dent

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In trial heats with the younger group, they consistently show a preference for Kennedy over other potential Democrat candidates. For example, under 21 - Kennedy 38%, Humphrey 16%, Muskie 14%, McCarthy 13%, others 15%, no opinion 4%. 21 and over - Kennedy 17%, Humphrey 15%, Muskie 29%, McCarthy 5%, others 20%, no opinion 14%. And in trial heats with Humphrey, in the under 21 bracket, Kennedy gets 61% to Humphrey's 33%, but receives only 43% to 42% in the over 21 category. In a trial heat with Senator Muskie, Kennedy does even better.

Comparing Kennedy to Richard Nixon in the 18-to-21 category, he also does better than any of the other Democrat candidates; but in the over 21 category, he only surpasses Humphrey by 2% and ran even with Muskie.

In the same Gallup Poll, Kennedy was pitted in a trial heat against Richard Nixon with the following results: Under 21 group - Kennedy 57%, Nixon 27%, Wallace 11%, don't know 5%. While in the over 21 category - Kennedy receives only 38%, Nixon 43%, Wallace 12%, don't know 7%.

The degree of participation by young voters is still an unknown quantity. The Gallup Poll organization in February, 1971, conducted a poll among 163,000 students from 61 colleges to determine the attitude of students on various subjects, including political parties and political participation. They found that 52% of the college students identified themselves today as Independents, 30% as Democrats, and 18% as Republicans. Since the designation by Party is somewhat meaningless, a more logical classification relates to political philosophy. Here is how the students rated themselves: Far Left - 7%, Left - 30%, Middle-of-the-Road - 41%, Right - 15%, Far Right - 2%, Don't Know/None - 5%.

As to political activity, their record of performance is somewhat meager. 86% of the students did not become involved in

political campaigns despite the fact that at more than 100 colleges throughout the country time off was granted for political participation (the survey did not indicate how many of the 61 colleges involved in the Poll were embraced in the 100 colleges who were granted time off).

Among the 13% who did participate, 8% participated with Democrat candidates and 4% with Republican candidates. The same survey rated the attitudes toward Nixon, Agnew, Kennedy, and others. Attached is a chart as to favorable or unfavorable ratings, marked "Exhibit 1."

SENIOR CITIZENS

At the present time, Nixon rates reasonably well with the senior citizen voter, defined for our purposes here as persons over the age of 55. These persons are in substantial numbers in the United States and very significant as a voter group. The Census Bureau breaks down the age group as follows: 55 to 64 -- 17,730,000; 65 to 74 -- 11,573,000; 75 years and over -- 6,895,000; for a total vote of 36,000,000.

It is not possible to state exactly how many of these persons vote at any given time; however, the Bureau of the Census in December, 1969, reported voter performance by age group in the November, 1968 election. The results are as follows: 55 to 64 -- 74.7%; 65 to 74 -- 71.5%; 75 and over -- 56.3%.

It is likewise difficult to state with certainty exactly how these people voted; however, a Republican National Committee study indicates they voted as follows: Nixon - 47%, Humphrey - 43%, Wallace - 10%.

I believe that Senator Kennedy recognizes that today these voters are with the President. Ideologically they should be

because they tend to be a little more conservative -- they are the people who built this country, they worked hard, they are proud of their contribution, they are more religious, they possess high moral and ethical standards, and are greatly disturbed at the amount of protests, destruction of property, etc. (As a group I think they would be the least sympathetic to Senator Kennedy re: Chappaquidick, and more likely to condemn him for his conduct than the other age groups.)

But of greater significance, the senior citizen has problems that are not experienced by the rest of society. For the most part, they are retired or very near retirement age, and, therefore, they are the age group hurt most by inflation because they are unable to bargain, to keep pace. Since they have already retired, they are forced to live on retirement benefits of one kind or another. Their chance for catastrophic illness and major expenses connected therewith are greater than other age groups, and they worry constantly about these problems, most of which are economic.

The legislative objective of The National Retired Teachers Association and The American Association of Retired Persons clearly indicates the areas of greatest concern to the senior citizen. A copy is hereto attached, marked "Exhibit 2."

KENNEDY'S APPROACH

Obviously Senator Kennedy is well aware of the problems before mentioned and the interest of the senior citizen in these categories. I am convinced that he is deliberately "pandering" to the senior citizen for support on a limited number of issues of great importance to them. His position on The Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, and The Special Committee on Aging give him great visibility with these people. He has also caused public

hearings to be held throughout the country where the subject matter of the hearings is particularly important to the senior citizen. Furthermore, he has sponsored several pieces of legislation designed to benefit the elderly, and has now openly challenged the motives of the AMA and their interest in the welfare of our people. I believe it is his objective to become the "champion of the elderly, the sick, and the poor." If he succeeds in making substantial inroads to the 36 million plus senior citizens, and is able thereby to deprive Richard Nixon of a majority senior citizen vote in 1972, we would have a difficult time winning.

CONCLUSION

There are many special interest groups in the Nation that can be appealed to for voter support; but I think Kennedy has singled out three of the tremendously powerful ones: (1) the black voters, (2) the youthful voters, and (3) the senior citizens. Numerically, these groups stand at 11 million 18-to-21-year olds, 14 million blacks of voting age, and 36 million senior citizens. Obviously there will be some overlapping of the black category in the young and elderly voter brackets, but excluding that overlap, we see that Kennedy is making a substantial pitch to voting groups encompassing 60 million potential voters. And when compared to the total 31.7 million votes cast for Nixon in 1968, we can see the potential danger.

		Very Favorable	Fairly Favorable	Unfavorable
LINDSAY	81 %	21 %	60 %	19 %
MCCARTHY	79 %	25 %	54 %	21 %
MUSKIE	78 %	23 %	55 %	22 %
MCGOVERN	76 %	14 %	62 %	24 %
KENNEDY	75 %	26 %	49 %	25 %
ROCKEFELLER	63 %	7 %	56 %	37 %
HUMPHREY	60 %	12 %	48 %	40 %
NIXON	49 %	15 %	34 %	51 %
REAGAN	48 %	9 %	39 %	52 %
AGNEW	36 %	9 %	27 %	64 %
WALLACE	16 %	5 %	11 %	84 %

56. We urge that the Administration effectively implement its commitment to alleviate the problem of inadequate nutrition which exists, to varying degrees, in all strata of our society, but particularly among the elderly.

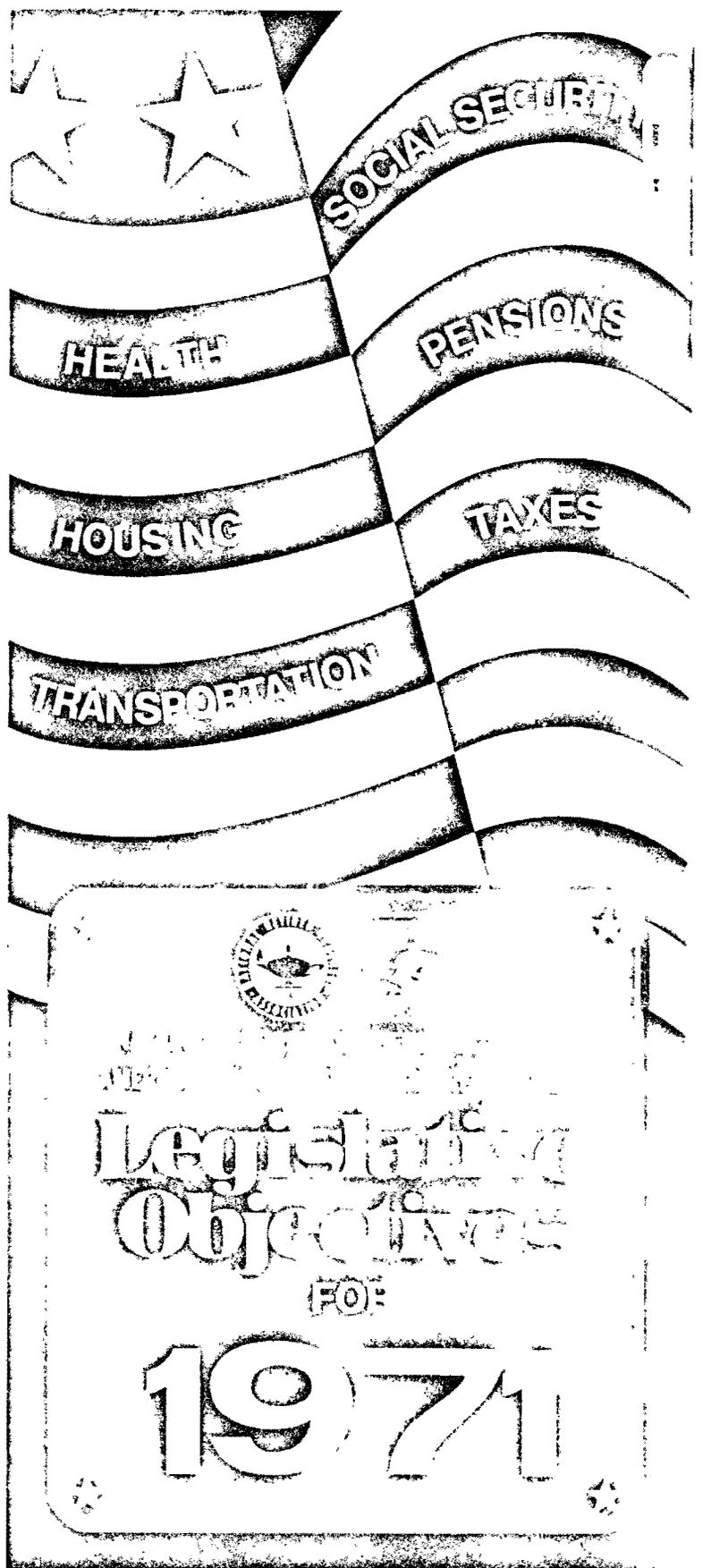
57. We urge the President and the Congress to intensify their efforts to stabilize the purchasing power of the dollar.

58. We support the right of persons lawfully assembled in schools and other public places to participate in nondenominational prayers, and we also support continuance of their right to pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States.

The National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons are non-profit, nonpartisan organizations of over two and one-half million persons who believe that a life of dignity, independence and purpose enables the older person to continue meaningful activity, usefulness and service to others. You are eligible to join AARP if you are 55 or over, even if you are still actively employed. NRTA membership is limited to former educators and school administrators.

For information, write to:

NRTA-AARP
1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036



Social Security

1. We support legislation to increase the minimum Social Security benefits to at least \$120 a month, or to provide a comparable minimum monthly income through alternate means.

2. We recommend that the Social Security earnings limitation be amended to permit annual earned income of \$3,000 a year without reduction in Social Security benefits, with proportionate reduction after \$3,000 a year based on the present formula with an accompanying increase in payroll tax to finance such a change.

3. We urge that the widow's Social Security benefit be increased to 100% of the worker's benefit.

4. We favor legislation to establish minimum benefits for all persons age 70 or older (Prouty Amendment) who are not otherwise eligible for cash benefits under the Social Security program, and to permit benefits up to \$150 a month from other public and private pensions.

5. We urge that Social Security benefits for men be computed on the same basis as that now used to determine benefits for women.

6. We encourage deferment of retirement for those who choose to work beyond age 65, and we urge Congress to provide actuarially determined greater Social Security benefits for those who do work beyond that age.

7. We urge the adoption of an "adequacy of income" standard for Social Security which would provide benefits equal to 50% of the individual's average earnings during the years immediately prior to retirement (with specified minimum and maximum benefit levels).

Pensions

8. We urge adoption of a national policy of (a) the transferability of public and private retirement credits, (b) five-year or earlier vesting of retirement benefits, and (c) adequate funding.

9. We urge the establishment of a pension fund corporation, national in scope, permit-

would make transfers of all property between spouses tax free.

21. Exemptions and allowances in the Federal income tax for taxpayers over 65 should compensate for their decreasing tax-paying ability.

22. We urge the Congress to permit persons age 65 and over to deduct all unreimbursed expenses for drugs and other medical expenditures from their Federal income taxes.

National Health Plan

23. We urge the enactment of a National Health Plan which would guarantee the availability of comprehensive, quality health care to all Americans regardless of race or the ability to pay.

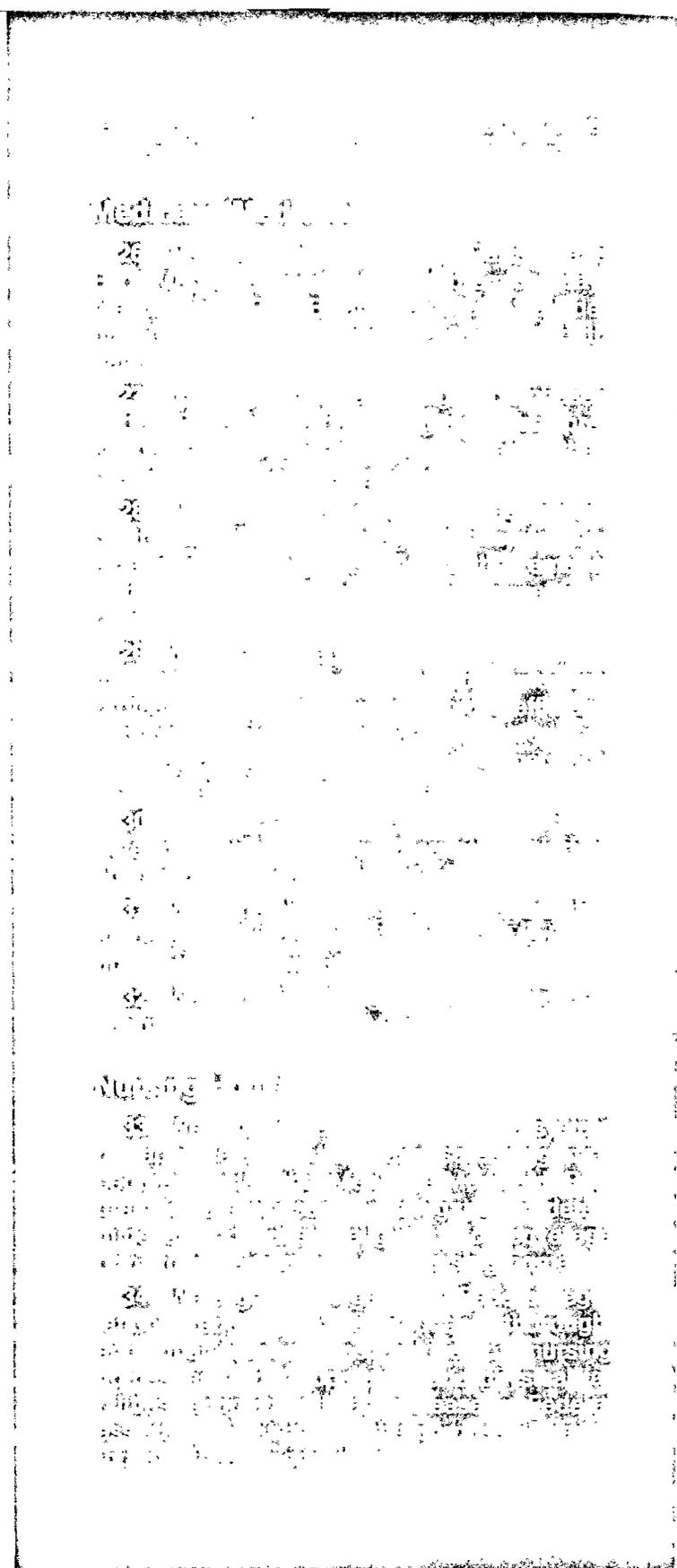
Comprehensive care should include preventive, curative, therapeutic, rehabilitative and long-term care.

Consumer participation for the elderly, whether through co-insurance or deductibles, should be minimal in costs with no contributions from those who are below the poverty levels. There should also be no means test to qualify for benefits.

We further support the concept of health maintenance organizations (HMO's), also called prepaid group medical practices. With respect to HMO's, we encourage a system which allows freedom of choice in the selection of physicians and institutions so as to insure, through competition, higher standards of health care and the improvement of equally essential social services.

24. We urge significant increases in Federal assistance for the construction of research facilities, hospitals, medical schools, custodial and long-term care facilities; grants and loans to substantially increase the number of educational programs, facilities, and persons training to become physicians, nurses, and paramedical personnel, including physician assistants, lab technicians, etc.

25. We urge special Federal assistance to hospitals or communities to develop centers capable of providing comprehensive care: preventive, curative, rehabilitative and long-



Consumer Affairs

35. We urge immediate state and Federal action to identify and expose consumer frauds and deceptions, primary victims of which are older Americans.

36. We urge Congressional action to provide the consumer with an easy and economical means of seeking redress for his injury.

37. We urge the Congress to establish an Office of Consumer Affairs with full regulatory and enforcement powers.

38. We urge legislation calling for a fair credit billing amendment to the truth-in-lending law.

39. We urge legislation to prevent the denial of credit to older persons solely on the basis of age.

40. We support the principle of "no fault" automobile insurance.

Administration On Aging

41. We urge that a thorough study of the policies, procedures, programs and resources of the Administration on Aging be conducted with a view to strengthening its effectiveness in carrying out the intent of Congress as defined in the Older Americans Act, as amended.

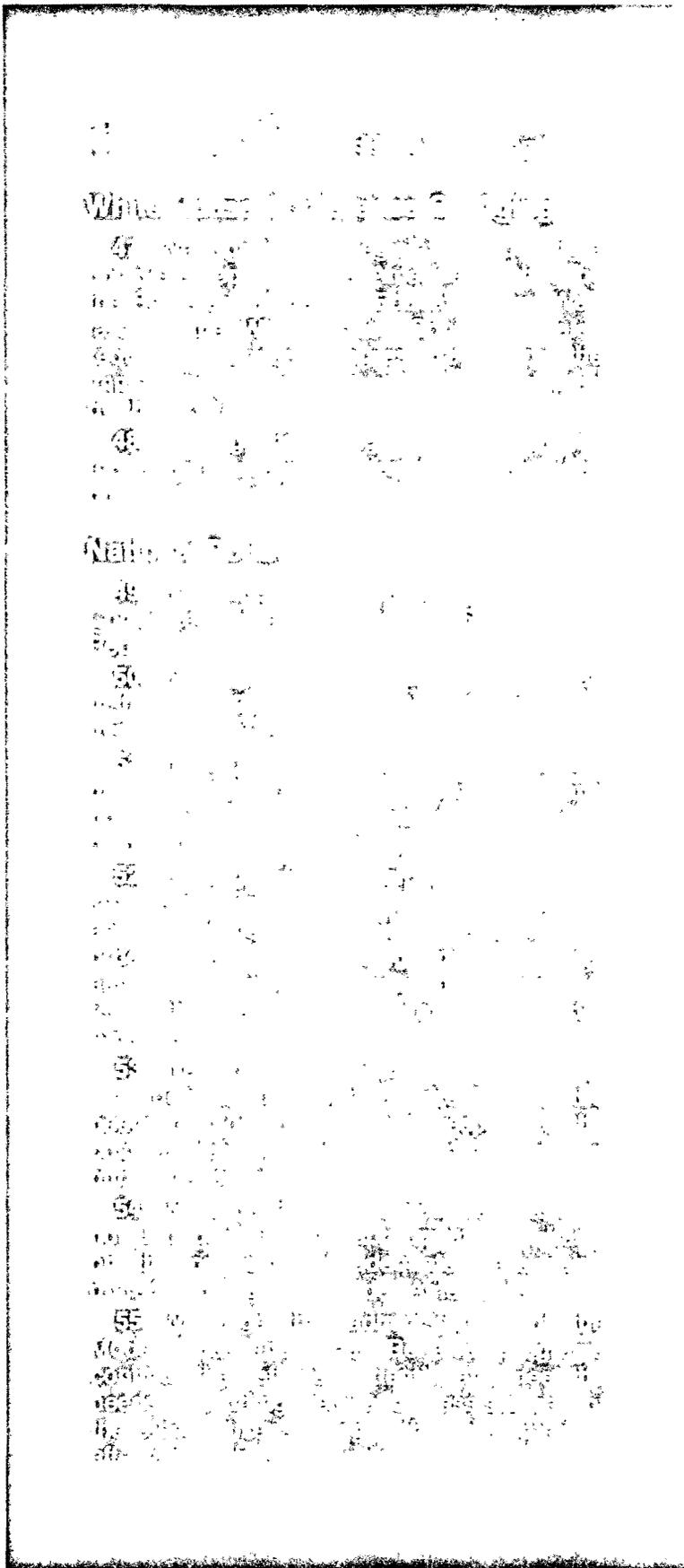
42. We urge the Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to carry out the purposes and programs of the Older Americans Act, as amended.

43. We urge the establishment of a national priority for aging and the development of a national strategy to carry out programs affecting older Americans.

44. We urge Congress to reject the planned monetary cutback in the 1972 budget for the Administration on Aging.

45. We urge that such beneficially proven programs as Foster Grandparents, R.S.V.P. and Community Action Programs be continued within AOA and that these programs be expanded and adequately funded.

46. We urge that the Older Americans Act be extended and reenacted as permanent law and that AOA be reinstated as an independent



YOUTHFUL VOTERS

I. Statistical Data:

The Bureau of Census figures show that as of November, 1972, there will be 139,560,000 persons of voting age in the United States. 11,159,000 will be newly enfranchised 18-year old votes. (The figure of 11.4 million is often used -- I have not tried to reconcile the difference.) 13,966,000 young voters will cast their first "Presidential vote" in 1972. This is the group reaching voting age since the 1968 election and some will have voted in 1970. Therefore, the total "first Presidential voter" in 1972 is approximately 25,000,000 voters, or about 1/3 of the total vote cast in the Presidential elections of 1968.

* Note: (Although the numbers of young voters is of great significance, it is less than the potential senior citizen vote of approximately 30,000,000 -- 70% of which will likely cast votes in 1972.)

A table indicating numbers of young voters by states for 1972 is hereto attached and marked, "Exhibit No. 1."

II. Because the numbers of young and unregistered first voters is great, many organizations, political or economic in nature, or simply "do-gooder" types, have embarked upon extensive programs to register these first voters. Among them are, (1) Common Cause, (2) Frontlash, Incorporated, (3) National Movement for the Student Vote, etc. A list of the more prominent organizations with a short description of the organization is hereto attached and marked, "Exhibit No. 2."

There is no evidence available to us at this time to indicate that any of the organizations listed have any affection for

Richard Nixon or the Republican Party. There is evidence to the contrary that many of them, although professing to be bi-partisan or non-partisan, are, in fact, dedicated to assist Democrat candidates or Democrat causes or simply anti-Nixon/Republican.

Because of the great number of youthful voters, there is a growing list of polls and surveys being taken regularly and from varied sources that attempt to reflect the attitudes and thinking of young people today, and predict how they are likely to vote in 1972, what issues are important to them, their attitude to specific political personalities, etc. Substantial effort should be exerted to collect, index, and summarize the polls as they are released.

Notwithstanding what the polls show, there is only a very limited historical experience of what the 18-year old voters have done in an election - an example is in the Morton District in Maryland, where Bill Mills was recently elected to the House of Representatives. Figures are sketchy and you may desire a more up-to-date and detailed report, however, preliminary figures indicate that only 6% of the 18-to-21-year olds registered prior to the primary election, and only 35% of those registered actually voted in the primary, contributing only 3.3% of the total vote. (Although the numbers were small, this did, in fact, exceed the percentage of the older voters.)

There will be other special elections, legislative races, etc., at which the performance of the young voter can be more accurately measured. I suggest that The RNC Research Committee be assigned to make that a project of significant priority.

III. The following is an outline of the Republican efforts to attract the young voter:

Anne Armstrong, Co-Chairman of the RNC, is responsible for the youth vote programs at the RNC. They include:

- (1) The Teenage Republicans have been assigned the responsibility to teenagers not on the college campus. The TAR Program is directed by Barbie Wells, an extremely competent young lady. They intend to seek out, identify, and register potential Republican voters who have not entered the college campus.
- (2) The College Republicans have the responsibility only for the young voters on the college campus. The responsibility is limited to seeking out and identifying the eligibles, conducting a registration program for them, and, to a limited degree, a get-out-the-vote program.
- (3) The Young Republicans have the responsibility for young voters within the YR age group not on the campuses, and they are presently preparing a registration program for approximately eight target states. They recently completed a registration drive in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where they claim to have registered 3,200 Republicans as compared to 2,100 Democrats.

Attached is a copy of a memo from Ron Romans to Anne Armstrong detailing the results of that program, marked, "Exhibit No. 3." Knowledgeable insiders, however, seriously doubt the authenticity of the report, and, even if it were true, one has cause to wonder why the RNC would be engaged in a program that causes 2,100 young Democrats to be registered.

The YR program is obviously not progressing very rapidly because of the change in YR leadership and lack of funds.

In addition to the registration drive of the YR's, they have been distributing in substantial quantities the publication entitled, "The Switch Is On," a copy of which is hereto attached and marked, "Exhibit No. 4."

IV. The youth effort, excinding the TAR's, College YR's and YR's at the National Committee, is headed by Fred Slight,

who plans to target the young voter not on the college campus, and who cannot be reached via the Young Republican organization. I think it is safe to say that the total RNC effort will ultimately be "gobbled up" by the "Young Voters for Nixon," an arm of the Citizens Committee, and little substantive effort in the young voter area will reside at the RNC.

There are some obvious limitations to the RNC youth effort; they include: (1) lack of money, (2) lack of professionalism, (3) the obvious limitations of a partisan Party organization to recruit young voters whom we already know are reluctant to identify themselves as Democrats or Republicans, and who take pride in their "independent status."

V. Citizens Committee role.

In discussing the youth voter problem with Ken Reitz at the Citizens Committee, they anticipate that the youth vote program of the RNC will be coordinated through them and certainly this is highly probable because that's where the money will be, and, therefore, control of the program.

"Young Voters for Nixon" will include not only what we have heretofore referred to as the 18-year old, or the first-voters, but all voters between the ages of 18 and 30.

The plans for this program apparently grew out of a conference between the Attorney General and Senator Brock, and Ken Reitz has been brought to the Citizens Committee to spend full-time on the planning, development, and operation of the program.

A National Advisory Board has already been established, with Senator Bill Brock as Chairman of the Board. Attractive, young, and articulate Senators and Representatives will be chosen to represent ten geographical areas of the United States. Some of the Senators and Representatives have already been picked and they include Senators Brock and Weicker, Representatives Steigers, Lujan, Frenzel, Archer, Pettis and Whitehurst.

It is anticipated that this will be a working board with each Representative setting up a local board within their respective geographical areas. These boards will be more honorary than working, and the management of the program will emanate from the Young Voters for Nixon Headquarters.

The YVN's will target states and areas within the states. Their main thrust will be recruitment of off-campus young people and the recruitment of campus voters will be a second, or subordinate, priority. Ken indicated that they anticipate that the Young Voters for Nixon will be the first visible thrust of the campaign activity with its kick-off in September, and the visible personalities of the organization will not be the Party types or identified Republicans, but prominent athletes and prominent young people, etc.

They anticipate locating the appropriate age groups within the target areas, make personal contact to identify the friendly Nixon voters, recruit representatives for the President within the area via a neighbor-to-neighbor type approach. They further anticipate a constant contact will be established, i. e., a newsletter, etc., and information will be sent periodically to the Nixon recruits, and, hopefully, they will work with and talk to their friends and neighbors on behalf of the President in the months ahead. They estimate that 500,000 such persons can be recruited.

CONCLUSION:

The Young Voters for Nixon program sounds impressive and substantial planning has obviously been done, and what they are doing as consistent with the approach I would be inclined to take in pursuing the young voter.

Personal Observation:

I do not believe young voters will vote in a bloc. They will be reluctant to register either as a Democrat or a Republican,

and will only do so when compelled by law to participate in a primary election. They take pride in their so-called "independent status" and will likely vote for the man they think is best suited for the particular office he seeks. The determination of suitability will in all likelihood either be caused by the personal charm, or charisma, of the candidate, or on the position he takes on specific issues of paramount importance to the young voter. Labels such as Republican, Democrat, Conservative, and Liberal will not be significant to them.

The issues young people regard as of greatest importance today are reasonably clear, and Richard Nixon is with them on the issues; although the young voters do not recognize this as yet. They feel estranged from him and from the Administration, and they have not yet recognized that many of their demands and complaints against society are the targets of some of the Nixon programs, i. e., ending the war in Vietnam, pollution abatement, government reform, etc.

It seems to me that our job in 1972 is to make the young voter aware of the Nixon position on the vital issues. Let them conclude themselves that they are in agreement with the position he has taken. This, however, cannot be done by the traditional Party approach. We must be creative and innovative. I think it may even be necessary to create a "movement" for a cause or principle that can attract the young emotionally as well as intellectually, and where they can be personally involved. Any program that will cause them to believe they are being "used" is doomed to failure. From what little I know about the President's proposal to involve young people in voluntary work, i. e., substitute for domestic Peace Corps, etc., may be just the kind of vehicle that could be used for accomplishing the foregoing.

ESTIMATES OF THE TOTAL RESIDENT POPULATION OF VOTING AGE,

NOVEMBER 1972

(Numbers in Thousands)

Region, Division, and State	Population of Voting Age (18 yrs. & over)	POP VOTING		
		Total	Population Reaching Voting Age Since 1968	Population Enfranchised Due to Lowering Voting Age to 18
UNITED STATES, TOTAL	207,000	5,703	3,218	2,605
Regions				
Northeastern States	34,075	5,703	3,218	2,605
North Central States	38,028	7,418	3,810	3,238
The South	43,077	7,232	4,553	3,279
The West	21,372	4,573	2,485	2,028
Northwest				
New England	8,208	1,483	808	675
Middle Atlantic	25,867	4,221	2,311	1,950
North Central				
East North Central	27,038	4,988	2,697	2,291
West North Central	11,000	2,460	1,313	947
South				
South Atlantic	21,434	3,787	2,234	1,553
East South Central	8,789	1,543	936	667
West South Central	13,054	2,543	1,384	1,159
West				
Mountain	5,559	1,103	601	502
Pacific	18,813	3,420	1,884	1,536
New England				
Maine	122	122	67	55
New Hampshire	511	95	51	44
Vermont	502	66	34	30
Massachusetts	3,747	725	395	350
Rhode Island	472	135	75	60
Connecticut	2,127	343	187	156
Middle Atlantic				
New York	12,771	2,101	1,217	954
New Jersey	5,118	769	419	350
Pennsylvania	8,438	1,371	745	626
East North Central				
Illinois	7,145	1,313	713	600
Indiana	3,487	644	359	305
Michigan	7,545	1,341	716	604
Wisconsin	3,489	1,247	607	506
Ohio	4,946	945	540	463
West North Central				
Minnesota	4,543	478	257	221
Iowa	1,887	347	187	160
Missouri	3,422	569	308	263
North Dakota	542	83	45	38
South Dakota	422	82	47	41
Nebraska	1,902	281	151	128
Kansas	1,534	304	166	138
South Atlantic				
Delaware	372	68	37	31
Maryland	2,715	478	262	216
District of Columbia	524	111	63	48
Virginia	3,234	645	359	286
West Virginia	1,275	217	118	99
North Carolina	3,493	750	404	341
South Carolina	1,725	391	215	178
Georgia	3,221	354	354	271
Florida	5,088	773	419	351
West South Central				
Kentucky	2,177	254	254	201
Tennessee	2,710	511	274	232
Alabama	2,291	410	211	199
Mississippi	1,412	297	161	136
West South Central				
Arkansas	1,538	230	126	104
Louisiana	2,356	497	267	230
Oklahoma	1,791	325	178	147
Texas	7,589	1,490	812	678
Mountain				
Montana	452	84	46	38
Idaho	467	90	48	42
Wyoming	217	40	22	18
Colorado	2,532	314	171	143
New Mexico	633	129	71	58
Arizona	1,227	232	125	107
Utah	674	154	84	70
Nevada	356	64	30	24
Pacific				
Washington	2,381	160	249	211
Oregon	1,473	240	110	94
California	11,000	2,460	1,313	1,159
Alaska	272	29	29	6
Hawaii	508	91	60	31

1/ Persons reaching age 21 except Hawaii (reaching age 20), Alaska (reaching age 19), and Georgia and Kentucky (reaching age 18).

2/ Population already enfranchised

EXHIBIT 1.

INDEPENDENT VOTER REGISTRATION ORGANIZATIONS

June 25, 1971

Common Cause
2100 M St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 293-1530

Common Cause is a citizens lobby with a national membership that is headed by John W. Gardner. Common Cause has done most of the State lobbying for the passage of the 26th Amendment granting 18 year olds the right to vote in national, state, and local elections. It has proven itself as a lobbying force in this area. The organization has recently announced a Voting Rights Project which will concentrate on litigation for standardization of State registration and voting laws nation-wide. It will also concentrate on the procedures for electing delegates to the two national nominating conventions. Common Cause will not be registering people directly themselves, but they will be providing supportive services to those groups which are registering voters. At present, Common Cause has a case pending concerning the legal residency requirements in the State of Tennessee that will probably be heard by the Supreme Court in late August or September.

Frontlash, Inc.
112 East 19th St., Room 501
New York, New York 10002
(212) 228-4882

Originally an outgrowth and now separate from the United States Youth Council, Frontlash is a union-backed organization which has contacts throughout the country. The group is headed by Charlotte Roe Kemble and has as member organizations mainly Democrat and union groups. There are no Republican members in their ranks. Frontlash, Inc. was established as "an independent, non-profit national organization". In the 1970 campaigns, it claimed to have registered 180,000 voters in working class and minority communities across the country. However, they usually center their efforts in specific states in order to have the greatest impact on particular elections as their active membership is relatively small. Frontlash plans to concentrate their direct voter registration effort on the hard-core unregistered in low income, minority communities such as chicano, black, and Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Recently, they have branched out to some ~~other areas~~ but this has been only a ~~limited target~~ Frontlash is not concerned solely with 18-20 year olds, as it has conducted door-to-door drives in selected high unregistered areas where the Democrat registration potential is great.

EXHIBIT 2

The League of Women Voters
1200 17th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.
(202) 296-1770

The League of Women Voters is a national organization with 1200 local chapters throughout the country. The local clubs in each state select a state chairman to direct and coordinate their activities in that area. The League has been politically active for years with a very high degree of credibility. Although it is generally considered a non-partisan or bi-partisan organization, the leadership is often Democrat. The League has received foundation grants this year in order to run voter education programs through its local chapters as it has done in previous years. They have tentative plans to enter the high schools next fall to discuss voter education and registration procedures and may pursue the course of bringing registrars directly into the high schools. The League is now in the process of developing a voter registration program that would be conducted through the local chapters and which would be activated in the fall. The League will also provide supportive services to other registration groups working in local areas.

National Movement for the Student Vote
530 7th St., S.E.
Washington, D.C.
(202) 547-3429

The National Movement originated at Harvard University, but has recently located in Washington, with Morris Abrams, Jr. currently directing most of its activity. The group is new and is still setting up the headquarters. Their National Advisory Board is bi-partisan in nature. The purpose of this organization is to pinpoint approximately 300 major colleges and universities throughout the country in order to run massive registration drives among the students. They contend that by bringing young people into the democratic process that much of the student frustration will be alleviated and therefore, campus disturbances will be reduced. The National Movement is funded for this summer by two or three small foundation grants with future funds depending upon their performance this summer. The actual effectiveness of this group at this time is very low, however, they do have the capacity to generate substantial publicity. Their future effectiveness will be determined in part by their financial situation.

National Student Association
2115 S St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 387-5100

The National Student Association has 400 member colleges and universities whose student governments have joined the NSA to help coordinate information on student government activities throughout the country. NSA is generally conceded to be extremely liberal in its national leadership. At present, the organization is having financial difficulties, however, they have been able to raise money in the past when the need was regarded as crucial. Currently NSA is not planning to register people directly, but they will be providing supportive services to other groups. The NSA is holding its annual Congress in August and there is a strong possibility that at that time the Congress will pass a resolution concerning the adoption of voter registration efforts. They have definite contacts on their 400 member campuses and a high degree of credibility for their organizational abilities. Student voter registration could become one of the major functions of member student governments during the next college year. This group would probably be more effective than the National Movement, although the two plan to join efforts where the target campuses overlap.

The United States Youth Council
120 East 32nd St.
New York, New York 10016
(202) 687-3674

The United States Youth Council is a coordinating body for most of the major youth organizations in the country like the YMCA, Young Socialists, and Young Democrats. The Young Republicans were members in the 1950's but resigned when the attitudes expressed by most of the members could not be reconciled with the Republican Party. The Youth Council represents the United States to the World Assembly of Youth which provides a forum for the exchange of social, political, and cultural ideas among the member nations. Much of the Youth Council's funding comes from the State Department for the international aspects of their programs, while the member groups in the United States provide financial assistance for their national programs. The Youth Council recently sponsored a meeting of its member organizations to discuss registration efforts. The Youth Council will continue to coordinate its members' activities, but will not be registering people directly. The super-structure provided by the Council covers several of the groups mentioned here. In its role as the only national youth council, it has the potential to be able to stimulate a great deal of registration activity.

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(404) 522-7495

The Voter Education Project, an outgrowth of the U.S. Youth Council as was Frontlash, is presently directed by John Lewis. The Project's main objectives are voter education and registration of Blacks, with most of their work concentrated in the South and in major northern cities. The Project runs extensive door-to-door registration drives and has been active for several years. They have been highly successful in those areas where intensive campaigns have been conducted. Aside from simply registering people, they educate them about voting machines and balloting methods. The means of exact funding is unknown, but general funding comes from various foundations. This group has been recognized by the Civil Rights movement as being extremely effective in its field.

Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc.
2100 M St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20031
(202) 833-2090

Youth Citizenship Fund is a highly respected resource center for individuals and groups interested in registering young people. They are funded by foundation grants and are headed by Carroll Ladd. The Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Robert Dole, is a member of the Advisory Board as is Lawrence O'Brien, Chairman of the Democrat National Committee. YCF will provide materials such as posters, bumperstrips, and organizational materials for conducting registration drives. They are also a resource center for information regarding state registration and voting laws which has been provided to the general groups mentioned here. Many small groups rely on YCF for initial contacts and materials. At present, the organization is planning targeted registration drives in conjunction with local and national groups active in these areas. YCF attempts to include community, political, business, and service leaders in their plans and have been relatively successful thus far.

TO: Anne Armstrong
FROM: Ron Romans
RE: Registration in Delaware County and North Carolina
DATE: June 9, 1971

(Pence)
The ten YR clubs in DELAWARE COUNTY began registration work in January and worked through March 29, the closing date for registration. They did the following:

1. Knocked on doors
2. Placed 3,000 posters in strategic places
3. Had State Legislators speak in the high schools
4. Set up tables on college campuses for registering
5. Distributed approximately 5,000 brochures - "The Switch Is On"
6. Mailings

The results of their efforts were:

1. In the County they registered 3200 Republicans and 2100 Democrats. All new registrants were between the ages of 18 and 20.
2. In the Radnor Township they registered 57 Republicans to 25 Democrats. Again, all were between 18 and 20.

In NORTH CAROLINA the news looks grim. Sharon Lentz, YR National Committee-woman, sent a questionnaire (attached) to the Executive Committee members of the Party and the YR organization. One inquiry was regarding the validity of spending their efforts to register the new voters. Between 50% and 60% of the committee members responded that the effort was not worth it, judging from the results of registrations in three major counties - Mecklenburg, Forsythe and Wake. In these three counties the Republicans received only 21% of the new registrations.

According to Mrs. Lentz, the committee members felt that their time, effort and money should not be wasted on a "hopeless" cause.

EXHIBIT 5

You Can Register If . . .

- *You are 18 years of age
- *Have lived in Indiana for 6 months
- *Have lived in DeKalb County for 60 days
- *30 days in the precinct (required by Indiana State law)

Where to Register . . .

- *Go to the County Clerks' Office on the 2nd floor of the Courthouse in Auburn, Indiana.
- *Contact your Republican Precinct committeeman.
- *Contact Jeff L. Turner, 1325 South Cedar Street, Auburn, Indiana or Jenny L. Parish, 205 West 5th Street, Auburn, Indiana.

For More Information . . .

call the
Young Republican Office in Auburn
at 925-2839 or write the DeKalb
County Young Republicans, Box 11
Auburn, Indiana 46706.

310 First St., S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
Young Republican
National Federation
invites you to . . .
JOIN THE BIG SWITCH!

For the first time in 20 years,
your government is spending more
on human needs than on defense

The Switch Is On!

YOUR RESPONSIBILITY—to provide leadership and ideas that will evoke positive action.

YOUR REASON—to promote intelligent, workable solutions to the problems facing our country.

YOUR ROLE—as an active, dedicated, motivated participant in the governmental process.

YOUR RESOLVE—to defend and promote those basic beliefs to which you are committed.

YOUR REWARD—when you have accomplished something, no matter how small or insignificant it may be, you have brought America one step closer to greatness.



Join it.
Register Republican.

Exhibit 4



The switch is on in NATIONAL PRIORITIES

Last year (and every year for the past 20), more than half of your tax dollar went for defense, less than half for human needs like education and housing. This year, the Nixon administration has reversed these priorities. Human needs will get the major part of the budget for the first time in 20 years.

The switch is on in VIETNAM

It took eight years of Democratic rule to escalate our involvement from a few hundred "advisors" to 543,000 combat troops.

In a little over two years of Republican administration (by Dec., 1971), 359,000 will be back home.

The switch is on in YOUR VOICE IN GOVERNMENT

Lowering the voting age to 18 was a promise in the 1968 Republican Party platform. Now, it's a fact.



The switch is on in MERIT HIRING

Many expected that the Republicans, after eight years of being the "outs", would rush to fill 3,000 postal patronage jobs with party faithful. They didn't. Instead, they chose postmasters purely on their civil-service exam scores, and Postmaster General Blount literally "worked himself out of a job" by leading the drive for a private postal corporation.

The switch is on in DRAFT REFORM

The Nixon administration has already changed the draft system so you have less uncertainty, can plan your future better. And their bill to eliminate the draft completely is now before Congress.

The switch is on in CONSUMER PROTECTION

Now, you **can** fight the system. The Justice Department's new Consumer Protection Division gives you a direct advocate against suppliers of faulty merchandise.



The switch is on in CONSERVING OUR ENVIRONMENT

Everybody's talking about ecology. The new clean-air bill does something about it: (1) requires auto makers to cut exhaust emissions 90% by 1975—or face production shutdown; (2) requires industry to meet national air-quality standards—or pay \$25,000 per day in fines; (3) allows citizens to bring class action suits against polluters.

The switch is on in EDUCATION

Republicans have boosted spending on education to \$12 billion this year. But they know you can't solve the problem just by throwing money at it. That's the reason for programs like HEW's Office of Child Development, which is exploring new approaches for the crucial early-learning years.

The switch is on in CONCERN FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

The social security bill now before Congress will boost benefits 10%—and contains the first automatic cost-of-living increases ever enacted.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1971

TO: Harry Dent

FROM: Dick Richards

SUBJECT: The Senior Citizen and Black Vote Programs.

As you are aware, the Republican National Committee has a senior citizens organization and also a black political group. In their reorganization, the responsibility over these two areas was assigned to Lyn Nofziger because they are primarily communications efforts at the Committee rather than a political organizational effort. This is logically so because they are very limited on the number of personnel they have and the budgets are somewhat meager. There is no way they could logically become involved in an organizational effort.

The senior citizen role today is primarily to coordinate efforts of the Administration and the Republican National Committee, to make those in positions to do something, aware of the nature of the problem, and encourage appropriate persons within the Administration to say and do the things necessary to appeal to the senior citizen. Substantial progress has been made through the preliminary planning of the White House Conference on Aging, the appointment of Mr. Flemming, and I presume substantial benefits will be derived from the Conference in November and December, 1971.

There is no direct activity out of the Republican National Committee to organize the senior citizens for the Presidential campaign. They do, however, have a list of

Mr. Dent
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recommendations for political activity which are hereto attached. Bob Merrick is acting as coordinator of the senior citizen effort with Len Garment, George Bell, Mr. Van, and others who have been formally assigned to the Task Force (I assume you have a roster of persons assigned to the various Task Forces. In the event you do not, they ought to be obtained for all of the groups.)

Black Voters:

The overall planning for the black voters is in substantially the same position as for the senior citizens. Bob Merrick has been assigned to coordinate the activities. There is a very limited resource at the National Committee. Ed Sexton is somewhat by himself, responding to Lyn Nofziger and from time to time visiting states where he can be of assistance to state leadership and/or candidates even on a local level. Ed is very effective in what he does; however, the resource is so extremely limited that it cannot be expected that he would be able to spend much time in any one place, or perform a substantive organizational job across the country. Bob Merrick coordinates with Bob Brown, Art Fletcher, Sam Jackson, Ed Sexton, and the other persons who are formally assigned to the Task Forces.

The Citizens Committee is now in the process of trying to identify individuals across the country who want to be involved with either the senior citizen or black political effort, and further looking for the right persons to appoint as national chairmen for these efforts.

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Limitations:

There are some substantive limitations in the identification of the black voters and the senior citizens in classifying them as to party preference, candidate preference, etc., and anticipating what they might do in 1972, or even how they voted in 1968. We have raw data to show the total numbers of these people across the country. The raw data indicates the number that reside in any given geographical boundary, which does not include precinct or legislative area, and we know the total votes cast, and Gallup has indicated the percent of votes cast for Republicans or Democrats within the respective groups, senior citizens, blacks, etc.

There are sophisticated techniques of determining some of these things mathematically that could be, or should be, part and parcel of the voter identification program being conducted by the RNC jointly with the Citizens Committee.

If you want further information relative to either of the programs, I'll be happy to try to find it for you.

July 13, 1971

TO: GEORGE BELL

FROM: BERNARD S. VAN RENSSELAER

SUBJECT: CONSTITUTION OF SENIOR CITIZENS DIVISION
IN THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE

The recommendations that follow are based upon my personal experience in the 1968 campaign.

I suggest that a Senior Citizens Division be created in the Citizens Committee to Reelect the President at the earliest possible date and that its activities be extended up to the 1972 election. I believe that the program should be divided into two parts and extended through three time phases.

Part I should be designed to establish contacts with Senior Citizen groups and individuals at the grass roots levels in fifteen to twenty states containing a high percentage, or very large numbers, of Senior Citizens. Incidentally, I would define Senior Citizens for the purpose of this campaign as all persons over sixty years of age. In order to accomplish the desired objectives, I would suggest that in Phase I beginning approximately September 1 and extending to January 1, 1972, a concentrated effort be made to identify and enlist the support of a few key Senior Citizens in each of the selected states. They would serve as a hard core cell or steering committee for a future grass roots program. There are several ways of establishing these contacts, and I believe that unofficially the American Association of Retired Persons - National Retired Teachers Association could provide some extremely valuable leads. Most of our energies during this period should be devoted to this one task in order to establish an operating base.

In Phase II running from January 1 to June 30, 1972, we should expand and strengthen the contacts already established through correspondence, small group meetings, field work, and the preparation of basic campaign material in the form of brochures, a campaign manual for Senior Citizens, and other appropriate items. This is an element of political activity that was almost totally disregarded in 1968. It should be remembered that we must get the President's concern for aging across to the maximum number of people prior to the opening of the campaign.

Memo to George Bell
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July 13, 1971

Phase III which would include the period July 1, 1972 to election day would be devoted to a political action campaign in which we would attempt to reach the maximum number of older people by mail, enlist the largest possible number of working volunteers, hold senior citizens' rallies under the auspices of our already organized committees, and conduct a vigorous effort to induce every available Senior Citizen to register and vote. If we do our preliminary work properly and thoroughly, the cumulative effect by the fall of 1972 should be outstanding.

We now come to Part II of the program, which would concern itself with publicity and the use of the media in all its forms. Most of this effort would be concentrated in Phase III, but we should not overlook the possibilities of publicizing favorable material during Phase II. Prior to the convention in 1968, the National Committee retained the services of Campaign Consultants, Inc., a local firm of political technicians to assist in preparing a campaign project for the Presidential candidate based upon a major speech by the candidate and follow ups of campaign material plus radio and television shorts. As you may know, we submitted a project book compiled by Campaign Consultants with our help which contained a detailed program. However, nothing came of this; and the omission created a serious hazard to Mr. Nixon. I strongly suggest that in laying a long-range program for the Citizens Committee we repeat the process of preparing another project along the lines described. Our field and grass roots activities would be greatly strengthened by this mass media approach. I do not think that we should attempt to rely on either grass roots efforts or the mass media approach standing alone. The two things should be combined.

If we are serious about making a maximum effort to obtain a clear majority of the Senior Citizen vote in 1972, we must recognize the fact that before the conclusion of the campaign we shall have to spend a large sum of money. Obviously, the total cost would be spread out over a considerable time and what we did would have to be tailored to the available resources. However, I think we would be fooling ourselves if we entertained any illusions that what we have in mind could be accomplished on a shoe string.

Manpower and budget provisions would necessarily begin in a modest fashion and expand gradually throughout the three phases of the project. In Phase I, I would contemplate a chairman for the Senior Citizens Division of the Citizens Committee and an assistant who might later become the executive director of the Division during Phases II and III and one secretary. Howard Weber, whom I have recommended for chairman, would require no salary but of course would expect to have his living and travel expenses paid while away from his home in Florida. I assume that if Mr. Weber is not selected

Memo to George Bell

Page 3

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the person chosen would probably serve under the same conditions. On the other hand, the assistant and future executive director would undoubtedly have to be paid a salary; and quite frankly, at this writing I cannot estimate the cost of such a man inasmuch as it would depend upon the individual's qualifications, availability, and whatever could be negotiated. We should also have a full-time secretary at this stage of the operation. During Phase II, it would be my thought that one or two fieldmen should be added because this is the period during which the original hard core of Senior Citizens for Nixon in the respective states would be expanded into many local groups and the base laid for increasingly effective communication. At some point of Phase II, an extra secretary might be needed. I would also think that a very competent public relations man should be made available during Phase II to work with consultants in the preparation of a campaign project, printed material, and handling releases of interesting information relating to the performance and accomplishment of the President in the field of aging.

Allowance for travel should be included in all three phases.

The manpower needs for Phase III cannot be totally foreseen at this time because one would have to relate the needs of the moment to the existing income. A concerted effort of combined grass roots activities, field work, and media would undoubtedly demand additional assistance.

Summing up, the manpower and budetary needs for the entire program can only be reasonably determined for Phase I and II, and I believe that I have indicated sufficient guidelines to enable planners to determine the amounts that should be allotted up to the time that the post-convention manpower budget is appropriated and allocated.

BSVR/map