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4	12	8/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Memo from Strachan to Colson re: Charlie McWhorter's report on Denver RNC meeting. 1 pg.
4	12	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Memo from Charlie McWhorter to Flemming re: information and comments from GOP governors and leaders. Includes political breakdown of general areas, state by state electoral prospects, snapshots and strategies. 21 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



12

Administratively Confidential

August 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CHUCK COLSON

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

Mr. Haldeman asked me to send you a copy of Charlie McWhorter's report on the Denver RNC meeting.

Attachment

July 26, 1971

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

For: Harry S. Flemming

From: ^{CKW}Charlie 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 cite 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 consensus 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 Booke 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 Mehan 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 GCP 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 Perot 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 Cambrell 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 fund-raising 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 state-wide 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 Gibson. 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 Darling 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. Loug 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.