

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>
25	4	7/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman re: Magruder's Projects. The AG met with Magruder and reviewed the Campaign Task Force proposals. 4 pgs.
25	4	7/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman re: Magruder's Projects. Two memoranda prepared by Magruder's Task Forces discuss the Black Vote in 1972 and the national Movement for the Student Vote. 57 pgs.
25	4	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to AG re: Democratic & Republican Contenders. "Attached is a report on the current status of our tracking of the Democratic and Republican contenders." 1 pg.
25	4	7/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman re: Magruder's Projects. The AG has been pressing Magruder for action by the task forces. The result is a series of memoranda for the AG which are attached as tabs. 6 pgs.

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25	4	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Hauser, Magruder to AG re: The Place of Women in the 1972 Campaign Organization. 17 pgs.
25	4	6/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Magruder. It is my understanding that no effort is currently being conducted to register people in the 18 to 21 year old age bracket for the upcoming campaign. 10 pgs.
25	4	6/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to AG re: Delaware Test. As a first step in evaluating proposed target voter strategy, RNC preparing to launch extensive field test. 13 pgs.
25	4	12/11/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	"Computing Democratic Winners in '72" by Alan L. Otten. Many Democrats think they have found their 1972 victory weapon, the computer. 1 pg.
25	4	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to AG re: Businessmen for Nixon 1972. Following Flanigan's suggestion that Kendal of Pepsico head our businessmen for Nixon operation in 1972, I met with him. 5 pgs.

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25	4	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to AG re: Preliminary Plan for Maximizing the 1972 Farm Vote. Attached is the preliminary plan for maximizing the 1972 Farm Vote as put together by the Farm Vote Task Force. 108 pgs.

July 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Magruder's Projects

The Attorney General met with Magruder July 28th and reviewed the Campaign Task Force proposals, ~~copies of which were submitted to you on July 5.~~ *copies attached* The decisions made by the Attorney General and new material submitted by Magruder include:

Ad 1) Advertising -- The Campaign will use an "in house" agency. Magruder is to recruit an "Advertising Director" by September for the Attorney General's consideration. The question is whether you want to interview Magruder's recommendation for an Advertising Director for the Campaign.

Haldeman interview _____

No interview, the Attorney General decides _____

Malek interview _____

Other _____

2) The Attorney General approved the \$2,500 for Senator Dole's trip to South Vietnam if the President thinks it's "a good idea for Dole to go". The Attorney General requests that you check this with the President.

3) McCloskey -- The Attorney General agreed with your decision that there should be a Truth Squad, the expenses of which would be borne by Citizens. He believes, however, that the attack should be localized in California so that the media's candidate (McCloskey) is not elevated further. California Congressman Charles Gubser is the best for this attack.

4) Farm Vote -- To put a "farm specialist" at the RNC would be a waste of money according to the Attorney General. He believes there should be a full time farm advisor at the White House. Dr. Robert Spitzer is strongly opposed by the Farm Bureau. Harlow, Ehrlichman, and Whitaker are looking for a "White House Farmer" who should not transfer to Citizens in 6 months according to the Attorney General. A second man to be "Citizens Farmer" is also being sought.

5) Secretary Stans Discretionary Fund -- Secretary Stans discretionary fund of \$1,000,000 at Commerce is to be explained to the other Cabinet Officers by Stans so that conferences, hiring, and other activities may be used for the President's re-election.

6) Lindsay -- Lindsay will become a Democrat next week but will not decide about the Presidency before the end of the year.

7) The older voter analysis prepared by Garment emphasizes that:

- Older Vote*
- A. Twenty-two percent of the voting population is over 60 and 73% of those eligible actually vote;
 - B. California is 19% old people, Florida is 27%, Iowa is 26% and Missouri is 25%;
 - C. The President's Chicago speech accurately discussed the need for a meaningful life pattern, adequate nursing home standards, and health needs of the aged;
 - D. The President's 1968 Campaign promises to the elderly have been proposed but not passed by the Congress; some proposals not requiring Congressional action have not been implemented (e.g. Labor Department computer job aid);
 - E. The White House has done very little for two years to relate to the elderly's organizations which are increasingly powerful politically;
 - F. The White House Conference on the Aging will be held at the beginning of the political season; the political opportunities must be captured just prior to and during the Conference in order to set the tone for the Campaign;
 - G. A Chairman and an Executive Director for the Campaign should be recruited by September 1 to build field organizations in the target states; the organizations should expand into volunteer groups and begin distributing campaign literature; the Campaign thrust would begin on July 1;

P. Gardner

8) Presidential Contenders -- The Presidential contender task force action suggestions should be reviewed by you and the Attorney General at your next meeting. The recommendations by Buchanan include:

- A. Attack Muskie from the right and left to help Kennedy, Humphrey (the easiest to defeat), Jackson, and the President. Muskie would be a formidable opponent if he were to promenade unscathed toward November;
- B. No recommendation to attack Jackson, who as a "friend of sorts of the President" might prefer a Cabinet post with Nixon rather than Kennedy; advice as to strategy is requested;
- C. Kennedy should be attacked as immature, reckless, jet-set;
- D. Humphrey might deserve some support from us as he would be the easiest opponent;
- E. McCloskey's Republican credentials should be attacked by a Congressman (e.g. Jack Kemp) but not by top Administration figures;
- F. Resources for attack include: MONDAY regularly, Dole sparingly, and the White House Staff carefully. Advice is sought whether the Vice President should attack. The local Republican organizations will receive Buchanan drafted attack material distributed by the RNC at Buchanan's shop's direction. Commercial issue advertisements could be placed by Citizens front organizations. Buchanan requests authority to use "Ron Walker's resources . . . for special projects", including "close-in" covert operations;
- G. The California Delegates Selection Committee will be the subject of a conversation between the Attorney General and Reagan;

9. Compass System, Inc. -- The involvement of the Compass System, Inc. in the Campaign is still being negotiated by Tom Evans and Sam Wiley, who is having problems with the FBI which the Attorney General is checking;

10. RNC Denver Meeting -- The RNC Denver Meeting went according to the program because of Timmons' work and in spite of Dole's reluctance. The Attorney General has approved additional names to serve on Convention Committees including Bob Knowles of Wisconsin as Convention Coordinator, Bill Warner as an assistant to Dick Herman, Vice Chairman of the Arrangements Committee if Warner is not a member of the Fred Scribner coalition at the RNC. Gay Fish will be politically responsive Sergeant at Arms. The Sheraton Hotel on Harbor Island will

be the President's Campaign Headquarters. Congressman Gerry Ford, Congressman Rhodes of Arizona and Senator Scott want to be permanent Chairmen of the Convention but the Attorney General has put a "hold" on this. Gordon Luce of San Diego will be the Campaign Committee's host. Format planning is beginning and Chapin will participate. Timmons and Magruder are developing a recommendation for easing Scribner out of his General Counsel post. None of the 51 State Chairmen reported right wing opposition to the China trip and most characterized it as the highlight of the last two years.

11) The Spokesman Resource Task Force headed by Rumsfeld recommended that the key Campaign spokesmen (including First Family, Cabinet, select agency heads, and select Governors) be limited to 25-30; that the President and Vice President continue to be scheduled separately; Colson and O'Donnell will continue to control activities through the end of 1971, but an additional scheduling staff member should be added now to the White House Staff for eventual movement to Citizens. No fund raising formula would be applied to non-elected Administration Officials through March 1, 1972. Support from Walker and Klein will be used. Transportation will be commercial through December 1971 when Whitaker and Howard will submit a Campaign logistics proposal. The Attorney General is asked for his recommendation on key states.

12) Young Voters for Nixon status report indicates the previously submitted plan is progressing through the deadlines. The only new idea is a Presidential or Republican Senators' letter to new voters. A "public" First Voters for Nixon drive should be announced in September.

13) Voter Registration Committees are claiming to be non-partisan but all are Democratic controlled and funded. Reitz had worked to counter the drive of the Youth Citizenship Fund; some success was achieved in Wisconsin.

14) "Citizens" activities are still in the early planning stages though Don Kendall, Deke DeLoach, and Harvey Russell have worked with Planigan, Colson, and Tom W. Evans of Mudge Rose to establish a Businessmen for Nixon group. A Lawyers for Nixon group is being formed by Richard Riefer of Baltimore and George Webster of Washington. All "Citizens" activities will be outlined in a decision paper due on the Attorney General's desk on September 30, 1971.

15) Democratic Lt. Governor Tom Judge of Montana has been told by Ted Kennedy to "stay loose as far as any commitments for 1972".

16) Research -- Planigan's task force is interviewing polling consultants and vendors and will prepare "a final (research) plan . . . within the next few weeks". This plan will contain a recommendation on Simulation on August 13. The RNC Delaware project of combining Census, polling, and research information to target precincts has been expanded to a \$350,000 test of "sophisticated techniques of manipulating and displaying political information in a manner which facilitates allocating Campaign resources by a decision maker". Test activities will occur in 1971 elections for Governors, Mayors, and State Legislators as well as Delaware.

17) Timmons and Magruder will go to San Diego in August on behalf of the Attorney General but will maintain a "low profile".

18) Magruder reports that the rift between Senator Dole and Tom Evans widened at the Denver meeting.

GS:lm:GS:dg

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Magruder's Projects

Two memoranda prepared by Magruder's Task Forces discuss the Black Vote in 1972 and the National Movement for the Student Vote. Both were prepared after the Attorney General left for Europe, so he has not received them. To summarize:

1) The Black Vote in 1972

A detailed description with supporting tabs divides the black vote into three groups: Northern-Western urban, Southern urban, and Southern small town-rural. The greatest leverage is exerted in the Industrial Northeast and in California. The areas of agreement between blacks and the Nixon Administration include school desegregation, drug abuse actions, and the proposed Family Assistance Plan. Negative reaction to the Administration is primarily the result of inaccurate information reaching the black community. Recommendations to capture part of the black vote include: poll blacks to determine issue stands which could swing their votes to us; increase Administration briefings of black media; and specifically to use the Black Republicans in the Nixon Administration on a regional basis to speak and develop support for the President within the black community. (memorandum attached at Tab A)

2) National Movement for the Student Vote

Ken Rietz advised Senator Brock in a memorandum (attached at Tab B) that he "should ... (not) ... be overly concerned about the National Movement for the Student Vote." Rietz obtained the NMSV reports to their Advisory Board which outlines their difficulties in registering students. Rietz urges Senator Brock to contact the Republican members of the NMSV National Advisory Board (Senators Brooke, Scott, and Margaret C. Smith) to encourage them to withdraw quietly. (Attached at Tab B)

A

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ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.J. 123-102
By EP, date 3-23-82

July 3, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: The Black Vote in 1972

Attached is an analysis of the current status of the Administration with the Black voters.

The report makes a specific recommendation on the early use of high level Black appointees in the Administration as more visible spokesmen to the Black community.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972

The purpose of this memorandum is to analyze the impact which the Black voters are likely to have in the 1972 election, to describe some current attitudes of the Black voter toward the Nixon Administration, and to indicate several strategies that will be evaluated during the planning phase of the campaign.

It represents the thinking of the Black leadership within the Administration and was prepared in consultation with Sam Jackson, HUD, Bob Brown and Stan Scott of the White House Staff, Art Fletcher and John Wilks of the Department of Labor, Ed Sexton of the RNC, and Harvey Russell from the Business Community.

VOTING BEHAVIOR

Black voters comprise about 11% of the total population. Their population density varies by states (Tab A). Nearly half of the Black population is concentrated in 50 cities and one-third of the total is in 15 cities (Tab B).

In 1968, an estimated total of 79 million persons participated in the general election. Of that total approximately 8.0%, or 6.3 million, were Black. In the South, the Black proportion was 14.7%, and in the North and West, 5.5%. Blacks tend to vote in somewhat lower proportion than Whites in all areas of the country (Tab C). In all regions, but particularly outside the South, the Black voter had the greatest impact in cities of 50,000 or more population.

In the South, he also is a factor outside of the metropolitan areas (Tabs D and E). There are, then, three important broad demographic groups: Northern-Western urban, Southern urban, and Southern small-town and rural.

In 1960, the Republican presidential ticket received an estimated 32% of the Black vote, which was consistent with the support the party had received in the 50's. In 1964, with the Goldwater candidacy, that figure dropped to 6%, and in 1968, the President was able only to recover to a level of 12% (Tab F).

Currently, the President has a nation-wide approval rating of 28% among Blacks, according to the Gallup Poll (Tab G). The greatest support comes from the South, where he is approved by a 42% - 38% margin, with 20% undecided.

In Tab H, a state-by-state analysis is shown of the plurality of Black votes which would accrue to the Democratic Party in 1972, assuming a 95% - 5% split in the Northern and Western states, and an 80% - 20% split in the South, averaging out to approximately the 12%

reported nationwide by Gallup for 1968. This is intended only to provide a rough comparison between Black plurality and the 1968 total vote plurality in each state, to point out those states where the Black vote is most critical.

There are marked regional differences. In the Deep South, (those states carried by Wallace in 1968), the Black vote is proportionately the highest, but the election outcome is traditionally decided by the conservative White vote.

In the Border States, the Black vote is still proportionately high, but in 1968 the President won most of the states with a substantial plurality.

In the Industrial Northeast, the Black voter probably carries the greatest leverage. The total vote tends to be balanced, and capable of swinging to either party in a given year. The Black vote represents approximately 10% of the total, and heavily favors the Democrats, giving them a substantial plurality at the outset.

New England is mixed. Massachusetts and Connecticut tend to resemble the Industrial Northeast. The remaining states have a low Black population which would not be a factor in most elections.

The Upper Midwest has a relatively low Black population, and the total state pluralities in 1968 were substantially larger than the leverage exerted by those voters.

The Mountain States, generally speaking, do not feel much effect from the Black voters.

In the Pacific States, the impact is mixed, with substantial effect in California, less in Washington, and very little in the remaining states.

When the largest states, such as California, New York, etc., are taken in order of electoral votes, the concentration of Black voters in strategic points becomes particularly evident (Tab I).

AREAS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

There are several Administration programs which have received strong support (particularly among the rank and file) in the Black community: school desegregation enforcement activities; major initiatives in the area of drug abuse; implementation of the Philadelphia Plan for increasing the proportion of minority workers in Federally-sponsored construction projects; substantial increase in the support of Black colleges; the non-profit sponsors' housing program in HUD, in which 40% of the participation is by Black organizations; and many programs to support the development of Black businesses, including those under SBA, OMBE, EDA and HUD.

The Black voters give substantial support to the proposed Family Assistance Plan, largely because it is the first proposal which includes some form of a guaranteed annual income. There seems to be some question, however, as to whether the President is strongly behind the program. Blacks support revenue sharing to the degree that it appears to provide new money to the central cities. They are concerned that adequate provisions be attached to that legislation to assure that an equitable share of the funds be available to Black communities and that the funds not be allowed to support discriminatory practices. As indicated by the President's response to the recent recommendations of the Black Caucus, significant achievements have been made by this Administration in many areas of concern to Blacks, although they have been unacknowledged.

There is a great deal of interest in Administration programs for Africa. The recent extension to Africa of the Housing Guarantee Program under AID, formerly limited to South American Countries, has been well received.

AREAS OF NEGATIVE FEELING TOWARD THE ADMINISTRATION

Accurate information regarding Administration accomplishments does not reach the Black community. For example, the media coverage of the Black Caucus reaction to the Administration response focused almost entirely on the negative. (Tab J) It is doubtful that favorable media comments such as those by Charles Bartlett (Tab K) reached an appreciable number of Blacks. Many Blacks have a strong feeling that the President is not concerned with them as members of society (Tab G). This is partly a result of the feeling that since the passing of Whitney Young, no influential Black has the President's ear. Finally, the increased unemployment during the last two years has had a particularly severe effect on Blacks.

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Several areas should be considered in attempting to maximize the Black vote for the President in 1972, while recognizing the limitations of resources which can productively be allocated to that endeavor:

Understanding the Black Attitudes. Within the next several months, a comprehensive nationwide attitude poll should be taken and the sample of Blacks should be sufficiently large to allow valid statistical conclusions on their attitudes. The poll would seek to determine the issues which are fundamentally important in shaping voting decisions for 1972, and what the President might do to most effectively win the confidence of more Black voters.

The poll should also measure the attitudes of Whites, across the political spectrum, on what types of Federal programs for Blacks are supported and which ones tend to polarize the electorate.

Communication of Administration Accomplishments. As was mentioned earlier, very little objective reporting reaches the Black community. We can approach that problem in several ways.

The White House has organized and is conducting monthly Administration briefings for prominent Black citizens who are or tend to be favorable to the President. Top Administration officials brief on programs and progress in the Black sector.

Substantial effort is being directed toward cultivating relationships with Black publishers and members of the Black press. Meetings are planned with groups of publishers, as well as briefings in which top Administration officials would participate.

The 172 Black-oriented weekly newspapers, with a combined circulation of 3.5 million and a total readership of about 8 million, and the "soul" radio stations in most cities represent a very effective mass media system. One problem has been that our releases have often been too lengthy to be printed verbatim, and the Black newspapers have been unable or unwilling to devote their limited staff time to editing the material. Consequently, those releases have not received maximum exposure.

The Republican National Committee is currently reviewing representative newspapers of the Black Press and publishing a bi-weekly summary of major articles.

Mailing lists are available of Black leaders in several professions, which can be very useful in getting the facts to opinion molders.

Black Spokesmen. The President is not limited to building relationships with existing, highly publicized Black leaders. Many prominent Black citizens have achieved high visibility through programs or high positions in this Administration. By his actions, the President can raise others to positions of influence and respect in the same manner that the Democratic Presidents did in the '60's. Blacks who are asked to be campaign figures should be chosen on the basis of their willingness to speak and write openly and forcefully in public support of the President, not simply behind closed doors. Here again, the White House briefing activities are very pertinent.

Voter Education. Most Black voters do not normally split the ticket, but have shown that they will when attractive alternatives are presented. Some obvious examples are Black Republican officials who have been elected from heavily Democratic districts. We need to intensify our voter education so that more will be inclined to split the ticket in 1972.

We cannot expect any significant shift in voter registration to the Republican Party by 1972. Yet on several occasions, Black spokesmen have stated that Blacks should not be captives of the Democratic Party, that Blacks' best interest are served by a viable two party system, and that they should be willing to support candidates of either party who back programs of benefit to them.

We should consider campaign strategies which effectively communicate meaningful Administration accomplishments to Black voters, and back that up with a call for them to show their independence by being responsive on election day to these accomplishments.

Registration. While there is a valid opinion that registration drives in many urban Black communities will yield only more Democratic voters, we must be aware of the image of Republican non-concern that is projected by our failure to make such an effort. There may well be some selected cities where our visible involvement will have a positive effect on the outcome in November.

Running Black Candidates. Another effective strategy might be to run attractive, qualified Black candidates for local offices on the Republican ticket in heavily Black areas. There may be some reverse coattail effect for the President as the result of improved local interest in the Party.

Local Organization. Today, there is no effective Republican organization in most Black communities, but there are some notable exceptions. Substantial organization work should be undertaken where needed, including identifying influential leaders on the basis of Black standards rather than the standards of middle class White Republicans. To be effective, this organization effort must be given maximum lead time before the election. Activities in those communities should be integrated as much as possible with other facets of the campaign in each state. To that end, it would be desirable to appoint Black representatives on more state party staffs.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATION

Relating to the earlier discussions on Black spokesmen and communication of Administration accomplishments, the President has a largely untapped resource at his disposal. Among the 40 high Black officials in the Administration are many experienced politicians who are extremely effective on the stump and with the press, and who are known at least in their own region of the country. They are loyal to the President and eager to help. What is lacking is a clear indication that their help is wanted and how it can be used.

It must be remembered that a Black Republican in the Nixon Administration is automatically news, even before he delivers his message. His presence almost guarantees press coverage, particularly by the Black media. The occasional image of a Black Republican as a less than forceful spokesman for his cause has no basis in fact and can easily be refuted by the image these men would project. They could conceivably become an effective counterweight to the Black Caucus in airing the other side of pertinent issues. The earlier they become visible, the more effective they can be between now and November, 1972.

The plan would be to assign each man one small region of the country (including, presumably, his home state). He would be responsible for establishing rapport with local Black leaders, in that region, such that he would be their channel of communication with the Administration on all matters. For some time, his activities would be issue-oriented, not political in nature. When the President traveled in that part of the country, he could assure that proper advance work was done where appropriate and perhaps be seen with the President during the trip.

In developing a concerted program for exposure of Black Administration officials, careful analysis would have to be made of which issues carry the most positive impact across all of the President's constituency. For example, Art Fletcher, in Labor, has given a speech on "Economic Parity in Job Opportunities in the 70's" and received standing ovations from White and Black audiences, north and south. There are other areas where the President's programs have been responsive to Black needs and yet would not polarize the White community. For example, a group of Black Doctors in Los Angeles has established a much-needed hospital in the inner city, using private funds. They are very interested in the President's health program, and have contacted Art Fletcher on the possibility of the President's office participating in a fund-raising luncheon in the fall (Tab L).

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the concept of actively involving key Black Administration officials in a concerted program to communicate our accomplishments to the public, and that you authorize the Citizens Committee planning group to draw up a specific program for approval within the next few weeks.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Comment _____

PERCENT OF BLACK POPULATION BY STATE

(1970 CENSUS)

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

One-Third of Blacks Found in 15 Cities

By JACK ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18

Nearly half the nation's black population is now concentrated in 50 cities, and a third of the total is in 15 cities, according to a Census Bureau compilation made public today.

As a result of both migration and natural growth, six cities now have black majorities and the population of eight others is 40 per cent or more black.

The new compilation on minority groups also showed that the two largest such groups, blacks and people of Spanish origin, now include 31.5 million people, 16 per cent of the total population.

Blacks constitute about 11 per cent of the population, a slight increase over 1960. Persons of Spanish origin are about 5 per cent. No comparable figures were tabulated for 1960.

The Spanish-origin population totals about 9.2 million. The black population is about 22.3 million, of which 10.5 million are in 50 cities and 7.6 million in 15 cities.

New York City has by far the largest black population, almost 1.7 million, an increase of 579,000 over 1960. This increase raised the black proportion of the city's population to 21 per cent, from 14.

The highest proportion of

blacks of all cities occurred in Washington and Compton, Calif., with about 71 per cent. Eat St. Louis, Ill., Newark, Gary, Ind., and Atlanta also have more than 50 per cent black populations.

The cities with 40 per cent or more blacks are Baltimore, New Orleans Savannah, Ga., Detroit, Birmingham, Richmond, Va., St. Louis and Jackson, Miss.

People of Spanish origin tend to be younger than those in other groups, the new report showed. Their median age is about 20, against 21.2 for blacks and 28 for the whole population.

Both minority groups, taken as a whole, average considerably less education than the population as a whole, with a little more than a grade school education. The national median is a high school education.

Among younger blacks and people of Spanish origin, however, this gap nearly disappears. The national median for people between 25 and 34 is 12.5 years of education, against

a black median of 12.1 and a Spanish-origin median of 11.7. The new report also showed that, compared with the total population, minority group members are much less likely to be white-collar workers or to earn \$10,000 or more.

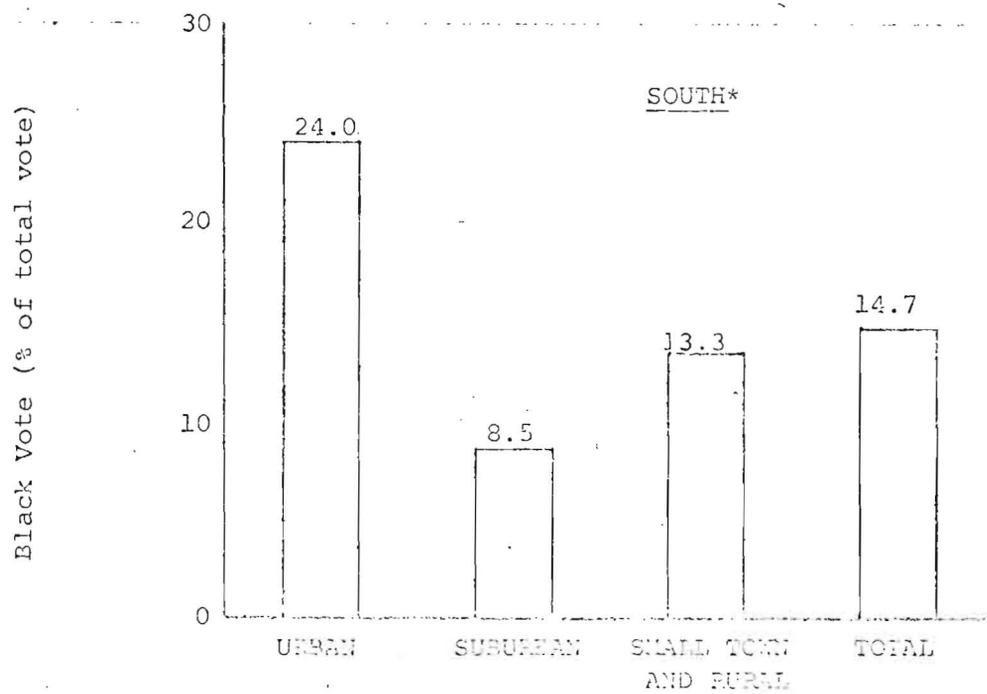
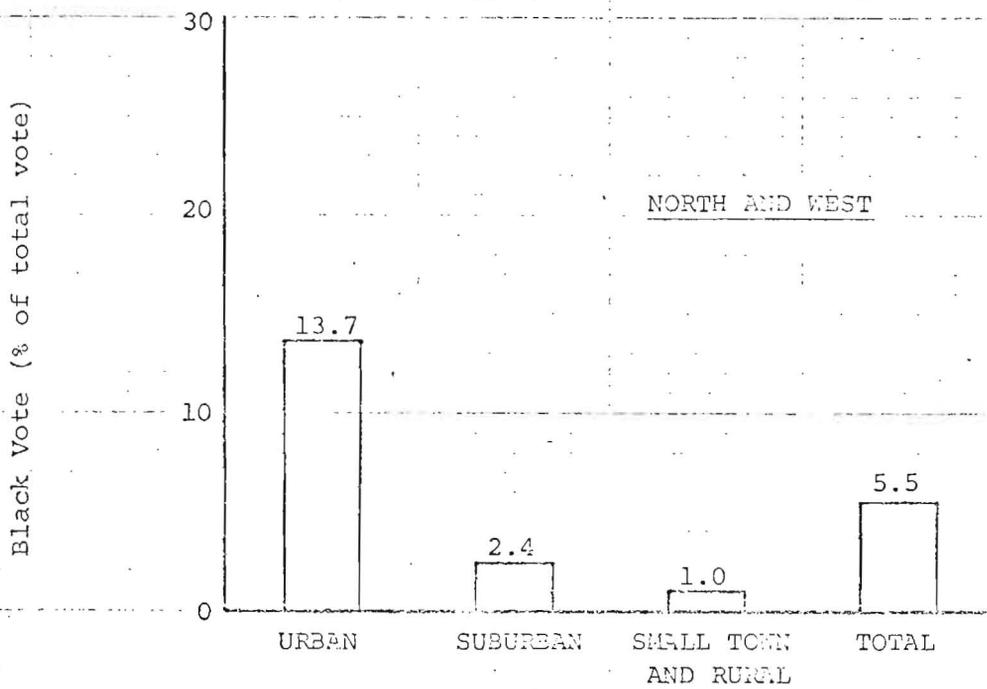
Blacks in Cities

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18—Following is a Census Bureau list of the 50 cities with the largest number of Negroes in the 1970 census:

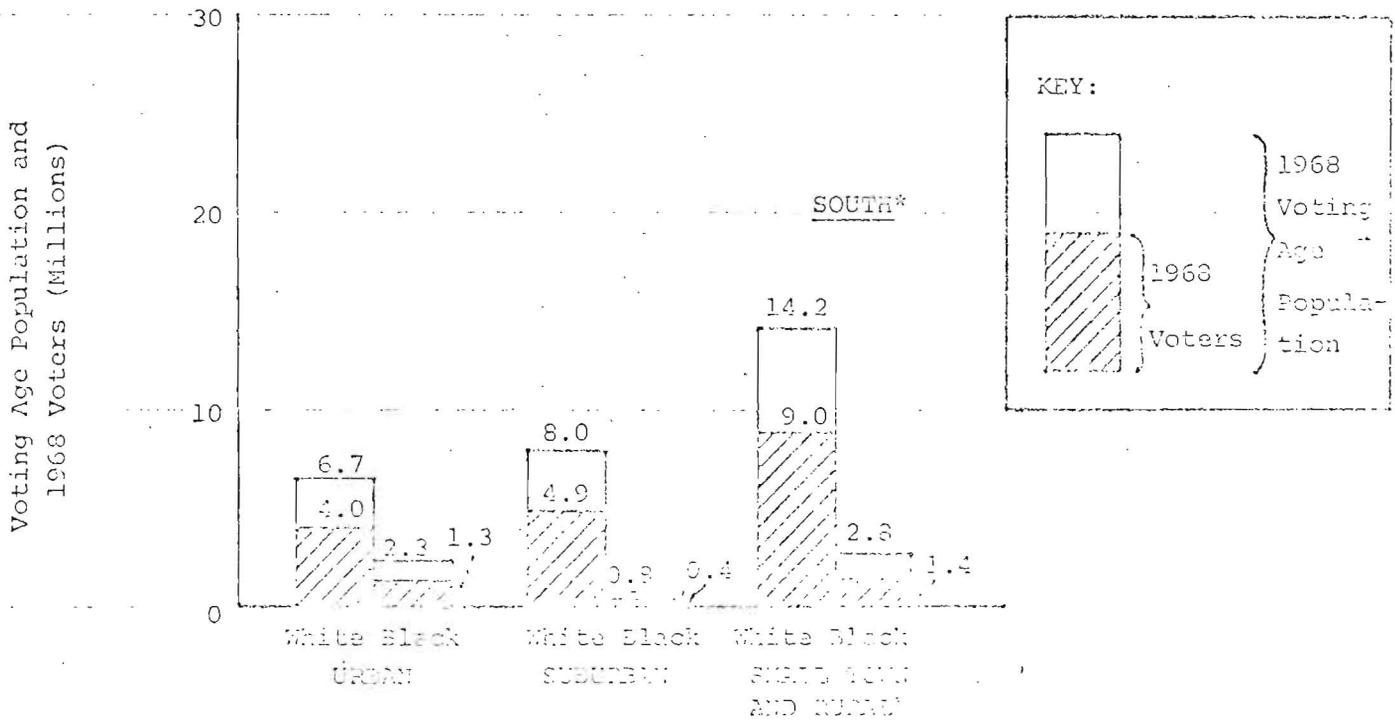
CITY	RANK	Negro Population	Negro Percentage
New York City	1	1,665,626	21.2
Chicago	2	1,161,620	22.7
Detroit	3	670,425	23.7
Philadelphia	4	623,721	23.6
Washington	5	577,712	71.1
Los Angeles	6	533,626	17.9
Baltimore	7	453,210	46.1
Cleveland	9	297,841	35.3
New Orleans	10	297,521	45.0
Atlanta	11	235,031	51.3
St. Louis	12	224,191	48.9
Memphis	13	212,513	33.9
Dallas	14	210,233	21.9
Newark	15	207,153	54.2
Indianapolis	16	184,230	18.0
Birmingham	17	183,323	42.0
Cincinnati	18	152,070	27.6
Cakland	19	141,710	24.5
Jacksonville	20	118,153	22.3
Kansas City, Mo.	21	112,505	22.1
Milwaukee	22	108,633	14.7
Pittsburgh	23	104,501	21.2
Richmond	24	101,755	42.0
Boston	25	101,707	18.3
Columbus	26	99,627	13.5
San Francisco	27	96,071	13.4
Buffalo	28	94,029	23.4
Gary	29	92,625	28.5
Nashville-Davidson	30	87,331	19.5
Norfolk	31	87,261	21.3
Louisville	32	83,910	22.3
Fort Worth	33	78,311	19.9
Albany	34	76,156	22.7
Daxton	35	74,731	20.5
Charlotte	36	72,572	30.7
Mobile	37	67,325	35.4
Shawmut	38	61,162	34.1
Jackson	39	61,033	37.7
Compton Calif.	40	55,211	71.0
Tampa	41	54,720	17.7
Jersey City	42	54,326	21.9
Flint	43	54,237	23.1
Savannah	44	53,111	41.2
San Diego	45	52,761	7.6
Toledo	46	52,915	13.3
Oklahoma City	47	50,133	13.7
San Antonio	48	49,341	7.6
Rochester	49	47,847	16.3
East St. Louis	50	41,325	67.1

BLACK VOTE AS PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTE
BY REGION AND BY POPULATION DENSITY



, Md, DC, Va., W.Va., NC, SC, Ga., Fla., Ky., Tenn., Ala., Miss., Ark., La., Ark., Tenn.

DISTRIBUTION OF VOTING AGE POPULATION
AND THOSE WHO CLAIMED THEY VOTED IN 1968 - BY RACE,
REGION AND POPULATION DENSITY

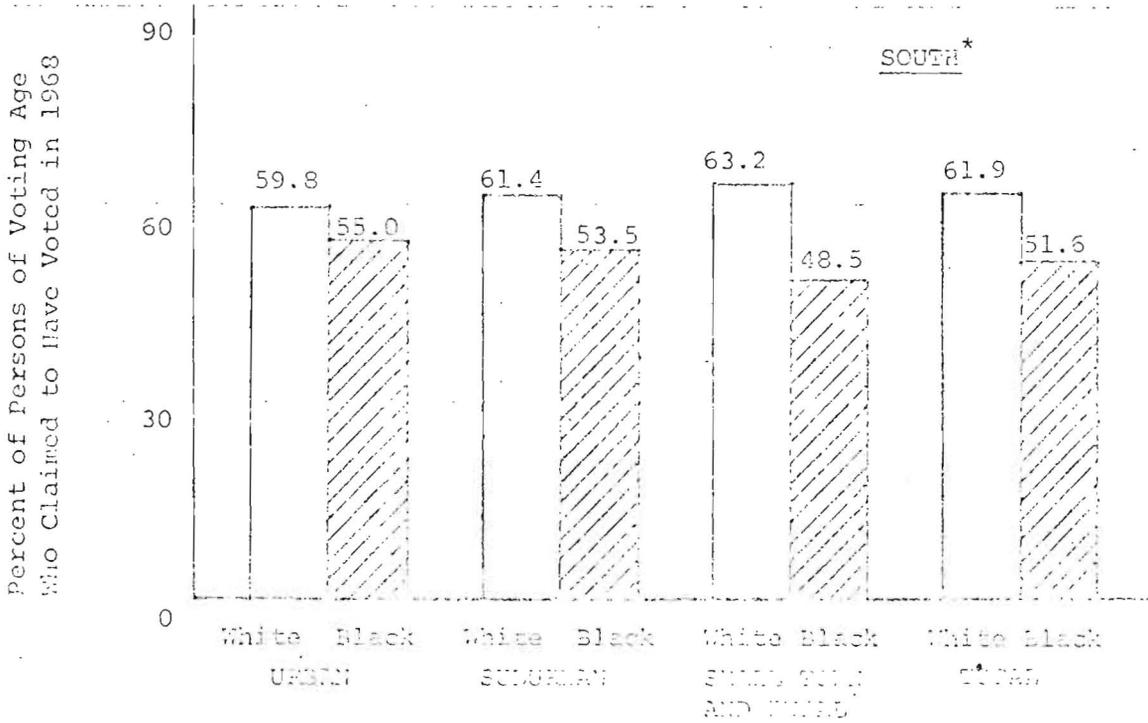
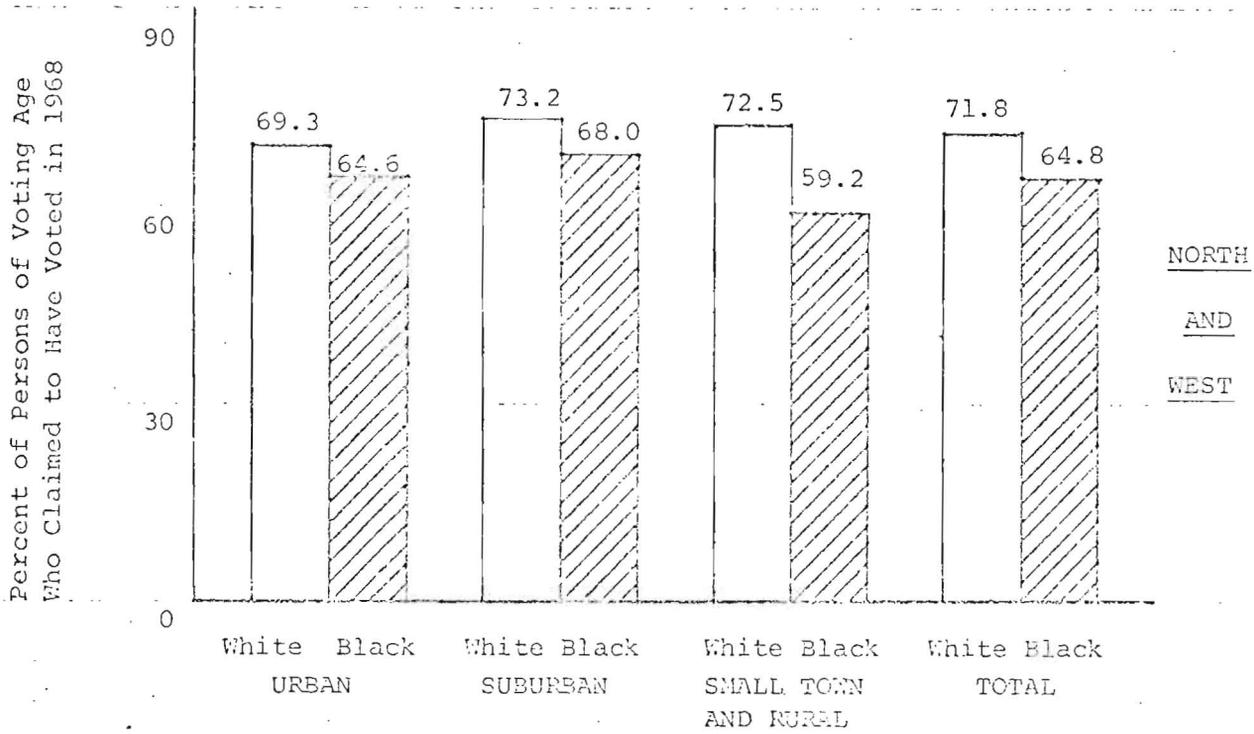


* Md, DC, N.Ya, Va, N.C, S.C, Ga, Fla, Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, Ark, La, Okla, Texas

Percent of Persons of Voting Age

Who Claimed to Have Voted in 1968 -

By Race, Region and Population Density



Ala., Ark., D.C., Fla., Ga., Ill., Ind., Iowa, Ky., La., Md., Miss., Mo., N.C., N.D., Pa., S.C., Tenn., Tex., Va., W. Va., Wisc., Wyo.

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGES AMONG THE NON-WHITE VOTE

<u>Year</u>	<u>GOP Per Cent</u>	<u>Election</u>
1952	21%	Presidential
1954	22%	Congressional
1956	39%	Presidential
1958	31%	Congressional
1960	32%	Presidential
1962	26%	Congressional
1964	6%	Presidential
1966	19%	Congressional
1968	12%	Presidential

(Source: Gallup Poll)

In Recent National Surveys

Nixon and Republican Party Still Rejected by Nation's Blacks

TAB G

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 10 — Since last Spring, President Nixon has had little success in attracting support among the nation's Negroes, judging by recent Gallup surveys. Not only has the President made little headway among Blacks in terms of his own personal popularity, but his party has been unsuccessful in winning converts from the ranks of Democrats.

During the first months of Nixon's presidency, Blacks tended to withhold judgment on the issue of approval of the President's performance in office. However, they moved decisively into the disapproval category during the President's second year of office and have remained there.

In the latest surveys, Blacks by a 2-to-1 ratio express disapproval — the same ratio as recorded in surveys last Spring.

A trend away from Nixon in his second year was also recorded among whites, with little change found since. The trend away from Nixon, however, was less pronounced among whites than among Blacks.

Reasons for disapproval among Blacks tend to parallel reasons given by whites — the Vietnam war and the economy. Added to this is the feeling

among some Blacks that Nixon is "not interested in us."

What Blacks Are Saying About Nixon

A 50 year old housewife from Los Angeles complained, "The President's not bringing our men home from Vietnam as he said he would — he's getting us in deeper and deeper."

A 63 year old house cleaner is angry about the cost of living. "I don't approve of Nixon at all. He's against welfare. I'm a poor woman, but I'm not on welfare. I scuffle for mine and I don't get what I should get. I can only get one day of work a week and still I have to pay social security."

A Wilmington, Del. resident commented, "Let's face it — President Nixon's not interested in Blacks."

No Converts To GOP

Further evidence of the Nixon administration's failure to make political inroads among Negroes is its apparent lack of success in attracting Blacks to the GOP label.

Blacks have been overwhelmingly Democratic in their political affiliation and voting record over the last four decades, and based on the latest survey evidence, there has been little change in this situation.

Three in every four Blacks (71 per cent) identify themselves as Democrats, compared to 8 per cent who say they are Republicans, and 15 who label themselves Independents. Another 3 per cent either indicate allegiance to a third party or do not express an opinion. Virtually no change has been recorded in these percentages among Blacks since Nixon took office.

To obtain the latest figures reported today, a total of 870 Blacks and 9751 whites were interviewed in person in seven national surveys conducted by Gallup last September and mid-January of the current year. The surveys were combined in order to provide a large enough statistical base for breakdowns by subgroups. This question was asked, as in all previous surveys since Nixon took office:

Do you approve or disapprove of

the way Nixon is handling his job as President?

The following table shows how Blacks and whites rate Nixon at three points in time — when he took office, at a mid point during his administration and at present. Results are based on combined surveys.

	Views of Blacks		
	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Jan.-May, '69 ...	40	17	43
Mar.-June, '70 ...	26	53	19
Sept., '70- Jan., '71 ...	28	53	19

	Views of Whites		
	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
Jan.-May, '69 ...	64	9	27
Mar.-June, '70 ...	59	29	12
Sept., '70- Jan., '71 ...	57	29	14

Disapproval is most pronounced among better educated and younger

Blacks and those living outside the South.

The following table shows how various subgroups in the Negro population rate Nixon:

	Views of Blacks By Sub Groups		
	Ap- prove %	Disap- prove %	No Opin. %
NATIONAL ...	28	53	19
College & High school ...	22	62	16
Grade school ...	36	41	23
21-29 years ...	19	65	16
30-39 years ...	24	64	12
50 & older ...	36	41	23
South ...	41	38	20
Non-south ...	19	62	19
Men ...	29	53	16
Women ...	27	51	22

ELECTORAL IMPACT OF BLACK VOTERS BY STATES AND REGIONS

State	Electoral Votes	% Blacks In Total Pop. (1)	Number of Voting Age '70 (2) (Thousands)	Estimated Proportion Voting '72 (3)	Estimated # Voting '72 (4)	Repub. Deficit if	
						20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere (5)	1968 Repub Plurality
<u>DEEP SOUTH</u>							
Miss.	7	36.8	490	42	206	<124>	<265>-AIP
La.	10	29.9	650	45	292	<175>	<273>-AIP
Ala.	9	26.4	550	42	231	<139>	<542>-AIP
Georgia	12	26.0	715	36	257	<154>	<155>-AIP
Arkansas	6	18.6	215	43	92	<55>	<47>-AIP
	<u>44</u>						
<u>BORDER STATES</u>							
Maryland	10	17.9	420	47	197	<178>	<20>
Virginia	12	18.6	520	42	218	<130>	148
W. Virginia	6	4.2	45	58	26	<16>	<66>
D. C.	3	71.1	320	36	115	<100>	<109>
N. Car.	13	22.4	680	45	306	<124>	163
S. Car.	8	30.5	475	38	180	<108>	57
Kent.	9	7.5	145	43	62	<37>	65
Flo.	17	15.5	630	48	302	<181>	210
Tenn.	10	16.1	380	44	167	<100>	121
Mo.	12	10.3	290	58	168	<151>	20
Okl.	8	7.0	110	52	57	<51>	148
Texas	26	12.7	860	40	344	<206>	<39>
	<u>134</u>						
<u>INDUSTRIAL NORTHEAST</u>							
N.Y.	41	11.9	1300	52	676	<608>	<370>
N.J.	17	10.7	460	59	271	<244>	61
Pa.	27	8.6	610	59	360	<324>	<169>
Del.	3	14.2	47	63	30	<27>	8
Ohio	25	9.1	580	57	331	<298>	90
Indiana	13	6.9	215	65	140	<126>	261
Mich.	21	11.2	600	60	360	324	<222>
Illinois	26	12.8	860	63	542	488	135
	<u>173</u>						

State	Electoral Votes	% Blacks In Total Pop. (1)	Number of Voting Age '70 (2) (Thousands)	Estimated Proportion Voting '72 (3)	Estimated # Voting '72 (4)	Repub. Deficit if	
						20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere	1968 Repub. Plurality
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>							
Mass	14	3.1	105	63	66	<59>	<702>
Conn.	8	6.0	110	62	68	<61>	<65>
R. I.	4	2.7	15	62	9	<8>	<124>
Vermont	3	0.2	1	59	1	<1>	15
N. H.	4	0.3	2	63	1	<1>	24
Maine	4	0.3	2	62	1	<1>	<48>
	37						
<u>UPPER MIDWEST</u>							
Wisconsin	11	2.9	75	62	46	<41>	61
Minnesota	10	1.0	21	68	14	<13>	<222>
Iowa	8	1.2	20	64	13	<12>	142
N. D.	3	0.4	1	61	1	<1>	44
S. D.	4	0.2	1	66	1	<1>	31
Nebraska	5	2.7	24	56	13	<12>	150
Kansas	7	4.8	65	57	37	<33>	176
	48						
<u>MOUNTAIN STATES</u>							
Montana	4	0.3	1	61	1	<1>	25
Idaho	4	0.3	1	65	1	<1>	76
Wyoming	3	0.8	2	61	1	<1>	61
Utah	4	0.6	4	69	3	<2>	82
Colorado	7	2.9	40	62	25	<22>	78
Nevada	3	5.7	17	49	8	<7>	13
Arizona	6	3.0	30	46	14	<13>	96
N. Mexico	4	1.9	12	56	7	<6>	40
	35						

TAB H, Continued

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>% Blacks In Total Pop.</u> (1)	<u>Number of Voting Age '70</u> (2) (Thousands)	<u>Estimated Proportion Voting '72</u> (3)	<u>Estimated # Voting '72</u> (4)	<u>Repub. Deficit if 20% Support in South-5% Elsewhere</u> (5)	<u>1968 Repub. Plurality</u>
<u>PACIFIC STATES</u>							
California	45	7.0	840	55	462	<416>	223
Oregon	6	1.3	16	60	10	<9>	50
Washington	9	2.1	45	64	29	<26>	<27>
Alaska	3	3.0	5	49	2	<2>	2
Hawaii	4	1.0	5	50	2	<1>	<50>
	<u>67</u>						

NOTES ON TAB "H"

- 1) U. S. Census Bureau
- 2) Taken as 60% of total Black population (approximate average for total U. S.
- 3) For D. C. - average of 1964 and 1968 results for total D.C. population. For South & Border States - For total region, Black participation was 5/6 of average for total population in 1968. That proportion was taken of actual 1968 voter turnout in each state. For remaining states, Black participation averaged 90% of total population figure. For each state, 90% of total vote percentage was taken.

Data on vote participation by state:

U. S. Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.177, "Voter Participation in November 1968 (Advanced Statistics)," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1968.

- 4) Proportion multiplied by Number of Voting Age.
- 5) The Black support regionally is an assumption for illustrative purposes only and based on fragmentary data. It does average out to the 12% nationwide support determined by Gallup.

Importance of Black Vote in States

With Large Electoral Votes

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Anticipated Number of Black Voters in 1972 (Thousands)</u>	<u>Percent Blacks in Total Population</u>
California	45	462	7.0
New York	41	676	11.9
Pennsylvania	27	360	8.6
Texas	26	344	12.7
Illinois	26	542	12.8
Ohio	25	331	9.1
Michigan	21	360	11.2
New Jersey	17	271	10.7
Florida	17	302	15.5

Caucus heads

Assail Nixon

DETROIT COURIER 5/29/71

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Three members of the all-Democratic Congressional Black Caucus complained Sunday that President Nixon did little but defend his current domestic policies in replying to the group's 60 recommendations for change.

Reps. Charles C. Diggs, August F. Hawkins and William L. Clay said they were totally dissatisfied with the 115 page report issued last Tuesday by the President, particularly his positions on desegregation of housing and schools and appointment of black judges.

Diggs, D. Mich., said the recommendations — covering a broad spectrum of social and economic issues — were submitted earlier in the year to get the administration "to move into the 21st century to recognize that we have some problems here that need some innovative attention."

But "all we ended up with, with very few exceptions, was simply a codification of what the administration had already been doing," he said, and the 12 House members comprising the Black Caucus found the report "very disappointing."

Hawkins, D. Calif., recalling that the President had asked his critics to look at his deeds rather than his words, said "I can now understand because his words have very little meaning." He claimed the Nixon report was primarily designed "to justify revenue sharing" with the states.

Clay, D. Mo., agreed that the President appeared mainly to restate his commitment to policies that "are having a devastating effect on poor and black Americans."

The three black politicians were interviewed on the NBC-TV program, "Meet The Press."



REP. DIGGS

On particulars, the President spelled out that the administration had done or was planning in each field. In several instances, while maintaining a conciliatory tone, he disagreed with the Caucus on Methods of bringing about such things as crime control and a guaranteed minimum wage.

Nixon rejected suggestions that the Administration abandon its "no knock" entry and preventive detention policies in fighting crime. And he stood by his proposed \$2.40 guaranteed minimum an-

See Page 4

actions already taken, but declined to cite any new initiatives contained in it. He added, however, that the process of preparing the statement intensified the Administration's attention of programs and policies.

Replying to the demand for ending involvement in Indochina, the President reviewed actions taken so far to wind down the war and told the Caucus: "Fixing a unilateral date... would eliminate Hanoi's strongest incentive to negotiate and would jeopardize the progress made to date."

Continued From Page 4

nual income for a family of four, which the blacks want increased to \$6,500.

Shultz told newsmen at a White House briefing that the Administration stands on its record on civil rights and equal opportunities. "The record shows that the administration has been trying to deal with this problem in a steady and strong way," he said.

Shultz said the President's reply "codified" statements already made and

CHARLES BARTLETT

Col. WASHINGTON STAR

Nixon and the Black Congressmen

5/27/71
The extent of the gap between President Nixon and the 13 black congressmen will not be diminished by their sharp derogation of his most positive statement to date on the subject of the black urban poor.

The congressmen are speaking, of course, in public terms to black constituencies where they are counted on to denounce the President for his lack of urgency and commitment. But they might have served their voters better if they had accorded him some credit for his turn away from the cautious reserve which made him seem anxious, during his first two years in the White House, to avoid acknowledging that he had any real concern for the urban poor.

The fact is that Nixon, in this exchange of viewpoints, strayed further from his political base than the black congressmen did. His turn marks a belated recognition that reelection will require some show of sensitivity toward the blacks' problems, some attempt to persuade Republican liberals that he is working to be President of all the people.

But his new strategy does not entail any real hope of Negro votes, so the extent to which he tried to accommodate the 61 demands for specific actions is surprising. For

the first time he related his goals as President to the direct needs of the urban poor and conveyed a spirit of eagerness to translate "rhetorical promise into concrete results."

Nixon appears to have put behind him the "Southern strategy" and "benign neglect" in order to reassure the ghetto blacks. The President is not making catchy promises; his response did not carry the burning sense of urgency which many feel about the urban crisis, and the administration's dollar commitment is far short of what the congressmen asked. But it was a positive statement describing positive actions.

With 7.6 million blacks concentrated in 15 cities, conflict is unavoidable between their congressmen and the Nixon-backed version of welfare reform. Family assistance totaling \$2,400 will not do much for most big city poor. Its great contribution to city life may be to discourage the rural poor from moving to the city.

But the black legislators' advocacy of a \$6,500 level of assistance and their criticism of the welfare recipients' obligation to register for work will not gain broad public support for their position. Their problem, in serving as a collective voice for the blacks, is that they will be tempted to polar-

ize issues to serve private political ends.

Their denunciation of the Nixon response bore a political ring because they neglected to concede any merit to what the administration has been doing. The President claims, for example, that he can come up with 892,000 summer job opportunities. This is close to the million which the Black Caucus proposed.

The rioting in Brooklyn makes the point that there is something to be said for the Nixon style of underpromising. The Brownsville section has known a \$50 million Model Cities program, an Urban Action Task Force run by the city, and a lot of high rhetoric. It is still a miserable piece of urban real estate and the impatience of its inhabitants is not surprising.

The explosion in Chattanooga makes once more the point that this impatience can blow into an unruly, destructive force, an embittering eruption in what Daniel P. Moynihan has called "an era of bad manners." This impatience is so volatile that black spokesmen will resist it if they are realists.

The point which the black leaders missed is that Nixon, perhaps with his finger to the wind, has moved closer to their concerns. He deserves some encouragement.



WEST ADAMS COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

HOWARD S. KAATZ
ADMINISTRATOR

June 28, 1971

Mr. Arthur A. Fletcher,
Assistant Secretary of Labor
1400 Constitution Blvd.
Washington, D. C. 20210

Dear Mr. Fletcher:

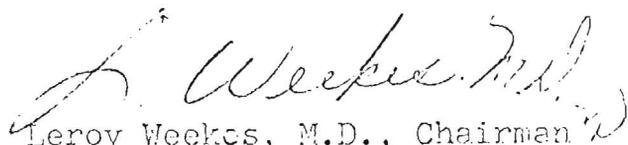
Forgive the delay in communication, but due to so many pressing matters, I was unable to follow through during the time period I indicated to you when I was in Washington. I would just like to reiterate that the non-profit organization, West Adams Community Hospital, would like to have a large luncheon at \$200 per plate involving community members and industrial representatives of the Los Angeles area in September or October and we would hope to have the support and involvement of the President's Office.

Certainly, the time period could prove to be beneficial for both black people and the present Administration by way of demonstrating that President Nixon is not only sensitive to the needs of black people, but also gives recognition to their accomplishments at local levels.

It is our belief that, since this project was privately developed by a very distinguished group of black professionals with the unique idea of making it a non-profit organization to benefit a ghetto community, it is most certainly in keeping with the present Administration's theory of black entrepreneurship and can well serve as a national model in creating a new trend in the area of black economic development in this country.

We are hopeful that the President will give this most worthwhile project as much consideration as possible, and are eagerly awaiting to hear from you. Thank you for your assistance and support.

Sincerely yours,


Leroy Weeks, M.D., Chairman
Board of Trustees
WEST ADAMS COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

LW:ml

Enclosure: (2) WACH Brochures

cc: Howard Kaatz, WACH Administrator
Patricia Neuman, Public Information & Development Director

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a memorandum
from Ken Rietz to Senator Brock on the National Movement
for the Student Vote.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

July 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: SENATOR BROCK
FROM: KEN RIETZ
SUBJECT: National Movement for
the Student Vote

I don't think we should be overly concerned about the National Movement for the Student Vote.

They plan to concentrate on 283 campuses where they estimate 60% of the non-registered college students attend. This, as you know, is a low priority area for us.

The people participating in the NMSV headquarters are liberal and Democrat, and make no effort to conceal their feelings. They are running a partisan effort under a non-partisan label.

I think through informal conversations, you should inform the Republican members of the NMSV National Advisory Board (Senator Brooke, Senator Scott, and Senator Margaret C. Smith) of our feelings and encourage them to quietly withdraw. This would open the way for a public exposure at the proper time if we felt it necessary.

We will be keeping track of all NMSV activities and will keep you informed.

bcc: Jeb S. Magruder

June 21, 1971

To: National Advisory Board

From: Morris B. Abram, Jr.

Summary of Progress

Establishment of Washington Office -- Sufficient private funds raised to pay costs eight interns, including Mike Aguirre, student Arizona State responsible registration campaign 5000 students in three week periods. These will lay the groundwork for a voter registration campaign -- initially focusing on 300 of the nation's college campuses.

Research office -- While our permanent office is to be located in Washington, research division will be centered in Cambridge, Mass. where NMSV will benefit from UNITEL-Joint MIT-Harvard Census Program.

Board of Directors - Now includes Bill DeWind of Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison; Bill Coleman, President NAACP Legal Inc. Fund; Franklin Roosevelt, Jr.; David Riesman, Henry Ford, II, Professor of Social Sciences, Harvard University; John Lewis, Executive Director, Voter Education Project. This group continues to expand.

Public Relations, Advertising -- John Moynahan, Chairman of the Board of John Moynahan & Co., one of the nation's most prominent public relations firms, has agreed to work with the NMSV for a nominal fee. Remar Sutton, Vice President of Richard K. Manhoff, the New York advertising firm responsible for the media campaign of Off-Track Betting, is preparing our newspaper, radio and television advertising.

Finances -- We have received generous financial support from prominent individuals of widely different political viewpoints. In addition, many foundations, churches and corporations have expressed interest in our undertaking, and are awaiting clearance of our application for tax exemption.

Tax-Exemption -- Adrian DeWind, senior partner, Paul, Weiss, Goldberg, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, and Kenneth Bergen, senior partner, Bingham, Dana and Gould have assumed powers of attorney for NMSV. Clearance expected soon.

Assistance of Corporations -- General Lucius Clay of Lehman Brothers, and Richard Gelb, President of Bristol-Myers Corporation have agreed to assist us in fund raising and advertising.

TALENT SEARCH

The Student Vote (The National Movement for the Student Vote), a non-partisan organization, was established to fill a vacuum in the voter registration field. Now headquartered at 530 Seventh Street, S.E. Washington D.C., The Student Vote plans to initiate and assist voter registration drives on the nation's college campuses.

Over the summer months the Student Vote plans to:

---establish a comprehensive file on each of the respective campuses, including a) a student body geographical profile, b) a listing of local organizations and individuals planning to involve themselves in voter registration, c) cooperative administrators, state officials, and civic leaders.

---initiate a thorough and ongoing study of the intricate legal problems particular to students. Though the Student Vote will not itself be involved in the litigation of domicile and residency questions, it will act as a conduit for organizations which are active in this area.

---design and coordinate a media campaign to publicize voter registration on the campus.

---establish eleven regional offices to be staffed by experienced voter registration field coordinators.

We are presently interviewing persons (previous experience in this field is not a prerequisite) for a limited number of paid and volunteer internships. The available tasks are many; this is an opportunity to be part of a national program of historic significance.

Our needs:

- media and press relations
- clerical assistance
- managerial skills (particularly interested in persons with office experience)
- research associates
- accounting
- political organizers
- legal research

Ask for Mike Davis or Mike Aguirre--547-3429. We look forward to hearing from you.

Mike Davis

National Advisory Board
Hon. Julian Bond
Senator Edward Brooke
Thomas D. Cabot
Senator Clifford Case
Rep. Ronald Dellums
Robben Fleming
Arthur Goldberg
Alexander Heard
Rev. Theodore Hesburgh
Senator Edward Kennedy
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Mayor John Lindsay
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Advisors
Barney Frank
Vernon Jordan
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Remar Sutton

General Counsel
Harvey Burg

CAMPUS VOTER PARTICIPATION
A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A PILOT PROJECT

We are on the threshold of an historic test. A rising generation has come of age early, and their mandate shall soon be heard. Legislative action has swelled the federal electorate, giving America's young people awesome power and responsibility. But now that the vote is theirs, will it be cast?

The precedents are not encouraging. In 1968, three states allowed 18-20 year olds to vote. Yet in the election of that year, only 35.6% of whites and 25.3% of blacks in this age group actually voted.¹

Why College Students?

Voter participation is the fundamental process and sanction of a democratic society. Civic spokesmen, labor union officials, elected representatives, and minority group leaders are each concerned with the level of voter turnout in every election; all of these men work to promote voter registration within their own area of authority or influence.

Several groups are active in black communities. The Voter Education Project, with seven offices in the South, conducts drives in thirteen states. Frontlash, with offices in New York and California, assists minority groups in Northern ghetto

1. Bureau of Census, Technical Studies, "Characteristics of American Youth," series p-23, Feb. 6, 1970, page 23

communities. In addition, the N.A.A.C.P. has long worked in the area of voter rights-- as a principal in litigation and voter education.

American labor, given the lead by George Meany of the AFL-CIO, sponsored the massive voting drive amongst its own membership which, it may be recalled, nearly brought Hubert Humphrey victory in the last Presidential election.

State officials in many locales have already begun to enlist governmental machinery to educate and involve high school students in the registration process. The Youth Citizenship Fund, an outgrowth of a group that campaigned for the 1 year old vote, has concentrated its efforts on eligible high school students. In a recent Massachusetts drive, with the assistance of the League of Women Voters, it attracted public officials to high schools to address students in their auditoriums.

Amongst many identifiable groups, only the college campuses have been neglected.

Won't College Students Register Anyway?

This wide cross-section of the country, six million students generally between the ages of 18 and 22, has not received the attention of any voter registration organization. And while college students are spoken of in the mass media as a significant political force, no records of previous student registration have even been kept up to now. Indeed, there is probably no other group whose electoral habits are so unknown.

register in greater numbers than citizens lacking such education. No statistics are available, however, which correlate the voter's educational level with his age at the time he casts his ballot. Because high registration levels have characterized college educated persons in the past, it can not be assumed that this pattern will be repeated in the ranks of young voters presently enrolled in universities. There is even evidence which suggests the contrary.

Campus Alienation

Thomas Jefferson decried the notion of extending the franchise to those lacking the education he felt prerequisite to a sustained interest in the electoral system. It would have been a surprise and disappointment to him, no doubt, to discover that many citizens of a later day felt less drawn to this democratic cornerstone the longer they remained in centers of higher education. While it is impossible to say how widespread is alienation from the democratic system on the college campus, it is certain that unless remedial steps are taken soon, the cynicism that permeates America's classrooms will take a heavy toll as election day approaches.

Census figures reveal that in 1968, 218,000 eligible persons between the ages of 18 and 20 did not register to vote.

What was their explanation? 144,000 of these young people said they were "not interested."² There is no way to determine

2. Bureau of Census, Population Characteristics, series p-20, no. 172, May 3, 1968, page 53.

how many of these non-voters were college students, but Daniel Yankelovich in his report for the Task Force on Youth provides us with a basis for speculation.

Amongst "forerunner youth," the influential and expanding group which Yankelovich identifies as the campuses' mentors and conductors of new social values, skepticism about the nation's institutions runs high. In 1970, 50% of this group "strongly agreed" that the two-party system does not offer any real alternatives, and 33% expressed the belief that the American system of representative democracy can not respond effectively to the needs of the people.³ Clearly these attitudes augur resistance to voter participation amongst large numbers of college students.

Voting--the Initial Commitment

We believe that there could be no greater blow to the democratic system than the failure of millions of young voters to make use of their newly acquired franchise. The unproductive despair which is so widespread on America's college-campuses will only diminish as students begin to understand that it is their power to bring substantial social change through the electoral process.

Equally important, voting is a first step for other forms of political involvement. The student who casts his ballot for a particular candidate will undoubtedly follow the

3. Youth and the Establishment, JDR3rd Fund, Inc., 1971, pages 56, 60

policies of the elected official more carefully than the person who did not go to the polls. Voting is one of the initial symbols of commitment to the democratic process.

Need for Assessment

Because so little is known about voting participation amongst young people, any registration drive conducted amongst this newly enfranchised group will assume the role of a significant test. It is difficult to speculate on the success which a well planned and tightly administered campus voter registration drive might have. A careful assessment of the techniques used on each campus, and the kinds of responses which resulted would be indispensable for future work in this and related areas of voter registration work.

A Pilot Project

The drive which the N.M.S.V. is proposing in these pages has importance beyond the millions of college students which we hope to register and get involved in the political process. This is a pilot project. The information which is compiled and statistically correlated will benefit at least three groups:

- 1) Students --- Registration and voting is an important, perhaps the fundamental, responsibility of a citizen in a democratic society. The American college community would profit from informational data which indicated the degree to which it accepted this responsibility, and the reasons why some of its members choose not to participate.

2) Political parties ---

Political parties are national institutions. Academies formulate many of the ideas which are later promoted by political parties as public policy. Both parties have an interest in learning about student receptivity to their ideologies--- as demonstrated in registration patterns on specific campuses.

3) National Community---

The nation as a whole would benefit from a thorough exposition of campus voter participation. Responses to voter registration efforts as documented during the drives will be a good measure of the degree of student estrangement from the democratic process. The depth provided by such a study would far surpass existing surveys and would help to promote better understanding between the country and its 2500 campuses.

DEMOGRAPHICS

6,045,000 Americans attend four-year colleges and graduate schools. If these students were distributed evenly over the 1600 or so universities in the United States, we would face what might be an insurmountable task in seeking to register these students to vote. Fortunately, our research indicates that 3,640,000, or roughly 60% of these students attend a mere 283 campuses with enrollments over 5,000.⁴

4. Characteristics of the College Market, National Educational Advertising Service, 1970.

In order to register substantial numbers of black students, one should include 21 additional black colleges with enrollments over 1,500 in a student voter registration drive. These campuses have a total enrollment of over 61,000.

The National Movement for the Student Vote will attempt to organize these 304 campuses. The large campuses show a high degree of concentration in a few states such as New York and California. The smaller black schools are located primarily in the South.

With a keen eye toward effectively decentralizing our drive, we shall divide up the United States into the following regions:

(Figures in parentheses indicate number of campuses to be organized.)

Region I

New York (25)

Region II

Massachusetts (7)
 Connecticut (6)
 Vermont (1)
 Maine (1)
 New Hampshire (2)
 Rhode Island (3)

—
(20)

Region III

Pennsylvania (12)
 New Jersey (9)
 Virginia (7)
 District of
 Columbia (5)
 Maryland (4)
 Delaware (1)
 West Virginia (2)

(40)

Region IV

North Carolina (8)
 South Carolina (3)
 Florida (5)
 Georgia (5)

—
(21)

Region V

Tennessee (7)
Kentucky (6)
Alabama (6)
Mississippi (5)
Arkansas (3)
Louisiana (10)

(37)

Region VII

Illinois (14)
Wisconsin (8)

(22)

Region IX

North Dakota (2)
South Dakota (2)
Nebraska (3)
Minnesota (4)
Idaho (3)
Montana (2)
Wyoming (1)
Colorado (4)
Nevada (1)
Utah (4)

(26)

Region VI

Ohio (14)
Indiana (7)
Michigan (9)

(30)

Region VIII

Missouri (11)
Kansas (5)
Iowa (4)
Oklahoma (5)

(25)

Region X

Texas (20)
Arizona (3)
New Mexico (2)

(25)

Region XI

California (24)
Oregon (3)
Washington (5)
Hawaii (1)

(33)

METHODS

We cannot yet discuss in detail the techniques to be employed in registering prospective voters: these depend a great deal on voter registration laws on every level, which are changing monthly because of the recent enactment of the 18-year old vote. Below, our methods are set out in general terms:

To begin with:

Student apathy and even cynicism about the electoral process must be overcome. Speakers, as well as advertisements and posters, should help convince students that voting is one of the most effective, even radical actions they can take. Students of differing political attitudes should learn that they each have a stake in the electoral process.

First concrete steps

According to the League of Women Voters, "citizens," i.e., in this case our volunteers, in at least 16 states may be deputized to register voters. We will undertake this approach wherever possible, since it proved so successful for the Voter Education Project.

Role of the Central Office

In about 25 states students may register in absentee. In some states, students are required by law to request registration forms personally. The local practice of the law varies: although most states and counties will not provide us directly with a

stock of forms, New York City's Board of Elections, for instance, will give as many as requested. In order to register a Boston University student with residence in New York, all that would be required is to give him the form. Regarding those states requiring a personal request from the would-be absentee student voter, we plan to provide each student, along with a possible form letter, the address of the office he should contact.

In states where students are eligible to vote and where they can register close by the campus, we can simply direct students to the right authorities.

Coordinators--What Manner of Men?

It would be easy to ask the student government president or the newspaper editor to head the registration drive on each campus. Unfortunately, these men do not usually have sufficient time available to do a good job for NMSV. There is an additional problem. As Remar Sutton, who helped organize the Movement for a New Congress, put it, "Most of the old campus politicians are burned out and useless--just plain ineffective." We shall look for fresh talent; students who are imaginative and dedicated.

Promotion

Neither a Time article on our Cambridge office nor an ad in The New York Times explaining our drive will help us register students to vote at North Carolina State. We believe it is essential that national publicity on the NMSV be directed towards

local campus efforts, rather than the activities of the central office.

The central office will provide each campus with several hundred posters, which will seek to give voter registration the necessary "cutting edge." Where the local coordinator finds it appropriate flyers will also be provided for door-to-door leafleting. Fraternities, sororities and service organizations (Green Key, etc.) can be engaged to help distribute such literature. The support of these groups will be enlisted in the early organizational stages of most drives.

Hopefully, college newspapers will give NMSV free advertising space in addition to the 1500 paid lines we have budgeted for each campus. Experience indicates that it will be more fruitful to approach these newspapers on a national level. We shall engage the president of a large advertising agency to write all newspapers, once we have been approved by the Advertising Council.

Steven Hochschild, a doctoral student in planning at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has done research which indicates that there is no more effective way to engage the interest of students on a campus than a "telephone blitz." On a campus where individual or roommate group phones are standard fare, one can reach 5,000 plus students in 10 hours (two evenings) with 25 student volunteers manning phones.

The Role of Student Governments

We cannot thrive on a campus without the cooperation of each college's administrators. While initial reservations can be overcome by a letter from an educator on our advisory board, considerable personal contact will be necessary to build trust. Student governments will hopefully facilitate good relations with campus administrators.

We shall require permission to set up registration centers in the student union and in dining halls. Also, we would be helped by a master list of students, particularly if it indicates phone numbers.

Student government officials are competent judges of the mood of their campus, and they can advise our coordinator on issues such as which, if any, speakers should be brought on campus to arouse interest in registration. Our speakers bureau thus will not be so liable to send a man to New Mexico State who is unpopular there.

Putting the Names on the Dotted Line

Ideally, we should move one or two mobile registration booths onto a campus, and have in-state students register there. (Out-of-staters can be handled at nearby tables.) John Lewis of the V E.P. reports, however, that only large cities provided his group with mobile registration vans. He suggests, though, that some of the problems he encountered might have been peculiar to the South. Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign workers, for example.

used mobile booths throughout Indiana with considerable success.

While we shall exert as much bipartisan political pressure as possible to loosen terms on mobile centers, we could alternatively set up centers around the campus where out-of-state students can be given absentee registration forms (or form letters), and in-state students can be pointed in the right direction.

Possibilities for Mass Registration

We are investigating the possibility of having students register to vote at the same time as they register for school or as they pick up their selective service forms from the registrar. Toward this end, we have initiated discussions with the American Association of College Registrars and Admissions Officers.

Problems

There can be little doubt that we will meet local resistance to our efforts in some towns, particularly in potential Berkeleys. John Lewis, for example, has run into several county officials in Mississippi who refuse to register 18-year olds because "they lack necessary facilities." Again, we shall seek to employ some political clout to overcome such hurdles. If necessary, however, we shall activate our legal arm.

LEGAL

One problem that will tend to thwart our efforts to register college students is the autonomy given to county clerks in interpreting state law. This problem will be

two-fold. First, it will be important to know in advance the ways in which specific statutes can be used against the students seeking to register. Second, NMSV will maintain close contact with organizations capable of testing the legality of the more unfair laws; in this way, we will be able to give concrete aid to students having difficulty registering, rather than fruitlessly exhorting them to do so.

Our central office, in cooperation with other organizations active in the field of voter participation, will compile a summary of existing statutes and possible problem areas. This booklet, sent to all NMSV personnel will serve as indispensable background information. We recognize, however, that it cannot serve as a substitute for information gathered in the field. To remedy this situation, law students recruited from each state will report to their regional coordinator on the nature of problems that students are encountering. All information concerning difficulties with local officials will be forwarded to the central office where the material can be correlated with other data to analyze the basis and location of major student registration problems. All campus coordinators will receive the reports pertinent to their locale.

It will be imperative for all NMSV personnel to have a complete understanding of potential legal problems, since confidence in their own position will make dealings with local officials easier and more productive. In areas where the NMSV will not be able to assist directly in the registration process, it will be important for each registrant to have easy access to the same knowledge.

In cases where a student's right to vote is clearly being denied the central office will act as a conduit - referring complaints to organizations which have the experience and resources to litigate. Hopefully, the threat of suit will discourage discriminatory practices in some areas. As evidence of our concern and sincere intent in this matter, legal counsel will be attached to each regional coordinator.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

We are now trying to create the most effective organizational structure for registering the maximum number of student voters possible. We do not plan to run a centralized campaign from Cambridge, Mass. Doing so would require at least 300 "line managers" reporting to one office. (The Movement for a New Congress, trying last year to organize a large number of campuses, failed when they set up such a structure.) On the other hand, it would be inept to send 20 Harvard "missionaries" around the country trying to organize a campus a week. Each campus requires the attention, the knowledge of local conditions, which only the students there can provide.

Regional coordination promises to be the best approach. Each regional coordinator will be responsible for the thirty or so campuses in his area. Our central office will provide him with information of timetables, laws, and methods. The Cambridge office can also help when appropriate with absentee registration forms and form letters, and can also supply a variety of promotional

materials and opportunities, ranging from ad glossies to posters. A central speaking bureau could arrange to have a Senator or other respected local figure initiate the local registration drive. The Harvard-based staffman covering the region will consult with the local and regional coordinators and serve as their link with the information NMSV will have accumulated.

The attached organizational chart outlines the plan for the central office.

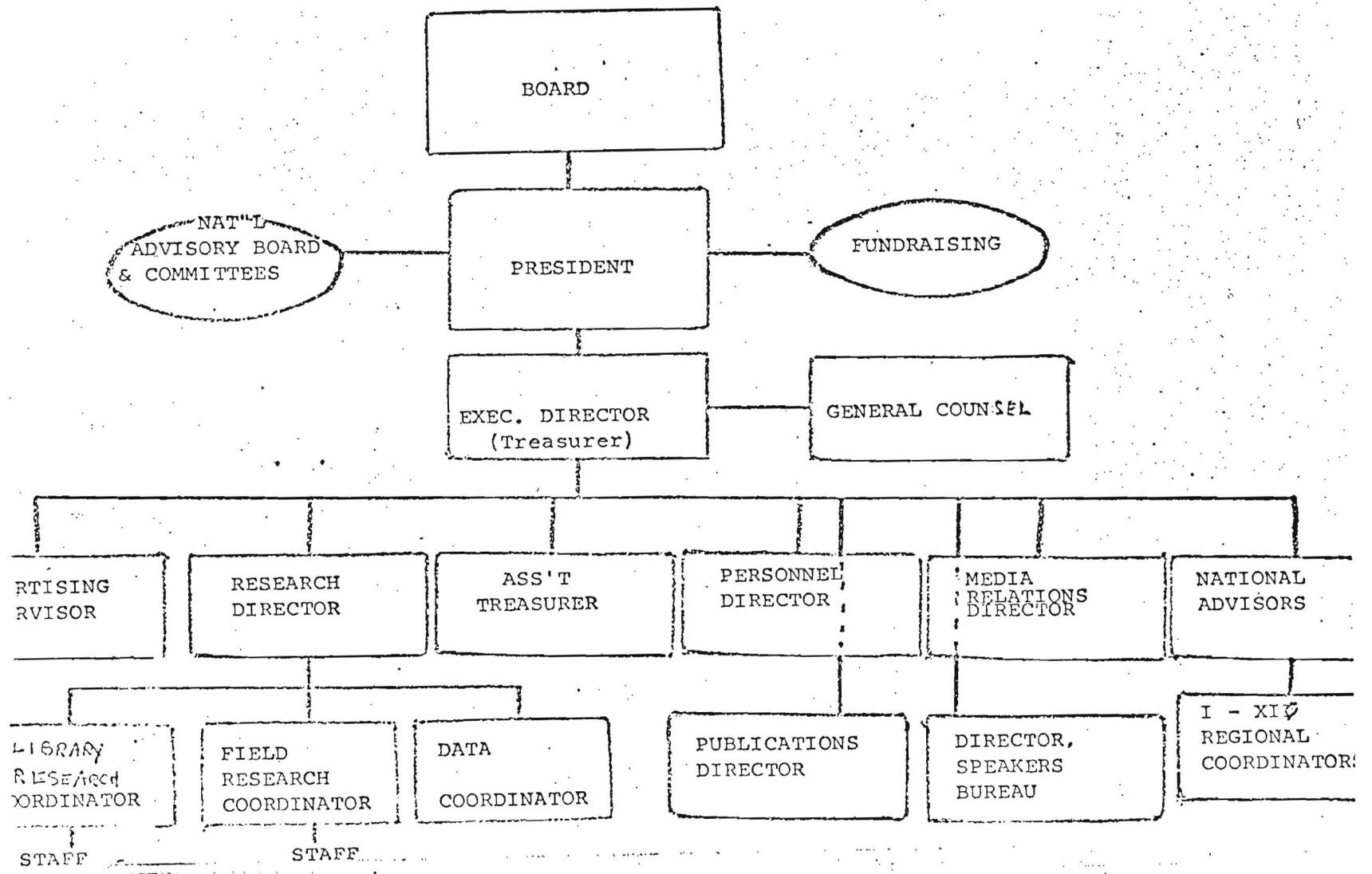
THE RESEARCH EFFORT

While MNSV hopes to rely on other organizations in assembling much of the information for successful registration drives, our Cambridge office nonetheless anticipates carrying on a substantial research effort this Spring. The research staff will work closely with The League of Women Voters, Common Cause, The Legislative Reference Service, and other groups so as not to duplicate their efforts. Five interns will spend their summer in Washington doing research on registration laws and other important factors in the drive.

We shall contact Secretaries of State, and where necessary local election boards, to ascertain:

- * Where absentee registration is permitted and where bulk forms are available.
- * Where mobile registration booths can be set up on campus.
- * Where volunteers can be deputized as registrars.
- * During what time periods voters may be registered.

National M'vt for the Student Vote



* What constitutes residency.

From university administrators we hope to find the following:

* The university's student enrollment by state.

* The academic calendar.

* Names of heads of Young Democrats, Young Republicans, fraternity councils, student government, etc.

* Where students eat.

* Names and addresses of campus newspapers.

* Where booths may be set up.

We will write to all the students whose names we obtain. In addition, many U.S. Senators have pledged to provide us with the names of all students applying for summer internships; our research staff will be in touch with all of them.

Analyzing our data will pose an important and critical task. Computer programs will coordinate academic and voter registration calendars, giving as output the weeks liable for an intensive registration drive on a given campus. The student enrollment of each campus, broken down by home states of students, will be entered into our computer storage space. A simple program can then indicate how many absentee registration forms and form letters we need from each state, and which campus we shall have to ship them to.

BLACK STUDENTS

There are now 492,000 Black students attending American Universities. One-third of these students are studying at the nation's 105 Black campuses; the rest are located at other institutions across the country.

Bureau of Census statistics have been cited that reveal the small number of black students registering to vote in states where the 18-year old franchise has been in force in the past. We know that registration in the nation's Black areas has been historically much lower than in white communities. There is no evidence, however, that Black campuses are subject to the fear which has been reported by V.E.P. registrars as being always one of the chief obstacles to registering Blacks in the South.

Conversations with Black community and student leaders around the country suggest that there may be other reasons discouraging Black student registration. Dean Monroe of Miles College has remarked on the bitter frustration and anger felt by many Black students at their seeming inability to alter the circumstances around them. This frustration need not continue, however, to express itself in political alienation. Lee Daniels, Managing Editor of the Harvard Journal of Afro-American Affairs, notes that while many Blacks are not impressed with short-term projects such as the Committee for a Moratorium, they are increasingly committed to measurable political and social progress.

Some might ask why we consider the participation of these

... and worthy of special

attention. Even if not numerically overwhelming, Black students have a particularly vital role to play in the future. This group, more than their white counterparts, will in these next years come to influence and direct the political outlook of their communities. The commitment they adopt to the electoral process now will undoubtedly bear on their effectiveness in promoting future social change.

Obviously, Black students are among the most alienated from the traditional political machinery. While receptive to involvement in the electoral process, they distrust appeals from white organizations lacking roots in their own communities. We believe that no successful campus registration drive can be mounted on Black campuses or even amongst Black students attending predominantly white institutions without carefully considering the activities of established community organizations. With this in mind, the NMSV has already begun setting up contacts with such organizations as the Urban League, Voter Education Project, and Frontlash. In addition we have engaged a range of Black advisors including Julian Bond, Senator Edward Brooke, Congressman Ronald Dellums, and Vernon Jordan. We hope that the presence of these individuals will lend support to our efforts, serving to remind students of the profoundly activist antecedents of voter registration drives in the South during the early 1960's.

CAMPUS COORDINATING

There is no Black organization which has branches on a significant number of campuses. Where there are AFRO or O.B.U. groups, we will seek to involve them. In other cases, we will search out individuals who have been politically active in the past.

We believe, however, that any attempt to establish a separate arm of the NMSV to work with the Black student community would be a mistake. This would only tend to splinter our effort and promote division. Our initial Cambridge group includes several Black students, and we anticipate little difficulty in attracting others as national coordinators.

1971 Timetable 1972

April
 May
 June
 July
 August
 September
 October
 November
 December
 January
 February
 March
 April
 May
 June
 July
 August
 September
 October
 November
 December

CORPORATE ORGANIZATION



FUNDRAISING



RECRUITING CAMPUS COORDINATORS



RESEARCH-LEGAL



RESEARCH-CAMPUS ADMINISTRATION



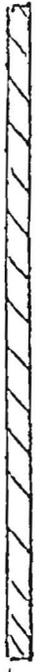
RESEARCH-POTENTIAL CAMPUS COORDINATORS



ORGANIZATION OF RIVE ON-CAMPUS



REGISTRATION RIVE



Projected Expenses of NMSV
April 1971 - December 1972

	<u>Apr.-May 1971</u>	<u>June-Aug.1971</u>	<u>Sept.1971-Dec.1972</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Computer Time and File Space		\$1,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 6,000
Telephones	\$1,000	6,000	30,000	37,000
Postage	500	900	4,500	5,900
Secretarial	600	1,500	7,500	9,600
Legal	1,500		5,000	6,500
Travel	1,000	2,500	25,000 ¹	28,500
Stationary, Office Supplies	600	900	4,500	6,000
Summer Office		1,200		1,200
Advertising - College Newspapers			90,000 ²	90,000
Summer Interns - Stipends		5,000 ³		5,000
Flyers, Brochures, Posters	500	500	19,500 ⁴	20,500
Form Letters, Addressed Envelopes			10,000	10,000
Campus Coordination-Stipends			45,600	45,600
Capital Expenditures	2,000			2,000
	<u>\$7,700</u>	<u>\$19,500</u>	<u>\$246,600</u>	<u>\$273,800</u>

1 - 3 round trips to areas at average of \$150 plus 30 days travel, room and board @\$20 for each of 11 coordinators. Additionally, \$2,500 for miscellaneous travel.

2 - 1500 lines per newspaper @ \$.200.

3 - \$1000/student for June-August.

4 - \$.01/student to be approached. 5 - \$150/coordinator.

Appendix: Student Biographies

One of the problems facing many student groups that begin community projects is a lack of expertise in the area in which they are working. The National Movement for the Student Vote has tried to assemble, and we believe with success, a core group of committed workers - all of whom have extensive backgrounds in fields related to our project. In putting together this nucleus of our operations, we have scrupulously sought a diverse, as well as able group. Republicans as well as Democrats, women as well as men, blacks as well as whites are extensively represented. The only viewpoint that all of us share is a deep commitment to the electoral process.

Another obstacle to student projects is the short period in which students are in school, and the amount of school work which occupies them during normal school terms. We have confronted this problem on two fronts. On the one hand, we have involved students who plan to remain in the Cambridge area for some time, whether they are enrolled at Harvard College or not. Other students who have heavy work schedules have offered to take leave of absences to make a full time commitment to the NMSV. Because we have brought together such a qualified group, we anticipate little difficulty in attracting other younger individuals who will replace the initial group and carry on our

operation in future years.

On this initial list, we have only included biographical sketches of Harvard and Radcliffe students. We are presently compiling biographies of students from other schools which will soon be available upon request.

Morris Abram, Jr. - '71-'72, history; member, Harvard Policy Council, curriculum reform study group; founder and first president The Harvard Independent, a weekly student newspaper; campaign co-ordinator Peter Berle for New York State Assembly.

Paul Anderson - Harvard night school; founder Massachusetts' Teenage Republican Club, aide to State Senator John Quinlan

John Avault - '70, economics; Rotary fellowship, study abroad; Economic analyst Boston Redevelopment Authority; Industrial Development Commission - responsible for data analysis of Boston's Industrial Characteristics; extensive experience in computer methods, statistics.

Paul Bloom - '70, government; precinct organizer Senatorial campaign of Joseph Tydings, Congressional race of Paul Sarbanes, and for Robert Embry, city concilor. Managerial experience, Colony Credit Corp., Baltimore.

Jim Breedlove - '71, entering Harvard Law; intern Shawmut National Bank, responsible for business projects in black communities throughout the country.

Kevin Carney - '70, government; campaign organizer Eugene McCarthy, Allard Lowenstein, Phillip Hoff; fund raiser Phillip Hoff for U.S. Senate; research ass't for William Blair and Co. investment banking firm; intern ed. dep't Chicago Daily News; Ed. ass't. Bostonian Magazine.

David Cochran - '70, government; President Briggs House; co-ordinator McCarthy campaign, Washington office; ass't campaign manager for Richard Howes, candidate U.S. Senate Maryland, 1968; ass't accountant in charge of computers - Ace Electronics Co.

Lee Daniels - '71, government; managing editor of Harvard Journal of Afro-American affairs; intern Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal.

Mike Davis - '74, government; teacher remedial education program Hotchkiss School; permanent intern, Lowell Dodge Center for Auto Safety, Washington; advisor to Secretary of Transportation Volpe on Youth and Auto Safety.

John DeTore - '71, classics; intern Mass. Attorney General's Office, Citizens' Aid Division; Chief organizer, Youth for Mass., a successful attempt to get high school students

throughout the state involved in political campaigns of both parties. Campaign manager, Richard Daley, Republican candidate for State Assembly; county coordinator, Sargent-Dwight campaign.

Hamilton Fish, 3rd. - '73, government; member, Republican Conference Research Program, task force on Earth, Population and Resources; organizer Congressional campaign of Hamilton Fish, 2nd. Advertising and press staff The Harvard Independent.

Mitchell Fishman - '70, Harvard Law '73; station manager WHRB; editor, The Harvard Crimson; press secretary for Joseph Duffey, candidate for U.S. Senate.

Lucy Freedman - Radcliffe '70, Harvard Education School; Chairman Radcliffe Grant-in-Aid; campaign organizer for Joseph Duffey.

Henry Hecht - Harvard Law School, '73, staff member, speech-writer for Senator Charles Mathias.

Robert Luskin - '72, government; Co-author, The Harvard Strike, Houghton Mifflin; Presidential appointee to Advisory Committee on Harvard University Gazette; reporter The Herald Traveler.

Tom McKean - '72, government; intern Senator Edward Brooke, Lt. Governor Frank Sargent.

Thomas Stenberg - '71, economics; entering Harvard Business School; member board of director Harvard Student Agencies; publisher, The Harvard Independent.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 333-0320

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Democratic & Republican Contenders

Attached is a report on the current status of our tracking of the Democratic and Republican contenders. You will note that the planning committee, under Pat Buchanan, feels that adequate work is being done in collecting the data. The emphasis must be on using the information effectively, particularly in this pre-campaign period. Since this does not require a major change in resources or personnel assignments, we will proceed along those lines unless you disagree with the conclusions reached in the memorandum.

THE WHITE HOUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON

July 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Magruder's Projects

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

1. The Place of Women in the 1972 Campaign

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

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

2. Young Voters for Nixon

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

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

3. Voter Registration

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

4. Mock Conventions

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

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

5. Target Voter Strategy

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

6. Democratic and Republican Contenders

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

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

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

7. Mrs. Lombardi

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

8. Businessmen for Nixon

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

9. Advertising

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

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

10. Farm Vote Plan

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

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

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

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

12. Brochure

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

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

Recommendation:

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

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: RITA HAUSER
JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE 1972 CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize recent changes in the attitudes of many women and to recommend an organizational structure for the 1972 campaign which will be responsive to current concerns about their status in society.

Prior Voting Patterns

Women made up about 53% of the voting age population in 1968, and nearly 52% of those who claimed they voted in that Presidential election.¹

They have supported Presidential candidates in the following manner in recent elections, according to Gallup:

	<u>Percent of the Women's Vote</u>		
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>AIP</u>
1960	51	49	-
1964	38	62	-
1968	43	45	12

(In 1968, the men supported President Nixon by a percentage margin of 43 - 41 - 16)

Current Attitudes of Women

A new social and political awareness has been developing among women, particularly in the last two years. Dr. Jean Spencer, Assistant to the Vice President, has summarized it well:

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 192, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November, 1968," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1969.

If there is a single concept which can encompass and express the concern of women today it is freedom of choice. From this concept the other specific issues derive: a rebellion against the assumption that the "woman's role" is only that of wife, mother and housewife; efforts to open doors now closed to women who want to or must pursue other roles, either in addition to or instead of the traditional role of wife and mother; efforts to end discrimination in education, including college admissions, fellowships and scholarships, admission to graduate and professional schools; efforts to end discrimination in employment, advancement, equal pay, overtime, maternity leave, day care; and efforts to end discrimination in returning to college or to work after raising a family--the "reentry" problem for the middle aged woman is serious.

A recent Harris Poll (Tab A) shows that about half of the women in America favor efforts to change the status of women in society. Because this is a relatively new issue, it is likely that the trend of this support will increase as the concept becomes more widely publicized and efforts at implementation become more organized. The support and opposition does not necessarily follow established voting patterns. For example, Black women and women under thirty, who gave a plurality to Humphrey in 1968, support it, as do college-educated women, who supported Nixon in 1968. Similarly, normally Republican categories such as White women and those over fifty do not support it, nor do women with eighth grade or less education, who tend to vote Democratic.

Campaign Strategy

This concern for more equal status is something which has become important enough to influence the political loyalties of many women. We feel it would be a mistake if the 1972 campaign were conducted without an awareness of these new sensitivities.

It was the unanimous feeling of those present at the first planning meeting for the women's vote in 1972 that there should not be a separate women's division with a women's chairman as has been done in the past. Women strongly desire to share responsibility side by side with men, rather than as a part of a women's auxiliary organization. Therefore, it was recommended that a woman be appointed at the level of Deputy Campaign Manager and that other women be given responsibilities within the functional staffs of the campaign organization, based on their experience and ability. From these positions, they would be

able to effectively coordinate activities to gain the women's vote and to supervise the organization of women volunteers.

If you approve of this organizational plan, we are prepared to submit names of qualified women for your consideration.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

WOMEN DIVIDED In Harris Poll

By Louis Harris

Recent efforts to change and strengthen the status of American women, such as women's liberation movements, have deeply divided women themselves. While 42 per cent favor such moves to equalize women with men, 43 per cent stand opposed.

The goals and principles of the organizations seeking actively to redress the sex balance are much more popular, however, than the tactics of protest which have been employed. A substantial 53 per cent of all women feel that "women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children." Nonetheless, a counterbalancing 62 per cent also feel that "if women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing will be done about these problems."

A national cross section of 1,000 women were probed in depth about their attitudes toward women and their problems.

"All in all, do you favor or oppose most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society?"

	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
Total Women	42	43	15
By Marital Status			
Single	55	34	11
Married	45	45	10
Divorced, separated	43	38	19
Widowed	33	42	25
By Age			
Under 35	48	42	10
35-49	41	47	12
50 and over	37	45	17
By Education			
8th grade or less	33	52	15
High School	43	36	21
College	51	33	16
By Race			
White	37	44	19
Black	42	36	22

Clearly, the overall close division among women as a whole masks a much deeper division among different segments of the female population. Most resistant to changing women's status are older women, those with less education, whites, and married women. Proving most for change are Black women, the young, and the best educated.

This segmenting of women into coalitions for "change" and "no change"

parallels the division among the entire public on issues such as the war in Vietnam, non-conformity among the young, and racial progress for blacks. Now the issue of women's role in society has been added to the list.

In order to get at women's attitudes in depth on the thrust of women's liberation and similar efforts, a series of six projective questions were put to the cross sections:

"Here are some statements people have made about activist women's groups. For each, please tell me whether you tend to agree or disagree."

	Disagree %	Agree %	Not Sure %
Leaders of women's organizations are trying to turn women into men and that's wrong	62	27	11
If women don't speak up for themselves and confront men on their real problems, nothing will be done about them	62	29	9
Women who picket and participate in protests are setting a bad example for children	53	29	18
Women are right to be unhappy with their role in American society, but wrong in the way they're protesting	57	32	11
It's women who have nothing better to do who are causing all the trouble	47	40	13
It's about time women protested the real injustices they've faced for years	47	40	13

The results show a consistently close division between basic support and opposition to the drive to change women's status. The opponents outnumber the supporters of women's lib, but not by a large nor decisive margin.

Taken as a whole, it would appear that the recent outpouring of demonstrations and protests have struck a chord of pent-up frustration among women about the way they have fared in American life. But sizable numbers of women who are in sympathy with the objectives of the protest find it "undignified and unwomanly" to take part in activist demonstrations. The troops for a substantial women's movement are there, but at the moment the most effective rallying cry has yet to be discovered.

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MEMORANDUM: "WOMEN'S LIB" AS A POTENTIAL POLITICAL ISSUE

Thomas W. Benham
OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

"Women's lib" is an excellent example of how a highly vocal minority -- through astute use of the mass media -- can create the impression that it has a broad following. All of the survey evidence (by Gallup) indicates to the contrary.

The following are the ratings of "women's lib" by a nationwide sampling of college students using the Stapel Scalometer (a ten point rating scale). The "highly favorable" and "highly unfavorable" votes shown are the two extreme rankings on the ends of the scale.

Notice that as many women have a negative view of "women's lib" as have a favorable view. Surprisingly, "women's lib" has more appeal to the students in the low income groups than it does for those from the higher income brackets.

COLLEGE STUDENT RATINGS OF "WOMEN'S LIB"

	<u>Highly Favorable</u>	<u>Highly Unfavorable</u>
National	15%	23%
Male	10%	23%
Female	22%	23%
18 years and under	15%	23%
19 years	14%	26%
20 years	18%	22%
21 - 23 years	14%	18%
24 years and older	20%	14%
East	17%	20%
Midwest	15%	23%
South	17%	24%
West	8%	25%
\$15,000 and over	15%	23%
\$10,000 - \$14,999	12%	14%
\$7,000 - \$9,999	8%	23%
Under \$7,000	21%	16%

Here's how 'Women's Lib' compares with other institutions and organizations tested.

FEMALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

	<u>Highly Favorable</u>	<u>Highly Unfavorable</u>
FBI	32%	13%
Women's Lib	22%	23%
Democratic party	19%	7%
CIA	16%	19%
Republican party	13%	15%
SDS	6%	37%
KKK	2%	80%

Perhaps another surprising finding is that on questions on how women are treated in this country, male and female views are more alike than different. Following are views of the adult population 18 and over.

Who gets the best break?

"In your opinion, do women in the U.S. get as good a break as men?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Yes	65%	72%
No	35	38

Who has the easier life?

"Which do you think has the easier life in the U.S. today -- men or women?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Women	46%	49%
Men	30	46
No opinion	24	5

Who has the happier life?

"In general, how happy would you say you are -- very happy, fairly happy, or not happy?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Very happy	44%	42%
Fairly happy	46	49
Not happy	7	6
Don't know	3	3

Women business managers?

"Do you think women would run most businesses as well as men, or not?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Yes	55%	45%
No	40	49
No opinion	5	6

Women in the executive suite?

"If a woman has the same ability as a man, does she have as good a chance to become the executive of a company, or not?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Yes	39%	39%
No	54	56
No opinion	7	5

Women in politics?

However, women are more prejudiced against their sex as presidential material than are men, but have the same opinion on less affairs.

"If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she qualified for the job?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Yes	49%	58%
No	44	35
No opinion	7	7

"If your party nominated a woman to run for Congress from your district, would you vote for her if she were qualified?"

	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Yes	84%	83%
No	13	13
No opinion	3	4

Among the public as a whole there has been little change in acceptance of a woman president over the years.

	<u>Would vote for a qualified woman for President</u>
1958	52%
1967	57%
1969	54%

It seems clear from this it would be a good policy to steer clear of "women's lib" as a broad political issue. There does not seem to be any way to win. While the majority oppose militancy in favor of "women's lib", coming out politically against would raise a howl from a very loud and raucous minority. On the other hand, there does not seem to be justification for taking any favorable stand other than that which is consistent with civil rights legislation dealing with equal employment, equal pay, etc. The best political posture on "women's lib" would seem to be strictly hands off.

June 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM

KEN RIETZ

SUBJECT

Young Voters for Nixon

As viewed by Senator Brock, the objective of the "Young Voters for Nixon" campaign is to "achieve the mobilization and coordination of more than 500,000 new workers for the President."

Senator Brock and I have met and discussed this program at length. You and the Attorney General have read his initial proposal. He describes the philosophy behind the Nixon movement as follows:

"The central fact of this circumstance is that the desire for participation and constructive activity overrides all other issues, both emotional and intellectual. It can be capitalized on to the advantage of not only the Republican party and its presidential nominee, but of the young people as well.

"Thus it is my contention, and deeply rooted conviction, that if our campaign not only asks for their help, but also allows these individuals to become involved in a meaningful way, it can expect a remarkable response. Let me stress again one additional factor: for every young person in college, there are two of his contemporaries either gainfully employed in a civilian occupation, serving in the military, or acting as a housewife. Even if we accept the major college political charts indicating tendencies away from our nominee -- and I would not for one minute do so if we act now to correct the condition -- the remaining base of 16 million non-college new voters offers a political opportunity of incredible magnitude."

We built a Brock youth movement in Tennessee because young people wanted to be involved and we gave them the opportunity. We can do the same thing in a Nixon youth movement. The purpose should not be to change their minds but to give them an organized avenue for expression and action. The emphasis should be on organizing the President's supporters among the nation's young people, getting them actively involved so the overall campaign takes on a young flavor, registering them, and getting them to the polls.

Here are some of the conclusions we have drawn and the time table we have established.

The title should be "Young Voters for Nixon". This says more than youth. It says vote, citizenship, activity, etc. Although they register little and vote less, young people are very proud of their new right to vote. They don't like to be called "youth", "young citizens", "young people", etc. Young voters is different. It shouldn't turn them off.

Agree _____ disagree _____

Comment _____

YVN should be separate but a part of the over-all re-election effort. Young people want their own thing and it should appear that they have it. This will be more true and have more effect at the state level than at the national level.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Comment _____

While the program should include all similar Republican activities (Young Republican, College YR, New Generation for Nixon, etc.) it should have authority for the over-all thrust and policy of the Nixon youth movement. All other organizations should be folded into it. Most young voters will be attracted to a candidate not a political party. While the YR's can do a good job with younger Republicans, our job is to secure the support of a broad cross section of the young voters.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Comment _____

The program should include voters up to age 30. They all consider themselves young and will identify with the program. The emphasis, however, should be on "first voters." These are young people who have never voted for a Presidential candidate, are presently 16 to 22 and on election day will be 18 to 24. The Census Bureau says there are 25,125,000 such voters or 18% of the entire population eligible to vote. (see chart attached.)

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Comment _____

Senator Brock has organized selected members of Congress below the age of 40 into an ad hoc Young Voters for Nixon (YVN) advisory board to offer broad policy guidance for the National campaign among young voters. The board members are:

- Senator Brock -- Tennessee
- Congressman Bill Steiger -- Wisconsin
- Congressman Lujan -- New Mexico
- Congressman Frenzel -- Minnesota
- Congressman Archer -- Texas
- Congressman Frey -- Florida
- Senator Weicker -- Connecticut
- Congressman Pettis -- California
- Congressman Beister -- Pennsylvania
- Congressman Whitehurst -- Virginia

Members of this board were selected on a regional basis. They will be asked to set up regional advisory boards which will be largely honorary but will give added emphasis to the program. Serving on these regional boards will be young State Legislators, State Governors, state officials, Mayors, City Councilmen, members of the Republican National Committee, etc. All of these people will be carefully selected and need not be all Republicans. An effort will be made, however, to include all Republican groups for better coordination.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Comment _____

Senator Brock and the Advisory Board will appoint a limited staff prior to November, 1971.

July 1, 1971

Director
Special Assistant to the Director
Secretary

September 1, 1971

A second Special Assistant to the Director
A second secretary

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment _____

After November, 1971, additional staff will be added including an administrative assistant to the Director, a field man in each region, a field man in key states, more secretarial help, etc.

During this Phase I which will last until November of 1971, the staff will develop the basic outline of a national campaign and begin to develop preliminary state contact lists of Republican leaders, and through them, potential state youth leaders. Congressional interns will be utilized as much as possible to do the basic research necessary. It is expected that the Director will spend a good share of his time travelling in the later stages of this Phase.

Phase I will also include the introduction of the "First Voters for Nixon" program. This will be the YVN's introductory stage -- a targeted registration drive among young voters. We suggest this program be introduced in the "must" states -- Indiana, Iowa, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Ohio.

First voters would be the high visibility portion of YVN in the early stages and would involve appointing a national chairman, state chairmen, county chairmen, etc. It would allow YVN to be organized and active in an extremely necessary area and at the same time do a very important job.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment _____

Within the target states the First Voters program would be carefully directed at Republican areas within the state and potential Nixon voters. This will take a lot of research on the part of our Washington staff. We feel it will also be necessary to conduct public opinion surveys to find out more about the attitudes of the non-college young voter.

Agree _____ Disagree _____
Comment _____

Following the preliminary planning stage, a campaign plan will be presented and initial decisions asked for. A brief discussion however, of each of the next stages is presented here.

Phase II would run from November through January, 1972, and would primarily be concerned with completion of the basic campaign plan and the employment and training of the remainder of the national and regional field staff required.

Phase III contains those months of February, March and April, 1972, during which time the campaign would begin to move into its public role. By the end of April, full state and regional staffing should be completed. At this point we can begin the young voter education and identification drives. The school phase of this program would concentrate on identifying positive and possible Nixon supporters among high schools, vocational schools, junior college and colleges, concentrating first, of course, on the 21 target states. Simultaneously the campaign among youth employed in the civilian work force and the military would proceed apace, with a drive to identify not only all potential Nixon supporters in this particular group, but to specifically enlist the young community leadership necessary to organize these groups and effectuate their voting strength.

Also during this period we would be in position, having completed the identification program on a community basis, to conduct a registration drive to maximize the registration of those voters who would tend to favor our campaign.

Phase IV would be concerned with a completion of our organizational structure at both the state, county and community level in order

to be prepared to go into the fall campaign. During these summer months of May, June, and July the primary emphasis would be upon organizational structure and upon the completion of our voter identification and registration programs among the employed youth. We hope that maximum attention will be focused on young voters' support of the President through carefully planned events at the National Convention.

Phase V is of course the climax effort to direct the total resources identified and organized up to this point toward the maximum vote turnout for President Nixon. By early October the education, identification and registration of all voting age youth should be completed as well as organization of these pro Nixon young people into campaign teams. During this time the direct mail program to both employed and college young people will reach its maximum, as will the organizational effort to direct the energies of this group towards constructive campaign activity which is coordinated with and complementary to the National Republican campaign and the campaign as it is conducted on a state and local basis.

The sum total of this effort is directed toward achieving a goal of 500,000 attractive, articulate, young workers for Nixon to be made available as a basic campaign team for the national campaign. They will not only work but receive attention and make President Nixon the young people's candidate.

Suggested Program Objectives and Projects

PURPOSE - Develop a national leadership team with the capacity to:

- 1) Train and lead regional state leaders.
- 2) Create a program which will excite and involve a significant portion of the 25,000,000 voters between 18 and 24.
- 3) Support and supplement the program of the national campaign.

GOALS - Involvement through organization and challenge of:

- 1) YVN teams in every state.
- 2) YVN organizations among the working and military.
- 3) YVN organizations in every high school.
- 4) YVN organizations in every college.
- 5) 500,000 young workers for Nixon in support of the regular campaign.

POTENTIAL PROJECTS:

- 1) National youth education drives.
- 2) National youth canvass.
- 3) National youth registration of pro-Nixon youth.
- 4) National youth voter turnout of pro-Nixon youth.
- 5) National hospital and nursing home registration of pro-Nixon aged (CARE program).
- 6) National absentee voter drive.
- 7) National bumper sticker, bill board, flyer campaign, etc.

8) National support program for the Nixon campaign in such areas as poll watchers, precinct workers, baby sitting, drivers, etc.

9) National "kinfolk" operation

10) National YVN newsletter

Suggested Job Description Summaries - by Groups

Employed Staff Planning Group - This group will begin work on the preliminary campaign design, begin contact with national, regional and state Republican and campaign leaders, develop lists of potential contacts by states, catalog information on all high schools, vocational schools, colleges, etc., form and staff the national advisory board, contact, employ and train regional staff.

National Advisory Board - This group will oversee the entire campaign, approve budgets, approve major staff appointments, approve major campaign themes, and act in a continuing advisory role to assist the national program staff.

National Staff - This group will conduct the national campaign, oversee and direct regional field activities, conduct fund raising when and where authorized by the National Nixon campaign, coordinate all activities with the National Nixon campaign manager, publish newsletter, design national youth campaign themes, etc.

Regional Staff - Under the direction of the National Director, this group will supervise and coordinate the activities of state organization within each region, implement programs as requested by the national staff, train and supervise state leaders.

State Staff - This group will have direct responsibility of implementation of the state youth program, coordination and cooperation with the state Nixon campaign, fund raising as authorized by the Nixon state campaign manager, organization of every high school, vocational school, and the college in the state young voter canvass, young voter registration drives, young voter vote drive, and such other programs as they are asked to implement.

ESTIMATES OF THE TOTAL RESIDENT POPULATION OF VOTING AGE

NOVEMBER 1972

(Numbers in Thousands)

	Population of Voting Age (18 yrs. & Over)	Estimated Total of New Voters	% of Total Eligible to Vote
United States	139,563	25,125	18
Alabama	2,291	440	19.5
Alaska	193	29	15.0
Arizona	1,227	232	18.9
Arkansas	1,318	230	17.5
California	14,237	2,580	18.1
Colorado	1,532	319	20.8
Connecticut	2,117	343	16.2
Delaware	372	68	18.3
Dist. of Columbia	543	111	20.5
Florida	5,088	773	13.2
Georgia	3,111	354	11.4
Hawaii	528	91	17.2
Idaho	467	90	19.3
Illinois	7,563	1,321	17.4
Indiana	3,487	662	18.9
Iowa	1,887	347	18.3
Kansas	1,539	304	19.8
Kentucky	2,177	254	11.7
Louisiana	2,356	497	21.1
Maine	662	122	18.4
Maryland	2,715	478	17.6
Massachusetts	3,947	725	18.4
Michigan	5,875	1,127	19.1
Minnesota	2,523	478	18.9
Mississippi	1,412	297	21.0
Missouri	3,222	569	17.7
Montana	452	84	18.6
Nebraska	1,002	191	19.1
Nevada	356	54	15.2
New Hampshire	511	95	18.6
New Jersey	5,018	769	13.3
New Mexico	633	129	20.4
New York	12,714	2,101	16.5
North Carolina	3,493	750	21.5
North Dakota	398	83	20.9
Ohio	7,165	1,313	18.3
Oklahoma	1,791	325	18.1
Oregon	1,473	259	17.5
Pennsylvania	8,136	1,371	16.8
Rhode Island	671	135	20.1
South Carolina	1,715	391	22.7
South Dakota	430	88	20.4
Tennessee	2,710	511	18.8
Texas	7,589	1,490	19.6
Utah	674	154	22.8
Vermont	301	64	21.3
Virginia	3,232	645	19.9
Washington	2,381	460	19.2
West Virginia	1,175	217	18.3
Wisconsin	2,948	565	19.2
Wyoming	217	40	18.4
Puerto Rico			

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

H.R. HALDEMAN

It is my understanding that no effort is currently being conducted to register people in the 18 to 21 year old age bracket for the upcoming campaign.

- This is an error that I think should be corrected at once. We should be setting up and, indeed, launching our effort now to register all of our youths in the 18 to 21 year old age bracket - this means many people that are not on college campuses.

Please get this decision reversed and our activity moving forward now.

cc: The Attorney General

June 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As you have requested enclosed is a program on new voter registration which was developed by Senator Brock, Ken Rietz, Bart Porter, and Bob Finch's office.

If you approve of this approach we will begin implementing it.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

June 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM

KEN RIETZ

SUBJECT

New Voters Registration

Lots of organizations are getting into the new voter registration field. These include COPE, Common Cause, Youth Citizenship Fund, etc. Most of the organizations are either controlled by Democrats or conduct drives on a mass basis which favors the Democrat Party. Initial indicators are that the Republican Party is being out registered among new voters by anywhere from 2-1 to 7-1.

Several Republican organizations are presently active in the new voter registration field. They are:

Young Republican National Federation

First voter program. A new voter committee as part of the local YR Club conducts a program of identifying and registering new voters who lean toward the Republican Party. New voters drives are conducted in apartment houses and other multi-dwelling buildings where young working people live. To go with this program several items are available:

- 1) Apartment organization guide
- 2) A pamphlet with localized registration information
- 3) YR reward program which involves rewarding workers for registering a certain number of new voters.

This program, termed "Your Responsibility" is targeted at eight states:

Pennsylvania
Ohio
Indiana
Illinois

Connecticut
Florida
Kentucky
North Carolina

College Republican National Committee

Project Open Door. This program involves canvassing campus dormitories. New voters are asked to identify themselves by party and those stating an interest in the Republican Party are assisted in registering to vote.

Republican Congressional Committee

Young Voters for a Republican Congress Task Force. This program is only in the planning stages and it will be at least a month before the plan is complete. It will be directed at target Congressional districts.

Conclusion: The above Republican programs are a fragmented part of overall party programs, and, as such, suffer from a lack of emphasis and look good on paper but have little impact in the field. In addition, they concentrate on new voters identified with the Republican Party. This fails to take into account the thousands of new voters who will support the President and not the Republican Party. Registration of Republican voters is not our objective, re-election of the President is.

If a major effort is to be made to register new voters who will vote for the President in 1972, the Young Voters for Nixon Committee will have to undertake it. Following are the options:

Option 1

Allow the programs to continue independently. This will give all the organizations involved something to do but the impact on the President's re-election campaign will be minimal.

Option 2

Allow the programs to continue but increase their funding and give them added stature by including them in the over-all Citizens campaign. While this might increase the active interest and prestige of the program the impact would still be minimal due to the diffusion of effort, coordination, and control.

Option 3

Create an over-all program within the Youth for Nixon campaign that included these efforts, as proposed by Senator Brock and his Congressional team. This seems the most logical and the most workable.

It would combine three programs which really are aimed in three different areas under one umbrella and allow maximum targeting. And, targeting is the key.

There is too little known about the first voter to move rapidly. The one assumption we can make is that as the war winds down the preference for the President among young people will increase. His opponent in 1972, however, is a key factor that cannot be adequately analyzed at this stage. Without thorough planning and organization, however, too many registrants today may become opponents next year. One great advantage provided by a carefully planned registration drive, lies in its ability to use registration assistance as an identification and motivation tool in gaining Nixon support.

We propose in the initial stages to confine our activity to the following states: Indiana, Iowa, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Ohio.

Under the Young Voters for Nixon program we would create a "First Voters for Nixon" committee. While its main thrust would be in those states, we would not discourage the program in any other state, although it would be carefully controlled.

In its initial stage (next 4 months), First Voters for Nixon (FVN) would receive publicity while the staff put the program together. A national chairman could be announced and state chairmen in the target states would be selected. The thrust would be "here are young people that support the President, have never voted for a President before, want to vote for President Nixon, and want to help others who feel like they do to get registered." The emphasis would not be on changing minds but on organizing those who already support the President.

While this is going on publicly a careful analysis will be conducted privately. This state by state analysis in the states mentioned will show us where the pockets of potential strength are. Through public opinion surveys we can find out what age groups, occupational groups, education levels, etc., are most likely to support the President in '72. A lot of careful planning is necessary and the registration drives would not begin until this winter.

Let me repeat, we believe a mass registration drive in any given area works to the President's disadvantage. For maximum impact, and favorable results, a new voter registration drive must be carefully planned and carefully targeted.

The First Voters program should be formed as part of Young Voters for Nixon campaign. As part of the working committee now it will utilize Senator Brock, his regional advisory committee, and the headquarters staff to register new voters in key states. The aim will

be to register voters inclined to vote for President Nixon in 1972.

Agree _____ Disagree _____

Comment _____

April 28, 1971

*I need
12 9/2
7/11/84*

MEMORANDUM FOR : GORDON STRACHAN
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

In the long-range political planning be sure that they are thinking about the mock conventions on college and high school campuses and make sure that we are going to have a really good man in charge of our activities at mock conventions. We can't afford to lose these and it's very important that they be planned and programmed well in advance. We should know when they are going to be held. Some of them may even be starting this fall.

This is a long range item, but I'll be sending a number of such to you as time goes on and I assume you'll set up a system for stacking them up and getting them implemented at the appropriate times.

HRH:pm

June 25, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed is a memorandum to me from Ken Rietz regarding rock elections. If you approve, we will begin implementing this program.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL

June 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

JEB MAGRUDER

FROM

KEN RIETZ

SUBJECT

Mock Elections

Mock elections can be a very valuable tool if handled properly. They help in the final stages of a campaign to provide momentum, to make it look like everyone is supporting the candidate. The keys are publicity and organization.

Mock elections should be handled locally under the direction of the national organization -- Young Voters for Nixon. A lot of planning is necessary so an early start is essential.

For maximum impact the elections in any one state should be scheduled with enough time between them to provide maximum press exposure. If the organization feels a particular mock election will be lost, it should be scheduled early so it can be followed by several victories. For the sake of credibility of the election series, it is not bad to lose one as long as it isn't the last one. All mock elections should take place in the six week period preceding the general election. Scheduling of each series should be handled state by state under the direction of YVN.

With more than a year to organize, a mock election series would be beneficial -- if we out organize our opposition. This means training next year and actively organizing during the summer of '72. The key is turnout. If we organize to get our vote out, we can win most of the series. In 1970, Senator Brock's record in mock elections on Tennessee campuses was: won 15, tied 1, and lost 1. His campaign was organized, Gore's was not.

Colleges where mock elections will be encouraged should be carefully selected. The college image or record in the past is not the only criteria. The potential for organization should be carefully weighed.

All mock elections should be sponsored by an "independent" organization, if possible. The first choice for such an organization is a non-partisan group which should have a legitimate interest in a

poll, such as student government, school newspaper, political science department, debate squad, etc. Second choice would be a non-partisan service group such as the Circle K Club, YMCA, a fraternity, etc. Third choice would be a bi-partisan poll sponsored jointly by Young Democrats and Young Republicans. Last choice, but still worthwhile, if all else fails, is a poll sponsored directly by Young Republicans.

The voting must be entirely optional, and not, for instance, at a school assembly where everyone must vote. By being better organized than the opposition, we can deliver more votes to a booth than they can.

We have more control this way. Mandatory voting means we have no control over who wins.

The key to the success of this program is being better organized than the opposition. Thus an early canvass (telephone or door-to-door) of the entire student body to identify candidate support is essential.

On election day, all precautions of a general election campaign should be taken -- poll watchers, telephone victory squads, literature squads, etc. If it looks like we'll win the election, advance publicity is desirable. Care should be taken, however, to count our votes before election day and prevent an embarrassing situation.

As part of the overall Young Voters for Nixon program, a carefully planned series of mock elections on selected campuses would be a big asset. It should be included in the overall campaign plan for YVN.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

June 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: JEB S. MACGRUDER

SUBJECT: DELAWARE TEST

As a first step in evaluating the proposed target voter strategy described in an earlier memo, the RNC is preparing to launch an extensive field test in Delaware. This memo is to describe the nature and purpose of the test to you, in advance of its inception.

The Delaware test will demonstrate and test several target voter techniques under controlled conditions and with careful provisions for evaluation of effectiveness. The test will take place during the period June-September, 1971. The budgeted cost of approximately \$40,000 will be borne by the RNC, which will also be responsible for overall management of the project through the direction of Ed DeBolt. The Citizens Committee and Mr. Haldeman's staff will participate in the planning and maintain close liaison with the field work as it progresses. The planned activities are designed to include the widest possible scope of coordinated research and target voter techniques:

Past Voting Behavior. By the end of June, a statewide, precinct-by-precinct vote profile analysis will be completed, using election data over the past ten years. The geographic location of hard-core Republicans, Democrats, and swing voters will be determined and displayed on maps.

Socio-Economic Data. The Census Bureau will produce the 1970 Fourth Count (demographic) data for Delaware in June, well ahead of the scheduled publication date for the remaining states. The RNC will combine that data with the vote profile analysis to further describe the various voting groups.

Public Opinion Surveys. Market Opinion Research (MOR) has taken quarterly polls in Delaware for the past ten years. The most recent poll will be completed in a week or two. All of that opinion data will be made available to the RNC, to describe the attitudes of the various voting groups.

Selection of Test Precincts. On the basis of the foregoing data, selection will be made of five weathervane precincts (typical of the voting patterns of the entire state), thirty test precincts (embodying a variety of specific voter groups) and thirty control precincts (closely similar to each of the test precincts). An in-depth canvass will commence in all 65 precincts on July 8. Approximately one hundred interviews will be carried out in each one (25% of total voting population). This will be done to obtain specific, detailed data on opinions on issues and the image of the President and how

the voter can best be informed. College students will be hired to carry out the interviews, under the supervision and training of Bob Teeter of MOR.

Target Voter Communications. Beginning on July 20, various programs of direct voter communication will be initiated in each of the thirty test precincts. The earlier precinct canvass will offer some guidance as to which types of media might be most appropriate in given areas, and which issues should be emphasized. The techniques will include direct mail, telephone banks, door-to-door personal visits, printed flyers, etc. Wherever possible, we will allow competent vendors to operate in separate precincts to demonstrate their capabilities. The purpose of the communication will be to change voter attitudes toward Administration programs and accomplishments and to improve the support for the President.

Evaluation. In September, all precincts will be re-canvassed to assess the impact of the campaign tests. The control precincts will serve to offset attitude changes that occur independently of the test activity. The survey sample will once again be 100 persons in each precinct: 50 from the original sample, and 50 new ones.

The results and the final report on the test will be completed before final plans are submitted for the 1972 campaign at the end of October.

CONFIDENTIAL

June 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: RESEARCH

The purpose of this memorandum is to outline the general direction of our current thinking on strategy for the 1972 campaign, for your information and comment. We are at the point in our planning process where a broad strategy should be agreed upon so that the specific plans can be initiated.

Target States

The national campaign can effectively be considered as 50 state campaigns, since electoral votes are determined in that manner, and since the field organization can best be coordinated on a state-by-state basis. Obviously, there are certain states that we are unlikely to win, and the investment of substantial resources there would not be productive. On the other hand, there are several states which we virtually must win at all costs and where we must put up the stiffest possible contest. These are the target states. A listing of these states, based on latest considerations of electoral size and probability of winning is given in Tab A. The top nine target states comprise 173 of the 270 electoral votes required for election.

Most of the target states can swing either way in a Presidential contest. In a close election, every vote would be of paramount importance in each state.

Target Voters

The 1972 election will be different from 1968 in at least two respects. The President is running on his record, rather than proposed actions on issues, and his image is well-known to the voters through extensive media coverage during his first term. Therefore, a campaign appearance of the President on television would not be expected to have the same impact it did in 1968. The voters have probably already made up their minds on whether to support or oppose the image they receive from television.

In some recent state elections, there has been evidence that certain techniques of direct, targeted, "rifle-shot" communications to voters can substantially augment a candidate's mass media image. These techniques use past voting data, socio-economic data and public opinion surveys to locate and identify the target voters: those voters who might vote either way, but who could be convinced to vote for one candidate if approached specifically on a certain issue. Highly refined techniques of telephone canvassing and targeted direct mail have proven to be very effective in influencing these voters. The general public is not accustomed to being involved

in the campaign process. A telephone call to discuss a particular concern, or a personalized, computer-typed letter discussing the candidate's stand on an issue important to them, brings a very positive reaction when done well. The response also allows a systematic identification of friendly voters to be contacted on election day.

There are several recent success stories which speak well for these target voter techniques. In California in 1970, Reagan concentrated such a program on ethnic precincts of San Francisco County. His vote percentage increased in that very liberal area, whereas it decreased almost everywhere else in California as compared to 1966. (Tab B) In New York, Rockefeller used a highly effective telephone canvassing technique to win 21 out of 29 target assembly districts in New York City, which ranged from 2-1 to 5-1 Democratic registration and where he was trailing by a substantial margin several months prior to the election. Extensive use was made of polls which identified the target, or pivotal voters. (Tab C)

In Minnesota in 1970, Humphrey refined the process to a high degree. It was widely acknowledged that much of the success of DFL candidates that year was due to their focus on identifying and communicating with the target voter. (Tab D)

In New Mexico, Anderson Carter, a relatively unknown rancher and oilman, defeated the heavily-favored incumbent Governor David Cargo for the Republican Senatorial nomination. The substantial shift in voter preference during the primary campaign was largely attributed to Carter's emphasis on a professional managed direct mail campaign. The letters were produced by computer, addressed to specific individuals, and contained a message on an issue which was known to be of interest to the recipient. Cargo's mail, on the other hand, was of a very general, mass distribution type.

Recommendation

We propose that the planning for 1972 should emphasize rifle-shot communication with target voters in target states to augment the mass-media campaign. This will involve substantial preparation in utilizing public opinion surveys, census data and past voting data to identify the target voters and key issues, and in applying advanced telephone canvassing techniques and promotional direct mail to influence and deliver votes. Much of the development will be done in cooperation with the Research Division of the RNC, which has been pursuing similar ideas over the past several months. During the planning stage, specific proposals would be made to demonstrate and test each concept well before final decisions had to be made for the campaign.

Proceed with detailed development of the target voter strategy to augment the mass media and field operations planning.

June 17, 1971

The following target states are the result of analysis of current statistical, socio-economic and survey data. The electoral vote totals of each section are noted and followed by a brief description of the reasons for their selections.

MUST STATES - 173 electoral votes

The Must states are defined as areas that statistically and historically support Nixon/Republican nominees. It appears that without all these states in our column, Nixon has little or no chance of being re-elected. Ohio and California, for instance, have never failed to be in the winning column if a Republican was victorious. The reasoning behind the statement, "If Nixon doesn't carry all of the Must States, he won't be elected President," is that if one of these states is not carried, there is little chance of finding a second or third priority state which would make up this loss more easily. Iowa is included because it is a vital media center for all of the midwest farm belt.

SECOND PRIORITY MUST STATES - 158 electoral votes

The Second Priority Must states represent those states that statistically have less chance of moving over to Nixon, but, none the less, are within striking distance. These states represent the next best opportunities in the large electoral category. It is necessary that some of these be moved into the win column for Nixon. Connecticut is included because of recent favorable election trends and because of advantageous media overlap with the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania area.

THIRD PRIORITY MUST STATES - 64 electoral votes

Third Priority Must states represent those areas that statistically Nixon can win. These are areas with smaller electoral vote totals, but about the same odds, as the Second Priority Must states. Nixon must win some of these.

PLUS STATES - 44 electoral votes

The Plus states are defined as those areas that traditionally support the Republican Party and Nixon. In 1972, given a favorable national atmosphere towards the President, we should do well in these states. They are also states that tend to be more single issue oriented. For example, if farmers are feeling fairly comfortable about Nixon and the agriculture policy of the Administration, the chances are that these areas will be in our column. If, on the other hand, the attitude toward Nixon and the agriculture policy is negative, there is very little that could outweigh this attitude.

The method of arriving at these target states included a ten year analysis of Presidential elections, an analysis of 1966, 1968 and 1970 Congressional, Senatorial, and Gubernatorial races, an analysis of polling trends of various regions in the country and state polls where available, RNC state issue files of the past year to see if there have been any major trends or shifts

June 16, 1971

MUST

13 Indiana
8 Iowa
12 Virginia
17 Florida
10 Tennessee
45 California
26 Illinois
17 New Jersey
25 Ohio
173

3rd PRIORITY MUST

8 South Carolina
9 Washington
4 New Mexico
3 Vermont
4 Montana
3 Nevada
7 Colorado
4 New Hampshire
6 Oregon
9 Kentucky
3 Delaware
4 Maine

84

2nd PRIORITY MUST

26 Texas
12 Missouri
10 Maryland
13 North Carolina
27 Pennsylvania
41 New York
11 Wisconsin
8 Connecticut
10 Minnesota
158

PLUS

5 Nebraska
4 Idaho
6 Arizona
3 Wyoming
7 Kansas
4 Utah
3 North Dakota
8 Oklahoma
4 South Dakota
44

in public opinion that have been evidenced in newspapers or other publications, as well as the reports of the RNC field staff.

It should be reiterated that this is the status of state priority selection as of June 15. This is not meant to be definitive, but only a device to serve the needs of those who must make early resource allocations on behalf of the effort to re-elect the President.

Tab B

Comments by Vincent P. Barabba, Chairman of the Board, DMI
on Reagan campaign

NOW TO AN INTERESTING QUESTION. DID THE GOVERNOR HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE TO MASS MEDIA? IN 1966 RONALD REAGAN DEFEATED GOVERNOR PAT BROWN 57.6% TO 42.3%. IN 1970 GOVERNOR REAGAN DEFEATED JESS UNRUH 52.8% TO 45.1%.

IN 1970 GOVERNOR REAGAN DROPPED FROM HIS 1966 VICTORY MARGIN IN ALMOST EVERY COUNTY. POST ELECTION STUDIES (AND MOST OF CALIFORNIA'S EXPERIENCED CAMPAIGN WATCHERS) ATTRIBUTE A GREAT PORTION OF THIS DROP IN SUPPORT TO THE SEVERE AERO-SPACE AND DEFENSE INDUSTRY UNEMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT CALIFORNIA. HOWEVER, SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY STANDS OUT AS AN EXCEPTION.

IN 1970 GOVERNOR REAGAN ACTUALLY INCREASED HIS PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTE FROM 41.1% TO 43.4%, WHILE THE AVERAGE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE VOTE IN SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY WAS DROPPING FROM 32.4% IN 1966 TO 29.2% IN 1970. THE GOVERNOR'S INCREASE CAN BE

EXPLAINED PARTIALLY BY A SPECIAL PRECINCT INDEX PRIORITY PROJECT THAT WAS UNDERTAKEN BY THE LOCAL REAGAN FORCES IN THE AREA. THE GROUP IDENTIFIED THE IRISH, ITALIAN AND CHINESE PRECINCTS FIRST. THEN, THEY UTILIZED A SERIES OF VOTE STATISTICS FOR PREVIOUS ELECTIONS TO IDENTIFY THOSE ETHNIC PRECINCTS WHICH HAD, IN THE PAST, INDICATED A PROPENSITY TO EITHER: VOTE FOR SOMETHING THE GOVERNOR SUPPORTED; OR, VOTE AGAINST SOMETHING THE GOVERNOR OPPOSED.

THE REAGAN GROUP THEN CONCENTRATED THEIR MESSAGES ON ALL OF THE NON-REPUBLICANS IN THE SELECTED PRIORITY PRECINCTS. THEY SENT TWO SPECIAL MESSAGES. ONE WAS A TABLOID THAT HAD BEEN USED THROUGHOUT CALIFORNIA. THE SECOND PIECE CONTAINED A LETTER SIGNED BY LOCAL DEMOCRATS SUPPORTING GOVERNOR REAGAN.

THE RESULTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES:

	<u>IN THE NON-PRIORITY PRECINCTS</u>	<u>IN THE PRIORITY PRECINCTS</u>
GOVERNOR REAGAN	35.3%	50.3%
AVERAGE REPUBLICAN VOTE	<u>25.4%</u>	<u>32.0%</u>
REAGAN OVER AVERAGE REPUBLICAN VOTE	9.9%	17.3%

THE TOTAL COST OF THE PROJECT (WHICH SENT OUT TWO BULK MAILINGS TO 85,000 DEMOCRAT HOUSEHOLDS CONTAINING 100,000 DEMOCRAT VOTERS) WAS APPROXIMATELY \$12,000.00. THAT'S A COST OF ABOUT 12¢ FOR THE TWO MESSAGES TO EACH VOTER -- OR ABOUT 6¢ FOR EACH MESSAGE.

The Marketing of Nelson Rockefeller

By Fred Powledge

"There was his incredibly competent staff, all that money, and the willingness to engage in a little deception here and there."

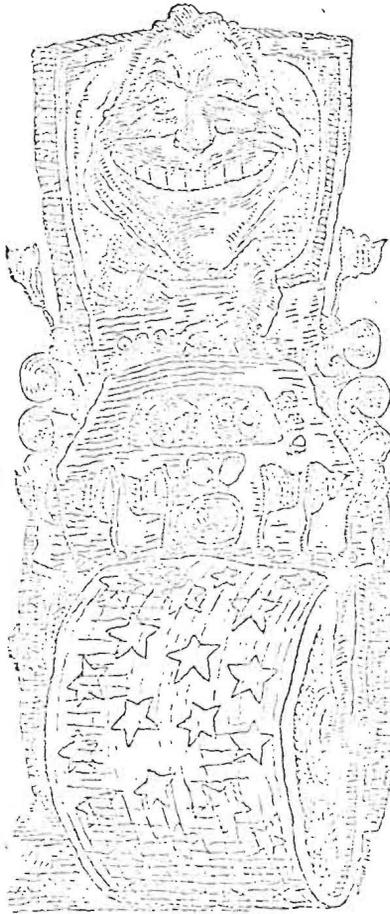
There are some who would have you believe that Nelson Rockefeller got himself re-elected to office because he swung to the right. It's a satisfying thought for both the paranoids on the left and the self-pitying folk on the right. For the lefties, it confirms their suspicions that Rocky was an opportunistic closet fascist all the time; the rightists may revel in the belief that they've finally accumulated enough megavotes to bring the governor—a Rockefeller, no less—crawling for support.

Unfortunately, like most things, it isn't all that simple. Nelson Rockefeller was returned to office with a 716,061 plurality not because he swung to the right, but because he clung to the center. (It is, perhaps, of passing historical interest that the "center" this year may very well have been the "right" of a few years ago.) More importantly, Rockefeller was re-elected because he had the sense to determine what the center was and then to aim his campaign toward it, utilizing the most advanced hard- and software available, and utilizing it on a scale unprecedented in a state campaign.

That determination of what the center was, which Rockefeller made last May when his first campaign poll came in, had a lot to do with his victory, but it would have been just another poll without a few factors: The abysmally poor quality, as a candidate, of his major opponent, Arthur Goldberg; the built-in advantage of simply being governor in the first place; a mechanical operation that must have been one of the smoothest in history; the incredible loyalty and competence of his staff; all that money, and a willingness to engage in a little deception here and there.

Curiously enough, Nelson Rockefeller revealed very little of himself in the campaign. It was almost all mechanical—and, said some of his critics, the mechanics sometimes bordered on subliminal advertising.

Basil Paterson, Goldberg's running



mate and quite likely the only truly interesting candidate in the whole campaign, commented on this shortly before election day. "We used to talk about the banana republics and how they held elections," he said, "and we talked about economic reprisals and threats. What does Rockefeller have to do with this? I say the desired product is the thing we look at, and the purpose sought is to get a vote which is

not exercised on the basis of the violation of the voters—be it by economic threats, be it by the gun, or be it by psychological techniques used to deprive the voter of his free choice.

"I say it comes down to the same thing. And that it will very quickly undermine the free election system. Nelson Rockefeller is not a menace in and of himself, but his techniques are a grave threat."

Polls, as everyone knows, are essential to a successful political campaign. You do not hear a great deal about Rockefeller's polls, just as you do not hear much about the internal workings of his political life, because almost everybody who works for him has been there a good long time, since he first became governor a dozen years ago, and they all know the job is to win elections, not talk about it. Lloyd Free, the governor's consultant on polls, has been a friend of Rockefeller's for 30 years. Political writers seem to equate a quiet polling operation, such as Rockefeller's, with an extremely smooth and excellent one, and in this case they were right.*

The Rockefeller people also knew how to not let the polls get the better of them. The candidate himself spoke, during the campaign, of his dependence, not on all the technological gimmicks of campaigning, but on his "intuitive creative thinking." Polls are nice for finding out what worries people; they are "guides on the emphasis that is placed on the solution of problems." Rockefeller said one afternoon on a

*Shortly after the voting machines closed on November 3, as the Rockefeller party was assembling at brother Laurance's 21st dinner, Free was asked what the election would be. Rockefeller would win 55 per cent of the votes, he said. Someone turned on the TV set CBS at that moment projected a Rockefeller win with 55 per cent of the vote. The candidate actually won with 52.4 per cent.

“One of the big fears was that supporters would not vote, confident that Rocky would win but eager to watch a rich man sweat.”

flight back to the city after an upstate swing. His campaign director, R. Burdell Bixby, a lawyer on leave from his \$25,000-a-year patronage job as head of the New York State Thruway Authority, agreed. Even a governor who reads the newspapers and watches TV, Bixby said, cannot know what bothers the people the most: “The polls tell us better than our instincts what it is the people are concerned about,” he said.

Neither Bixby nor the governor nor any other campaign officials who were questioned seemed to have given much thought to the notion that, theoretically at least, you shouldn't need polls to find out what people were thinking. The civics books say that's what legislatures are for. But polls were used, and used well, and used early and often, although newspaper assertions that they were “almost continuous” were exaggerated. Free completed his first major poll in early May. It measured the voters' attitudes on practically everything: what they said they were concerned about; their feelings on taxes, abortion reform, spending for education, health and welfare; President Nixon; no-fault automobile insurance.

Although the Democrats had not yet picked Arthur Goldberg as their candidate, the governor's people felt Goldberg was the likely opponent, so much of the May poll was devoted to comparisons of the two men. What did they think Goldberg's image was? Rockefeller's? How much trust and confidence did they have in the two men? Did they feel that Goldberg didn't know much about state government? That Rockefeller had been in too long and was tired? “The idea,” said Free after the election, “was to get a basic pattern in terms of images, trust and confidence, strengths and weaknesses, of the two guys all the way through.”

The sample responded: plenty were angry with Rockefeller since because he had been in the job and hadn't done enough, but they did give him credit for trying and for having his heart in it,” recalled Free. They liked Goldberg, and that he was competent, but in the final analysis a lot of them liked Rockefeller better. Asked what they thought were the governor's major accomplishments, they listed education, highways, roads and bridges, health care and health insurance, and in that order. Asked about areas in which the governor had done a better job, they named education, health care, crime, and transportation, such as housing and transportation.

A picture was emerging that would be valuable to any candidate, especially one who was inescapably joined to the previous twelve years. The picture was sufficiently encouraging to justify a campaign slogan that did not try to repudiate the record: “Rockefeller, He's done a lot. He'll do more.”

But the May poll showed something else that was extremely helpful in guiding the strategists to the right voters. It picked out those who, at that point, thought of themselves as supporters of Rockefeller, a group that made up only 54 per cent of the total, and it told the strategists something about them: 95 per cent of them were white; 26 per cent were 60 or over and only 13 per cent were in the 21-to-29 age group; 41 per cent were Protestants, 46 per cent were Catholic, and 8 per cent were Jewish; 25 per cent were Democrats, 59 per cent were Republicans, and 15 per cent were independents; only a third of them lived in New York City, while 23 per cent lived in the city's suburban counties and 44 per cent lived upstate.

Joseph H. Boyd Jr., whose title is special assistant to the governor, a 52-year-old man with wavy blond hair who looks like a well-educated tent preacher without the attendant vices, went on leave in June to direct the mechanics of the campaign outside New York City. One of his big jobs was to make sure that the 54 per cent remained supporters of the governor. Boyd's biggest fear, as the campaign progressed and as a Rockefeller victory seemed more and more likely, was that the supporters either would not vote, out of apathy and a conviction that Rockefeller was going to win anyway, or that they would vote for Conservative Paul Adams, confident that Rocky would win but eager to watch a rich man sweat.

The poll also picked out those who considered themselves opponents of Rockefeller—41 per cent of the sample electorate. Ninety per cent of them turned out to be white; only 19 per cent were 60 years of age or older; 25 per cent were Protestants, 49 per cent Catholics, and 17 per cent Jewish; 52 per cent were Democrats, 19 per cent Republicans, and 20 per cent independents. Not surprisingly, 45 per cent of the opponents lived in New York City, while 17 per cent lived in the suburbs, and 38 per cent in the rest of upstate.

Fioravante G. Perrotta, former New York City Finance Administrator and unsuccessful candidate for City Controller on the Lindsay ticket, was placed

in charge of the New York City operation. His task was not so much to make sure the Republicans got to the polls as it was to make converts out of Democrats and independents. Perrotta set about getting endorsements for Rockefeller from prominent Democrats. He picked 29 key city assembly districts where the registration was anywhere from 2-to-1 to 5-to-1 Democratic, and he unleashed a roomful of telephone callers on them.

The poll also identified those in the center—not just the usual “undecided,” but the 22 per cent who were, in the eyes of the Rockefeller people, the Pivotal. Free devised a ladder-like chart on which those polled rated the candidates. If a respondent placed Rockefeller at or near the top of the ladder, in Position 10, there was no problem. If he was on the bottom, at 1, the voter (and those like him, whom he supposedly represented in the scientific survey) was not worth pursuing. But if a respondent rated Rockefeller at 5 or higher, and elsewhere in the poll did not express himself as “for” Rockefeller, then he was considered a Pivotal. Fair game.

The capture of the Pivotal was essential if Rockefeller was to be re-elected, his strategists reasoned. Re-election, back then in May, was not at all a sure thing; in fact, a question on the poll revealed that the incumbent was 11 percentage points behind Goldberg.

A quarter of the Pivotal were 60 years old or older. About a third of them had college educations, and 43 per cent had finished high school. Their income levels spanned several categories, but the largest group was in the \$10,000-and-over class. Thirty-five per cent were professional or business people; 28 per cent were manual laborers. A third were Protestants, a third were Catholics, and 27 per cent were Jewish. Half of the Pivotal lived in New York City, and they had lower incomes and less education and were more likely to be manual laborers than were the Pivotal upstate. The differences between the city Pivotal and the country Pivotal, said an aide, was “a constant problem. A large majority of the governor's supporters were outside the city, and half of the Pivotal, on the other hand, were in the city. So there was a constant problem of how to handle it so he didn't alienate those outside the city in order to go after those who were inside.”

Rockefeller did his best, though, and in the process he maintained his hold on the center. For example: One day in

EARLY VOTER ATTITUDE POLL

DESCRIPTION OF OPINIONS

early October, the candidate spoke at a coffee-and-Danish reception at a country club in Syracuse: nicely-dressed ladies and gentlemen, almost all of them white, smiling at the candidate, the candidate not only smiling back but going through his entire, and somewhat spastic, bit—winking, raising that eyebrow halfway off his head, winking some more. The governor told all these nice white folks that what we really needed was some radicalism. Well, modified radicalism.

"The great challenge of the future," he said, was whether we are "willing to make the adjustments in our institutions, and radical adjustments, to meet the problems of the day—to make our society today, and its institutions, relevant to the needs of the people." And then: "Government has got to be able to adapt itself to new conditions if we want to deal with these problems effectively. And if we don't, then I don't think our system is going to survive." He sounded like those earnest young Students for a Democratic Society of about five years ago. But all he offered his audience by way of radical adjustments were the traditional solutions of the right (and maybe, now, of the center): More policemen, special courts to handle narcotics crimes, more judges, more prisons.

A Rockefeller aide, looking back on it all, said, "I think he pursued the centrist course. And it did the trick." Free conducted two other major polls—one in early August and one in mid-September—and three smaller, "trial heat" polls to indicate the candidate's standing against Goldberg. And throughout the summer, the basic patterns stayed pretty much the same. The Pivotalists shifted more and more to Rockefeller, undoubtedly because Rockefeller was shifting more and more to the Pivotalists. Perhaps the finest piece of shifting—and one on which the intriguing details are missing—consisted of Rockefeller's aligning himself with the Conservative Senatorial candidate, James Buckley, without actually disowning his own party's offering, Charles Goodell.

And finally, on election day, when all the shifting was over, the Pivotalists and the ones who were for the governor anyway went to the polls and elected him.

"We had ours," said Alton Marshall, the head of the campaign's "substantive group" and not on leave from his \$40,075-a-year post as secretary to the governor, "and the other side had theirs, and in the middle was a big goldfield. We had to go out and mine it."

The mining was hard work, of course. The Rockefeller Team was all those pros on or not on leave from their state jobs

"Committees carried the word to 31 different white ethnic groups that Rocky cared."

were known)* and the Friends of the Rockefeller Team (as the thousands of volunteers and semi-pros were called) and such groups as the Associates of the Rockefeller Team (who were, according to the governor's ethnic-group specialist, the "so-called Jewish operation") could not just sit and wait for the polls to come in. The record had to be defined and defended, and the campaign machinery had to be tuned up.

"The first phase of the campaign was to be governor," said Alton Marshall, by which he meant Rockefeller "was active in gubernatorial projects," by which he meant Rockefeller suddenly started letting contracts for bridges, highways, and other nice things. Rockefeller also presided at a number of environmental forums and antidrug forums, meetings throughout the state at which citizens, largely irate ones, could actually complain to the governor himself. The governor was "identifying with good things that were happening in state government," said Marshall. "During this period, in the spring, it was Governor, not Candidate, Rockefeller."

By late June, Candidate, not Governor, Rockefeller had spent more than half a million dollars, even though he had no primary challenge and even though his Democratic opponent was only then being selected. (Because of loopholes in the election law, it would never be known how much he really had spent by the end of the campaign. Rockefeller people were projecting something like \$5 or \$7 million; anti-Rockefeller people were saying \$20 mil-

lion; the best bet seemed to be around \$12 or \$15 million.) The campaign headquarters, an entire floor and then some at 575 Madison Avenue, had been rented back in February. The floor had previously been inhabited by the Wells, Rich, Greene advertising agency, and it was fitting that campaign director Bixby, a rather dry and straight man who nevertheless speaks of the "wholesale" and "retail" aspects of running a candidate, was to be ensconced in the office that once had belonged to Mary Wells.

The printing presses were turning, and by the end of the campaign they would have poured out something like 30 million pieces of printed matter, almost all of it with the reminder that the candidate had done a lot but was nevertheless capable of doing more. There was a 42-page discussion of everything from education to agriculture; hand-some little brochures on what the governor had done for the Lower Hudson Valley Area, the Niagara Frontier, the Capital District, and the Central New York-Mohawk Valley Area (but not the New York City Area).

Folders were printed detailing what Rockefeller had done for and about the aging, the arts, businessmen, education, environment, health, higher education, labor, the mentally ill and retarded, and recreation. Campaign workers in each of eleven regions obtained lists of families with special interests and delivered the literature to them. (For instance, a friendly Republican on a county mental health organization might get a list of its members; each would get copies of "Rockefeller: He's Done a Lot. He'll Do More for the MENTALLY ILL." Special mailings were sent to every group for which a list could be obtained or manufactured: there were Travel Agents for Rockefeller; Chiropractors for Rockefeller (who were reminded that the governor had signed a law recognizing the profession and enlarging "the right and opportunity of the people of this State to consult a licensed and appropriate health practitioner of their own choice"). There were Osteopathic Physicians for the Rockefeller-Wilson Team, Nurses for Rockefeller, and the Veterans Committee for the Rockefeller-Wilson Team.

There was, of course, labor for Rockefeller, or *Parlante Kinnasha Lake* (see New York, October 12, 1970), during which Rockefeller received the endorsement of what some termed the majority of those present at the state AFL-CIO convention, and after which it was common for news stories to simply say "I

*It was traditional, one was assured, that the governor's secretary, his press officer, and his counsel stay on the state payroll during a campaign for re-election. Many others among the 300 permanent campaign workers were normally on the state payroll but took leaves of absence to work on the campaign. This raises several intriguing questions: if those workers are as efficient and competent as they appear during a campaign (and after one, too; on November 4, they were writing thank-you notes), how come the state machinery is not efficient and competent three and one-half years out of every four? If they had been working for the state last summer, rather than the candidate, would a person applying for a driver's license in Brooklyn in June have gotten it sooner than September? Are the taxpayers being deprived of those workers' talents 10 per cent of the time? If so, is this deprivation more than made up for by the saving on the workers' salaries? Should the saving number be continued on a permanent basis?

"... By September, the timetable had him down as 'all candidate.' The TV commercials shifted to head-and-shoulders shots...."

he had "the backing of organized labor in New York State." The governor had been courting the building trades for years, and he frequently and proudly reported, after the convention, that he had the endorsement of "83 unions with membership of over 1.5 million." How the governor arrived at that figure is not exactly clear.*

The ethnic campaign was begun. Thirty-one different white ethnic groups were identified and committees were formed to get the word to each of them that Governor Rockefeller cared. The pitch to the ethnics was straight down the center: Drug addiction, crime in the streets, and education, both public and private. Some additional efforts were aimed at ethnic groups which the campaign staff believed had "special interests." For the Germans, the press releases and advertisements emphasized, in addition to the crime-dope-schools issues, Rockefeller's interest in recreation and parks because, as a staffer put it, "the Germans are very athletic and enjoy the out-of-doors."

One group for which mailing lists were difficult to find—but which were essential, according to the profile of the Pivotal that had been developed in May—where the oldsters, "Senior Citizens was an unusual thing," said Arthur Massolo, on leave as the governor's assistant appointments officer to run the ethnic and special-group show, "but somebody had a list—I wouldn't want to embarrass the company—a list of

senior citizens who frequented a certain means of transportation."

Massolo grinned impishly. He didn't want to give away the secret. "They ride in a certain way," he said. "Let's say a bus company. And they get a special rate. And there was a list of people who do that. Well, that means that these are active senior citizens. They're still moving around; they can vote; they can get to the polls. So therefore you send them a message. We sent them one of the booklets about the aging."

One ethnic group that was not discussed very much was the black New Yorker. If you asked a Team member about this, the reply was usually some thing like "Oh, I think Jackie Robinson's taking care of that." Some privately acknowledged that there was little sense in going after blacks since Basil Paterson was on the opposite ticket.

There was, however, some support of a more subtle nature for Rockefeller from the black community. Arthur Logan, a surgeon well respected both uptown and downtown in New York City, became one of several prominent black Democrats to support the governor. Victor Gotbaum, the anti-Rockefeller labor leader, said if there was one thing that really got him visceral, it was the specter of people like Dr. Logan supporting the governor. "And I know why he's supporting him," Gotbaum said.

Why?

"He's getting the promise of a hospital," said Gotbaum. "He's been looking for a community hospital, and I'm sure he's gotten a promise." He thought a moment. "Well," he added, "I guess it's legitimate."

Dr. Logan, asked about his support, said he was for Rockefeller because he seemed like the better candidate. There was another reason, he added: "There are individual projects which I'm interested in," he said, "which the governor has given his support to. For instance, a major new health-care complex in the West Harlem-Manhattanville area to serve the residents there, who are now without adequate facilities. I think Rockefeller is about to announce some very significant financial support—as an individual," he said. "In fact, I understand it will be \$2 million from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund."

There was, said Dr. Logan, no swap, no deal. The hospital "is a factor in my decision to vote for him," he said. "And on Wednesday after he's re-elected I'm going to go see him and say, 'Okay, you

won; now we're going to make you do the things you ought to do. You're free of the political imperatives now.'"

In August, Rockefeller became what his aides called a "combination-governor and candidate," and the combination meshed so well it was often difficult to determine which one he was. The television and radio campaign started—30 separate TV ads and 15 radio messages. Phase One was known to the staff as The Record, which was "designed to show what this man's record is, how he had been innovative; that he cared; that he was interested in the problems that the people were interested in," according to Marshall. Some of the ads were so innovative themselves that Goldberg called them "grossly misleading." Actually, they were probably no worse than the average TV commercial. They were, however, noticeably devoid of recognizably black actors, except for one in which a black nurse brought a soft, pinkish newborn baby to a soft, pinkish white lady.

By September, Rockefeller's timetable had him down as "all candidate." The TV commercials shifted from little scenes of people doing great things, courtesy Nelson Rockefeller, to straight-on, head-and-shoulders shots of the candidate, talking about what he had done.

At about this time, Fioravante Perotta was making telephone calls to a lot of the key Democratic constituency districts in the city; it was said, by someone in the operation, that there were about six former workers, male and female, of the late Robert Kennedy in the telephone boiler room at 515 Madison, but their identities were kept secret.

Joe Boyd was nervy into his upstate campaign work. Of him was in the field were using telephones to call registered voters and ask them how they planned to vote. Some of them refused to say. Boyd, asked how he followed up those voters, said: "We go back to them and say we're an independent callings organization."

Wasn't that a bit deceptive?

"Well," said Boyd, and then he thought a while. "I think it's fair. You give a nudge. You say 'This is Joseph Boyd Convassing' or something."

In late September and early October, the television campaign shifted from The Record to Pledges, and the Pledge seemed to have a great deal to do with crime in the streets, narcotics and the like. At about this time, the press became genuinely interested in the campaign, and every trip the governor made was watched closely by reporters, who

*Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District 57, State, County, and Municipal Employees, and a supporter of Goldberg, said there was considerable application of the Rockefeller New Math and a general counting of people twice. In one of Rockefeller's own press releases, the candidate expressed his pleasure at receiving the support of 50,000 members of the International Union of Dolls, Toys, Flashings, Novelties, and Allied Products (some of whose members lived in the rest of the U.S. and in Canada), and attached to the release was a statement from the union itself which placed the membership at 20,000. Gotbaum felt that Rockefeller executed a deliberate and cynical plan of catering to the needs and desires of the building trades in order to get his "labor support." The governor, he said, "is a man with no ideology. He's not a guy who's turned his back on principle; he's never had any. This is where I differ with a lot of people. They talk about going from left to right as though he was a liberal, left-wing Republican. This is pure, arrant nonsense. Rockefeller is a tabula rasa; he's a clean slate. You can put anything on his table and if the needs of the times call for it, he'll eat it and digest it."

"On election night, next to grinning Mario, he spoke of law and order, but not together."

welcomed orders from their assignment desks to leave the Goldberg campaign and follow Rockefeller for a few days, simply because the accommodations were better and their luggage was seldom lost. There is something essentially satisfying about stepping off a private airplane and being handed an envelope which contains the key to your hotel room, a mimeographed list of all your fellow reporters' room numbers, the address of the press room and the Hospitality Room, and essential information on such items as Western Union, the location of Xerox machines, hours for room service, and the closing time at the hotel bar.

It helped, too, that Rockefeller had his own private air force—a helicopter, a Grumman Gulfstream 2 jet, and a twin-engined Fairchild which held two dozen people and a bar, which someone had the decency and wisdom to open at precisely 12:01 p.m. when the press was aboard.

In addition to all the money, the airplanes, the generally friendly press, and the perquisites of office, Rockefeller also was aided incalculably by the fact that his logistical people—the advance men, the press officers, the on-the-road advisers, and the people back at 575 Madison who manned the "anchor desk," taking and relaying messages to the candidate, no matter where he might be—were probably the best anywhere.

Most of them had been with the governor for a long time—since the gubernatorial campaign of 1958, in many cases, then through the campaigns of 1962 and 1966, the Presidential attempt in 1968, and the Latin American trip in 1969. The workers, especially the advance men—the people who get the candidate from one stop to another, who know who should shake his hand where, and how to keep him from having his picture taken with a local gangster—were like feisty young captains working hard and bucking for major.

Although they whispered surreptitiously into small radios in the manner of the Secret Service, there was amazingly little confusion, because they had worked together so long and they had utter and complete devotion to Rockefeller. Hugh Morrow, the governor's director of communications (\$38,573 a year), who occupied an office at 575 Madison during the campaign, was asked how he kept in touch with his fellow communicators over at 22 West 55th Street, in the governor's official office. "We communicate by Mandarin

signals," he said. "We've been together a long time."

Joe Canzeri, whose code name on the little radios was Little Caesar, was the dean of the advance men on Rockefeller's trips out of the city. Canzeri, who is 40 years old and who manages the governor's estate in Pocantico Hills during non-campaign periods, was in the hotel management field before he joined the Team. Any hotel should be so lucky. He made sure everything happened at the right time and happened well. When the governor went bowling in Buffalo one night, Canzeri made sure—*ha!* made sure, a week before—that the alley had a pair of bowling shoes that would fit a man whose foot is 12 inches long in shoes. (Actually, Rockefeller could have brought his own shoes, since he has his own bowling alley at the estate.)

Canzeri was wont to liken the campaign to show business. The advance men create the atmosphere, he said, and Rockefeller runs the show. "It's a very creative thing, I think," he said. "You're creating an event. You're creating the color, the background." Canzeri's watch is set five minutes fast, like a good bar-room's.

Late in October, just a few days before the election itself, the campaign moved into the Attack phase. In the TV commercials, the attacking was carried out by defecting Democrats, not by Rockefeller; the governor did his part in public speeches. "We had an opponent," an aide explained, "who was not susceptible to being criticized as you would criticize other candidates." The polls were showing Rockefeller ahead, and it was further decided that any really tough tactics might backfire. "However," said Alton Marshall, "you almost *have* to end up with some question of your opponent's credibility. People wouldn't want their soap opera to end without some suspense." So the television campaign ended with a series of questions for the undecided voter that were designed to attack Goldberg's credibility.

Then everybody started worrying. Joe Boyd was particularly worried about the polls that were being published that showed a clear Rockefeller victory. He feared the upstate Republicans would stay home or vote for Adams. On the Thursday before the election, 400,000 simulated telegrams (actually the print-out of a computer in California) began being received in Republican and independent mailboxes in upstate New

York. The mailings, which were labeled "Telegram" (but which clearly were not, inasmuch as they contained no typographical errors and they were delivered on time), said: "I NEED YOUR HELP. UNLESS YOU VOTE THIS TUESDAY THE ORGANIZED DEMOCRAT PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY COULD TAKE OVER YOUR STATE GOVERNMENT. BUFFALO [OF ALBANY OR WATERTOWN] VOICES ARE VITAL. MALCOLM WILSON AND I NEED YOUR SUPPORT FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT. GOVERNOR NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER."

Boyd's operation attempted 1,279,194 telephone calls to voters. Of that total, 952,470 were completed. Boyd estimated that each household contained 22 voters. "So we probably reached more than 2 million voters," he said, reading the figures from a series of neat charts on his office wall.

Perrotta's New York City campaign was similarly successful. Of his 23 high-priority Democratic assembly districts, the ones that his batteries of telephone workers assaulted, he said afterward, "We banged hell out of them." Rockefeller took eight of those districts in Brooklyn to Goldberg's favor: four to one in the Bronx, seven to one in Queens, and two to nothing in Staten Island. The center, the Pivotal, the 22 per cent, had swung.

Joe Boyd, asked afterward what had gone wrong, said he couldn't think of anything major. The successful candidate, on election night, appeared at the Roosevelt next to the grinning Mario Procaccino. He spoke of law and order, but not in the same breath that may be the mark of the center these days.

Alton Marshall, summarizing it all, urged a visitor to ferret out and read the speeches Rockefeller had made during the last days of the campaign. They weren't reported in the press, he said, but if someone took the trouble to compare them with the speeches Rockefeller had made at the outset, they would reveal a "growth of philosophy," a tendency to express concern about social movement rather than building highways and buildings.

The Rockefeller Team had been justly criticized, Marshall continued, because it often had been guilty of emphasizing the roads and bridges and not paying enough attention to humanity, and the governor's speeches at the end of the campaign represented an attempt to rectify that error.

Somehow it just didn't seem worthwhile to dig out those speeches. At the end of the campaign, with the machinery all clicking smoothly, with the center and the Pivotal well in hand, it was easy for Rockefeller to exhibit a growth of philosophy, an interest in humanity. The polls were already in a

RESULTS
OF
TELEPHONE
OPERATION

Computing Democratic Winners in '72

By ALAN L. OTTEN

WASHINGTON — Many Democrats think they have found their 1972 victory weapon: The computer.

Sophisticated use of this weapon, more and more party pros are convinced, can add an extra three, four or five percentage points to the Democratic vote total, whoever the nominee—and that should be enough to win. Armed with dramatic examples from recent elections, the computer fans are out to sell it to the entire party as a vital tool, perhaps even more valuable than television.

The computer helps in half-a-dozen different ways, all pretty much tied to one idea: To identify Democratic-inclined voters and make sure they vote. It efficiently seeks unregistered voters, and thus lets precinct workers check their registration drives. It breaks the electorate down into dozens of different interest groups, and mails and makes letters tailored to each group. It pinpoints local citizens most likely to respond to calls for volunteer help or campaign funds.

It makes incredibly easier the job of the "canvasser" who goes door-to-door, or the "block-by-block" canvasser who gives precinct workers surveys. It helps in the use of the vote on election day for late-afternoon turn-out-the-vote efforts.

Computers, of course, don't really do much that political organizations haven't long been doing with three-by-five cards and other tools: they simply do it far more quickly and efficiently. Nor is the political use of computers precisely new; they have been so employed for almost a decade now, with their use steadily spreading and growing more sophisticated.

Thus far, though, computers have been most heavily employed by Republicans, particularly well-to-do ones like the New York Gov. Rockefeller or Arkansas Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller, or by GOP organizations in places like Arizona and Texas, where Democrats long were solidly entrenched. The GOP will, of course, keep using computers there and more, installing them where they haven't been used, perfecting them where they have.

The new trend is that Democrats are beginning to be recognizing the computer as a tool potentially far more valuable for them than for the Republicans. The reasons for this are simple. There are more Democrats than Republicans, but Democrats don't register and vote as readily. Generally poorer and less educated, they aren't as motivated, and are self-shaming. Any studies that indicate a voter record men and women use to register and vote is almost bound to help Democrats more than Republicans.

Democrats also tend to be far more diverse ethnically, racially, economically. Anything that helps target appeals to different groups, more precisely, is also likely to help Democrats more.

If we install an efficient computer operation in every major state, the states where Presidential elections are decided, it could swing the key to victory," says Willard W. G. Gore, executive director of Democratic Campaign Assistance (DCA). "There are one hundred million who haven't been turning out."

Not Just Finding Job

W. G. Gore and other Democratic staffers, along with computer company officials, will try to sell this notion in the months ahead to the National Committee, to Senate and House candidates, to governors and state organizations, and to labor leaders. They hope to crank them up in '69, so the computers will be operating for registration and other early 1972 chores. They are preparing specific how-to-do-it manuals, films and tapes for training voters, and they plan schools for candidates and their managers. Perhaps most important, though, they have some very specific suggestions to make to...

In state after, for instance, Democrats could make a real sweep last month. They not only could do it at Humphrey's initiative but...

Politics and People HH CAMPAIGN

also recaptured the governorship and several other statewide offices from the Republicans, picked up a Congressional seat and made unexpectedly large gains in both houses of the state legislature. Mr. Humphrey's strong coalition were generally credited; less known, both outside and even within Minnesota, was the ambitious computer effort he staged for himself and the entire Democratic ticket.

The effort was organized by Valentine, Sherman & Associates, a company set up by Mr. Humphrey's former press aide, Norman Sherman, and political scientist Jack Valentine. In July the firm began pulling on magnetic computer tape the names, addresses, phone numbers, county and congressional district of every in-state voter. The names were sorted by zip code, then by age, sex, education, union membership, whether the person formed. The results were added to the personal histories on the master tape.

Then thousands of computer-produced letters started going out with information on the state of mind of each voter, on their children, on their parents, on their own political preferences of a party, what year. The letters targeted not just Mr. Humphrey but all his running mates, down to the congressional level. The party and house a large good credit for minimizing the usual drop-off as voters go down the ballot.

Precinct lists were produced, with Democratic-inclined households recorded block-by-block, so that local candidates and party workers could make door-to-door calls. Then, for a week or two before the election, volunteer phone banks used computer printouts to remind Democratic-leaning citizens to vote. The callers even asked whether the voter needed a ride or baby-sitter on election day, duly noting those who did. Party officials estimate 250,000 home-visit requests, and each time the message specifically called for support of the entire ticket.

"It was the most significantly effective tool in our campaign," says Jack Chestnut, the young, Minneapolis lawyer who managed the Humphrey drive. Minnesota Republican Chairman George Allis, whose party has been perfecting its own computer operation for the past several elections, admits: "We just had no idea how much they had come along in getting out their own vote. And they did it in a way to help the ticket all the way down."

The Valentine-Sherman firm did a similar job for Sen. Gerald Burdick in North Dakota, concentrating on two major population centers, and for James Buckley in the Senate's surprise victory here, nearly 2-to-1, victory. And the same firm handled a more limited operation in Nashville for Sen. Albert Gore.

The Gore people were convinced victory hinged on the George Wallace voters; the computer operation canvassed Nashville precincts where Mr. Wallace had run strongly in 1964. On Nov. 3 the Senator's Nashville listing was comparatively far better than in any other part of the state. Declares James E. Smith, Mr. Gore's Nashville manager: "If we had done the same thing statewide, or even only in the three other metropolitan areas, I'd have a serious objection."

Iowa Democratic Rep. John Culver won re-election with unexpected ease, due in good part to effective use of the computer to target unregistered sympathizers. Comparing voter registration lists against neighborhood lists, the computer picked out, block-by-block, the names and addresses of unregistered voters, phone and door-to-door canvasses determined the Culver supporters among them. Then mobile registrars, legal by Iowa, went door-to-door to sign these people up.

The computer gets major credit, too, for the inspired reelection of Nevada Sen. Howard Cannon, who snuck back into office by only 84 votes. Mr. Cannon's 1968 defeat came in a year he was out of all the state's counties but he had arranged for each county to have a "canvasser" who would go door-to-door, school money, defeat, contacts, etc. Then Nevada's voters were just as happy. The 1968 household list, and every household got a letter spelling out just how Mr. Cannon had helped it.

A Refined Technique

There were different paragraphs for men and women, for elders and families with young children, for each neighborhood. In all, more than 12,000 combinations were used; campaign manager Chester Sobacy insists the technique was refined to the point where a paragraph citing Mr. Cannon's success in winning funds for a local airport would be deleted in letters to voters with homes in the flight pattern.

The Cannon computer also printed block-by-block lists of Democratic-inclined voters; on election day, party workers kept track of the men and women who actually voted, and late in the day volunteers reviewed up the figures. "I wouldn't want to run a campaign without them," says Sobacy, "and if properly used, a computer is a really damn-foolish tool."

And voters seem to appreciate any help. "I've never seen a computer used in a campaign before," says William G. Miller, executive vice president of American Computer Resources in Los Angeles says most voters don't realize the letters are computer-written, but even those who do still seem to like the attention and the candidate's familiarity with local issues and their own needs. Over and over again, phone canvassers are told, "This is the first time anyone ever bothered to ask me for my vote. I'll be glad to support your man."

Enthusiasts claim a first-time computer operation is surprisingly cheap and growing; cheaper as more states and other large vote markets already on tape and as mail-list companies offer more complete coverage. Valentine-Sherman, for instance, says that will substantial volunteer help, it can service a 5th Congressional district for about \$13,500. In other states it's more, but per-district cost would drop sharply as more states use the firm's techniques.

Moreover, advocates argue, cost-conscious politicians should remember that the computer permits them to remain their mail another effort, thus eliminating a great deal of waste by sending. The actual cost is much only less if the party keeps the tapes up to date year by year, eliminating heavy start-up expenses each election.

Computer skeptics remain, to be sure—party pros who say this will always be far too costly for all but the wealthiest men and organizations; that it breaks down on the local level when volunteers fail to carry out their assignments properly; that people resent in interrupting phone calls or visits by canvassers; that computer bugs will get letters to the wrong people and backfire.

Candidates who won with the help of the computer are talking up its virtues, however. And there's still no better ad for a product than a satisfied customer.

Mr. Otten is chief of the Journal's Washington bureau.

OF INTEREST TO SETTERS

ESTIMATING RATS

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

July 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: BUSINESSMEN FOR NIXON - 1972

Following Peter Flanigan's suggestion that Don Kendall of Pepsico head our businessmen for Nixon operation in 1972, and your approval of Kendall, Rob Odle and I met with him and agreed on the following:

1. Kendall will take an active role in leading the Businessmen for Nixon effort. He has made two of his key aides, Deke De Loach (former assistant to J. Edgar Hoover) and Harvey Russell (who is Black) available immediately to assist him.
2. Kendall, De Loach, Russell, and Odle will work together during the course of the summer to put together a suggested course of procedure for Businessmen which will be submitted to you for approval in the Fall.
3. De Loach, Russell, and Odle will spend an hour with Messrs. Colson and Flanigan next week to get their thoughts as to what this suggested course of procedure should include.
4. The preliminary guidelines under which the operation will function and under which the set of recommendations will be written are as follows:
 - A. Businessmen will be self-supporting and will raise enough funds to finance its own operations -- but probably no more. It should be relatively easy for it to raise enough money to keep it financially afloat and this would not detract from our regular fund raising efforts.

B. Businessmen will probably not emerge primarily as a finance or fund raising operation as similar groups have in the past. It will probably not undertake to solicit funds from businessmen for the campaign's "general fund." Rather, the main purpose of the organization will be to recruit as many businessmen as possible to work for the President's re-election -- from the smallest rural general store owner to the largest industrialist.

C. Businessmen will blend into the 1972 version of United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew as a major component of the national "Cit Com" operation. Any other business groups (e.g.: "Barbers for Nixon," "Retailers for Nixon," etc.) will fall under the Businessmen operation which in turn will fall under the national "Cit Com."

Attached is a copy of a paper which was prepared for Messrs. De Loach and Russell to orient them as to our thinking in regard to this operation. (The attachments to which the paper refers are not included because of their volume).

JEB S. MAGRUDER

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 24, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

Attached are three documents which may be of help to you --

- 1) A proposal outlining how the entire national "Citizens for. . ." campaign might operate in 1972.
- 2) An analysis of the 1968 Citizens effort.
- 3) A suggested strategy for the farm vote in 1972 -- which is roughly comparable to the initial manner in which a businessmen's strategy might be recommended.

What we should begin to do now --

A study should be made of what form a businessmen's effort might take in 1972. The objective of this study would be to develop recommended and detailed proposals for approval regarding the 1972 businessmen's committee. The study should be completed by August 31, 1971.

Drawing on the experience of the businessmen's effort in 1968 and the experience of other businessmen's committees in past campaigns, this study will chart the ways in which businessmen throughout the country can be recruited for the 1972 effort. Lists must be drawn up of the various sub-committees which should be formed and the individuals who might chair and run these committees. Also, recommendations for state committees should be put together, with emphasis at the beginning on key states and states with early primaries.

The study should also examine various issues which can or will be raised in the campaign and find ways in which to key these issues to various groups and geographical areas.

Also, the study must work closely with the Field Organization and finance people to make certain that leaders in each state are utilized in the proper area of the campaign.

What areas might be considered in the study --

- 1) The issues which are of concern to businessmen and and to which we should be responsive. (E.g.: the Administration opposes tax credits. Are most businessmen for them? If so, what is our posture?)
- 2) Can we tack on questions to surveys being conducted by businessmen to determine feelings of businessmen and people in general on issues of concern to us? (E.g.: if Pepsi is doing a poll of attitudes toward soft drinks, can other questions be added?)
- 3) Catalog positions the President has taken on business issues and develop suggestions as to how to exploit them.
- 4) Survey business leaders to find out who is on our side, and who needs "friendly persuasion."
- 5) How can business mailing lists be obtained in 1971 and how can they be properly utilized in 1972?
- 6) How can the NAB be properly utilized? How can the various trade associations be used?
- 7) "Businessmen" should be self-supporting -- but not raise so much money that it would compete with the Finance operations. How would this be worked out?
- 8) The projected structure of the businessmen's effort: a suggested national chairman, executive director, officers, sub-group chairmen, state chairmen, metro chairmen, etc. A suggested budget. A time frame for each activity.

Having surveyed these and other areas, a preliminary version of the entire operating plan could be submitted for approval on September 1, 1971.

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1971

SUITE 272
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 333-0920

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Preliminary Plan for Maximizing
the 1972 Farm Vote

Attached is the preliminary plan for maximizing the 1972 Farm Vote as put together by the Farm Vote Task Force. John Whitaker is the Chairman of this task force. The report makes twenty-two recommendations for your consideration. In addition, it itemizes major issues and gives an analysis of key states where the farm vote will probably be significant.

A brief discussion for a preliminary budget is also contained in this report.

June 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

PRELIMINARY PLAN FOR 1972 FARM VOTE

SUMMARY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION
E.O. 12812
By CP 3-23-82

In a sense, the campaign is already in progress and the recommendations contained are being implemented to some extent now. However, absolutely no recommendations that could be interpreted as political campaigning will be implemented without approval. The enclosed report indicates:

- Key advisors who have assisted in drawing up this plan;
- A list of key people who should be consulted in ever-expanding groups as we move toward the election;
- Itemizes major issues we should push as Administration accomplishments as well as those issues where we are most vulnerable, and issues for possible development in the months ahead;
- Recommendation for poll information among farmers;
- Recommendations on better communications at the White House, USDA, RNC, in Congress and in a proposed "farm division" of the citizen's operation;
- Recommendations on key people at the state level who might fit into the "farm division" of the citizen's organization;
- Analysis of key states where the "farm vote" is judged to be significant;
- Budget data (1968) for a farmer's division with the citizen's group.

The report makes 22 recommendations.

- TAB A Forthcoming local, regional and national farm events requiring Secretary Hardin or Presidential telegram
- TAB B Key USDA local contacts to help select state-wide organization members
- TAB C USDA analysis of key farm target states
- TAB D States with 1/3 plus rural vote
- TAB E USDA analysis of Wallace vote
- TAB F Polling information
- TAB G Budget information - 1968 Citizen's Farm group

TASK FORCE WHO DREW UP THIS PLAN

Bryce Harlow - Proctor and Gamble

Hyde Murray - Minority Counsel - House Agriculture Committee

Donald Brock - AA to Secretary Hardin

Phil Campbell - Under Secretary of Agriculture

Clarence Palmby - Assistant Secretary for International Affairs and
Commodity Programs - Department of Agriculture

Richard Lyng - Assistant Secretary for Marketing and Consumer
Services - Department of Agriculture

William Galbraith - Deputy Under Secretary for Congressional Relations
Department of Agriculture

John Whitaker, Ken Khachigian and Bart Porter - White House

Whitaker held a separate meeting to get Roger Fleming's (American
Farm Bureau Federation) view. The recommendations of the task force
follow.

RECOMMENDATION #1

The Task Force should be expanded very soon to include:

Bob Spitzer - Murphy Products Company, Head of Citizen's Farmers
in '68

Bill Taggart - Legislative Assistant to Senator Dole

Claude Gifford - Director of Information, Department of Agriculture.
Former Editor of the Farm Journal, the major farm
publication.

Don Waring - Legislative Assistant to Senator Hruska

George Hanson - Former Idaho Congressman, now Deputy Administrator
at Department of Agriculture

Odin Langen - Former Minnesota Congressman, now Administrator of
Packers and Stockyards Agency, Department of Agriculture

Richard Ashworth - Assistant to Under Secretary Phil Campbell,
Department of Agriculture

David Hamil, Administrator, REA, Department of Agriculture

James Smith - Administrator, Farmers Home Administration,
Department of Agriculture

John Coffee - Administrative Assistant to Congressman Page Belcher

Steve Adams - Legislative Assistant to Congressman Bob Michaels

(the latter two men are "Aggies", a Hill Administrative Assistant
group from rural Congressional districts)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #2

That there be a once-a-month session, beginning in July, 1971, led by Bryce Harlow and Secretary Hardin with a key group of Congressmen and Senators. In this meeting, we should seek to draw out their constructive ideas for consideration in a campaign plan.

I. Senate Agriculture Committee

Jack Miller (Iowa)
Milton Young (N. D.)
Bob Dole (Kan)

George Aiken (Vt.)
Carl Curtis (Neb)
Henry Bellmon (Okla)

II. Senate Agriculture Appropriations Sub-Committee

Roman Hruska (Neb)
J. Caleb Boggs (Del)

Milton Young (N. D.)
Hiram Fong (Hawaii)

III. House Agriculture Committee

Page Belcher (Okla)	John Zwach (Minn)
Charles Teague (Calif)	Robert Price (Texas)
William Wampler (Va)	Keith Sebelius (Kan)
George Goodling (Pa)	Wilmer Mizell (N. C.)
Clarence Miller (Ohio)	Paul Findley (Ill)
Robert Matthias (Calif)	John Kyl (Iowa)
Wiley Mayne (Iowa)	J. Kenneth Robinson (Va)

IV. House Agricultural Appropriations Sub-Committee

Mark Andrews (N. D.)
Robert Michel (Ill)
William Scherle (Iowa)

V. Other Members

Gerald Ford (Mich)	Ancher Nelson (Minn)
Leslie Arends (Ill)	John Myers (Ind)
John Anderson (Ill)	H. R. Gross (Iowa)
John Rhodes (Ariz)	Frank Bow (Ohio)
Barber Conable (N. Y.)	Delbert Latta (Ohio)
Vernon Thomson (Wis)	Durward Hall (Mo)
Albert Quie (Minn)	Robert Stafford (Vt)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #3

That the RNC get a fulltime farm specialist: Followup - Harlow is discussing with Senators Dole and Bellmon on a very preliminary basis. The Task Force recommends this as essential to get farm information out to the regular party structure even though there is some duplication of effort hiring a farm man to lead the citizen's operation.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #4

That Dr. Robert Spitzer be hired fulltime August 1971 to November 1972 for campaign organization. His objective would be to work fulltime on political and PR aspects of farmers and agri-business community. He should be on the road almost continuously making speeches. His title is under negotiation.

Budget

August '71 - November '72 (inclusive) @ \$2,500 per month (\$30,000 per year), plus \$1,000 per month travel, plus secretary @ \$1,000 per month = \$72,000

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #5

That a fulltime White House "advisor" on Agriculture to the President be hired. The President has this under consideration.

ISSUES

(No specific recommendations are made in this section in the sense that no major "nuts and bolts" political organization decisions are needed at this time) Major issues and media plan content to focus positive farm issues in primary election states can be prepared by this Task Force as advice to the overall campaign chairman.

PRIORITY ISSUES

Farm-oriented campaign literature and general media plan should never lose sight of the fact that the major national issues -- peace in Southeast Asia, and an upswing economy -- are overriding and these themes, plus others, set in the national campaign, should be the highest priority even before farm audiences. All polling information places these issues over farm-oriented issues, even among farmers (at least this is the "conventional" wisdom, unless polls of farmers in depth tell us otherwise).

ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The campaign may focus around a few major farm issues -- it is risky to lock in to early. For the time being, they can be classified into:

1. Positive Administration accomplishments;
2. Accomplishments, but for selective audiences;
3. Negative or defensive positions;
4. Issues that might be developed during the coming year.

I. Positive Administration Accomplishments

a. Farm prices should be good, even if they are, the Task Force feels the Administration should not brag about it -- farmers read this as political "puff" -- they know prices are good. Instead of talking how well off they are, talk in terms of how the Administration is helping.

b. Farm income -- all-time high realized net per farm was \$5,437 per farm in 1969 -- it slipped to \$5,392 in 1970 and is projected at \$5,320 in 1971. Forecast with many uncertainties is up moderately over 1971 -- not much chance of making 1969 high again by the late Summer of 1972. The issue must be watched carefully as we proceed into the Spring of 1972.

c. The Administration has increased farm credit on all fronts beyond the Kennedy/Johnson years.

(1) farm operating loans increased in FY '72 by \$140 million from \$210 million in FY '71 to \$350 million in FY '72

(2) an increase of \$100 million in FY '71 and \$111 million in FY '72 in the insured loan program to build water and sewer systems in rural areas.

(3) the Administration was there to help farmers when the devastating southwest drought of 1971 occurred. (Play this issue by ear)

d. The Soil Conservation manpower budget was increased by \$12 million to an all-time high and small watershed grants were increased by \$28 million to an all-time high of \$105 million in FY '72 so that 75 new projects could be started. The loan program was quadrupled to help local communities finance their share of these projects.

e. Major new funding of research on plant and livestock disease (corn blight, cattle ticks, etc.)

f. Farm exports at all-time high of \$7.6 million in FY '71.

g. Opening grain export market sales to Eastern Bloc and Mainland China by rescinding the requirement that 50% of the grain be shipped in American bottoms. Be careful - it may not be enough trade to affect price -- in hard core conservative areas, trade with Communist countries a strong negative.

h. Passage of Telephone Bank Bill.

i. Increase on REA loans.

j. Price supports for milk at 85% of parity.

k. School milk

l. Stopped bureaucratic meddling on farm truck driving age limits.

m. Restricted feedlot pollution permits to few large operators -- would not allow Federal harassment of the small farmer with a permit program.

- n. Careful watch and ample R&D funds for corn blight problem.
- o. Never (so far) vetoed a farm bill.

II. Accomplishments or questionable value as political issues with farmers or for use with selective audiences

a. Agriculture Act of 1970 -- if it turns sour, it should be plugged as bi-partisan. In any event, the key theme is that the Act gives farmers more freedom to plant, not "straight jacket" control of farmers called for by Democrats.

- b. Food for needy recipients increased.
- c. Nutrition education program increased.
- d. Migratory labor housing loans authorized.

(Items b, c, d: Task Force feels these accomplishments should be plugged before city and welfare audiences. Items b and c can be "plus" in rural areas if coupled with the thought that these programs "keep the poor and build your market"

III. Negative issues to be played down

- a. Government reorganization.
- b. Pollution permit program.
- c. Pesticides.

IV. Major Policy Issues that might be developed during the coming year

- a. Farm labor bill.
- b. Rural community development revenue sharing.
- c. Sisk Bill
- d. Special milk program.
- e. Screw worm work in Mexico
- f. Peanuts and tobacco.

g. Agricultural attaches to staff U.S. embassies in Eastern Europe to give farmers feeling we have salesmen at our new market frontiers.

h. Presidential appointment of a roving "Agricultural Ambassador." Specific responsibilities: negotiate in GATT an end to the "citrus war"; protect U.S. agricultural interests during EEC's expected enlargement; exert all possible influence worldwide for reduction of existing trade barriers and against imposition of new barriers. Farmers worry about protectionist tendencies.

i. PL 480 - 1972 budget.

j. Imports of beef and dairy products.

k. Possibility of increasing FHA loans from \$700 million to \$750 million in Spring of 1972.

l. Develop theme of right-off-the-leader's-hip of the Farmer's Union -- discredit them as being politicians, not farm leaders.

m. Dissolve the "Cement of the Coalition" by inferring that it is a politically controlled alliance.

A key policy question that must be developed is to decide which of the above issues should be emphasized in the campaign on the theory that the farm media plan should focus on as few issues as possible which are played hard, never losing site of the fact that war and peace and the pocketbook issue (assuming they turn out favorable) should be pushed hard in the media plan since they are overriding in rural America compared to specific farm issues.

COMMUNICATIONS

RECOMMENDATION #6

Claude Gifford, new Director of Office of Information, USDA, and former Editor of the Farm Journal, take firm control of communications -- overall for the campaign. That an advisory committee consist of Claude Gifford, Bob Spitzer (for the citizens), Bryce Harlow (overall tone), Hyde Murray (for the Hill), and John Whitaker (for the White House) all working with Gifford and keyed in with overall campaign policy.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #7

Claude Gifford assume control of USDA radio spotmaster so positive news is flowing everyday - repeat - every day. Spotmaster must be upgraded by high fidelity tapes placed in many cities in key farm states and "must-win-to-win" key states even if farm vote in those key states is small. This way, radio stations can phone at less cost to get news on their stations.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #8

Claude Gifford supply each week to rural GOP Congressmen and Senators rural news for Hill newsletters. Hyde Murray in the House, Don Waring and Bill Taggart in the Senate and Bill Galbraith in USDA have additional responsibility to make sure the Congressmen and Senators get the information out. A rigid systematic followup is necessary to make sure the newsletters get out.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #9

That the same information supplied by Claude Gifford to the Hill be supplied to (a) the Bob Spitzer operation for selective farm citizens publications, (b) to the RNC "farm desk", and (c) to Ken Khachigian for mailings done by Herb Klein to editors.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #10

That Hyde Murray lead, supported by Bill Taggart, Don Waring and Bill Galbraith to take special responsibility for working with RNC to assure that weekly key Congressmen and Senators use the RNC radio taping facilities to get the material from Claude Gifford's operation. When and if we get an RNC farm man, that responsibility moves to him.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #11

Don Brock organize a speaker's bureau including top USDA people, White House Farmer, and Bob Spitzer so that we blanket the key states and make effective use of TV and radio. There are two guiding principles to make this work: (1) don't passively accept invitations that come in the mail, but instead, decide where the target states are and build your own events, and (2) don't give so much emphasis to the speech made because, what is more important, is the time taken at the location to do the radio and TV and some hand-holding and stroking with key people as we move to select the top movers and shakers in each state to build a national farm political organization.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #12

Very systematically: (1) every farm event (See Tab A) unless it is national or regional, should be covered by a letter or telegram from Secretary Hardin, (2) every national and selective regional meeting merits a telegram from the President. USDA should send, where Presidential telegrams are required (at least two week's notice is required to research the event), a memo to Miss Eliska Hasek, (Executive Office Building, Room 117, phone 456-2108) with copy to John Whitaker indicating (1) proposed draft telegram, and (2) who it should be sent to with proper address and phone number to make sure the telegram is read at the event, and (3) besides the draft message, Eliska Hasek needs a memo giving background on the event and what should be stressed, so she has a better "feel" for the event and can change the wording of the draft if she so chooses. Responsibility for action: Claude Gifford.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #13

Secretary Hardin should attempt to "break through" into the national media. This is admittedly hard to do because of the national press lack of interest in rural America. Recommendations: (1) more press conferences, (2) background individual meetings with farm editors of Time, Newsweek, etc., and (3) same with Washington farm bureau AP and UPI men. The "White House Farmer" when appointed, should do the same. Because of the "break through" problem with the Washington press corps, Secretary Hardin should hit key out-of-town media centers with press conferences (Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Dallas, etc.)

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #14

Farm belt "briefings - salutes" - regional event - featuring Secretary Hardin, Senator Dole and select members of the Cabinet like Secretary Stans on rural development, Ambassador Dave Kennedy and Pete Peterson on farm exports for well staged regional events. These should be well advanced. Responsibility: Claude Gifford

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #15

Claude Gifford should develop "the farm speech", i. e., the basic themes all our speakers should develop and use now. Secretary Hardin should write all Cabinet officers giving them just one paragraph loaded with farm themes that they can work into their speeches.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #16

By June 1972, Claude Gifford should have prepared a series of questions and answers to be used for requests from farm publications for Presidential replies that can be printed in their magazines. These Q&As will need to be cleared by Ray Price at the White House before publication.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #17

A group to monitor Democratic Presidential candidate's farm statements. Responsibility:

John Foltz - Congressional Relations, Department of Agriculture
Patrick Breheny - Legislative Asst to Congressman Scherle
Garry Madsen - Legislative Asst to Congressman Findley
Bill Taggart - Legislative Asst to Senator Dole

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #18

The farm vote task force should defer to the overall campaign organization on the question of whether the farm campaign should be organized under a citizen's umbrella. It was called "The National Nixon Agriculture and Food Committee" in '68. This has the advantage of better budget control, pooling of administrative costs for other efforts (ethnic, doctors, etc.) but there is a growing concern that a citizen's group is really not "in" -- not part of the real decision-making process in a campaign. Yet of course, the main advantage is that the citizen's organization attracts Democrats and Independents. The key question can probably be resolved with an outstanding public figure name to run the citizen's group who must be kept in close proximity to the campaign chairman and more important, show periodic publicized contact with the President so that he is "in". In a similar manner, the citizen farmer's chairmen need periodic direct and highly publicized contact with the President.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #19

As in '68, the citizen's farm group should solicit members who are farmers and agri-businessmen. All major commodities should be represented like cotton, wheat, soybeans, peanuts, etc., but under an umbrella so that no one special commodity interest gets a predominant position and tries to force a public position good only for that particular commodity but bad for an overall position.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #20

Selection of state leaders should not occur for some time, but an intensive culling of potential candidates should begin now. Bob Spitzer should take the lead assisted by Phil Campbell and Clarence Palmby. Tab B are USDA Farm Home Administration or Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service state leaders who can be of assistance on consultation in selecting the key leaders. Emphasis needed here to assure that no state leader is picked without approval of overall campaign directors. Tab B also contains state leaders recommended by the Farm Bureau.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #21

a. The farm citizen's group should operate in all 50 states.

b. The national organization will give direction and a firm guideline on the target states and when they are named, additional emphasis on delivering the vote in those states will be given by the entire citizen's group including the farm section.

c. Tab C lists the 20 top "farm" states in terms of (1) payments to producers, and (2) by cash receipts. These are obviously target states for the citizen's farm effort combined with the 31 states (Tab D) where the rural vote is one-third or more of the state's population. Tab E is a Wallace vote analysis which is rather speculative at this point.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

RECOMMENDATION #22

Tab F contains the most current poll information on farm attitudes available. It is simply information with a small sample. We recommend a poll of farmers only even at this early date on the chance that some corrective action could be taken on an issue, not apparent to the task force. The task force should consult with ORC on the kind of questions that should be asked. Tab F also contains maps indicating key cash crops by states. Possibly some key farm states should be polled in depth.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

BUDGET

(No recommendation)

We defer at this time on a firm recommendation on a citizen's farmers budget. As indicated in Tab G, Bob Spitzer submitted a proposed budget of \$1,700,000 at Mission Bay in August of 1969. We do not know what he got for a budget, nor do we have knowledge of actually what was spent, although the accounting indicates \$88,696.77 was spent. Tom Evans, Executive Director of the '68 Citizen's operation, feels this figure is suspect. The Spitzer Committee evidently raised only \$1,660.26. Bob Spitzer's preliminary recommendation on a '72 budget is included in Tab G. He also indicates the operation actually spent \$69,607.60 in advertising space (less staff and the tabloid) and suggests for 1972:

Farm paper advertising	\$500,000
Farm audience radio	484,000
Farm audience TV	<u>1,200,000</u>
	\$2,184,000

It seems pointless for this task force to make budget recommendations until all task forces have reported and an overall analysis of priority spending against anticipated fund raising can be made.

Dedications and Field Days

- May 15, 1971 U.S. Meat Animal Research Center, Clay Center, Nebr.
Mr. Schuetz will represent Senator Hruska.
- May 19 Small Grain Field Day, Piedmont Station, Salisbury, N.C.
- May 25 & Aug. 24 Sugarcane growers and researchers, sponsored by County
Agents Field Day, Belle Glade, Fla.
- June 4 Central Crops Station, Clayton, N.C. (East of Raleigh)
Weed Science Field Day.
- June 4 Tobacco Field Day at Rocky Mount Upper Coastal Plain
Experimental Research Station, N.C.
- June 13, 4-6 pm Tobacco Research Station, Greenville, Tenn., non-farm
or city field day.
- June 15 Weed Field Day at the Tidewater Station, Plymouth, N.C.
- June 16 am Field Day, Horticultural Research Station, Clinton, N.C.
- June 16 pm Whiteville, N.C., Witchweed Field Day.
- June 17 Houma, Louisiana, AES, several members of American Sugar-
cane League, contact meeting.
- Week of June 20 Michigan Cereal Leaf Beetle Field Day, Gull Lake, Mich.
Usually, Directors of Experiment Stations and Deans of
Agriculture attend. Farmers receive parasites to release
in their fields for control of the cereal leaf beetle.
- June 23-27 Grassland '71 Program, Eugene, Oregon, American Forage
Grassland Council and the Oregon State University.
- July 1 or 2 Dedication of Bee Stock Center, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
(Date will be fixed at the convenience of Senator Ellender).
- July 7-8 Irrigation Expo '71, Coastal Plain Station, Tifton, Ga.,
Local Development Center, and the College. (Excellent
place for VIP exposure to varied people in South Georgia.)
- July 8, 1:30 pm Weed Research Field Day, Beltsville, Md. Will involve
representatives from 30 or more chemical companies and
interested Federal Agency people in the Washington area.
There are usually about 100 or more people participating.

- July 8 Dedication of a State facility, Brookings, S.D., (laboratory, growth chambers, office complex) in which ARS flax research will be housed. The facility is one story, about 100' x 60'.
- July 21 Animal Industry Field Day, Lexington, Ky.
- July 23 Animal Industry Field Day, Princeton, Ky.
- July 27-30 Research on Wheels Tobacco Field Days, Raleigh, N.C., area. Banquet--tobacco companies, chemical companies and farm leaders will be present. A companion to this event is the Annual Research on Wheels Review, Raleigh, N.C., Statler-Hilton, Dec. 7. (These two events are excellent places for VIP's to meet the public.)
- July 29 Agronomy Field Day, Lexington, Ky.
- August 9 Tobacco Research Station, Greeneville, Tenn., Burley Tobacco Field Day.
- Aug. 11, 9-3 pm Tobacco and Beef Cattle Field Day, Greeneville, Tenn.
- Aug. 25 Mountain Horticultural Research Station Field Day, Hendersonville, N.C.
- September Pee Dee Station Field Day, Florence, South Carolina. Growers attend to see variety tests of cotton and tobacco, and fertilizer and pesticide trials.
- Tentatively
October Dedication of U.S. Delta States Agricultural Research Center at Stoneville, Miss. This matter has been brought to Dr. Thomas' attention to establish a dedicatory committee to make specific plans. At this dedication, the facility can be shown plus work in progress there at the time. It would give an opportunity to bring Delta Council, Cotton Council, and other "politically active" groups into the picture if desired.
- October Dedication of new of North Central Soil Conservation Research Center, Morris, Minnesota.
- October 26 Soybean Expo, Tifton, Georgia.
- December 2 Swine Field Day, Tifton, Georgia.
- Feb. 29, 1972 Fiftieth Anniversary celebration at U.S. Cotton Research Station, Shafter, Calif.
- Spring 1972 Dedication of the U.S. Grain Marketing Research Center, Manhattan, Kansas.

ADDITIONAL AGRICULTURAL MEETINGS

1. 43rd Summer Institute, American Institute of Cooperation, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado. August 1-4, 1971. Estimated attendance 2500 including over 1000 selected young leaders, ages 16 to 30, from 40 states.
2. Attend 350th Anniversary of 1st Thanksgiving - Plymouth, Mass., November 25, 1971.
3. Visit Future Farmers of America Convention - October 13-15, 1971, Kansas City, Missouri

1971 FAIRS AND EXPOSITIONS

ALABAMA	
Birmingham—Alabama State Fair, V. Pierson	Oct. 7-16
ARKANSAS	
Fort Smith—Arkansas-Oklahoma Livestock Exposition, Paul Latture	Sept. 24-Oct. 2
Little Rock—Arkansas Livestock Exposition, C. Miller	Oct. 1-10
ARIZONA	
Phoenix—Arizona State Fair, J. Jones	Oct. 28-Nov. 7
CALIFORNIA	
Pomona—Los Angeles County Fair, P. D. Shapiro	Sept. 17-Oct. 3
COLORADO	
Pueblo—Colorado State Fair, T. Knight	Aug. 21-29
CONNECTICUT	
Danbury—Danbury Fair, J. W. Leahy	Oct. 2-11
DELAWARE	
Harrington—Delaware State Fair, G. Simpson	July 23-31
FLORIDA	
Tampa—Florida State Fair, J. McKissick Jeter	Feb. 2-13
GEORGIA	
Atlanta—Southeastern Fair, M. C. Coleman	Sept. 30-Oct. 9
Macon—Georgia State Fair, Robert M. Wade	Oct. 18-23
IDAHO	
Blackfoot—Eastern Idaho State Fair, J. Howell	Sept. 6-11
Boise—Western Idaho State Fair, Joseph P. Church	Aug. 31-Sept. 6
ILLINOIS	
Chicago—International Livestock Exposition, L. Calne	Nov. 25-Dec. 1
Springfield—Illinois State Fair, Thomas Evans	Aug. 13-22
INDIANA	
Indianapolis State Fair, Charles C. Davis	Aug. 19-29
IOWA	
Cedar Rapids—All Iowa Fair, James W. Grainer	July 2-11
Des Moines—Iowa State Fair, K. Fulk	Aug. 20-29
Waterloo—Dairy Cattle Congress, M. Telleen	June 15-20
KANSAS	
Hutchinson—Kansas State Fair, H. White	Sept. 18-26
Topeka—Mid America Fair, Marla McKinley	Sept. 10-15
KENTUCKY	
Louisville—Kentucky State Fair, Don Johnston	Aug. 19-28
LOUISIANA	
Shreveport—State Fair of Louisiana, J. Monique	Oct. 22-31
MAINE	
Skowhegan—Skowhegan State Fair, Roy E. Synons	Aug. 14-21
MARYLAND	
Timonium—Maryland State Fair, John M. Hill	Aug. 30-Sept. 8
MASSACHUSETTS	
West Springfield—Eastern States Exposition, G. Wynn	Sept. 17-26
MICHIGAN	
Detroit—Michigan State Fair, E. Kalms	Aug. 27-Sept. 12
Escondido—Upper Peninsula State Fair, C. A. Perras	Aug. 17-22
MINNESOTA	
St. Paul—Minnesota State Fair, J. Libby	Aug. 28-Sept. 6
MISSISSIPPI	
Jackson—Mississippi State Fair, H. Annison	Oct. 12-19
Tupelo—Mississippi-Alabama Fair, James M. Savery	Sept. 14-18
MISSOURI	
Kansas City—American Royal Dairy Show, American Royal Livestock Show, Geo. R. Shepherd	Oct. 13-23
Sedalia—Missouri State Fair, W. Askew	Aug. 21-29
MONTANA	
Great Falls—State Fair, W. Christ	July 31-Aug. 7
NEBRASKA	
Lincoln—Nebraska State Fair, H. Brandt	Sept. 2-8
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Deerfield—Deerfield Fair, R. A. Stevens	Sept. 30-Oct. 3
NEW JERSEY	
Trenton—New Jersey State Fair, F. E. Keil	Sept. 10-19
NEW MEXICO	
Albuquerque—New Mexico State Fair, F. MacGillivray	Sept. 16-26
NEW YORK	
Syracuse—New York State Fair, B. W. Potter	Aug. 31-Sept. 6
NORTH CAROLINA	
Raleigh—North Carolina State Fair, R. Pitzer	Oct. 15-23
NORTH DAKOTA	
Minot—North Dakota State Fair, M. O. Dahle	July 19-25
OHIO	
Columbus—Ohio State Fair, J. L. Kallenbach	Aug. 26-Sept. 6
OKLAHOMA	
Muskogee—Oklahoma Free State Fair, L. Latta	Sept. 19-26
Oklahoma City—Oklahoma State Fair & Exposition, O. Saunders	Sept. 24-Oct. 3
Tulsa—Tulsa State Fair, C. C. Lester	Oct. 1-10
OREGON	
Salem—Oregon State Fair, R. L. Stevens	Aug. 28-Sept. 6
PENNSYLVANIA	
York—York Interstate Fair	Sept. 14-18
Allentown—Allentown Fair, E. Leidig	Aug. 6-14
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Columbia—South Carolina State Fair, W. L. Abernathy, Jr.	Oct. 18-23
Spartanburg—Piedmont Interstate Fair, Catherine Morrison	Oct. 11-15
SOUTH DAKOTA	
Huron—South Dakota State Fair, James D. Taylor	Sept. 1-6
TENNESSEE	
Knoxville—Tennessee Valley Fair, C. Murray	Sept. 10-18
Memphis—Mid South Fair, W. Sparks	Sept. 24-Oct. 2
Nashville—Tennessee State Fair, Ted Vaughan	Sept. 17-25
TEXAS	
Beaumont—So. Texas State Fair, J. Goetschius	Oct. 15-24
Dallas—State Fair of Texas, J. Rucker, Jr.	Oct. 9-24
UTAH	
Salt Lake City—Utah State Fair, H. C. Bringham	Sept. 9-19
VERMONT	
Rutland—Rutland Fair, E. G. Congdon	Sept. 5-11
VIRGINIA	
Richmond—State Fair of Virginia, C. Teachwith	Sept. 24-Oct. 3
WASHINGTON	
Yakima—Central Washington Fair, J. Hugh King	Sept. 29-Oct. 3
WEST VIRGINIA	
Lewisburg—State Fair of West Virginia, C. T. Sydenstricker	Aug. 20-28
WISCONSIN	
Milwaukee—Wisconsin State Fair, V. Wendland	Aug. 13-22
WYOMING	
Casper—Central Wyoming Fair, Kermit P. Fleming	Aug. 4-7

TSB

KEY FARM CONTACTS

Our list of reliable key farm contacts on a State by State basis is made up in most cases of ASCS Directors and, in some cases, State FHA Directors. These individuals are picked based on our knowledge of the individual's familiarity with that State's political picture and his political judgment.

In some instances, an individual other than the State ASCS or FHA Director is named because of that individual's reliability as opposed to that of the other officials.

It should be emphasized that these men are contacts and not political organization men. They should in no instances be publicly identified and care should be used in mentioning their names because of repercussions.

We have also attempted to select Regional Coordinators on the basis of a particular individual's knowledge of regional farm politics.

LEGEND: ASCS - STC - State Committee Member
 STCC - State Committee Chairman
 SED - State Executive Director
 STO - State Program Specialist
 FHA - DIR - State Director

Alabama	Jim T. Norman - STC John Garrett (FHA St. Dir.)
Alaska	Walter Kubley, Fed. Coordinator (ASCS St. Off.)
Arizona	Joe Sheely - STCC
Arkansas	Aylmer Lynn Lowe - STC
California	Joe Puppo - STC
Colorado	Carlyle Vickers - SED Dave Hamil - REA
Connecticut	Warren Thrall - STCC
Delaware	Leon Pleasanton - STC
Florida	Frank Pope - SED
Georgia	Al Fowler - STC
Hawaii	John Garden Cran - STC
Idaho	George Blick - STCC
Illinois	Miles Hartman - STC
Indiana	Newell Timmons - STC
Iowa	Dale Awtry - SED Robert R. Pim (FHA St. Dir.)
Kansas	Frank Mosier - SED Morgan Williams (FHA St. Dir.)
Kentucky	Homer Yonts - SED
Louisiana	Bruce Lynn - former STC
Maine	Basil Fox - STCC Willis Lord - SED Mahlon M. DeLong (FHA St. Dir.)

Maryland	Homer Schmidt - STC Bill Sharpe - DD
Massachusetts	Arthur Rosenberg - STCC Lewis Pontes - SED
Michigan	Dorn Deihl - SED Alfred LaPorte - (FHA St. Dir.)
Minnesota	Gordon Klenk - (FHA St. Dir.)
Mississippi	Issac Franklin - STC Seeling B. Wise - (FHA St. Dir.)
Missouri	John Hutcheson - STCC
Montana	Leo Kolstad - SED Norman Wheeler (FHA St. Dir.)
Nebraska	Merle Mintling - SED
Nevada	Hollis Harris - STC or SED
New Hampshire	Douglas Scammon - SED
New Jersey	John Pew - STC
New Mexico	Alfred Oberg - SED Carroll D. Hunton (FHA St. Dir.)
New York	Harvey Smith - STCC Wendall Call - SED Lucius A. Dickerson - (FHA St. Dir.)
North Carolina	Sam Rouse - STC James T. Johnson (FHA St. Dir.)
North Dakota	William L. Grandy - STC
Ohio	William Bauer - STC Harle Hicks - Chairman, ASCS
Oklahoma	Harold Hunter - SED
Oregon	Walter Erickson - STCC
Pennsylvania	John Phillips - STCC
Rhode Island	George Kenyon - STCC

South Carolina	William Barmore - SED E. Whitson Brooks - (FHA St. Dir.)
South Dakota	Olmer Cook - STC Archie Gubbrud - (FHA St. Dir. - Ex. Gov.)
Tennessee	Paul Arp - STC Clyde York - CCC Adv. Bd. Paul Koger - (St. Dir.)
Texas	Lynn Futch - FHA Div.
Utah	Wayne Sandall - STC
Vermont	John Clark - STCC Sherman K. Sprague - (FHA St. Dir.) Al Heald - SED
Virginia	J. Sam Gillespie - STCC Richard Goodling - (FHA St. Dir.)
Washington	Robert Deife - SED Herb Hemingway - STCC
West Virginia	Kermit Zinn - SED J. Kenton Lamber - (FHA St. Dir.)
Wisconsin	Robert Spitzer - CCC Adv. Bd. Willis W. Capps - (FHA St. Dir.)
Wyoming	Jack Van Mark - STO - former STC Bill Clark - (FHA St. Dir.)

INITIATIVE INQUIRY
STATE LEADER RECOMMENDATIONS

CALIFORNIA

- | | |
|---|--|
| Mr. Norman Liddell
Fresno, California | Telephone: 209-439-0186
Congressional District: #16 |
| Mr. Pete Hamatani
Cortland, California | Should be on state committee |
| Mr. Wes Bisgaard
Holtville, California | Should be on state committee |

COLORADO

- | | |
|--|---|
| Mr. Lloyd Hodges
Sedgwick County
Julesburg, Colorado 80737 | Telephone: 303-474-2161
Congressional District: #4 |
|--|---|

DELAWARE

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mr. John ^{F.} Walton *
Route #1
P.O. Box 177
Magnolia, Delaware 19962 | Telephone: 302/697-6960
Congressional District: 1 AL |
| 2. Mr. Alden S. Hopkins, Jr.
Route #2
P.O. Box 124
Lewes, Delaware 19958 | Telephone: 302/684-8798
Congressional District: 1 AL |

FLORIDA

- | | |
|--|---|
| Mr. Tommy Lawrence
1215 Rolling Acres Drive
De Land, Florida 32920 | Telephone: 904-734-2458
Congressional District: #4 |
| Mr. Jimmy Rogers
House #1, Box 307-A
Madison, Florida 32340 | Telephone: 904-576-6710
Congressional District: #2 |
| Mr. E. McLean, III
Route #1, Box 237
Palrico, Florida 32384 | Telephone: 813-888-4469
Congressional District: #6 |

Committee Chairman in 1968

MARYLAND

1. Mr. Merhle DuVall *
Walkersville, Maryland 21793
Telephone: 301-845-6222
Congressional District: #6
2. Mr. S. Grove Miller
Route #1
North East, Maryland 21901
Telephone: 301-
Congressional District: #1

MINNESOTA

1. Mr. P. D. Hempstead
Route #1
Houston, Minnesota 55943
Telephone: 507-896-3394
Congressional District: #1
2. Mr. Norman Krabbenhoft
Route #5
Moorhead, Minnesota 56560
Telephone: 218-233-4383
Congressional District: #7

MISSOURI

1. Mr. Hubert Kiehl
Malta Bend, Missouri 65339
Telephone: 816-
Congressional District: #4
2. Mr. William Powell
Princeton, Missouri 64673
Telephone: 816-748-3101
Congressional District: #6
3. Mr. Bill Frech
Columbia, Missouri 65201
Telephone: 314-474-5942
Congressional District: #8

NEW MEXICO

Mr. Santiago Marquez
Star Route #2
P.O. Box #147
Los Lunas, New Mexico 87031
Telephone: 505-864-8366
Congressional District: #2

NEW YORK

Mr. Harold Hawley *
Weedsport, New York 13166
Telephone: 315-834-3281
Congressional District: #34

* Committee Chairman in 1968

OREGON

Mr. C. A. Chapman
Oregon City, Oregon 97045

Telephone: 503-631-2182
Congressional District: #1

PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Paul Konhaus
Route #5
Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania 17055

Telephone: 717-766-4776
Congressional District: #19

WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. Henry W. Miller, Jr.
Paw Paw, West Virginia 25434

Telephone: 304-428-4075
Congressional District #2

WYOMING

1. Mr. Jim Wilcox
Douglas, Wyoming 82633

Telephone: 307-
Congressional District: 1 AL

2. Mr. Malcolm Wallop
Sheridan, Wyoming 82801

Telephone: 307-674-6086
Congressional District: 1 AL

ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTES - 1972

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF VOTES</u>
Alabama	9
Alaska	3
Arizona	6
Arkansas	6
California	45
Colorado	7
Connecticut	8
Delaware	3
District of Columbia	3
Florida	17
Georgia	12
Hawaii	4
Idaho	4
Illinois	26
Indiana	13
Iowa	8
Kansas	7
Kentucky	9
Louisiana	10
Maine	4
Maryland	10
Massachusetts	14
Michigan	21
Minnesota	10
Mississippi	7
Missouri	12
Montana	4
Nebraska	5
Nevada	3
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	17
New Mexico	4
New York	41
North Carolina	13
North Dakota	3
Ohio	25
Oklahoma	8
Oregon	6
Pennsylvania	27
Rhode Island	4
South Carolina	8
South Dakota	4
Tennessee	10
Texas	26
Utah	4
Vermont	3
Virginia	12
Washington	9
West Virginia	6
Wisconsin	11
Wyoming	3
	<u>538</u>

Source: Congressional Quarterly, Vol, XXVIII, No. 50, page 2920

STATE REPUBLICAN VOTE

<u>STATE</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN VOTE</u>	<u>DEMOCRATIC VOTE</u>	<u>AMER. IND. VOTE</u>
Alaska	37,600	35,411	10,024
Arizona	266,721	170,514	46,573
California	3,467,664	3,244,318	487,270
Colorado	409,345	331,063	60,813
Delaware	96,714	89,194	28,459
Florida	886,804	676,794	624,207
Idaho	165,369	89,273	36,541
Illinois	2,174,774	2,039,814	390,958
Indiana	1,067,885	806,659	243,108
Iowa	619,106	476,699	66,422
Kansas	478,674	302,996	88,921
Kentucky	462,411	397,541	193,098
Missouri	811,932	791,444	206,126
Montana	138,835	114,117	20,015
Nebraska	321,163	170,804	44,745
Nevada	73,188	60,598	20,432
New Hampshire	154,903	130,589	11,173
New Jersey	1,325,467	1,264,205	262,187
New Mexico	169,692	130,081	25,737
North Carolina	627,192	464,113	496,188
North Dakota	138,669	94,769	14,244
Ohio	1,791,014	1,700,586	467,495
Oklahoma	449,697	301,658	191,731
Oregon	408,433	358,866	49,683
South Carolina	254,062	197,486	215,430
South Dakota	149,841	118,023	13,400
Tennessee	472,592	351,233	424,792
Utah	238,728	156,665	26,906
Vermont	85,142	70,255	5,104
Virginia	590,319	442,337	321,833
Wisconsin	809,997	748,804	127,835
Wyoming	70,927	45,173	11,105

USDA LIST OF TOP 20 STATES BY CASH RECEIPTS
(1969)

1. California	\$4,371,000,000
2. Iowa	3,788,000,000
3. Texas	2,905,000,000
4. Illinois	2,703,000,000
5. Minnesota	1,957,000,000
6. Nebraska	1,933,000,000
7. Kansas	1,718,000,000
8. Wisconsin	1,525,000,000
9. Indiana	1,487,000,000
10. Missouri	1,446,000,000
11. North Carolina	1,406,000,000
12. Florida	1,343,000,000
13. Ohio	1,254,000,000
14. Georgia	1,148,000,000
15. New York	1,081,000,000
16. Arkansas	1,039,000,000
17. Colorado	1,016,000,000
18. Pennsylvania	989,000,000
19. South Dakota	986,000,000
20. Oklahoma	939,000,000

NOTE: Based on cash receipts from farms.

TOP 20 FARM STATES RANKED BY PAYMENTS TO PRODUCERS
(1969)

1.	Texas	\$501,905,837
2.	Iowa	260,351,156
3.	Kansas	234,345,362
4.	Nebraska	199,464,680
5.	Illinois	195,374,477
6.	Minnesota	171,155,956
7.	North Dakota	162,308,179
8.	Missouri	156,259,016
9.	Mississippi	133,610,885
10.	Indiana	132,164,369
11.	California	123,206,394
12.	Oklahoma	113,942,941
13.	Ohio	103,424,235
14.	South Dakota	93,716,269
15.	Georgia	86,088,736
16.	Arkansas	82,488,245
17.	Alabama	82,030,939
18.	Montana	79,265,266
19.	Tennessee	73,722,614
20.	Michigan	73,394,040

THE 1968 FARM VOTE
(34% + RURAL POPULATION)

TAB D

<u>STATE</u>	<u># OF CNTY'S</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT</u>	<u>WALLACE</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGE 1968</u>
Illinois	11	34,143	20,852	5,292	56.5
Michigan	3	20,177	7,536	3,162	65.3
Ohio	3	14,511	8,113	2,915	56.8
Wisconsin	21	100,825	69,397	14,922	54.4
Iowa	55	221,716	141,722	19,654	39.9
Kansas	40	78,447	34,105	11,998	62.8
Minnesota	48	166,080	161,717	16,770	48.2
Missouri	47	132,039	92,055	25,159	52.1
Nebraska	58	91,363	37,051	10,544	65.7
North Dakota	42	69,507	45,960	7,452	56.5
South Dakota	45	68,889	51,844	6,409	54.2
Alabama	9	14,168	11,137	44,807	20.0
Arkansas	17	26,773	26,167	33,879	30.8
Florida	3	1,165	1,605	6,199	10.0
Georgia	23	10,753	14,538	41,870	16.0
Louisiana	4	3,172	4,469	12,805	15.5
Mississippi	20	11,546	20,753	74,624	10.8
North Carolina	24	66,712	69,053	80,459	30.9
South Carolina	7	15,059	18,712	18,204	29.0
Texas	14	10,473	13,967	6,867	33.5
Virginia	21	53,454	39,148	38,525	40.6
Kentucky	51	109,353	69,351	39,645	50.0
Oklahoma	11	20,757	8,433	5,022	60.7
Tennessee	37	73,411	48,571	75,938	37.1
Colorado	8	10,413	5,231	1,854	59.5
Idaho	16	26,203	10,847	7,115	59.3
Montana	16	14,435	9,624	1,887	55.6
Utah	2	2,753	1,409	373	60.7
Wyoming	2	3,959	1,847	643	61.4
Oregon	2	6,093	2,405	951	64.5
Washington	1	841	602	143	53.0
TOTALS		1,479,190	1,048,271	620,087	46.9

NOTE: This single element analysis of the "farm vote" uses nearly all counties in the nation that have at least 34% of their 1960 population classified as rural farm.

Introduction

The two party system in the United States came under sharp stress in 1968 because of the independent candidacy of George Wallace. His political movement, formally entitled the American Independent Party, challenged directly the two-party norm in American politics. However, it achieved only limited success: 9 million voters, slightly better than 13% of the total vote, and only 5 states which were all in the Southern Region. Wallace's percentage share of the votes was below that of other major third party movements in 1912 and 1924, although his total raw vote was the largest ever received by a Third Party Candidate. Moreover, the Wallace third party effort was the most significant attempt in over 20 years to split off the traditional two-party vote in this country.

THE MOST LIKELY TO BE A WALLACE VOTER

Population Group	Percent of Population Group
1. Independent Voter	25
2. Farmers	20
3. Men Voters	16
4. Protestant	16

THE LEAST LIKELY TO BE A WALLACE VOTER

Population Group	Percent of Population Group
1. Non-White	3
2. Catholic	8
3. College Educated	9

Source: Gallup Poll, December, 1968

IMPACT OF THE THIRD PARTY VOTE

While news media have attempted to mitigate the effect in 1968 of the vote for the American Independent Party as being purely in "redneck" States and of no consequence outside the South, careful analysis reveals that it was in that year, and could be in 1972, of far more importance.

It is a matter of history that the AIP or Wallace vote almost caused the Presidential election to be thrown into the House of Representatives for final determination. This has been commented upon and legislated upon so often since 1968 that it needs no further elaboration.

Not recognized by many, however, is the fact that in many Northern States the margin of the Republican or Democrat win was very near the amount of votes siphoned off by the third party movement. This was true in some border States as well. The two attached tabulations of AIP votes in Non-Southern and Southern States illustrate this. For example, in California--the top Non-Southern or border State for Wallace in total votes--the 487,270 cast for the AIP candidate could have thrown the margin either way. The GOP got 3,467,664 to the Democrats' 3,244,318, margin some 264,000 less than the total Wallace drew off. Among other examples:

RN carried Ohio by a margin of about 90,000--Wallace got 467,495

RN carried Illinois by 135,000--Wallace got 390,000

HHH carried Pennsylvania by 169,000--Wallace got 378,405

HHH carried Maryland by 17,000--Wallace got 178,734

HHH carried Michigan by 223,000--Wallace got 331,968

RN carried New Jersey by 61,000--Wallace got 262,187

RN carried Missouri by 20,000--Wallace got 206,126

RN carried Wisconsin by 61,000--Wallace got 127,835

HHH carried Washington by 28,000--Wallace got 96,990

Taken together, these two tabulations show that in half of the 50 States (18 carried by RN, 7 by HHH) the AIP vote was a decisive factor in denying victory to the losing party or a wider margin to the winner. RN's victory margin was less than the vote received by Wallace in 18 States. HHH's victory margin was less than the AIP's in 7 States.

The opposition will contend that RN would have lost these States were it not for the votes siphoned off from them by Wallace. Likewise, we could claim RN could have won the 7 States where the Wallace vote exceeded the Democrat victory margin had it not been for the third party candidacy. There is basis for both parties to point fingers at the other and contend the other is supported by racists. The important points to consider, however, are:

1. Whether these votes would have been cast for RN if Wallace had not been in the race.
2. Whether these votes would have been cast for HHH if Wallace had not been in the race.

3. Whether these votes are identifiable farm votes that can be won over to RN in 1972.

4. Whether these votes will return to the GOP or Democrat column in 1972 if there is no AIP candidate.

5. Whether these votes will stay with the AIP if their candidate offers again in 1972.

6. What issues motivate these voters so as to bring them into the GOP column in 1972 whether or not the AIP candidate runs.

	Non-Southern States (ranked)	Wallace Vote	% of State Total Vote	% of National Wallace Vote
# 1.	California	487,270	6.8	4.92
# 2.	Ohio	467,495	11.8	4.72
# 3.	Illinois	390,958	8.5	3.95
** 4.	Pennsylvania	378,582	8.0	3.82
5.	New York	358,864	5.3	3.62
** 6.	Michigan	331,968	10.0	3.35
# 7.	New Jersey	262,187	9.1	2.64
8.	Indiana	243,108	11.4	2.45
# 9.	Missouri	206,126	11.4	2.08
#10.	Kentucky	193,098	18.3	1.95
#11.	Oklahoma	191,731	20.3	1.93
**12.	Maryland	178,734	14.5	1.80
# 13.	Wisconsin	127,835	7.6	1.29
** 14.	Washington	96,990	7.4	.97
# 15.	Kansas	88,921	10.2	.89
16.	Massachusetts	87,088	3.7	.87
** 17.	Connecticut	76,650	6.1	.77
** 18.	West Virginia	72,560	9.6	.73
19.	Minnesota	68,931	4.3	.69
20.	Iowa	66,422	5.7	.67
21.	Colorado	60,813	7.5	.61
22.	Oregon	49,683	6.1	.50
23.	Arizona	46,573	9.6	.47
24.	Nebraska	44,904	8.4	.45
25.	Idaho	36,541	12.5	.36
# 26.	Delaware	28,459	13.3	.28
27.	Utah	26,906	6.4	.27
28.	New Mexico	25,737	7.9	.26
# 29.	Nevada	20,432	13.2	.20
30.	Montana	20,015	7.3	.20
31.	Rhode Island	15,677	4.1	.15
32.	North Dakota	14,244	5.7	.14
# 33.	South Dakota	13,400	4.7	.13
34.	New Hampshire	11,173	3.8	.11
35.	Wyoming	11,105	8.7	.11
# 36.	Alaska	10,024	12.1	.10
37.	Maine	6,370	1.6	.06
38.	Vermont	5,104	3.2	.05
39.	Hawaii	3,469	1.5	.03
Total: 39 states		4,826,148	8.23	48.59

** Denotes AIP vote greater than Democrat victory margin
 # Denotes AIP vote greater than Republican victory margin

NOTE: The District of Columbia was the only "state" in which Wallace failed to be placed on the ballot.

WALLACE NATIONAL TOTAL VOTE:	9,897,141	13.49	100.00
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STATE DEMOCRATIC VOTE

<u>STATE</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN VOTE</u>	<u>DEMOCRATIC VOTE</u>	<u>AMER. IND. VOTE</u>
Connecticut	556,721	621,561	76,650
District of Columbia	31,012	139,566	0
Hawaii	91,425	141,324	3,469
Maine	169,254	217,312	6,370
Maryland	517,995	538,310	178,734
Massachusetts	766,844	1,469,218	87,088
Michigan	1,379,665	1,593,082	331,968
Minnesota	658,643	857,738	68,931
New York	3,007,932	3,378,470	358,864
Pennsylvania	2,090,017	2,259,405	378,582
Rhode Island	122,359	246,518	15,678
Texas	1,227,844	1,267,304	584,269
Washington	588,510	616,037	96,990
West Virginia	307,555	374,091	72,560

NIXON'S POPULARITY

Question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Nixon is handling his job as President?"

<u>Date of Poll</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Jan 1969	NATIONAL	59	5	36
	Farmers	74	3	23
Feb 1969	NATIONAL	61	6	33
	Farmers	60	2	38
Mid-Mar 1969	NATIONAL	65	9	26
	Farmers	69	12	19
Late Apr 1969	NATIONAL	61	11	28
	Farmers	62	10	28
Mid-Jun 1969	NATIONAL	63	16	21
	Farmers	52	18	30
Late Jul 1969	NATIONAL	65	17	18
	Farmers	68	14	18
Aug 15-18 1969	NATIONAL	62	20	18
	Farmers	59	15	26
Sep 19-22 1969	NATIONAL	58	23	19
	Farmers	61	22	17
Oct 3-9 1969	NATIONAL	57	24	19
	Farmers	58	14	28
Nov 14-17 1969 *	NATIONAL	68	19	13
	Farmers	68	15	17
Jan 2-5 1970	NATIONAL	61	22	17
	Farmers	56	15	29

<u>Date of Poll</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Jan 30-Feb 2 1970	NATIONAL	64	24	12
	Farmers	63	21	16
Mar 27-29 1970	NATIONAL	55	33	12
	Farmers	65	21	14
Apr 17-20 1970 **	NATIONAL	56	31	13
	Farmers	69	16	15
May 1-4 1970	NATIONAL	57	31	12
	Farmers	59	27	14
May 22-24 1970	NATIONAL	59	29	12
	Farmers	77	16	7
Jul 31-Aug 2 1970	NATIONAL	55	32	13
	Farmers	63	19	18
Oct 9-13 1970	NATIONAL	58	27	15
	Farmers	64	19	17
Nov 14-16 1970	NATIONAL	57	30	13
	Farmers	60	27	13
Feb 19-21 1971	NATIONAL	50	36	14
	Farmers	53	35	12
Apr 23-25 1971	NATIONAL	50	38	12
	Farmers	47	na	na

HEAD-TO-HEAD TRIAL HEATS

The last Gallup trial heat came out June 4, 1971, with interview dates of May 7-10. The results:

	RN	MUSKIE	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	39%	41%	12%	8%
Farmers	48.9	30.8	15.8	4.5

	RN	EMK	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	42	41	10	7
Farmers	39.8	41.4	6.0	12.8

	RN	HHH	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	42	39	12	7
Farmers	45.1	29.3	13.5	12.1

This should be compared with the two earlier polls I brought to your attention in a previous memo. As a reminder, those polls showed:

Trial Heat - Gallup, Interview dates, March 12-14, 1971

	RN	MUSKIE	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	43%	39%	12%	6%
Farmers	54	20	11	15

	RN	EMK	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	46	38	11	5
Farmers	49	28	11	12

	RN	HHH	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	50	36	12	6
Farmers	57	26	9	8

Trial Heat - Gallup, Interview dates, January 9-10, 1971

	RN	MUSKIE	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	44%	44%	9%	3%
Farmers	54	33	6	7

	RN	EMK	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	48%	38%	9%	5%
Farmers	48	37	9	6

	RN	HHH	WALLACE	UNDECIDED
National	48	38	10	4
Farmers	53	31	9	7

The most alarming thing about these three polls is the loss of support among farmers in such a short period of time. For example, after leading Muskie by 34 points in March, RN now only leads him by 18, cutting the first result nearly in half.

This should lead into some questions about the statistical reliability of the sample. In the March poll there were 88 samples. However there were also 80-odd samples in the May poll. Gallup then narrows the samples down to registered voters and the actual sample for both is around 60 - 65 registered voters. In most circumstances, I would think this to be enough samples to be statistically reliable, but even Gallup has warned that there is potential for substantial statistical error in such a small sample.

Unfortunately, all this gobbledygook about samples leaves us with inconclusive answers to our questions. However, there remains a shift in opinion among farmers, and it all comes after we did so much PR stuff aimed at farmers. Kennedy has moved ahead of RN with farmers and the others have moved up, although Humphrey's is not as dramatic.

I don't think we can make any firm conclusions based on this information. What we actually need in some point in time is

a good in-depth poll on no one but farmers -- a wide-ranging poll which tells us a great deal about what they think and about how they might vote. Until then, I hesitate to commit myself to a particular analysis of current farm sentiment.

I will comment, however, on the question of how much of the farm vote we need in order to swing key states in 1972. Gallup says that in 1968 RN won 51% of the farm vote as opposed to 29% for Humphrey and 20% for Wallace. I.e., RN made an excellent showing among farmers, and it was decisive. In 1960, RN won 52% of the farm vote. So even with Wallace in the race, RN got virtually the same amount of support in 1968 as he got in 1960.

As for 1972, in a three-way race, I don't think we can hope to get much more than 50%. If we manage that, I honestly think it will be unusual -- considering the farmers' historic disenchantment with the "ins" and the harsh impact the economy (especially inflation) has had on their incomes.

In a two-way race, again, I think that matching the 1960 support among farmers would be a good showing, taking into consideration the same factors in a three-way race.

I agree that it would be wonderful to get a 60% plus showing for RN among farmers, and indeed we may need it as a swing factor. But the whole historical thrust of the farm vote and its peculiar vulnerability to Democratic promises lead me to believe that we can't make too much over 50% and probably ought to be pleased with that. Of course, our aim will be to let out all the stops and make sure we do everything possible to win the farm vote.

But we had better be realistic about it and simply understand that while we can expect good support with farmers, we can't overlook the fact that any candidate running against the Secretary of Agriculture, against depressed farm prices, against a low parity ratio, and against policies which farmers perceive to be hurting them, cannot help but garner some of that support.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

*no xerox needed -
JCW*

June 9, 1971

To: John C. Whitaker, Deputy Assistant to the President
Subject: Agricultural information by commodities

Pursuant to your request, I have attached maps showing the top States for the 25 most significant agricultural commodities produced in the United States.

You also asked for an evaluation of the probable price condition prevailing in each commodity in late summer or early fall 1972. I am sure you understand that there is a volume of uncontrollable factors affecting each commodity. I make the following forecasts of price range subject to a major non-warranty.

Cattle and calves	Good
Dairy Products	Good
Hogs	Fair to good
Corn	Good (controllable under set-aside program)
Soybeans	Good
Eggs	Fair
Turkeys	Fair
Rice	<u>Poor</u> (price will be good because of mandatory support program but export markets dwindling and it may be necessary to reduce acreage which will make conditions poor for rice farmers)
Oranges	Poor
Hay	Totally unpredictable -- weather too great a factor
Tobacco	Good
Broilers	Good
Wheat	Good
Tomatoes	Fair
Sugar beets	Good
Sheep and lambs	<u>Poor</u>
Apples	Fair
Peanuts	Good
Grapes	Good
Lettuce	Fair
Barley	Good

Soybeans	Good
Cotton	Good
Potatoes	Poor
Greenhouse & nursery	Good

In our FY 1973 budget we should provide sufficient funds for substantial programs of surplus removal of such crops as oranges, potatoes, apples, and canned fruits and vegetables.

It would be wise to update this estimate in November or December of 1971 when we will know the effects of the corn blight on the 1971 corn crop and will be much better able to anticipate the general agricultural situation for 1972.

Richard Lyng
Assistant Secretary

Attachments

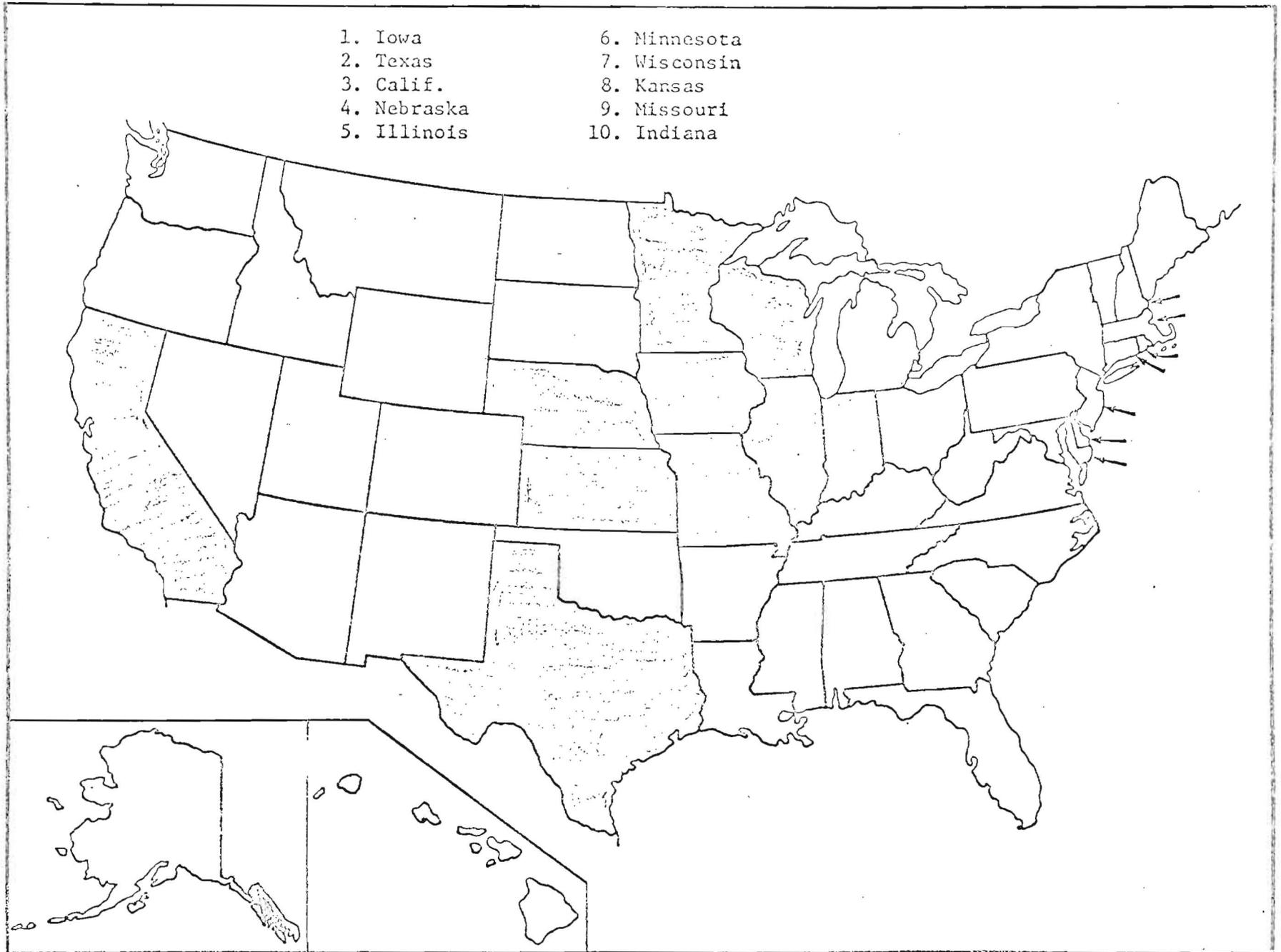
LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 -- All Commodities (Livestock and crops)

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Calif. | 6. Nebraska |
| 2. Iowa | 7. Kansas |
| 3. Texas | 8. Wisconsin |
| 4. Illinois | 9. Indiana |
| 5. Minnesota | 10. Missouri |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - ALL Livestock

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. Iowa | 6. Minnesota |
| 2. Texas | 7. Wisconsin |
| 3. Calif. | 8. Kansas |
| 4. Nebraska | 9. Missouri |
| 5. Illinois | 10. Indiana |



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - All Crops

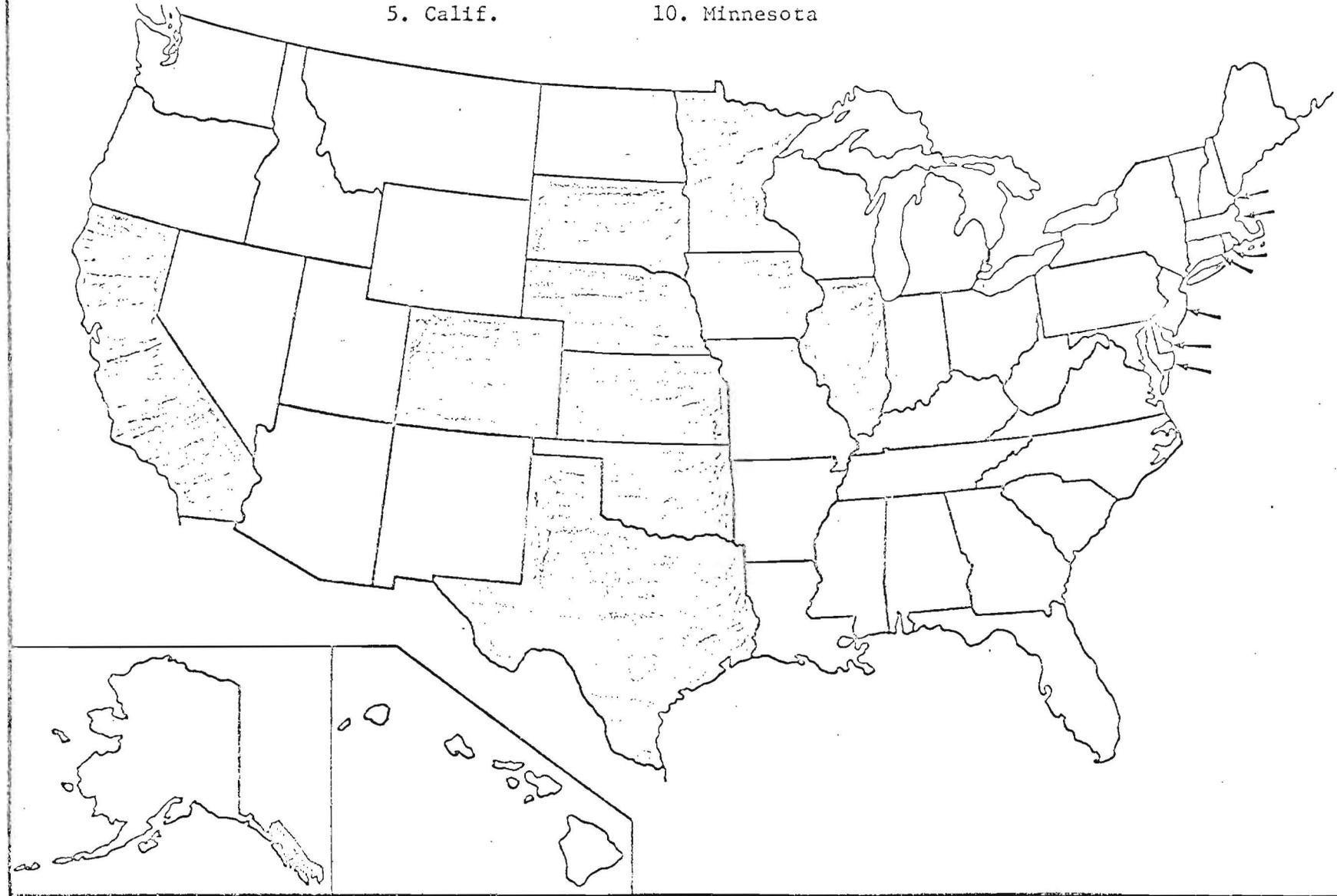
- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 1. Calif. | 6. North Carolina |
| 2. Illinois | 7. Indiana |
| 3. Texas | 8. Minnesota |
| 4. Florida | 9. Kansas |
| 5. Iowa | 10. Nebraska |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Cattle and Calves

1. Total value \$12.5 billion

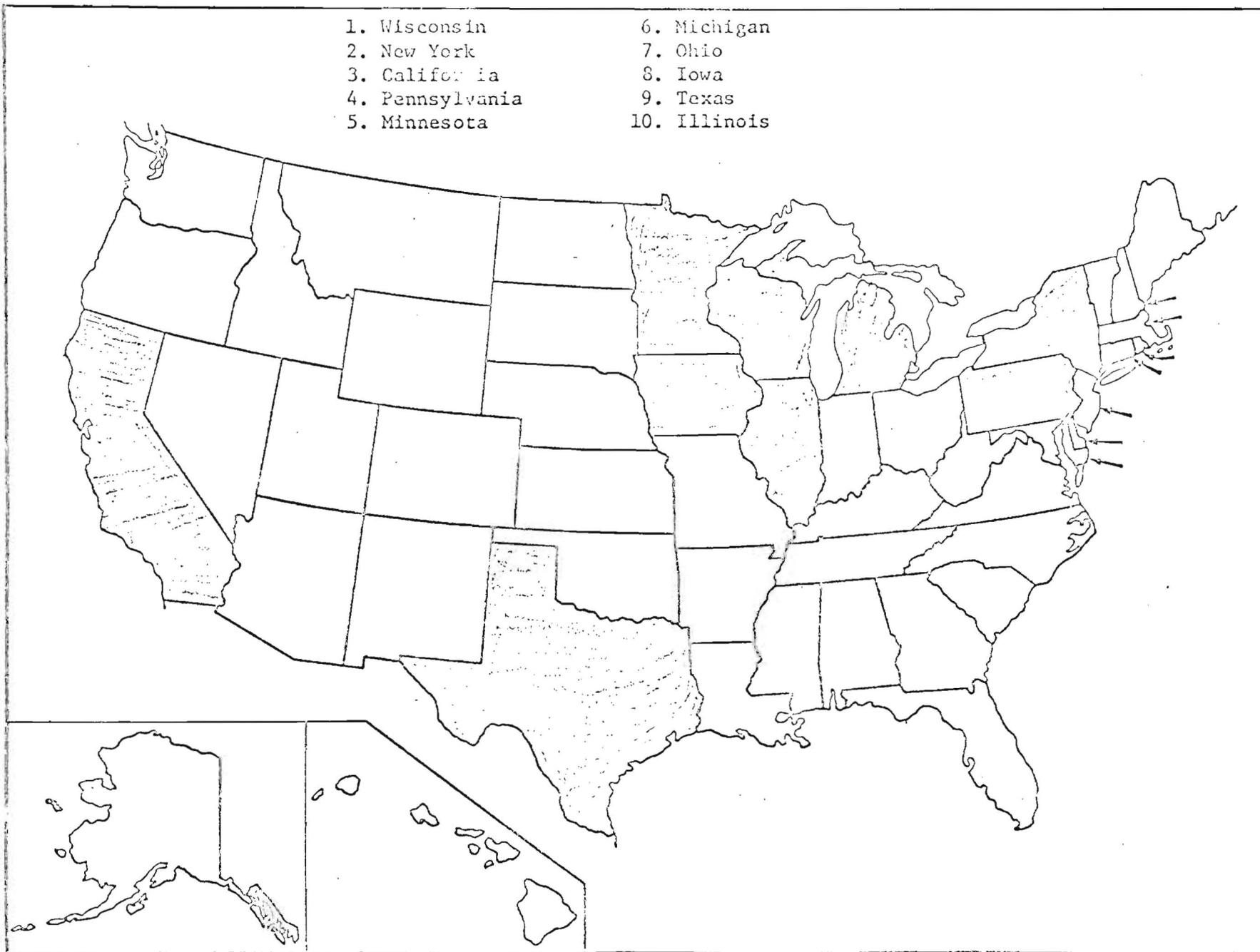
- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Iowa | 6. Colorado |
| 2. Texas | 7. Oklahoma |
| 3. Nebraska | 8. South Dakota |
| 4. Kansas | 9. Illinois |
| 5. Calif. | 10. Minnesota |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Dairy Products

2. Total value \$6.2 billion

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| 1. Wisconsin | 6. Michigan |
| 2. New York | 7. Ohio |
| 3. California | 8. Iowa |
| 4. Pennsylvania | 9. Texas |
| 5. Minnesota | 10. Illinois |



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Hogs

3. Total value \$4.7 billion

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 1. Iowa | 6. Minnesota |
| 2. Illinois | 7. Ohio |
| 3. Indiana | 8. South Dakota |
| 4. Missouri | 9. Wisconsin |
| 5. Nebraska | 10. Kansas |



- | | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| 1. Illinois | 6. Ohio |
| 2. Iowa | 7. Missouri |
| 3. Indiana | 8. Kansas |
| 4. Nebraska | 9. North Carolina |
| 5. Minnesota | 10. South Dakota |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Soybeans

5. Total value \$2.5 billion

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| 1. Illinois | 6. Minnesota |
| 2. Iowa | 7. Mississippi |
| 3. Indiana | 8. Ohio |
| 4. Arkansas | 9. Louisiana |
| 5. Missouri | 10. Tennessee |

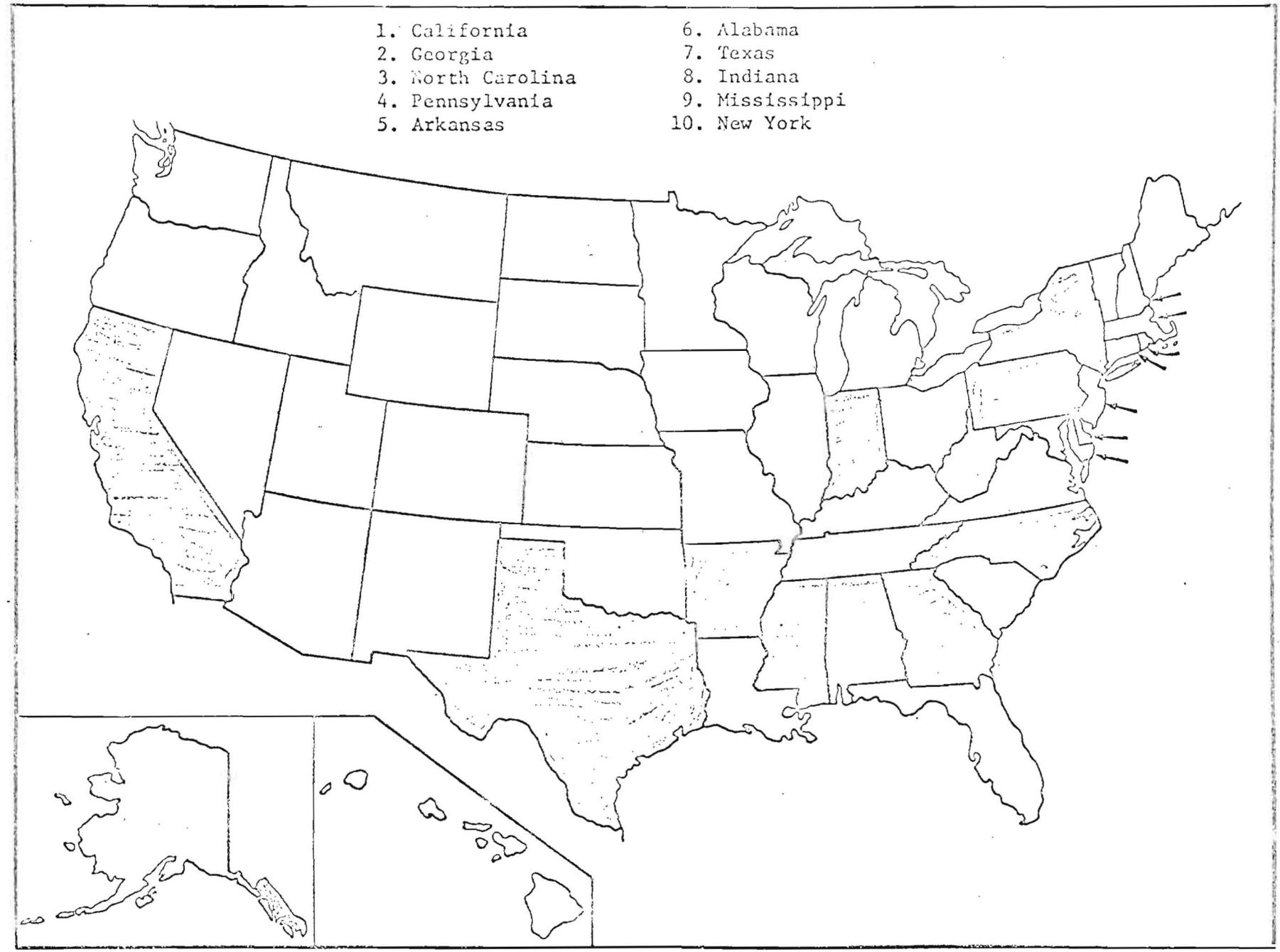


U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE

6. Total value \$2.2 billion

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. California | 6. Alabama |
| 2. Georgia | 7. Texas |
| 3. North Carolina | 8. Indiana |
| 4. Pennsylvania | 9. Mississippi |
| 5. Arkansas | 10. New York |



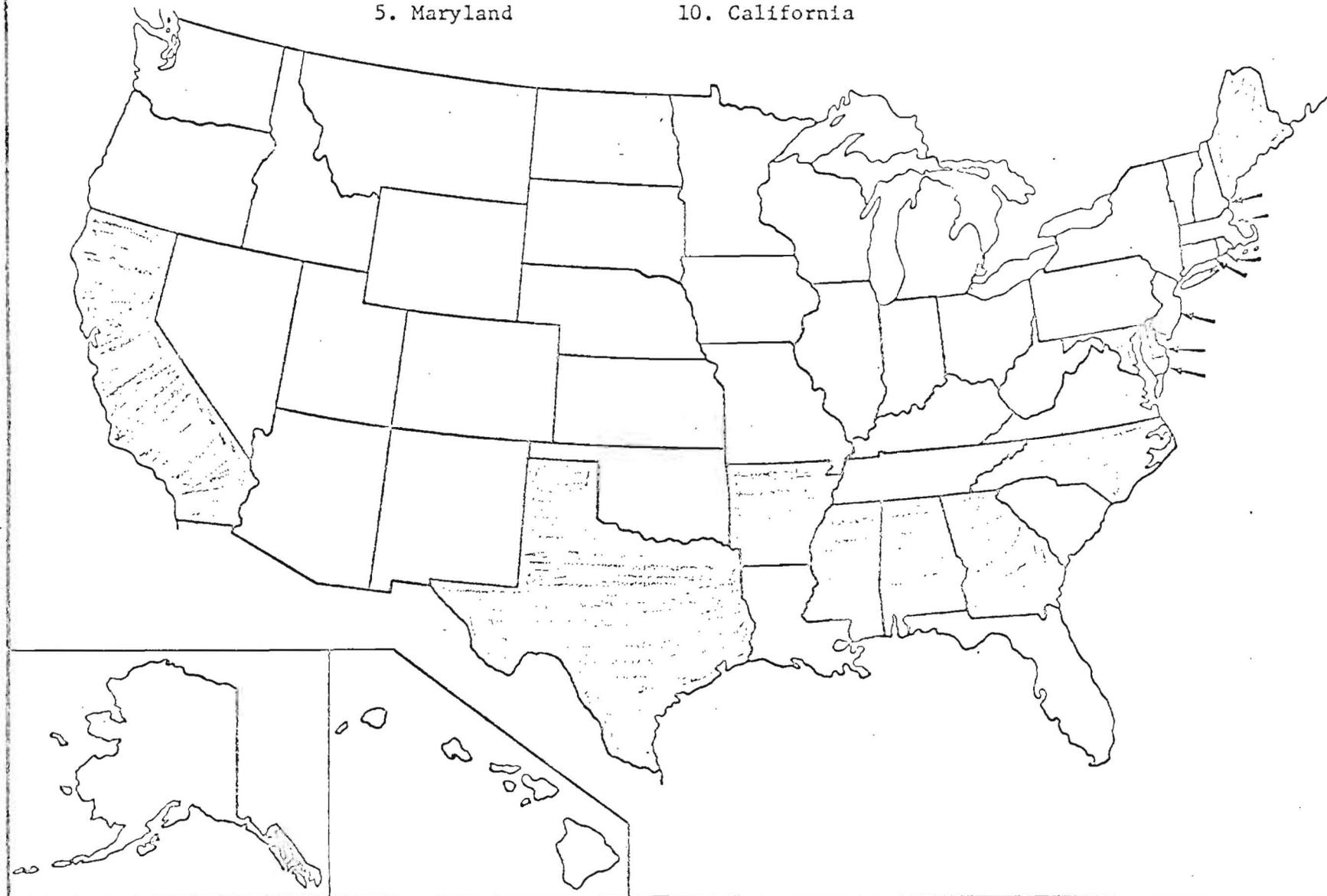
LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Wheat

7. Total value \$1.6 billion

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Kansas | 6. Texas |
| 2. North Dakota | 7. Nebraska |
| 3. Oklahoma | 8. Idaho |
| 4. Washington | 9. Illinois |
| 5. Montana | 10. South Dakota |



- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Georgia | 6. Mississippi |
| 2. Arkansas | 7. Texas |
| 3. Alabama | 8. Delaware |
| 4. North Carolina | 9. Maine |
| 5. Maryland | 10. California |



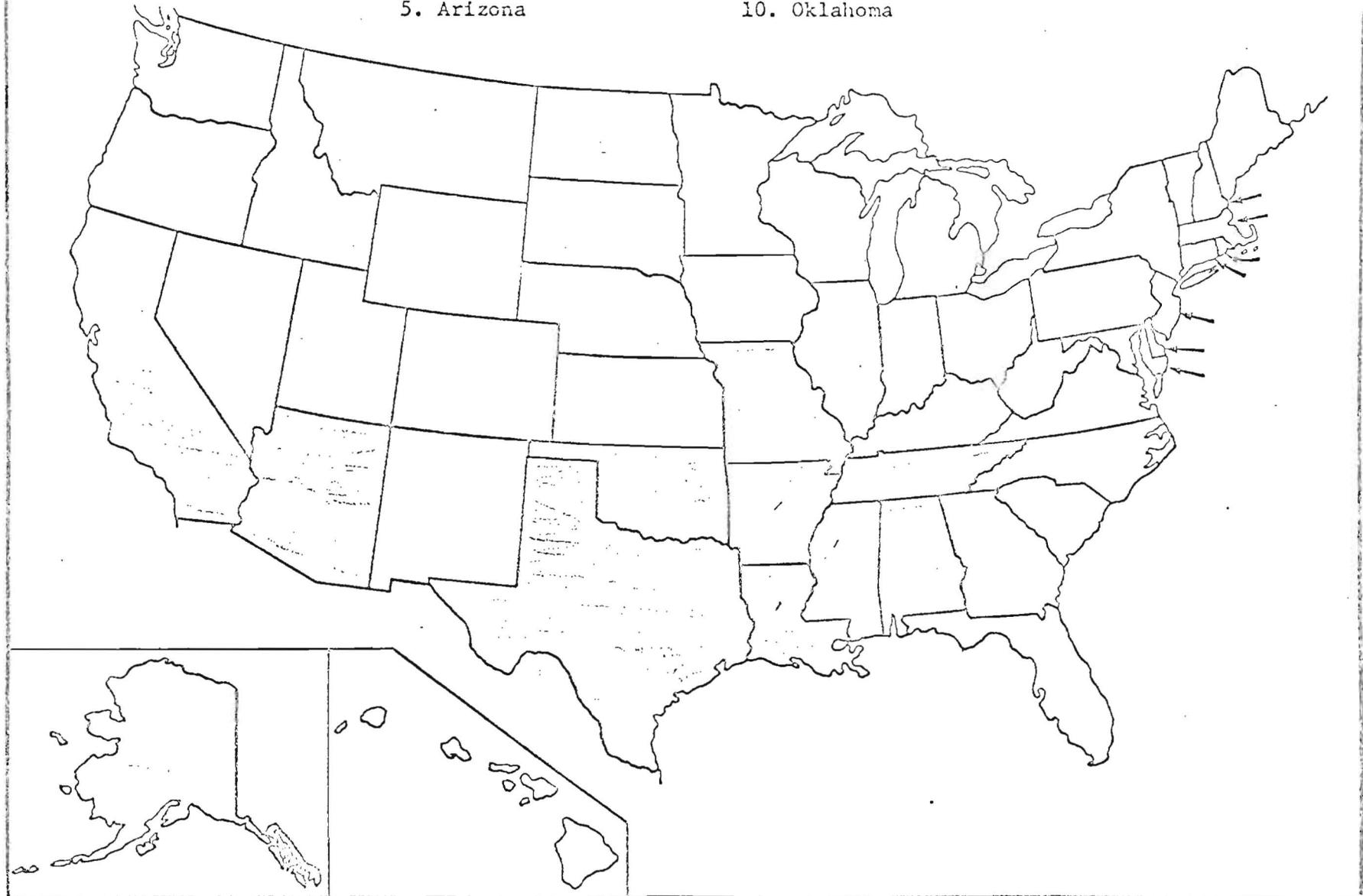
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. North Carolina | 6. Georgia |
| 2. Kentucky | 7. Florida |
| 3. South Carolina | 8. Maryland |
| 4. Virginia | 9. Connecticut |
| 5. Tennessee | 10. Ohio |



- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. California | 6. Illinois |
| 2. Florida | 7. New Jersey |
| 3. New York | 8. Michigan |
| 4. Ohio | 9. Oregon |
| 5. Pennsylvania | 10. Massachusetts |



- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Texas | 6. Alabama |
| 2. California | 7. Tennessee |
| 3. Mississippi | 8. Louisiana |
| 4. Arkansas | 9. Missouri |
| 5. Arizona | 10. Oklahoma |



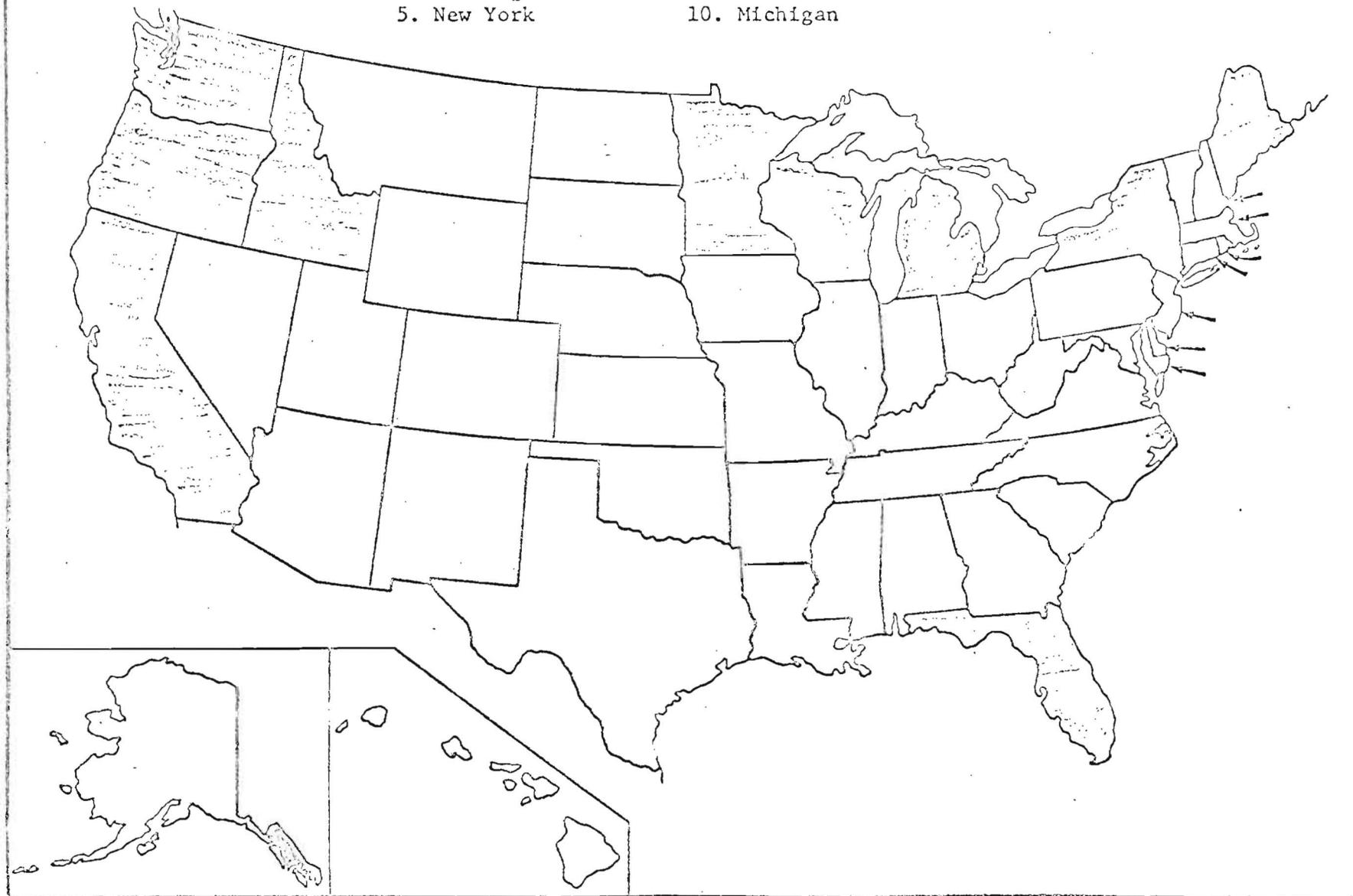
LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Sorghum Grain

12. Total value \$629 million

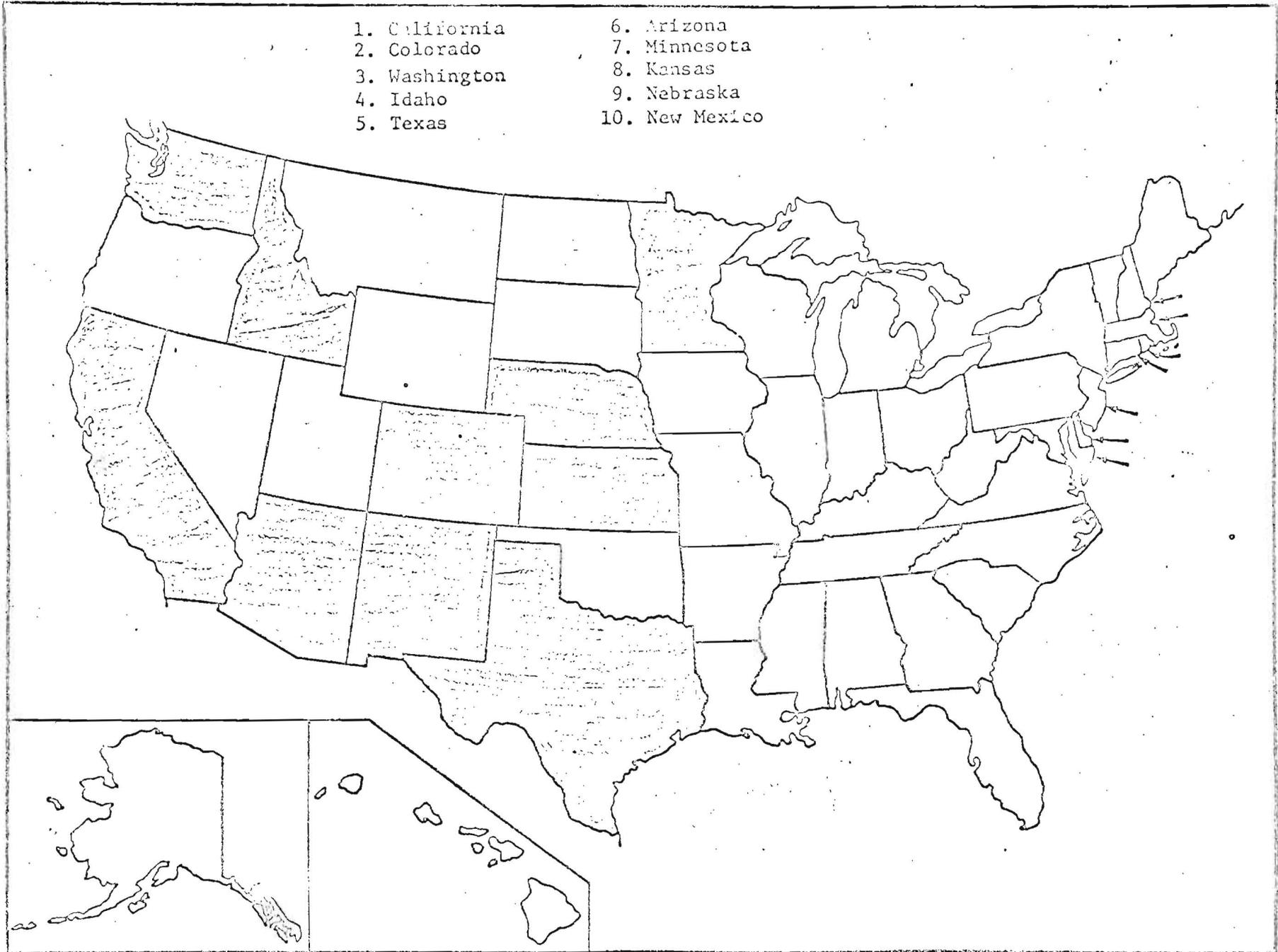
- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. Texas | 7. Arizona |
| 2. Kansas | 8. Colorado |
| 3. Nebraska | 9. Missouri |
| 4. California | 10. South Dakota |
| 5. Oklahoma | |



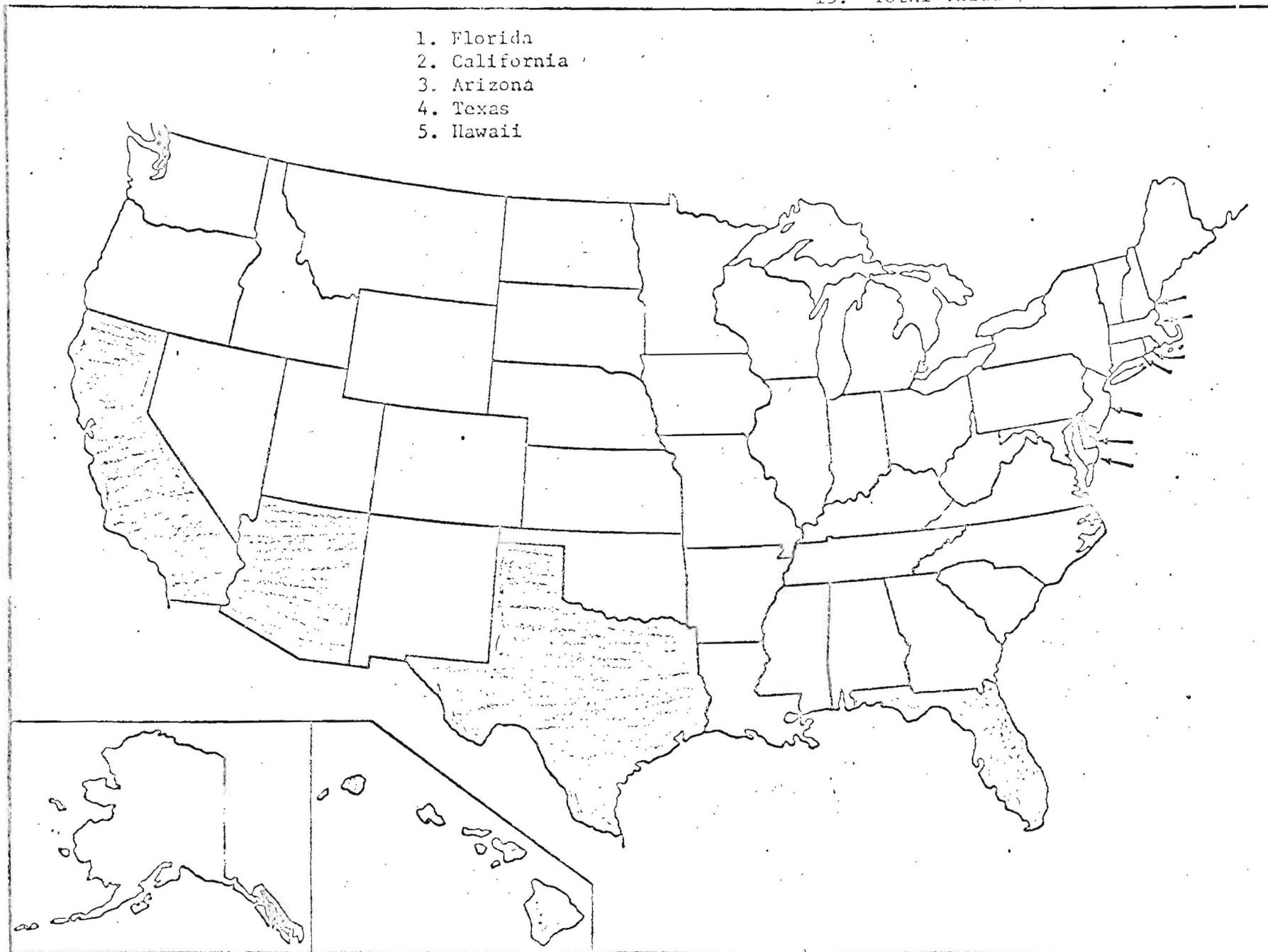
- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Idaho | 6. Wisconsin |
| 2. California | 7. Florida |
| 3. Maine | 8. Oregon |
| 4. Washington | 9. Minnesota |
| 5. New York | 10. Michigan |



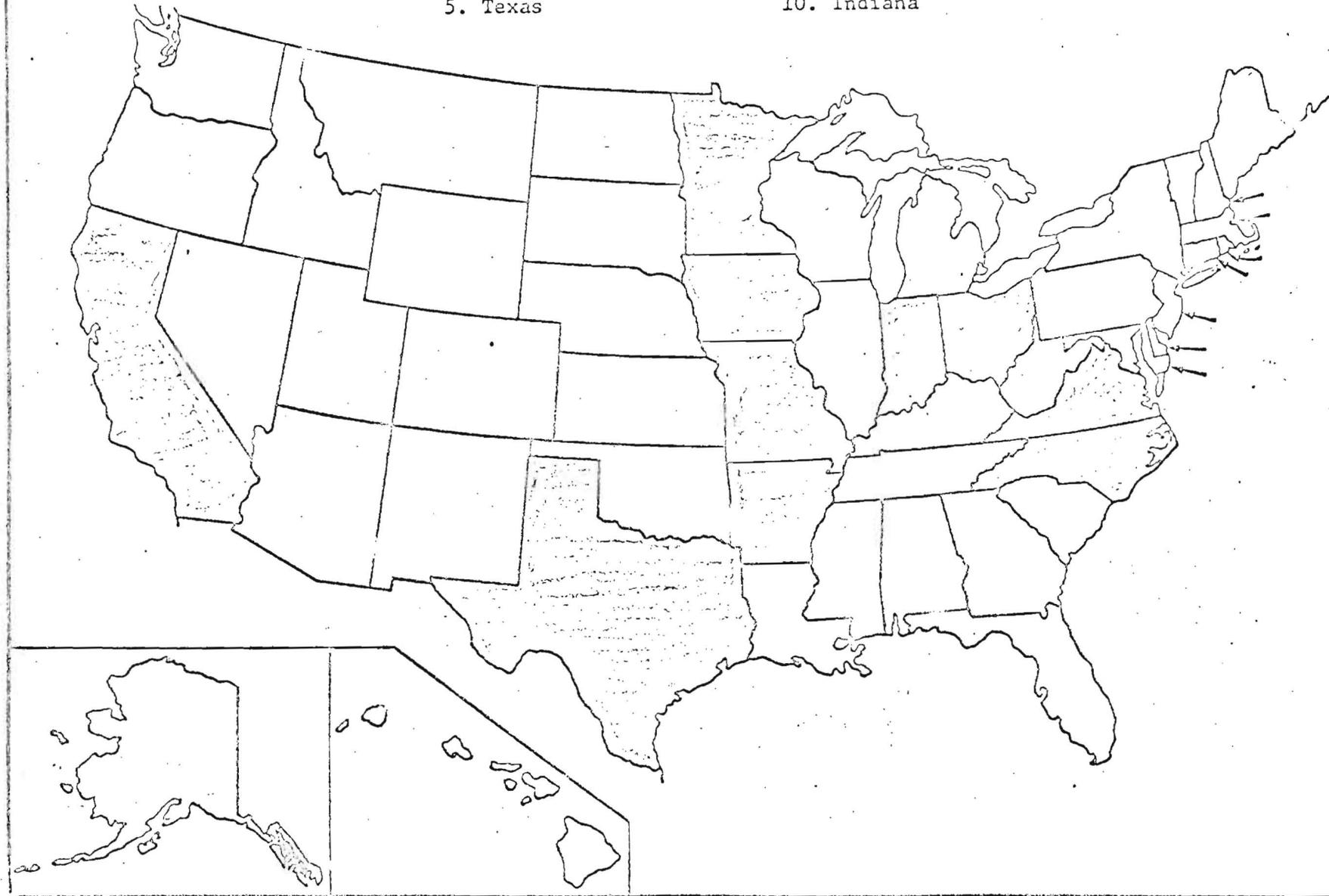
- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. California | 6. Arizona |
| 2. Colorado | 7. Minnesota |
| 3. Washington | 8. Kansas |
| 4. Idaho | 9. Nebraska |
| 5. Texas | 10. New Mexico |



1. Florida
2. California
3. Arizona
4. Texas
5. Hawaii



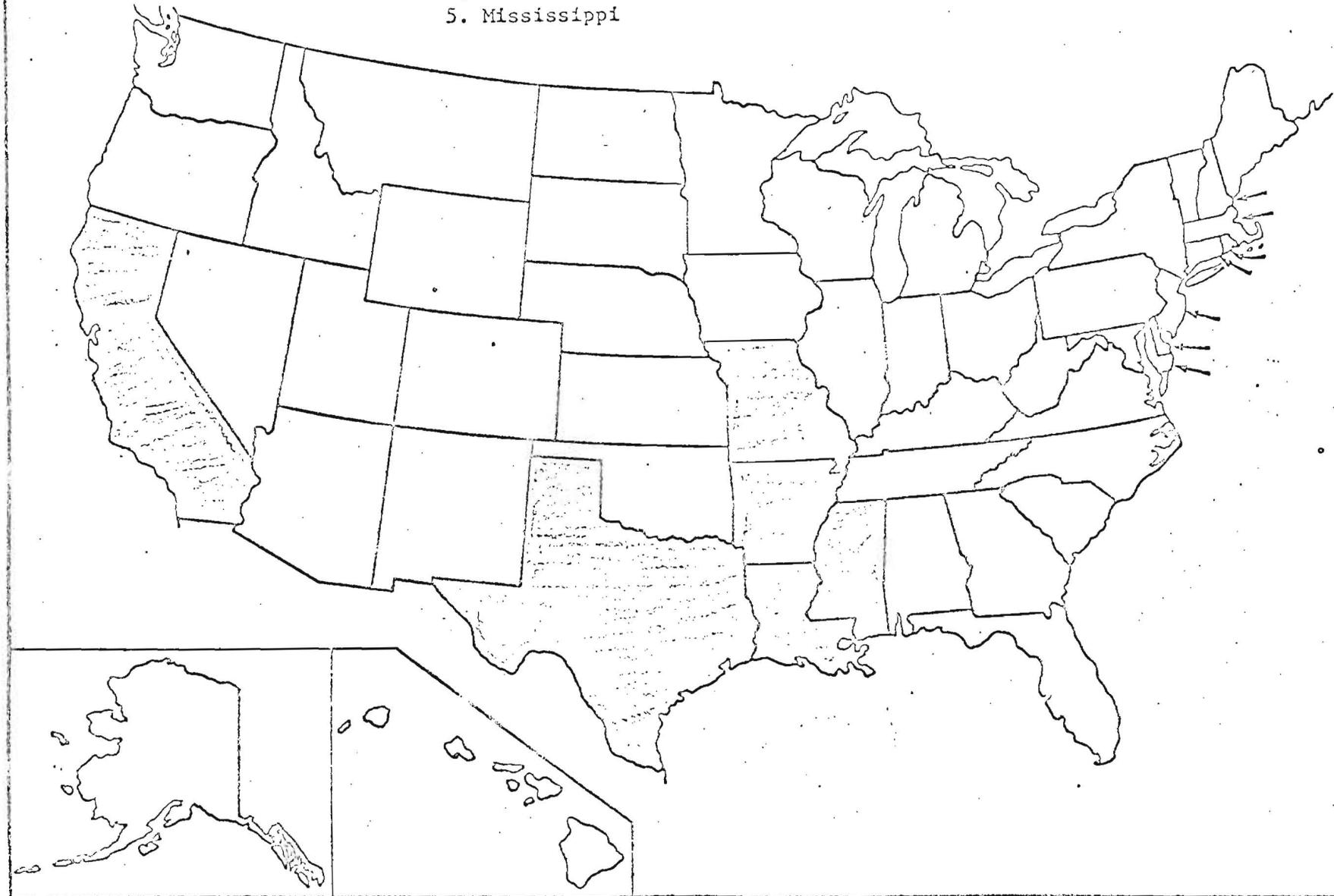
- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. California | 6. Arkansas |
| 2. Minnesota | 7. Iowa |
| 3. North Carolina | 8. Ohio |
| 4. Missouri | 9. Virginia |
| 5. Texas | 10. Indiana |



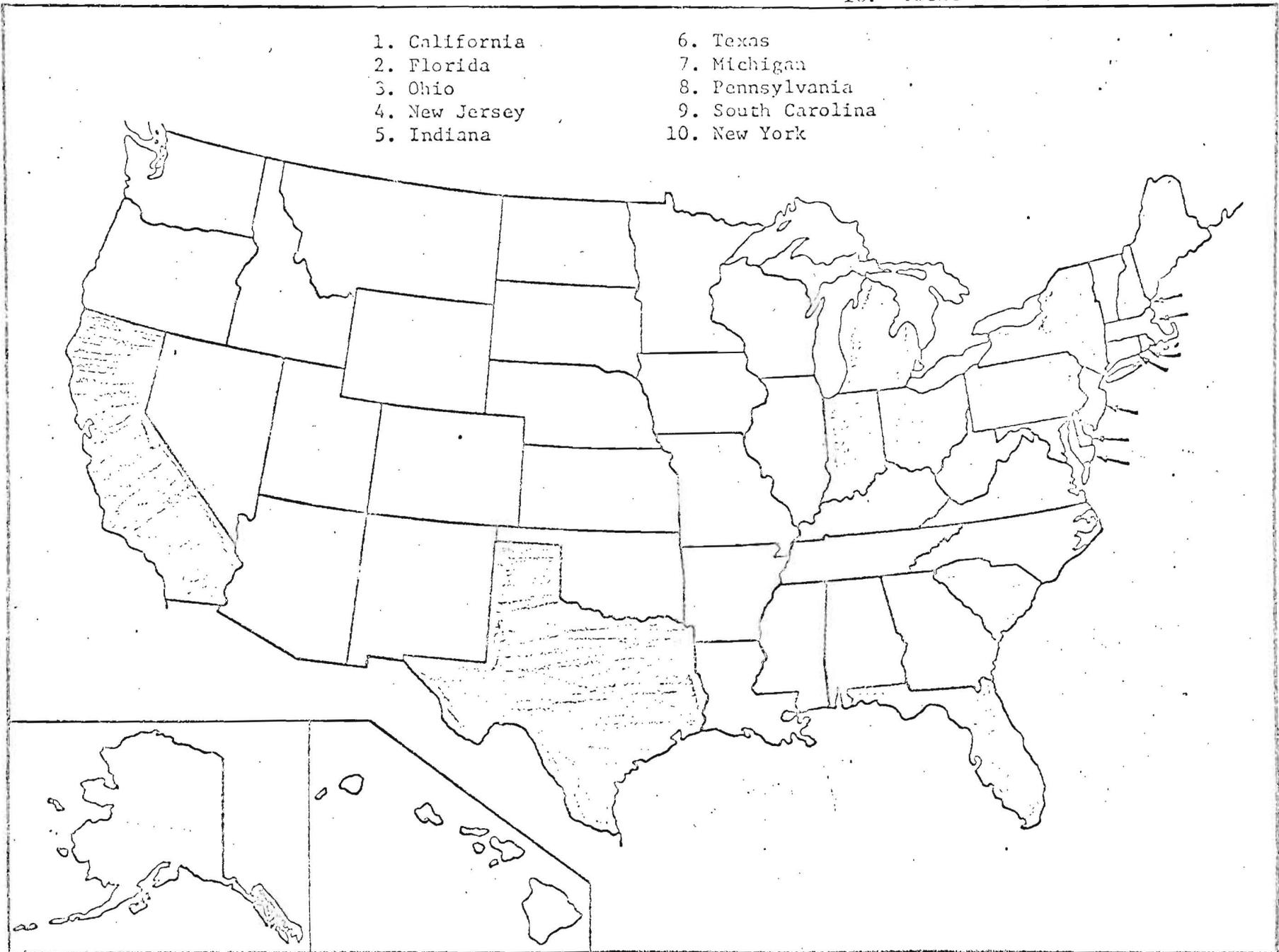
LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Rice

17. Total value \$442 million

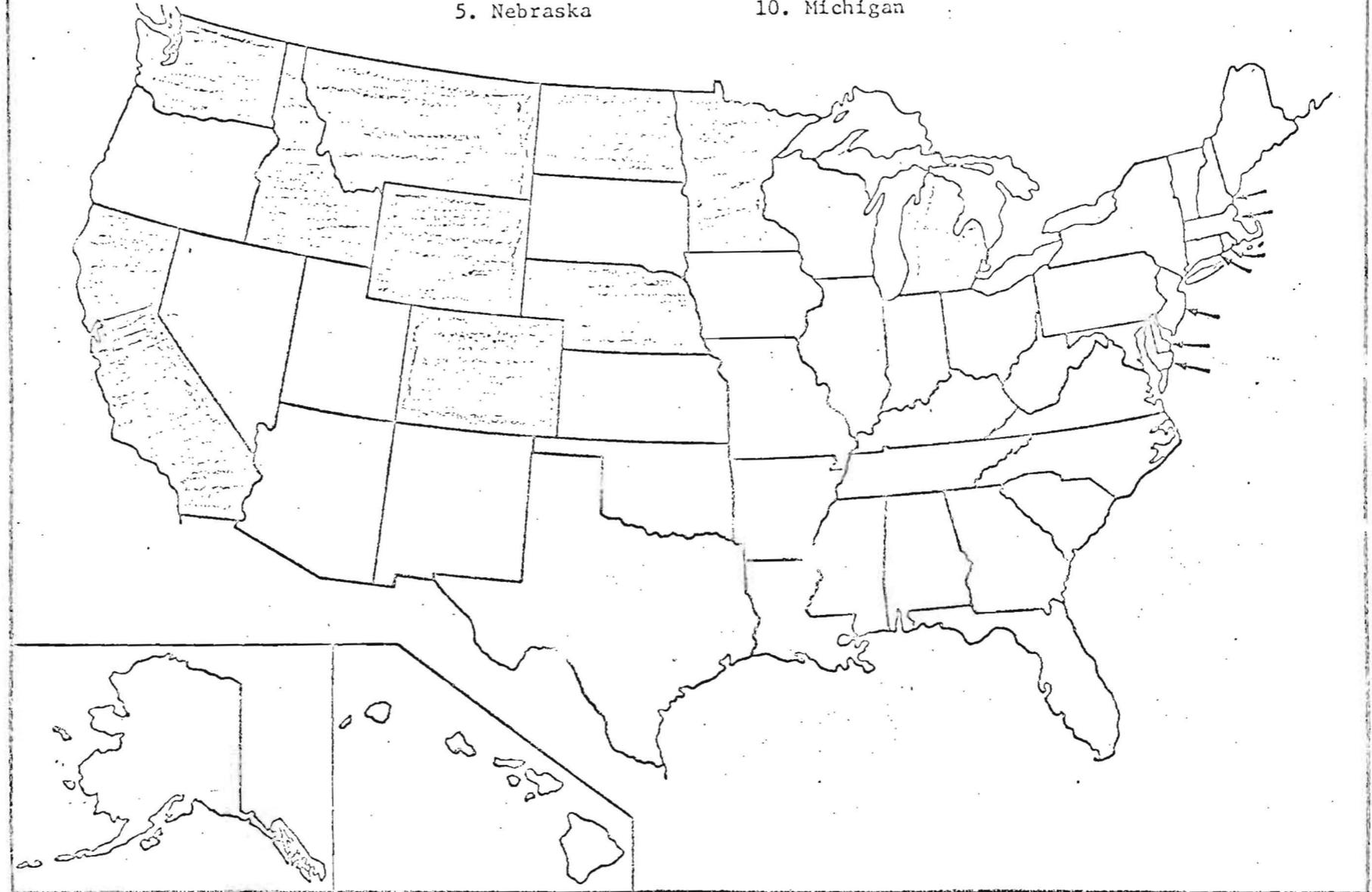
1. Arkansas
2. California
3. Texas
4. Louisiana
5. Mississippi
6. Missouri



- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. California | 6. Texas |
| 2. Florida | 7. Michigan |
| 3. Ohio | 8. Pennsylvania |
| 4. New Jersey | 9. South Carolina |
| 5. Indiana | 10. New York |



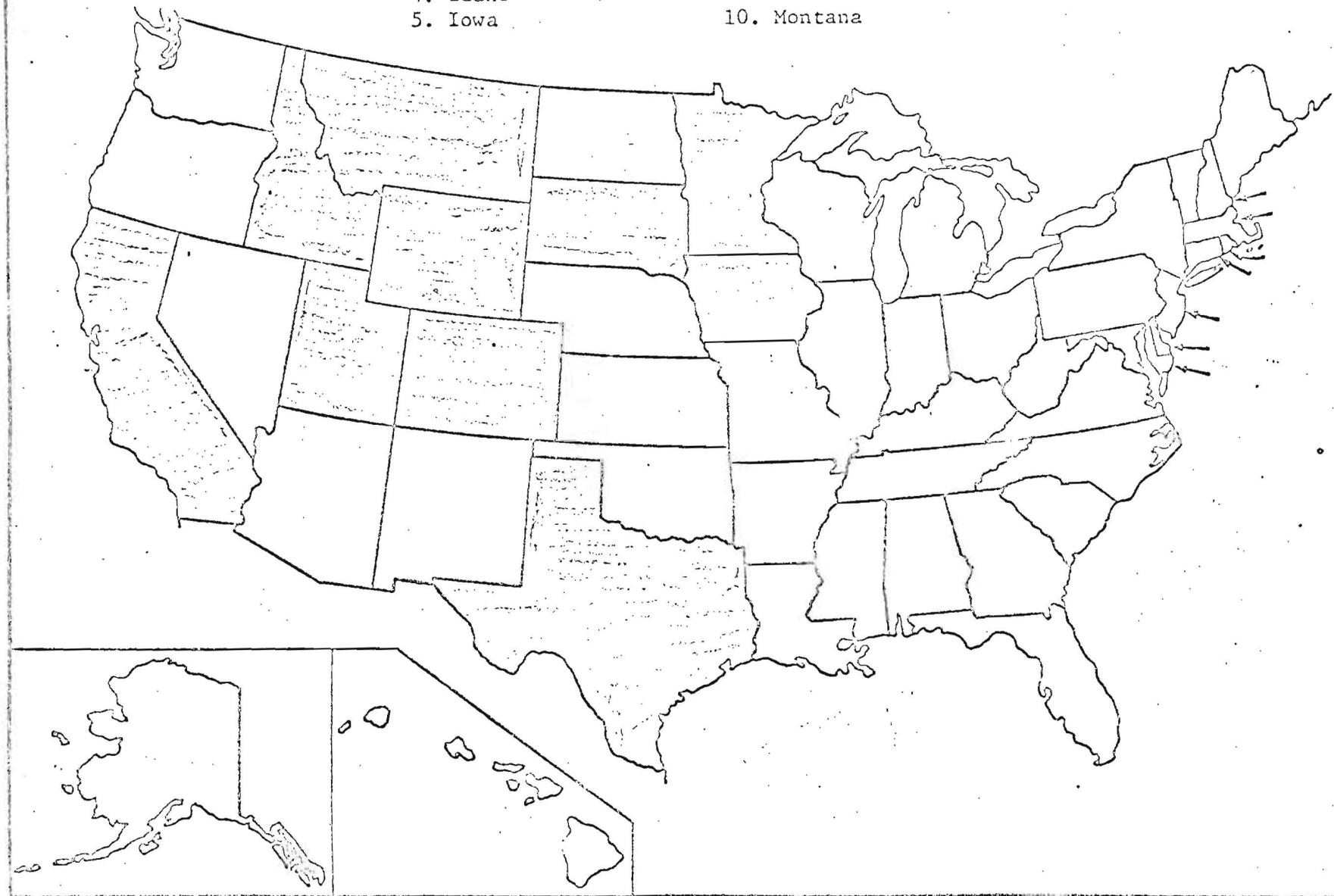
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. California | 6. Washington |
| 2. Colorado | 7. Wyoming |
| 3. Idaho | 8. Montana |
| 4. Minnesota | 9. North Dakota |
| 5. Nebraska | 10. Michigan |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Sheep and Lambs

20. Total value \$332 million

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Texas | 6. South Dakota |
| 2. Colorado | 7. Wyoming |
| 3. California | 8. Utah |
| 4. Idaho | 9. Minnesota |
| 5. Iowa | 10. Montana |



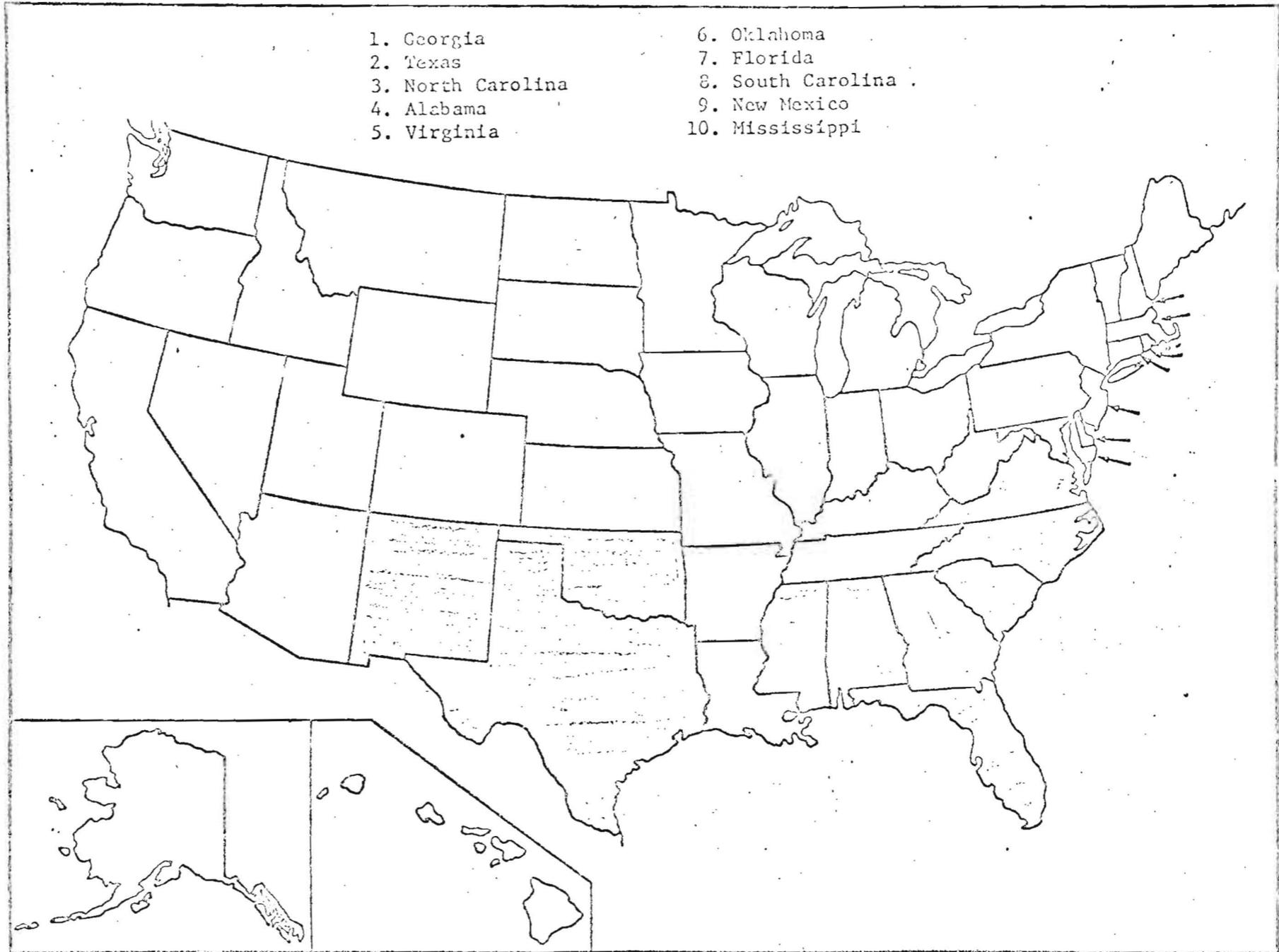
- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Washington | 6. Virginia |
| 2. New York | 7. West Virginia |
| 3. Michigan | 8. North Carolina |
| 4. Pennsylvania | 9. Ohio |
| 5. California | 10. Massachusetts |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Peanuts

22. Total value \$323 million

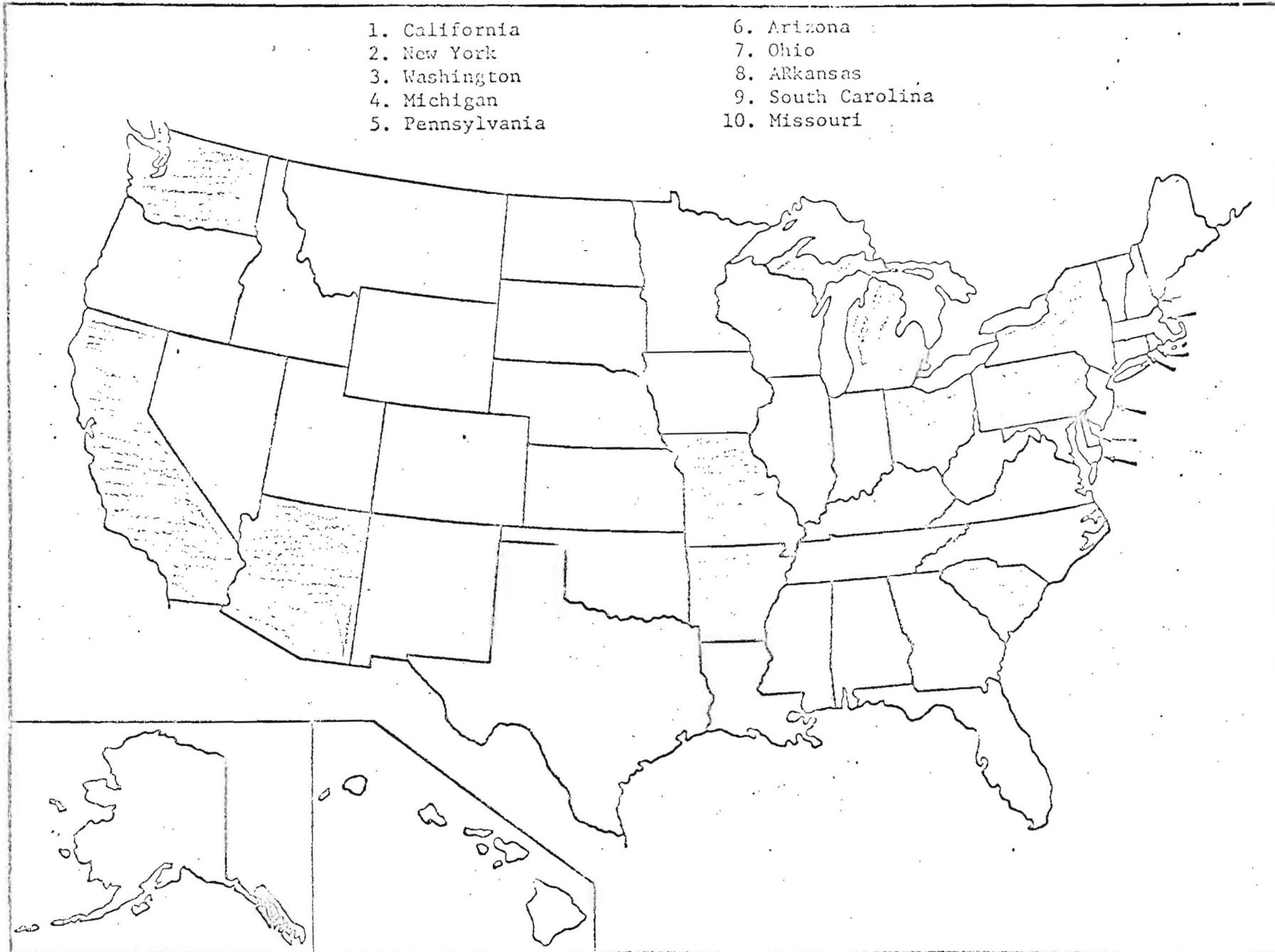
- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Georgia | 6. Oklahoma |
| 2. Texas | 7. Florida |
| 3. North Carolina | 8. South Carolina |
| 4. Alabama | 9. New Mexico |
| 5. Virginia | 10. Mississippi |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Grapes.

23. Total value \$272 million

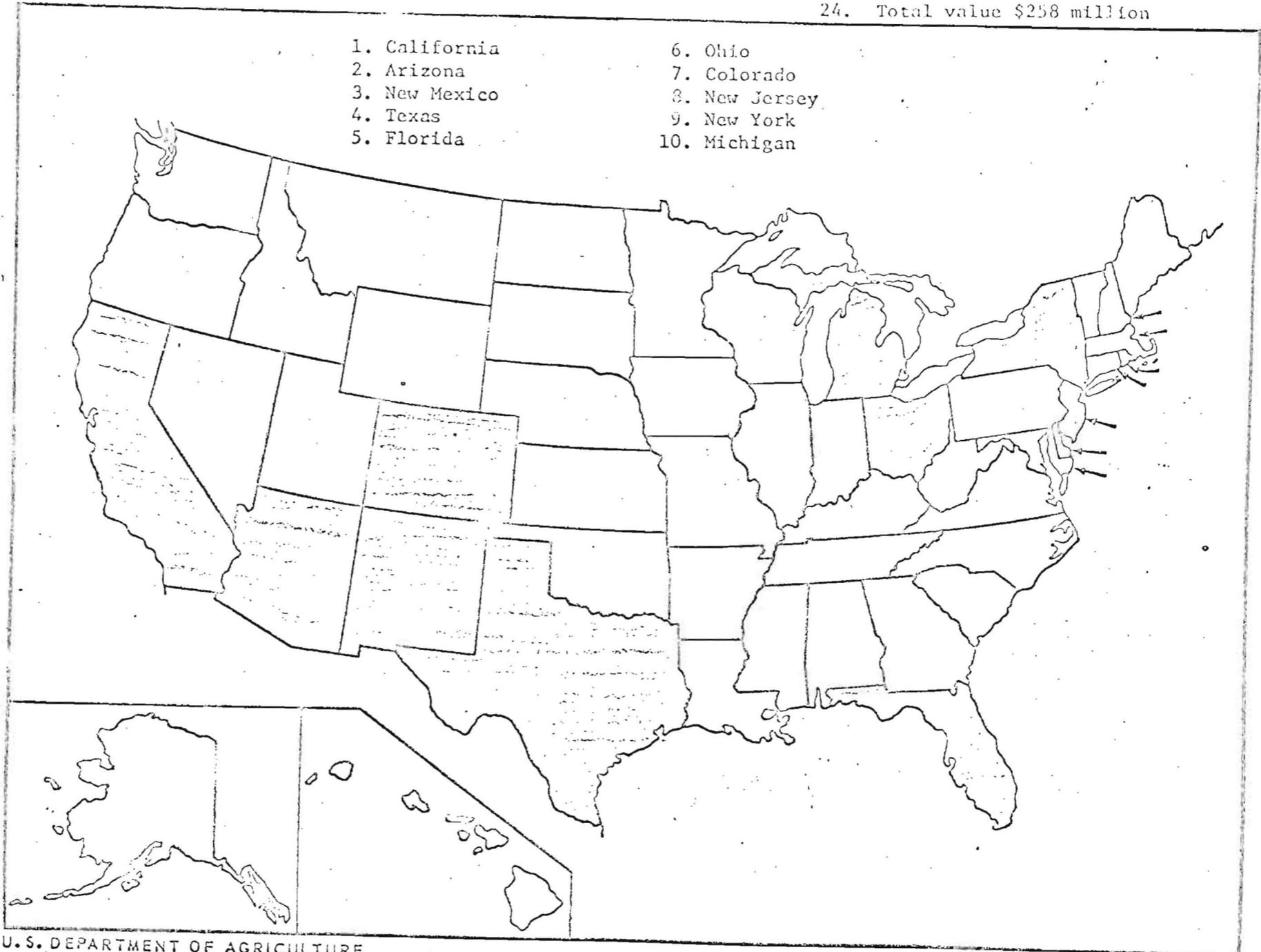
- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. California | 6. Arizona |
| 2. New York | 7. Ohio |
| 3. Washington | 8. Arkansas |
| 4. Michigan | 9. South Carolina |
| 5. Pennsylvania | 10. Missouri |



LEADING STATES FOR CASH RECEIPTS, 1969 - Lettuce

24. Total value \$258 million

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. California | 6. Ohio |
| 2. Arizona | 7. Colorado |
| 3. New Mexico | 8. New Jersey |
| 4. Texas | 9. New York |
| 5. Florida | 10. Michigan |



- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. North Dakota | 6. Oregon |
| 2. California | 7. Washington |
| 3. Montana | 8. Arizona |
| 4. Minnesota | 9. Oklahoma |
| 5. Idaho | 10. Colorado |

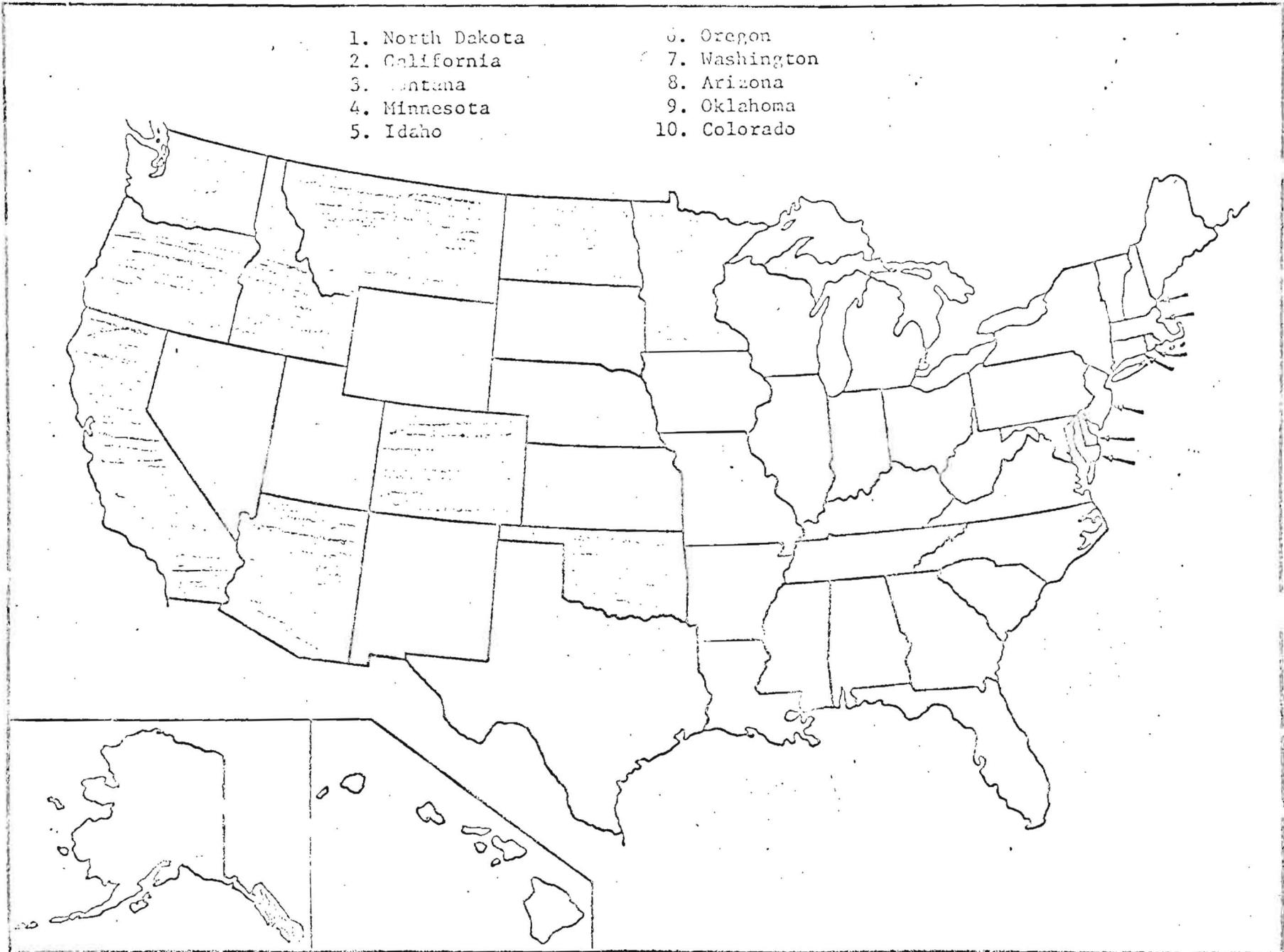


Table 2.--States ranked by cash receipts, 1959
(Italics--rank of States in U.S.) (Cash receipts in million dollars)

State	Total		Livestock and products		Crops		The five leading commodities for cash receipts ^{1/}														
	Rank	C.R.	Rank	C.R.	Rank	C.R.	1		2		3		4		5						
							Commodity	C.R.	Commodity	C.R.	Commodity	C.R.	Commodity	C.R.	Commodity	C.R.					
Maine	38	259	39	175	37	81	Potatoes	3	96	Eggs	15	55	Broilers	9	53	Dairy Prod.	36	40	Cattle	45	7
New Hampshire	43	57	47	44	47	13	Dairy Prod.	41	27	Hogs	33	14	Cattle	47	4	Grain Hrery.	34	4	Apples	27	4
Vermont	44	192	40	137	46	14	Dairy Prod.	15	116	Cattle	41	15	Hogs	45	5	Forest Prod.	19	4	Apples	27	3
Massachusetts	43	166	44	91	40	75	Dairy Prod.	33	43	Grain Hrery.	10	25	Hogs	23	23	Cranberries	1	13	Tobacco	13	9
Rhode Island	49	21	49	11	49	10	Dairy Prod.	44	5	Grain Hrery.	31	5	Hogs	47	3	Potatoes	24	3	Misc. Veg.	41	2/
Connecticut	42	166	42	105	41	62	Dairy Prod.	27	45	Hogs	13	43	Tobacco	9	22	Grain Hrery.	13	10	Cattle	46	6
New York	15	1,091	13	753	23	292	Dairy Prod.	2	524	Hogs	10	84	Cattle	34	32	Grain Hrery.	3	57	Apples	2	48
New Jersey	37	250	43	103	36	147	Dairy Prod.	32	49	Grain Hrery.	7	34	Hogs	23	32	Tomatoes	4	16	Asparagus	2	9
Pennsylvania	14	969	15	752	24	237	Dairy Prod.	4	424	Cattle	29	120	Hogs	4	115	Grain Hrery.	5	43	Mushrooms	1	43
Ohio	13	1,271		770	15	404	Dairy Prod.	7	243	Cattle	17	205	Hogs	7	199	Corn	6	133	Soybeans	4	125
Indiana	9	1,211		77	7	671	Hogs	3	341	Corn	3	279	Soybeans	3	260	Cattle	27	14	Dairy Prod.	17	143
Illinois	4	2,773		1,342	2	1,361	Corn	1	734	Hogs	2	610	Cattle	9	502	Soybeans	1	472	Dairy Prod.	10	156
Michigan	22	653	23	460	14	543	Dairy Prod.	6	251	Cattle	31	115	Hogs	17	51	Dry Beans	1	43	Eggs	17	43
Miscellaneous	8	1,525	7	1,313	31	212	Dairy Prod.	1	847	Cattle	14	221	Hogs	9	150	Corn	12	42	Eggs	22	36
Minnesota	5	1,977	6	1,342	8	616	Cattle	10	441	Dairy Prod.	5	421	Hogs	6	275	Corn	5	193	Soybeans	6	169
Iowa	2	3,743	1	2,553	5	939	Cattle	1	1,377	Cattle	1	1,173	Corn	2	465	Soybeans	2	376	Dairy Prod.	8	210
Missouri	19	1,446	9	1,032	15	414	Cattle	11	442	Hogs	4	360	Soybeans	5	148	Dairy Prod.	11	145	Corn	7	91
North Dakota	25	744	33	165	14	479	Wheat	2	281	Cattle	13	135	Barley	1	59	Flaxseed	1	45	Dairy Prod.	37	24
South Dakota	19	906	11	603	33	183	Cattle	8	510	Hogs	2	171	Dairy Prod.	26	64	Corn	10	52	Wheat	10	48
Nebraska	6	1,933	4	1,399	10	534	Cattle	5	930	Hogs	5	287	Corn	4	250	Wheat	7	61	Sorghum Grain	3	76
Kansas	7	1,718	8	1,144	9	573	Cattle	4	872	Wheat	1	284	Hogs	10	147	Sorghum Grain	2	125	Dairy Prod.	21	67
Delaware	45	151	41	107	42	44	Broilers	8	66	Corn	21	11	Soybeans	24	10	Dairy Prod.	46	9	Apples	43	6
Maryland	36	309	32	205	37	124	Broilers	5	113	Dairy Prod.	19	97	Corn	13	31	Cattle	39	29	Tobacco	4	23
Virginia	30	577	23	343	27	243	Dairy Prod.	13	103	Tobacco	4	95	Cattle	33	67	Hogs	20	37	Broilers	11	34
West Virginia	46	146	45	80	45	75	Cattle	40	25	Dairy Prod.	42	22	Hogs	35	12	Apples	7	12	Broilers	21	9
North Carolina	11	1,460	18	554	6	812	Tobacco	1	516	Broilers	4	159	Eggs	3	177	Hogs	11	119	Dairy Prod.	27	92
South Carolina	34	400	34	146	29	155	Tobacco	3	99	Hogs	19	39	Soybeans	14	27	Cattle	38	39	Dairy Prod.	27	31
Georgia	14	1,148	16	740	16	497	Broilers	1	216	Hogs	2	214	Tomatoes	1	122	Cattle	30	115	Hogs	12	31
Florida	12	1,343	25	302	4	561	Oranges	1	364	Cattle	23	137	Dairy Prod.	13	121	Grain Hrery.	2	83	Tomatoes	2	81
Kentucky	21	845	27	488	17	378	Tobacco	2	301	Cattle	15	234	Dairy Prod.	14	119	Hogs	13	93	Corn	14	30
Tennessee	27	673	24	414	26	229	Cattle	20	169	Dairy Prod.	17	100	Tobacco	5	73	Soybeans	10	71	Hogs	15	67
Alabama	26	773	20	577	32	175	Broilers	3	173	Cattle	26	130	Hogs	6	100	Hogs	16	63	Dairy Prod.	31	50
Mississippi	23	867	22	462	20	375	Cattle	19	173	Soybeans	7	129	Cotton Lint	3	114	Broilers	6	120	Eggs	9	16
Arkansas	16	1,039	19	534	11	585	Soybeans	4	213	Broilers	2	211	Rice	1	119	Cattle	21	130	Hogs	5	100
Louisiana	31	572	35	254	21	313	Cattle	27	122	Hogs	4	265	Soybeans	9	70	Dairy Prod.	25	69	Sugarcane	2	56
Oklahoma	20	939	17	670	25	261	Cattle	7	533	Wheat	3	124	Dairy Prod.	23	72	Hogs	23	30	Tomatoes	6	26
Texas	3	2,995	2	1,763	3	1,123	Cattle	2	1,210	Sorghum Grain	1	317	Cotton Lint	1	293	Dairy Prod.	9	196	Hogs	7	97
Montana	33	534	27	353	34	181	Cattle	13	242	Wheat	5	107	Barley	3	33	Sugar Beets	8	17	Dairy Prod.	44	16
Wyoming	29	631	31	479	19	352	Cattle	22	195	Potatoes	1	137	Dairy Prod.	27	63	Wheat	6	55	Sugar Beets	3	45
Wyoming	39	245	36	148	44	35	Cattle	23	17	Sheep Lambs	7	19	Sugar Beets	7	10	Wool	2	8	Dairy Prod.	44	7
Colorado	17	1,016	12	746	30	279	Cattle	6	641	Dairy Prod.	30	52	Sugar Beets	2	47	Wheat	13	38	Sheep Lambs	2	55
New Mexico	35	379	29	249	35	62	Cattle	14	257	Dairy Prod.	43	21	Hog	10	17	Sorghum Grain	7	26	Cotton Lint	13	15
Arizona	28	632	26	369	22	273	Cattle	12	347	Lettuce	2	67	Cotton Lint	5	62	Dairy Prod.	35	38	Hog	6	22
Utah	40	209	37	116	43	43	Cattle	35	50	Dairy Prod.	35	42	Sheep Lambs	8	17	Turkeys	11	15	Eggs	37	8
Nevada	47	76	46	65	45	13	Cattle	38	60	Dairy Prod.	47	6	Hog	26	7	Sheep Lambs	23	3	Alfalfa Seed	4	3
Washington	24	773	30	283	12	462	Wheat	4	115	Dairy Prod.	16	112	Cattle	32	107	Apples	1	74	Potatoes	4	43
Oregon	32	546	34	296	24	283	Cattle	24	17	Dairy Prod.	29	54	Wheat	14	35	Grain Hrery.	9	28	Potatoes	3	22
California	1	4,371	3	1,746	1	2,605	Cattle	5	849	Dairy Prod.	3	481	Hogs	1	230	Grapes	1	243	Grain Hrery.	1	210
Alaska	50	4	50	3	50	1	Dairy Prod.	50	2	Cattle	50	2/	Apples	49	2/	Potatoes	43	2/	Hog	49	2/
Hawaii	41	199	48	40	35	159	Sugarcane	1	2/	Pineapples	1	3/	Cattle	42	13	Dairy Prod.	45	13	Eggs	38	6
United States		47,229		28,439		18,790	Cattle		12,522	Dairy Prod.		6,172	Hogs		4,667	Corn		2,714	Soybeans		2,490

^{1/} See table 11 for unrounded data and relative importance in the respective State. ^{2/} Less than \$500,000. ^{3/} Cash receipts for minor State estimates and Hawaii sugarcane and pineapples are not available for publication. NOTE: Grain Hrery. excludes mushrooms.

FIG-255 (Continued)

0151 1959

STAFF

Director \$ 3,000
Assistant Director 2,400
Secretaries and clerical (3) 3,900

\$9,300

TRAVEL (Including speakers)

30,000

HEADQUARTERS OVERHEAD *

11,000

TELEPHONE

5,000

MAILINGS

Agribusiness
Tabloid (Total costs including postage)

100,000

\$700,000

MEETINGS (Agribusiness)

25,000

CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

"Hixon for Farmers" bumper strip
"Hixon for Farmers" button

1,500
800

2,300

MEDIA

Newspaper advertising
Newspaper mats
Radio spots

3,000

500,000

500,000

Total

185,600

1,700,000

* Headquarters in Evansville, Wisconsin

UNITED CITIZENS FOR NIXON AGNEW

Cumulative Expenditures by Activity

As of the Dates Specified

	<u>9/20/68</u>	<u>10/5/68</u>	<u>10/10/68</u>	<u>11/1/68</u>	<u>1/31/69</u>
Office National Chairman	\$ 2,061.09	\$ 1,923.82	\$ 2,721.74	\$ 5,144.98	\$ 8,242.27
Office National Co-Chairman	200.00	3,550.10	5,016.52	5,739.12	5,543.73
Office National Director	4,783.34	3,195.60	4,135.55	4,242.49	3,628.07
Office Director of Administration	110,896.47	154,793.00	189,324.57	206,610.00	269,322.04
Office of the Controller	6,979.51	7,768.11	7,822.10	8,174.25	9,815.76
Office of Finance	--	1,890.12	6,128.42	9,775.71	11,333.97
Director of Planning	8,662.12	10,266.34	8,032.27	8,490.56	9,735.61
Speakers, Celebrities/Athletes	23,453.42	36,392.31	47,482.60	61,334.49	89,204.02
Field Operations	25,478.03	44,824.00	66,007.24	93,411.49	107,121.50
Information Division	33,253.32	72,573.46	83,446.40	129,051.78	141,937.31
Campaign Materials	43,709.19	50,573.40	56,226.63	31,527.67	34,911.01
Automatic Typing	2,594.35	6,325.63	2,526.71	9,495.44	17,167.77
Volunteers	98,861.87	275,083.91	264,637.01	327,514.23	296,321.18
Participation Politics	56,032.88	70,566.45	105,752.34	145,359.25	173,221.02
Nixon/Agnew Clubs	12,244.02	22,522.20	34,915.00	57,357.09	69,317.05
Youth for Nixon/Agnew	17,329.18	29,419.06	37,457.86	65,321.21	78,723.73
Young Adults, Commitment '68	49,049.17	61,006.21	74,848.48	88,414.13	99,079.18
Lawyers	3,126.52	13,170.34	15,621.93	2,073.31	11,371.60
Veterans	4,305.08	13,011.70	21,772.77	33,703.95	39,652.01
Doctors	161.00	6,043.21	9,117.86	3,012.25	4,125.21
Dentists	--	--	--	2,107.49	1,357.82
Teachers	4,108.25	4,651.46	11,104.04	17,067.10	19,123.22
Farmers, Agriculture	15,509.31	28,827.65	46,449.55	74,954.05	88,696.77
Hayons	3,386.10	3,386.10	3,386.10	11,755.05	11,244.91
Pilots	--	5,122.00	5,450.00	6,823.51	2,573.03
Nationalities	13,948.43	21,364.66	80,748.47	86,505.99	92,389.17
Young Civic Leaders	4,000.00	4,415.30	1,315.50	2,595.79	3,225.50
Senior Citizens	6,223.48	29,097.52	35,022.52	43,452.09	39,744.81
Law Students	1,052.18	2,330.40	2,815.40	2,816.64	2,872.07
Citizens Leadership Meetings	32,779.01	39,882.07	59,710.05	79,477.01	94,323.00
Secretaries	3,423.62	6,389.73	8,415.79	16,407.02	19,515.67
Spanish-Americans	593.00	2,074.55	4,959.40	15,644.22	23,143.76
Director of Programs	11,135.20	11,346.25	11,423.53	17,511.36	27,082.17
Clergy	--	--	--	411.00	535.00
Culture and Fine Arts	--	--	60.00	187.55	187.55

UNITED CITIZENS FOR NIXON AGNEW

Cumulative Expenditures by Activity

As of the Dates Specified

	<u>9/20/68</u>	<u>10/5/68</u>	<u>10/12/68</u>	<u>11/1/68</u>	<u>1/31/69</u>
Ham Radio Operators	--	--	6.95	27.23	27.23
Life Insurance	--	--	--	223.89	223.89
Maritime	--	459.05	1,632.81	2,428.51	2,921.41
Minorities	1,820.52	1,820.52	5,142.72	5,142.72	5,200.50
Scientists and Engineers	140.00	265.00	1,025.66	1,408.66	1,552.84
Director of State Organizations	6,166.99	7,774.85	8,373.85	10,050.97	12,565.70
Senior Advisors	1,016.07	1,096.62	1,265.50	2,204.25	2,452.72
Educators	--	320.25	1,912.33	1,988.83	2,216.60
Certified Public Accountants	--	192.00	287.00	1,026.50	132.50
Communications	--	--	--	--	--
Conservationists	--	--	120.00	242.40	242.40
Cosmetologists	--	--	--	--	--
Home Builders and Financers	--	80.00	172.05	1,600.40	1,634.52
Hotel & Restaurant Owners	--	3,645.50	3,053.50	411.25	381.25
Jewelers	--	26.00	460.20	510.00	575.45
Labor	--	2,920.36	416.26	473.47	407.42
Lumber & Building Materials Dealers	--	74.00	1,321.60	3,429.60	3,301.50
Patent Lawyers	--	24.00	209.00	470.00	592.00
Pharmacists	--	547.72	413.72	10.00	72.00
Realtors	--	913.50	680.50	680.50	--
Service Station Attendants	--	2,045.00	1,190.00	1,190.00	1,190.00
Small Business	--	--	--	--	--
Taxi Drivers	--	--	200.00	200.00	200.00
Telephone Operators	--	25.00	313.50	1,144.54	1,139.50
Trade Associations	--	--	--	71.00	71.00
Transportation	--	296.00	1,240.42	4,650.97	1,254.52
Travel Agents	--	22.00	37.77	1,112.16	1,079.50
Truckers and Truck Drivers	--	--	--	--	--
County Officials	--	--	4,258.00	3,337.91	3,337.91
Computer Industry	--	--	--	--	--
Landscape Artists	--	16.00	4.15	237.35	313.32
Trade Associations	1,118.25	1,118.25	1,118.25	1,118.25	1,118.43
Labor (Field Operations)	--	--	362.93	448.64	448.64
TOTAL	<u>\$ 610,594.79</u>	<u>\$1,076,776.08</u>	<u>\$1,360,354.67</u>	<u>\$1,716,134.78</u>	<u>\$1,967,299.57</u>

UNITED CITIZENS FOR NIXON/AGNEW

Total Expenses by Activity
Through January 31, 1969

	<u>Expenses</u> <u>Through</u> <u>1/31/69</u>	<u>Per Cent</u> <u>of Total</u> <u>Expense</u>		<u>Expenses</u> <u>Through</u> <u>1/31/69</u>	<u>Per Cent</u> <u>of Total</u> <u>Expense</u>
Office National Chairman	\$ 6,242.97	.4	Secretaries	\$ 18,318.67	.9
Office National Co-Chairman	5,542.74	.3	Spanish Americans	23,865.76	1.2
Office National Director	5,699.97	.3	Director of Programs	27,882.13	1.4
Office Director of Administration	269,232.73	13.7	Clergy	435.00	-
Office of the Controller	9,813.86	.5	Culture and Fine Arts	147.55	-
Office of Finance	11,333.07	.6	Ham Radio Operators	27.40	-
Director of Planning	9,756.61	.5	Life Insurance	291.03	-
Speakers, Celebrities/Athletes	89,208.92	4.5	Maritime	2,091.41	.1
Field Operations	198,159.55	5.5	Minorities	5,289.59	.3
Information Division	144,837.61	7.4	Scientists and Engineers	1,802.26	.1
Campaign Materials	56,917.01	2.9	Director of State Organizations	12,585.39	.6
Automatic Typing	13,567.77	.7	Senior Advisors	2,452.72	.1
Volunteers	296,391.18	15.1	Educators	2,336.60	.1
Participation Politics	175,957.80	8.9	Certified Public Accountants	133.50	-
Nixon/Agnew Clubs	60,257.35	3.1	Conservationists	242.40	-
Youth for Nixon/Agnew	74,793.83	3.8	Home Builders and Financiers	1,632.50	.1
Young Adults, Commitment '68	98,981.10	5.0	Hotel and Restaurant Owners	391.19	-
Lawyers	11,075.63	.6	Jewelers	584.08	-
Veterans	34,535.04	1.8	Labor	487.42	-
Doctors	4,159.31	.2	Lumber & Building Materials Dealers	3,993.53	.2
Dentists	1,238.43	.1	Patent Lawyers	599.64	-
Teachers	19,183.22	1.0	Pharmacists	72.90	-
Farmers/Agriculture	88,696.77	4.5	Service Station Attendants	1,199.47	.1
Mayors	11,944.82	.6	Taxi Drivers	200.00	-
Pilots	2,576.33	.1	Telephone Operators	1,139.50	.1
Nationalities	92,259.17	4.7	Trade Associations	71.00	-
Young Civic Leaders	8,306.55	.4	Transportation	1,254.92	.1
Senior Citizens	39,744.61	2.0	Travel Agents	1,972.59	.1
Law Students	2,672.32	.1	County Officials	3,537.91	.2
Citizens Leadership Meetings & Special Projects	96,293.59	4.9	Landscape Artists	313.22	-
			Trade Associations	1,118.43	.1
			Labor (Field Operations)	448.64	-
			TOTAL	\$1,967,298.57	100.0

-195-

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UNITED CITIZENS FOR NIXON/AGNEW
Contributions Received by Activities
through September 30, 1972

General Citizens	\$233,230.55
Agriculture/Committee	1,560.25
County Officials	25.00
CPA's	7,177.53
Cuban/American Relations Committee	1,822.00
Dentists	4,838.50
Educators	1,141.50
Finance Committee	16,440.00
Grass Roots Committee	100.00
Home-Builders and Financers	2,271.00
Hotel & Restaurant Owners	3,057.50
Insurance Men	395.89
Jewelers	406.00
Landscape/Architects	1,228.50
Lawyers	25,145.00
Life Underwriters	830.00
Lumber & Building Material Dealers	815.00
Maritime	125.00
Mayors	2,255.50
Nationalities	168.25
Nixon/Agnew Clubs	2,585.69
Nixon for President	157.00
Patent Lawyers	1,839.00
Pharmacists	4,333.01
Physicians	38,803.50
Pilots	804.00
Realtors	5,872.60
Scientists and Engineers	63.10
Secretaries	3,684.32
Senior Citizens	108.00
Service Station Attendants	10.00
Speak-to Nixon/Agnew	340.00
TV Committee	62.50
Teachers	1,053.52
Transportation	1,028.50
Travel Agents	900.00
Veterans	5,824.35
Volunteers	7,691.45
Women	8,284.40
Young Civic Leaders	639.50
Youth for Nixon/Agnew	3,710.84
	<u>\$390,922.34</u>
Contributions received by UCMA for Other Organizations	313,520.00
TOTAL	<u>\$704,442.24</u>

MURPHY PRODUCTS COMPANY, INC.

BURLINGTON, WISCONSIN • PHONE 763-3566

DR. R. R. SPITZER
PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER

June 8, 1971

Mr. John Whitaker
Secretary to the Cabinet
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Attached are:

1. Agriculture for Nixon (what we felt was necessary) 1968
2. The revised Nixon-Agnew 9/19/68 schedule (list of publications that actually ran)

In addition to this I am checking on the amount that we spent...headquarters, staff, etc.

It is our recommendation for '72 we will need as follows:

1. More exclusive use of farm papers -- at least \$500,000
2. More exclusive use of farm radio -- at least \$484,000
3. For farm television -- \$1,200,000

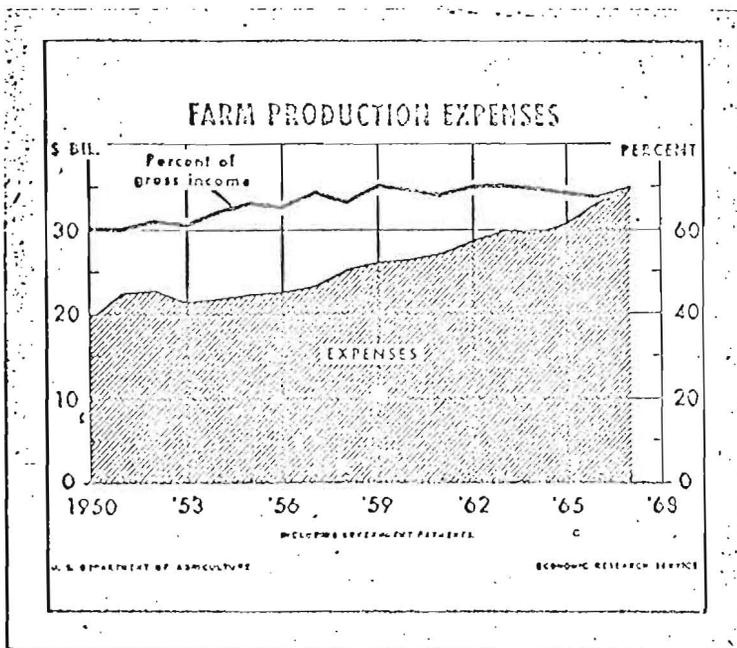
This time we have to run on the record and it is not going to be easy. Even this cannot be effective, however, unless steps are taken which we have discussed.

Sincerely,

RRS:ch
Encl.

Request '68

AGRICULTURE FOR NIXON-AGNEW



Here's how farmers keep informed

Recent surveys indicate that "in depth" editorial material is a necessity in the business of farming

Thomas C. Hickey
President, Agricultural Publishers Assn.

How do some 3½ million American farmers keep informed? What are the sources of information about the latest techniques in new farming practices?

In the years since World War II, leading colleges across the nation have done much research in this area. Their aim has been to determine just exactly how farmers keep informed.

The University of Illinois, in 1950, tackled the problem by asking farmers this question, "What do you, a farmer, consider your most important source of information?" The results were extremely revealing: 45 percent of the respondents specified farm publications. Next in importance were farm advisors with 6.0 percent of the vote; then came neighbors and friends with 5.7 percent; and finally radio and TV, 0.7 percent.

While farm publications seem clearly the most important source for information to farmers, it should be pointed out that the broadcast media, especially radio, are extremely important in providing up-to-the-minute market and weather information for farmers. These media are superb in that area.

Detailed information about new techniques in agriculture, however, is another matter. In that respect, farm publications apparently have no rivals. This is explained perhaps by suggesting that farm publications are, in a very real sense, business publications — and the business is that of modern farming. "In depth" editorial material seems necessary to satisfy the farmer's hunger for new information.

In 1961 South Dakota State College asked farmers, "What is the information source most helpful in new farming practices?" The results show: farm publications — 65.8 percent; neighbors and friends — 21.0 percent; county agents — 13.9 percent; college bulletins — 13.8 percent; radio — 2.7 percent; TV — 2.6 percent.

Dr. C. H. Sandage of the University of Illinois has gained much prominence in advertising research. In 1959 he went into this subject by asking farmers these two questions: (1) "Amount of helpful information from ads?" and, (2) "Amount of dependence farmers can place in ads?"

This is what Dr. Sandage learned:

1. Amount of helpful information from ads?
 - Farm publications 28.0%
 - Newspapers 19.9
 - TV 8.0
 - Radio 6.4
2. Amount of dependence (believability) farmers can place in ads?
 - Farm publications 33.7%
 - Newspapers 18.6
 - TV 6.9
 - Radio 6.2

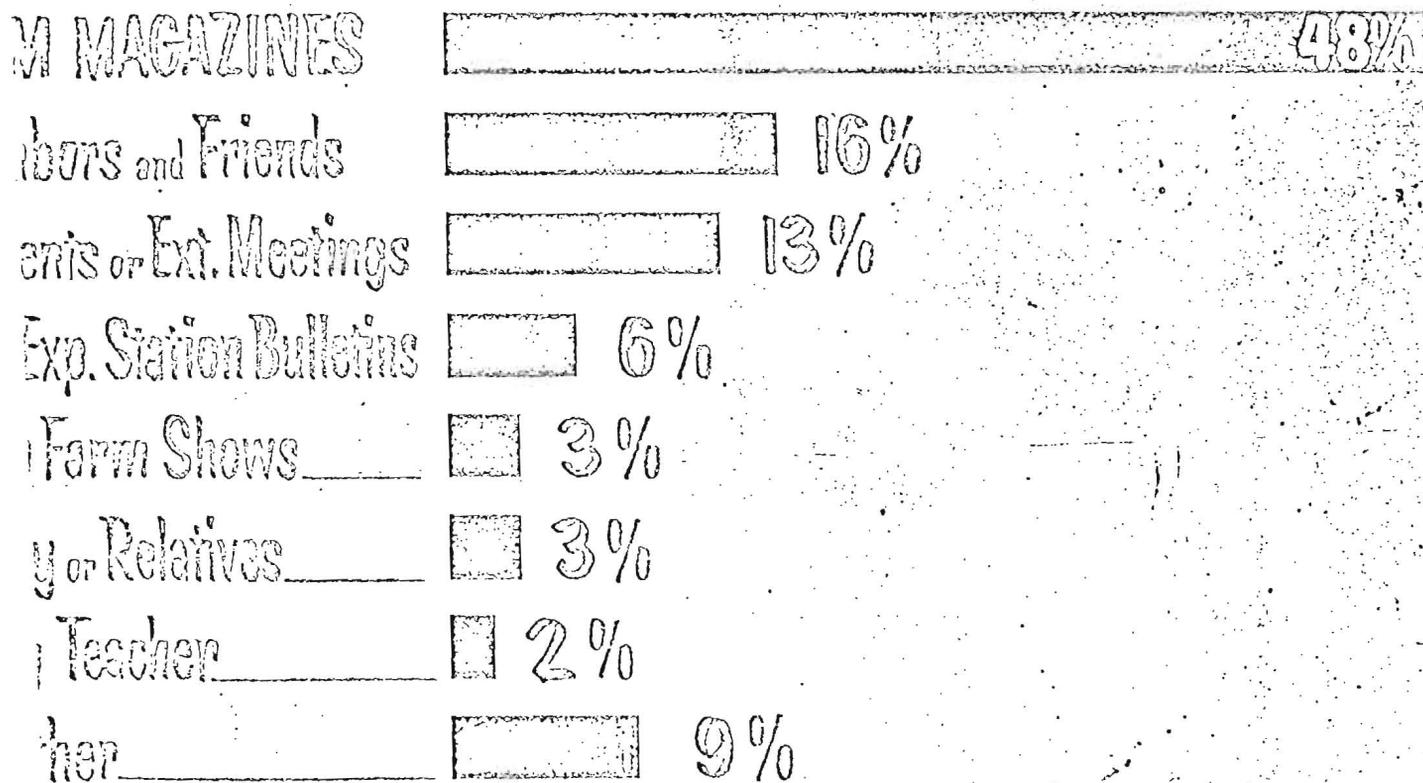
Other studies have been made by such Land Grant colleges as Purdue, Iowa State and Cornell. A summary of some ten such studies provides an over-all picture demonstrating the great prominence of farm publications in the agricultural business scene.

Lumping the studies together, we find farmers keep informed (about farming practices) in this way:

- Farm publications 65.0%
- Neighbors 50.0
- County agents 37.0
- Sales literature 26.0
- Radio 18.0
- Newspapers 9.0
- TV 4.0

This all suggests that the job of communicating to the nation's farmers is indeed a big one. But farm publications in America, aided in varying degrees, by other media, are doing that job admirably.

Where Farmers Get Information about Farm Practices



Mid-South Chemical Co. survey among farmers using an average of 40 tons of fertilizer each in eight Southern states: Ala., Ark., Ky., La., Miss., Tenn., Okla., and Tex.

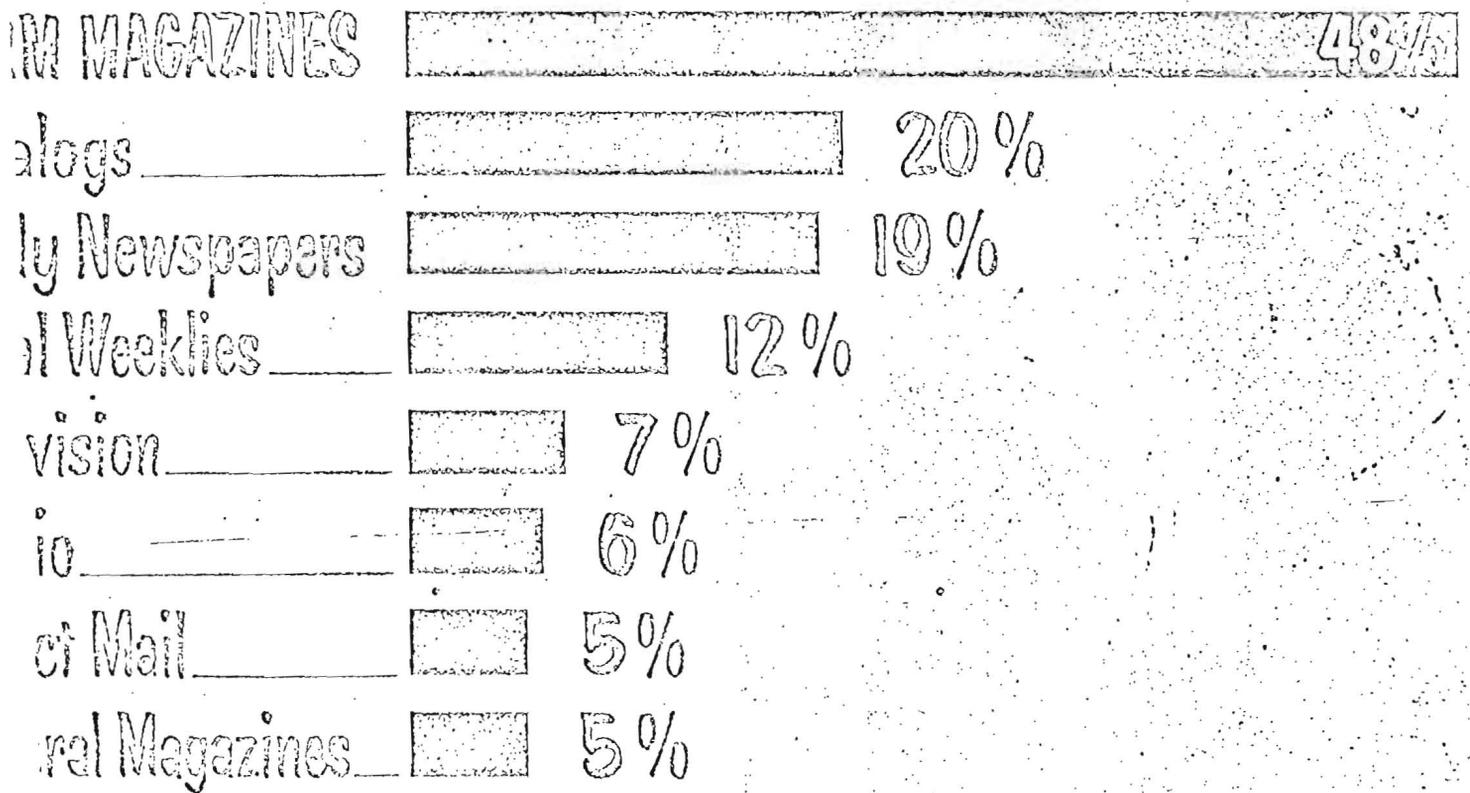
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The
Progressive Farmer

THE SOUTH'S LARGEST FARM MAGAZINE

Birmingham • New York • Chicago • Detroit

More Farmers Depend on Information and Claims Made in Advertising in Farm Magazines



Dr. C. H. Sandage, University of Illinois Study "Farmers Attitudes Toward Advertising".

20-13d

The
Progressive Farmer

THE SOUTH'S LARGEST FARM MAGAZINE

Birmingham • New York • Chicago • Detroit • Atlanta • Dallas

Urban and Rural

17

No. 14. POPULATION, URBAN AND RURAL—STATES AND PUERTO RICO: 1950 AND 1960

[In thousands, except percent. 1960 based on sample]

STATE OR OTHER AREA	1950				1960			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	Number	Percent	Nonfarm	Farm	Number	Percent	Nonfarm	Farm
United States.....	96,847	61.0	131,431	123,045	125,784	69.9	40,567	13,474
New England.....	7,102	76.2	1,810	403	8,033	76.4	2,297	151
Maine.....	472	51.7	339	122	497	51.3	424	43
New Hampshire.....	207	67.5	179	47	354	58.3	235	19
Vermont.....	138	35.4	159	81	150	35.5	191	49
Massachusetts.....	3,059	81.4	651	89	4,503	83.6	810	36
Rhode Island.....	667	81.3	114	10	743	83.4	113	4
Connecticut.....	1,559	77.6	388	63	1,656	78.3	575	25
Middle Atlantic.....	21,272	80.5	4,504	1,388	27,510	81.4	6,628	733
New York.....	12,682	85.5	1,570	573	14,333	85.4	2,126	325
New Jersey.....	4,155	86.6	844	105	5,374	88.6	641	62
Pennsylvania.....	7,403	70.5	2,350	705	8,103	71.6	2,861	356
East North Central.....	21,186	69.7	5,510	3,763	26,439	73.0	7,227	2,663
Ohio.....	5,578	70.2	1,818	833	7,124	73.4	2,064	529
Indiana.....	2,357	59.9	610	667	2,910	62.4	1,267	456
Illinois.....	6,759	77.6	1,199	763	8,141	80.7	1,378	563
Michigan.....	4,403	70.7	1,174	695	5,741	73.4	1,613	441
Wisconsin.....	1,988	57.9	721	725	2,523	63.6	870	354
West North Central.....	7,305	53.0	3,027	3,729	9,017	53.8	3,518	2,830
Minnesota.....	1,675	51.5	618	740	2,121	62.1	705	688
Iowa.....	1,231	47.7	367	783	1,463	53.1	652	662
Missouri.....	2,433	61.5	658	863	2,878	66.6	602	541
N. Dakota.....	165	26.6	269	234	233	35.2	205	204
S. Dakota.....	217	33.2	182	234	267	30.3	208	206
Nebraska.....	622	46.9	312	391	766	51.3	337	309
Kansas.....	693	52.1	468	444	1,329	61.0	529	321
South Atlantic.....	10,391	49.1	6,153	4,633	14,853	57.2	8,783	2,335
Delaware.....	199	62.6	85	31	234	65.6	132	22
Maryland.....	1,616	69.0	544	183	2,254	72.7	737	110
Dist. of Col.....	832	100.0	-	-	764	100.0	-	-
Virginia.....	1,560	47.0	1,627	732	2,205	53.8	1,352	397
W. Virginia.....	694	31.6	169	411	711	35.2	1,678	121
N. Carolina.....	1,353	31.7	1,317	1,317	1,672	39.5	1,946	803
S. Carolina.....	778	36.7	635	701	841	41.2	1,070	351
Georgia.....	1,549	48.3	928	952	2,153	55.3	1,555	467
Florida.....	1,811	65.5	725	233	3,653	74.0	1,183	108
East South Central.....	4,435	39.1	2,944	4,045	6,834	48.4	4,155	2,050
Kentucky.....	1,634	36.8	857	974	1,353	41.5	1,137	545
Tennessee.....	1,453	44.1	823	1,015	1,855	52.3	1,116	857
Alabama.....	1,341	43.8	760	660	1,755	55.0	1,069	403
Mississippi.....	607	27.9	475	1,037	821	37.7	814	513
West South Central.....	8,050	55.6	3,243	3,215	11,479	67.7	3,933	1,521
Arkansas.....	631	33.0	477	622	765	42.8	652	332
Louisiana.....	1,472	51.8	644	597	2,694	63.3	923	233
Oklahoma.....	1,139	51.0	511	551	1,465	62.9	691	259
Texas.....	4,838	62.7	1,551	1,292	7,153	75.0	1,626	697
Mountains.....	2,786	61.9	1,431	870	4,600	67.1	1,679	577
Montana.....	258	43.7	107	155	338	50.2	230	106
Idaho.....	283	42.9	171	145	317	47.5	217	133
Wyoming.....	145	49.8	89	57	188	56.8	99	43
Colorado.....	831	62.7	266	165	1,293	73.7	333	125
New Mexico.....	812	50.2	267	132	625	65.7	257	59
Arizona.....	416	55.5	257	77	971	74.5	277	55
Utah.....	450	63.3	158	81	657	74.9	180	43
Nevada.....	92	67.2	55	13	201	70.4	74	10
Pacific.....	11,241	74.4	12,824	11,070	17,159	81.1	3,345	666
Washington.....	1,503	63.2	692	274	1,940	68.1	746	164
Oregon.....	819	53.9	474	224	1,160	62.2	550	135
California.....	8,539	80.7	1,479	568	13,577	85.4	1,733	351
Alaska.....	34	26.6	10	(1)	86	37.9	138	2
Hawaii.....	345	62.0	115	(1)	434	76.5	133	11
Puerto Rico.....	895	40.5	1,318	(1)	1,659	44.2	1,591	(1)

- Represents zero.

1 Farm included with nonfarm for Alaska and Hawaii. 1 Farm included with nonfarm.

Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, and 1960, Vol. I.

PURPOSE OF MEDIA

FARM PAPERS

A two-page spread is suggested in leading national, regional and vertical publications to explain

Mr. Nixon's position on the farm program.

In twenty key states -- one and two insertions will be placed in state farm publications to detail why and how farmers will benefit by voting for Nixon-Agnew.

Pertinent highlights of the proposed farm plank will be featured.

31 publications - \$157,745

FARM RADIO

Farm radio is recommended for use in the twenty key states. We suggest 299 farm stations be used -- 18 one-minute spots a week in prime farm time for six weeks -- from September 23 through November 2.

Radio will be used to urge listeners to comment on the farm program -- that they will have a voice in formulating the Nixon farm policy.

108 one-minute announcements on
299 stations @ \$15.00 average ...

Total time - \$484,380

109
300

2700
3 1

RURAL NEWSPAPERS

The importance of farming as an industry extends to 41% of the voting population. Those people are members of industrial groups that supply 31 billion dollar annual inputs of our agricultural economy. They also process market and distribute the food and fibre of our nation's farms to consumers. Their welfare depends on a healthy agricultural economy.

We plan to tell the Agri-business interdependence story to people in those rural areas with newspapers in the twenty key states of California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Michigan, New Jersey, Missouri, Wisconsin, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, New York, Tennessee, Maryland, Washington, Kentucky, Georgia, and Oregon.

Weeklies in twenty key states ...

2965 papers in Agri-business towns
600-line ads @ 8 cents a line

48 x 2965 papers -- 2 insertions
Weeks of October 7, October 21 - \$284,640

DIRECT MAIL

In every state farmers have faced declining prices for their products and increased costs for the production items that they buy.

Urged on by the present administration's program of food for peace -- of subsidies that have failed to control production -- farmers have over-produced, with consequent lowering of net income to farmers.

Farmers generally know that they can not continue with the democratic administration. They are ready for a change. They are ready to vote for Nixon-Agnew -- particularly if they have some assurance of fair and thoughtful consideration of their problems.

To give them that assurance -- in sufficient detail -- we propose that a 16-page bulk, direct mail newspaper tabloid be sent to R.F.D. box holders in the twenty key states -- to as many others that succeed in setting up a bona fide state Agriculture for Nixon-Agnew Committee, complete with an adequate roster of citizens. Such rosters are to be completed by September 16.

The direct mail folder will be localized as much as possible by states with names and addresses of Agribusiness leaders for Nixon-Agnew.

Estimated Cost - \$700,000

SUMMARY

Farm Papers \$ 157,745

Radio 484,380 ✓

Weekly Newspapers 284,640

Print Preparation 80,000

Radio Preparation 12,000

Direct Mail 700,000

TOTAL

\$1,718,765

requested

Special Actual

'68

NIXON - AGNEW

Farm Publications

(Staff & folders not listed)

	<u>Total Cost</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Circ.</u>
Drovers Journal 620 Lines B/W	620.00	10/10	10/1	10/10	55,841
Farm Journal Page, B/W (7-1/16" x 10-3/16")	14,790.00	Nov.	10/2 (Ext.)	10/12	3,045,853
Hoard's Dairyman Page, B/W (9-1/18" x 13")	3,021.20	10/25	9/25	10/25	347,533
Progressive Farmer (9-3/8" x 12-1/8") Texas - Oklahoma Edition Page, B/W	2,305.00	Nov.	9/23 (Ext.)	10/21	314,000
Carolinas, Va., Del., Md. Page, B/W	2,175.00	Nov.	9/23 (Ext.)		306,000
Ky., Tenn., W. Va. Page, B/W	1,795.00	Nov.	9/23 (Ext.)		222,000
Successful Farming Page, B/W (7-1/8" x 10-3/16")	6,800.00	Nov.	9/22 (Ext.)	10/25	1,330,774
American Agriculturist & The Rural New Yorker Page, B/W (9-1/16" x 13-9/16")	2,394.00	Nov.	10/1	11/1	214,094
California Farmer Page, B/W (9-1/16" x 13-1/2")	1,672.00	10/5	9/15	10/5	77,184
The Dakota Farmer Page, B/W (9-1/16" x 13-9/16")	1,368.00	10/5	9/20	10/5	84,368
The Southern Planter Page, B/W (9-1/16" x 13-9/16")	1,897.00	Nov.	10/5	11/1	195,790

	<u>Total Cost</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Circ.</u>
Farmer Stockman Unit (9-1/8" x 13-9/16")					
The Kansas Farmer Stockman					
The Oklahoma Farmer Stockman					
The Texas Farmer Stockman		Oct.	9/10	10/1	
Page, B/W	4,180.00	Nov.	10/10	11/1	417,585
Harvest State Unit (9-1/16" x 13-9/16")					
Kansas Farmer		10/5	9/20	10/5	
Michigan Farmer		10/5	9/20	10/5	
Missouri Ruralist		10/12	9/28	10/12	
Ohio Farmer		10/5	9/20	10/5	
Pennsylvania Farmer		10/12	9/28	10/12	
Page, B/W	6,080.00				521,086
Midwest Unit (9-1/16" x 13-9/16")					
The Farmer		10/5	9/17	10/5	
Nebraska Farmer		10/5	9/20	10/5	
Prairie Farmer		10/5	9/17	10/5	
Wallaces Farmer		10/12	9/24	10/12	
Wisconsin Agriculturist		10/12	9/24	10/12	
Page, B/W	9,270.00				1,020,075
Western Unit (9-1/16" x 13-9/16")					
Arizona Farmer Ranchman		10/5	9/20	10/5	
Colorado Rancher & Farmer		Nov.	10/15	11/1	
Northwest Unit		10/3	9/18	10/3	
Idaho Farmer					
Montana Farmer Stockman					
Oregon Farmer					
Utah Farmer					
Washington Farmer					
Page, B/W	3,222.40				214,045
Southern Unit (9-1/8" x 13-9/16")					
Alabama Farmer					
Arkansas Farmer					
Delmarva Farmer					
Florida Grower & Rancher					
Georgia Farmer					
Kentucky Farmer					

(Cont'd.)

	<u>Total Cost</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Close</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>Circ.</u>
Southern Unit Cont'd. (9-1/8" x 13-9/16")					
Louisiana Farmer					
Mississippi Farmer					
North Carolina Grower					
South Carolina Farmer					
Tennessee Farmer					
Page, B/W	8,018.00	Oct.	9/15 (Ext.)	10/1	678,917
Grand Total	69,607.60				9,053,145

Fuller & Smith & Ross Inc.
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