

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>
27	4	12/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman and Mitchell to Dent RE: Wallace's campaign efforts in Florida. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Financial Records	Unidentified financial records. 1 pg.
27	4	11/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Hugh W. Sloan, Jr. to Mitchell RE: operating expenses for December 1971. Detailed financial figures attached. 2 pgs.
27	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Financial Records	Detailed list of December 1972 operating expenses. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.
27	4	11/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell RE: the 1972 Senate campaign in Virginia. Polling information and analysis attached. 4 pgs.
27	4	11/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Ehrlichman RE: the political status of North Carolina. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell RE: Jim Gardner's gubernatorial run in North Carolina. 1 pg.
27	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on Jim Gardner's political aspirations. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on Dent's conversation with Phillips. 1 pg.
27	4	12/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the campaign. 1 pg.
27	4	11/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: a Congressional race in Vermont. 1 pg.
27	4	12/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Dent to Mitchell RE: North Carolina and Holshouser's political career. 2 pgs.
27	4	12/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Mitchell RE: Agnew's decision to cancel a speaking engagement in Memphis. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg.
27	4	11/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Henley to Dent RE: information on Wallace's presidential run. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: attached documents. 1 pg.
27	4	11/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Henley to Dent RE: Wallace and the American Party's 1972 platform. 3 pgs.
27	4	10/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: Senator Jackson's speaking schedule for the fall of 1972. Schedule attached. 4 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Huntsman to Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Colson RE: the role of the economy in the election. 1 pg.
27	4	11/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan "For Follow" RE: checking to see whether Mitchell has met with Nofziger on the subject of Bob Dole. 1 pg.
27	4	11/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Colson RE: Magruder's comments on a monthly youth report. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Huntsman to Colson RE: young voters. 1 pg.
27	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Kehrlie to Strachan RE: attached information. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	10/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jamie McLane, through Colson, to Haldeman RE: meeting with top White House officials on the youth vote. Suggested talking points and form registration report attached. 3 pgs.
27	4	12/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes relating to the Republican National Committee and the youth vote. 1 pg.
27	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes on an election meeting involving Mitchell, Dent, Garment, Miller, Marik, Moore, Buchanan, and Dailey. 2 pgs.
27	4	10/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the Student Government Association. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/3/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Mitchell RE: the gubernatorial election in Kentucky. Information on various state and local elections across the U.S. attached. 17 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Marik to Strachan RE: attached information from John Kessel. 1 pg.
27	4	11/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From George Grassmuck to Magruder RE: Professor John Kessel's political advice. 1 pg.
27	4	9/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From John H. Kessel, professor of political science at the Ohio State University, to Grassmuck RE: advice for RN's 1972 campaign. 4 pgs.
27	4	9/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Frim John Kessel to Grassmuck RE: Republican polling numbers in major electoral states. 1 pg.
27	4	11/11/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Odle to "The Staff" RE: the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and White House stationery. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: attached information on New Hampshire. 1 pg.
27	4	11/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to Magruder RE: a poll from the University of New Hampshire. 1 pg.
27	4	12/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From "Terry" to unknown RE: information for Strachan. 1 pg.
27	4	11/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: RN's support for incumbents versus his support for new candidates. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman. Previous memo from Haldeman attached. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to Strachan RE: attached information on campaign scheduling in California. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Anna Navarro and Dan Louis to George Mitchell and Elliot Cutler RE: emphasizing the property tax issue on a visit to California. 1 pg.
27	4	11/29/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to Magruder RE: a mock election at the Portland Community College. Copy of related news clipping attached. 2 pgs.
27	4	11/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Glenn Wegner's bid for a Senate seat in Idaho. Handwritten notes added by Haldeman and Strachan. 1 pg.
27	4	11/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Schedule for a Campaign Issues Group meeting. 1 pg.
27	4	11/24/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Odle to Magruder RE: Eugene McCarthy and the Richard A. Viguerie Company for direct political mail. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
27	4	11/18/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: the Republican Party's prospects in the Kentucky 6th District. 1 pg.

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By SP NARS, Date 3-25-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 2, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Attorney General  
H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Harry S. Dent

This clarifies my memo of November 5 concerning the implications of George Wallace's candidacy in Florida. The previous report was based on a hasty evaluation by Florida GOP leaders of events then underway in Florida but which did not culminate.

In the memorandum, it was stated that a ruling had been made that George Wallace would forfeit electoral votes if he ran as a Democrat in Florida and an independent in the general election. The conclusion was that if Wallace was willing to forfeit Florida's electoral votes, then he must not be serious about the general election in 1972.

The memo of November 5 was written subsequent to a conversation with the National Committeewoman, who told of a decision by the Florida Secretary of State to deprive Wallace of electoral votes he might win as a Democrat. This was checked with two more people in Florida. However, the Secretary of State never completed his proposal.

The Florida Democrat Central Committee did pass a resolution to deny Wallace delegate votes if he ran as a Democrat in Florida and as an independent in other states. The Committee has recently rescinded that action.

Under Florida's garbled election laws, the Secretary of State nominates presidential candidates for the primary.

However, each party has a committee with veto power over potential candidates under their banner. If one member of the respective committee backs the candidacy of an individual, that candidate's name goes on the party ballot. Jerry Thomas, a Democrat and President of the Senate, has said he will have Wallace's name included in the primary as a Democrat.

Thus, it appears at this point that Wallace will be in the primary as a Democrat, and without the delegate or electoral restrictions previously advocated.

11/4/71

	<u>R</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>B</u>
C	175,000.00	99,436.62	75,563.38
CH	1,230,000.00	323,400.00	906,600.00
MP	232,500.00	-	232,500.00
FCRPN	<u>92,836.66</u>	<u>92,836.66</u>	<u>-</u>

12/2

~~1,730,336.66~~  
1,700

515,673.28  
630

~~1,214,663.38~~  
1,070.

---

54  
DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING  
E.O. 1205, Section 6-102  
By EP DATE, Date 3-25-82 November 22, 1971

Personal & Confidential

The Honorable John Mitchell  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

Please find attached for your approval the estimated  
operating expenses for the month of December.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.

attachment

cc: Honorable Maurice Stans

bcc: Honorable H.R. Haldeman ✓  
Herbert W. Kalmbach

ESTIMATED OPERATING EXPENSES FOR ~~NOVEMBER~~ <sup>December</sup> 1971

PERSONNEL - 40 Employees (Gross Figures)

Campaign Committee (35 - increase of 13 over Nov.)	\$ 42,650.00
Finance Committee (5 - increase of 1 over Nov.)	<u>6,560.00</u>
	\$ 49,210.00

TRAVEL AND ENTERTAINMENT

Campaign Committee	12,900.00
Finance Committee	<u>3,000.00</u>
	\$ 15,900.00

OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	5,865.00
Parking	364.00
Telephone (1700.00 = one-time charge)	5,700.00
Taxes (F.I.C.A. and D.C. Unemployment)	2,100.00
Insurance	1,150.00
Accounting and Misc. Professional Services	1,400.00
Office Equipment Rentals	1,000.00
Office Supplies	700.00
Postage	200.00
Furniture, Carpets & Draperies	17,500.00
Miscellaneous	<u>400.00</u>
	\$36,379.00

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR DECEMBER (ESTIMATED)	101,489.00
RESERVE	<u>(1,489.00)</u>

ESTIMATED REQUIREMENT	<u><u>\$100,000.00</u></u>
-----------------------	----------------------------

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

ESTIMATED OPERATING EXPENSES FOR DECEMBER 1971

PERSONNEL - 40 Employees (Gross Figures)

Campaign Committee (35 - increase of 13 over Nov.)	\$ 42,650.00
Finance Committee (5 - increase of 1 over Nov.)	<u>6,560.00</u>
	\$ 49,210.00

TRAVEL AND ENTERTAINMENT

Campaign Committee	12,900.00
Finance Committee	<u>3,000.00</u>
	\$ 15,900.00

OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	5,865.00
Parking	364.00
Telephone (1700.00 = one-time charge)	5,700.00
Taxes (F.I.C.A. and D.C. Unemployment)	2,100.00
Insurance	1,150.00
Accounting and Misc. Professional Services	1,400.00
Office Equipment Rentals	1,000.00
Office Supplies	700.00
Postage	200.00
Furniture, Carpets & Draperies	17,500.00
Miscellaneous	<u>400.00</u>
	\$36,379.00

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR DECEMBER (ESTIMATED)	101,489.00
RESERVE	<u>(1,489.00)</u>
ESTIMATED REQUIREMENT	<u>\$100,000.00</u>

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

—  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** November 30, 1971

**TO:** BOB HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT 

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information XX

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION  
E.O. 12812, 9-10-82

By EP, date 3-25-82

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT

SUBJECT: 1972 Virginia Senate Race

Congressman Dan Daniel will make a decision by the end of this week whether to offer as a Republican for the Spong seat. He met last evening with the Byrd GOP leaders and with Democrat Congressmen Wat Abbitt and Joel Broyhill. Democrat Congressman Satterfield missed the meeting due to a mixup.

The Byrd people were impressed that Abbitt became such a staunch supporter of the Daniel candidacy. They concluded that there are two prime obstacles: 1) Holton, and 2) Congressman Scott, who has already announced for the GOP Senate nomination. Daniel said he would not run if Scott continued in the race. Broyhill thinks he can remove Scott, but this is questionable.

Scott has 37 years of government service and is eligible to retire at \$30,000 per year. He is running for the Senate on the basis of being gerrymandered into Broyhill's District and figuring he can either win the Senate race or retire comfortably. He is very hard-headed, as is Holton. Thus, he may have to be induced out of the race with an offer of an Administration position after 1972. Attached is information on a poll taken among delegates to the last two GOP state conventions. Broyhill has the lead with Scott second. Scott also has the tentative support of Holton and State GOP Chairman Warren French, both of whom have also given some indication of support to Dick Obenshane,

a conservative who lost for attorney general in 1969.

Holton would have to be dealt with directly by you. He has nowhere to go after 1973 except into the Nixon Administration or into the Mellon Foundation, through John Warner. Holton and French think they have the support of Warner for whatever they want to do. Warner wants to be Secretary of the Navy and is someday interested in running for the Senate. He also likes Harry Byrd. Thus, Warner could help bring in Holton and French.

The Byrd people would prefer a harmonious state convention in June of 1973. Of the two obstacles, Holton may be the greater problem because he is most obsessed with his liberal image and he could be the man to convince Scott to stay in the race.

As soon as we get a tentative nod from Daniel later this week, moves should then be made on Holton and Scott.

Byrd knows of the meeting and likes the coalition idea very much. It could lead to former Governor Mills Godwin running as an Independent for governor in 1973 and the eventual crossing over of Byrd, Satterfield and many others. At a minimum, it would mean support of every Virginia Congressman except Downing, and an easy victory for the President in 1972.

THE VIRGINIA POLL:

Tentative results, as of November 26, 1971.

Strongest support seemed to be allied with Broyhill. He gained slightly over half the first place votes (50.1 %), and fared very strongly in the second place votes. For instance, he received 70% of the second choices of the relatively few choosing Governor Holton on their first ballot.

Bill Scott was Broyhill's closest opponent, receiving 32.6% of the first place votes. He and Broyhill were in a virtual tie for first in the number of second place votes. Rep. Poff came in a strong third in these votes, with the Governor and others trailing.

A closer look shows that Scott's support, while seemingly strong, is concentrated in the rural areas of the state. As a matter of fact, 64.2% of Scott's first place votes came from outside the four major metropolitan areas, (Richmond, Roanoke, Norfolk and the D.C. suburbs.) In 1966 these areas supplied Spong with more than half of his victory margin over the GOP contender.

Perhaps more revealing is the percentage of Scott support originating in the "old" eighth district, Scott's home district. 35.4% of his first place votes came from the area—and over 70% of these came from the rural counties of the eighth. In short, nearly 25% of Scott's support came from an area which contains only 8% of the voters of the state.

Congressman Broyhill did exceptionally well in the urban areas of Virginia. 56% of his vote came from the vital metro areas, compared to Scott's 35.8%. Additionally, Broyhill won the support of 86% of the suburban Washington vote. Even with the large turnout from Broyhill's home district, the percentage of his support coming from his home district was much less than Scott's home district backing, (22% vs. 35.4% .)

An interesting sidelight to the poll shows that, while Governor Holton received 8.6% of the first place votes, better than 10% of the GOP leaders who answered our poll went to the trouble to add an unsolicited negative comment concerning the Governor. Examples include the words "never", "for dog-catcher", "no-no-no-" and "ugh" written beside his name.

Copies to; Jim Olmsted  
J.D.S. Coleman  
Dick Short

*How sweet it is —*

*Star*

WHAT'S GOING ON HERE?

(Republican Party of Virginia -- 1970 and 1971)

	1970		1971	
	<u>June 27 - % of Delegates <u>For</u> Fielding A Candidate</u>	<u>Nov. 3 - % of People Voting For Garland</u>	<u>August 21 - % of Delegates <u>For</u> Shafran</u>	<u>Nov. 2 - % of People Voting For Shafran</u>
2nd District	100%	10%	82%	14%
5th District	89%	13%	58%	23%
6th District	84%	19%	74%	26%
3rd District	68%	8%	32%	12%
1st District	66%	11%	43%	18%
7th District	63%	19%	34%	29%
10th District	49%	20%	28%	41%
9th District	34%	32%	93%	36%
4th District	30%	6%	71%	10%
8th District	<u>29%</u>	<u>15%</u>	<u>37%</u>	<u>25%</u>
Total	<u>60%</u>	<u>15%</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>23%</u>

✓ BCC: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1971

*for his visit  
to Duke U.*

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN EHRLICHMAN  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*  
SUBJECT: North Carolina Political Briefing

North Carolina has a new state chairman named Frank Rouse, Jr. He is all the way with us and has pledged to give his full time to building a stronger party in North Carolina.

The ex-chairman, Jim Holshouser, who has also been our good friend, is unfortunately running for Governor without a chance to win and the possibility that our previous problem man, Jim Gardner, may take him on in a GOP primary and defeat him. We have been trying to convince Gardner to run for Senator Jordan's seat since Congressman Jim Broyhill is being very difficult about running. However, it now appears that Gardner is going to run for Governor or nothing.

Holshouser just does not have the appearance or charisma to be elected Governor and has exploited his position as party chairman to try to get the nomination. He is also trying to tie into the Nixon operation in North Carolina in getting the nomination and for the general election.

With the right ticket we do have a good shot at the Senate seat and a fairly good shot at the Governorship. My idea of the most winnable ticket would be Broyhill for Senate, Gardner for Governor (or Mel Broughton, Democrat contender in 1968, for Governor) and Holshouser for Broyhill's Congressional seat. Unfortunately, we may not end up with strong candidates for either the Senate or Governor races.

Mr. Ehrlichman  
N. C. Political Briefing  
page 2

However, the President seems to be in good shape in North Carolina. Our 1968 campaign leaders, Willis Smith, Jr. of Raleigh and Charlie Jonas, Jr. of Charlotte are already beginning to put the campaign operation together. We had a good November 9 fund-raiser in Charlotte. It was headed by Johnnie Walker who has announced for Lt. Governor and who may be talked into helping bank roll the Presidential, Gubernatorial, and Senatorial races in 1972.

Terry Sanford is still a staunch Democrat. He is presently working on a new organization designed to further development of the South industrially and to try to further moderate the South's image. It would be helpful if he could be neutralized from the standpoint of the 1972 campaign. The President's association with Duke University should help some, but Sanford still envisions himself as a big man for the future in national party politics.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT



I talked with Jim Gardner this morning, and he is headed toward a governor's race against Holshouser. His prime problem is his wife--she doesn't want to go to Washington. He feels he can win the Senate race and that is his personal preference. He will be in town Monday, so I told him to bring the wife and we will discuss the matter further.

In the meantime, when you appear at the State Convention Friday, the knives will be out because all will be expecting a Gardner-Holshouser clash. So, you will have to be very careful to not get used by either side. It will appear that you are being used by Holshouser since you are coming on the invitation of the state chairman.

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

(15)  
G → Here Jim Gardner, former  
Exec Dir of Rep

(Dent)

will talk on Holthouse for Gov.

Dent to push Gardner → Senate role  
per AG request

→ P in mtg w/ AG wants this ↑

So on Mon. Dent will meet w/

Gardner + need to work

on Mrs. Gardner

might have to talk to see AG.

4/29

Dent -

Kevin Phillips - talks w/ Dent

fr time to time + Dent doesn't

give info b/w wong

- highest regard for his "pol brain"

- learns a great deal

- he feels, + AG put him hard  
as it shld be, now turned  
sour on this Admin

- hates CWC, E, HarFlem, Klein  
thinks orders given to  
screw thru Z?

- AG wants Dent to keep  
in touch w/ Phillips

- doesn't really need Admin

- won't give H any trouble,  
but maybe H sit down

w/ Phillips to re-enlist

back on team, let him (KP)

that P still looking to "

for advice.

- defuse the anti-German line

- newsletter → 1000 people: only

100 people - more influ than  
column

- understands the Demog's of pol

- knows that w/H, same as RR

- Will slash at CWC.



12/2

CAM

A G pissed that Shumway not at comm.

Harry Flemming - <sup>AG</sup> agreed that needs a heavier man, but hasn't done anything w/o my approval, but must strengthen probably w/ Mardian or someone else +

fellows of a little more stature in field operation

CAM → A G hope that someone of real substance implying someone better than Mardian.

NH - AG might be ment in having indep look at NH possibly by Miller.

CAM author in/AG.

Polling, Adver, PR - Press, Telephone - Air Mail.

CAM - appearances but no hard evidence that A G pleased w/ TSM.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

H  
needn't  
see

November 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HSD*

SUBJECT: Vermont

Richard Mallary, termed a "Nixon policy backer," has been nominated by Vermont Republicans to run for the Congressional seat vacated by Robert T. Stafford. Mallary is formerly a state legislator. He won with 41% of the Republican vote, with his next closest opponent getting 30%.

The Democrat nominee is also regarded as a supporter of the President's policies. He is Probate Judge J. William O'Brien. Winning the nomination with 45% of the vote, I am told the Democrats split pretty badly over him. Primary cause of the split is that O'Brien refused to support the Democrat challenger to Prouty last time around.

With a reasonable effort, Mallary should win it.

*Amend  
see  
already  
covered*

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING  
E.O. 12958, DATE 6-102  
By SP, DATE 9-25-82

December 1, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM: HARRY S. DENT *HS*  
SUBJECT: North Carolina

I received another group from North Carolina this afternoon after the State Chairman met with you and me this morning, and I am absolutely convinced something has got to be done to get Holshouser out of the governor's race and into the race for Broyhill's seat. One of the North Carolina leaders is having a hunt on the weekend of December 17. He has agreed to have every congressional district chairman, top party leaders, the Congressmen, and the top prospective candidates participate in the hunt with a private political confab that Friday evening to be attended by me. What I have suggested is that those leaders who have met with me get the congressional district chairmen to agree privately that they will express themselves as to the composition of the ticket with no holds barred. Reportedly, everyone has said privately that Holshouser should not run for governor and that the ticket should be Broyhill for Senate, Gardner or Broughton for Governor, and Holshouser for Congress.

Unfortunately, it will take my presence to get a good attendance. What I will try to do is to get the local GOP leaders together to tell the prospective candidates the unvarnished truth.

Broyhill has encouraged the draft Broyhill movement. He tells these people that he would run if the Holshouser matter can be handled and he can get some more assurance of national funds than the \$30,000 promised by the

(251)

- 2 -

Senatorial Campaign Committee. He has also made the point that the President has not asked him to run. Thus, these people suggest this might be done either directly by the President or indirectly by you prior to December 17.

I need an answer from you as soon as possible whether I should attend the hunt and carry out this game plan.

bc: Bob Haldeman

131

December 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *ASD*

The Vice President committed to address the Southern GOP Conference Saturday evening in Memphis and has now backed out. He should at least stop by there on the way back from Hawaii, but so far he cannot be budged.

Since it was advertised that he would be there, some implication will be written into his absence.

To try to make up for this, I have gotten Julie and David to stop by Friday evening.

If you think you can budge the Vice President, it would be helpful. He is hurting himself with his best constituency.

Senator Harry Byrd is complicating matters a little with Congressman Daniel. He thinks things are moving too soon.

bc: Bob Haldeman —

—  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** November 22, 1971

**TO:** H. R. HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT *AD*

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information ✓ \_\_\_\_\_

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 19, 1971

TO: Harry S. Dent

FROM: Wallace B. Henley 

SUBJECT: Wallace Intelligence

It looks like Wallace has resigned himself to run as an Independent in Alabama if he goes in 1972. The Legislature has been called into special session to deal with state finances, and my sources within the body say Wallace will not re-submit his electors' bill. The bill, in essence, would cut loose Democrat electors to vote for Wallace and retain party stance. The bill was left hanging at the close of the regular session, and my people tell me it's now or never. It looks like Wallace will run his own slate of nine electors.

The Legislature was called into session because the usually docile House refused to pass Wallace's appropriations bill after he introduced it so late in the regular session as to cut off study and debate. Wallace's whole plan for financing was designed to enhance his image as a Populist. He had recommended expenditure of new monies without additional taxes. His scheme was to divert money from a fat teachers' retirement fund (the teachers wound up the ugly rich people this time) to the general fund, avoiding tapping the taxpayers (the "little people").

The education lobby whipped up the Independents in the Legislature, and the battle is still going on. Wednesday night, Wallace's floor leaders moved to table the House substitute bill and got rebuffed. That despite the fact Wallace slipped into an office just off the House floor and began to call in his friends for a little arm-twisting. Only two votes were lost and they were abstentions. That was the first time Wallace had dropped by the House chamber in this term.

At a recent AIP platform committee meeting in Memphis, John Birchers carried the day so much that my Wallace man tells me the platform sounded like a reprint of the Blue Book ... the committee chairman was forced to announce the platform proposals were for study and guidance only, and not for serious consideration.

page 2 - 11/19/71

Mr. Dent

Evidence is building that Scoop Jackson will run a slate of electors in Alabama's Democrat primary, says my friend in the Legislature.

The American Independent Party has announced it will hold its national convention in Toledo at an unspecified date. A spokesman said the Yankee City was chosen because the party wanted to build its (Wallace's) image as a national entity. They also said they were pleased with Wallace's welcome there last June. The Toledo Sports Arena, which seats 15,000, is the likely site. The AIP will probably try to contrast their meeting in industrial dank Toledo with the Republicans and Democrats meeting in such "spots" as San Diego and Miami Beach.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date:** November 29, 1971

**TO:** H. R. HALDEMAN

**FROM:** HARRY DENT 

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

For your information            ✓

MEMORANDUM

DELETED

THE WHITE HOUSE

ADVISOR

WASHINGTON

E. O. 12812

By W. B. Henley, 3-25-82

CONFIDENTIAL

November 29, 1971

TO: Harry S. Dent

FROM: Wallace B. Henley 

SUBJECT: Wallace Intelligence - Party Platform.

Division seems to be brewing in Wallace's American Party over the 1972 platform. Two weeks ago the AP National Central Committee met in Memphis to hear reports from a Sub-Committee which had been studying platform planks. Some of the delegates, who came from 38 states, were reportedly "shocked" at the Sub-Committee's anti-populist, John Birch-oriented report, which blamed "international conspirators" for America's problems.

The National Committee debated the report for several hours, finally refusing to adopt it. The report was declared "informational material," available to the party's platform committee when they meet next year at their national convention in Toledo. Alexander Hudgins, of Richmond, AP Executive Secretary, said that the report was "absolutely not official."

But some observers believe that despite any efforts to play down the report, the fly has dropped squarely in the ointment. Wallace heretofore has been able to write his own platform from Montgomery and the disciples have sat obediently and unanimously at the master's feet. Now, Wallace could be forced to take sides in any platform battle which develops in Toledo. It's expected that most of the Toledo delegates will come from states outside the South. Radical conservatism in those areas is uncomfortable with populism, and is dominated by Birchers.

Some of the more interesting platform planks in the report - labeled "Legislative Objectives of the American Party" - include the following:

- On Vietnam

"We do not believe that a speedy move for victory will bring on World War III, but if it must, let's finish it now like men while victory can be ours, rather than surrender our

legacy and our lives like cowards, or postpone a showdown until victory can no longer be won."

- Aid and Trade

The "Communist empire would collapse" without aid and trade from the free world, and the AP's President would have as his first order of business the branding of such policy as "treason" and seeking legislation to end it. The second order of business would be breaking of all diplomatic ties with Communist nations, and any Western nations who trade with the Communists. The free world traders with the Communists would lose their American aid.

- Defense

An "invincible military position" is called for, with annual review of all military treaties. The President would encourage and assist anti-Communist revolutionary forces seeking to overthrow their governments.

- United Nations

"Get the United States out of the United Nations and the U.N. out of the United States." Withdraw from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

- Economics

Repeal the Federal Reserve Act, return to the gold standard and operate on a balanced budget. The Federal Government "shall not engage in any business, professional, commercial, financial or industrial enterprise except as specified by the Constitution." Repeal the Federal income tax and require each state to pay its share of running the Federal Government in ratio to population.

- Federal/State relations

The Federal Government will not be involved in education, which will be provided by private competing groups. Repeal of welfare. Pollution "has been blown up ... to soften the public for one more grab for power by the Federal Government..." Repeal civil rights laws that "interfere with

property rights. Let private insurance companies take over social security, which would become voluntary, with the same for Medicare, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation. Repeal gun control legislation

- Seventeenth Amendment

Repeal of amendment providing for statewide election of senators, substituted with amendment allowing state legislature to choose a senator any way they wish.

October 22, 1971

FOR: John Mitchell

Enclosed is a copy of Senator Jackson's speaking schedule from October 21 through November 30.

If anyone doubts that he is running for President, this should answer the question.

cc: H.R. Haldeman ✓

*Timney*

Enclosure

Issued: October 19, 1971

HENRY M. JACKSON, U.S.S.  
SCHEDULE

OCTOBER - NOVEMBER

OCTOBER 21 Thursday	Kansas State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO Convention Regal Inn Wichita, Kansas	10:00 AM Speech
	Nebraska Water Resources Association New Paxton Hotel Omaha, Nebraska	7:00 PM Dinner
October 25 Monday	Independent Natural Gas Association of America, Annual Meeting Fairmont Hotel San Francisco, California	Morning
	Press Conference Albany, Oregon	6:00 PM
	Linn County Veterans' Day Observance Albany, Oregon	7:00 PM Dinner
October 29 Friday	Florida Farm Bureau Annual Meeting Robert Meyer Motor Inn Orlando, Florida	10:00 AM Speech
	Luncheon-Business-Professional-Vets Elderly St. Petersburg	12:15 PM
	Florida Home Builders Association Point Hilton Hotel Clearwater, Florida	3:30 PM
	Stetson University Law School St. Petersburg, Florida Banquet Speech	6:00 PM
November 4 Thursday	Business-Labor Luncheon Asheville, N.C.	12:30 PM
	Press Conference Asheville, N.C.	1:45 PM
	Press Conference - Political Meeting Tri-Cities Airport Bristol/Kingsport/Johnson City, Tenn.	3:00 PM
	News Conference Cookeville Airport Cookeville, Tennessee	3:15 PM
	Airport Rally Cookeville, Tenn.	3:45 PM

Page 1

HMJ Schedule  
page 2

November 4 Thursday	Democratic Reception Sheraton Nashville Nashville, Tennessee	8:00 PM
November 5 Friday	News Conference Nashville, Tennessee	9:00 AM
	TV Program-Newsmaker	10:30 AM
	TV Program-Question & Answers WSM-TV	12:00 PM
	Airport Rally - News Conference Chattanooga Airport Chattanooga, Tennessee	3:45 PM
	Editorial Conference- <u>Chattanooga Times</u>	4:30 PM
	Editorial Conference- <u>Chattanooga Free Press</u>	
	10 County Democratic Rally Memorial Auditorium Chattanooga, Tennessee	8:00 PM
November 6 Saturday	Tape TV program - JC Question	9:30 AM
November 10 Wednesday	Forum on the Environment Maryland Environmental Trust Baltimore, Maryland	12:00 AM
November 15 Monday	League of Oregon cities Portland, Oregon	12:00 PM
November 16 Tuesday	American Petroleum Institute Fairmont Hotel San Francisco, California	9:15 AM
	Dinah Shore Television Program Los Angeles, California	Afternoon
November 19 Friday	Tiger Bay Weekend Banquet Speech Student Union-Florida State Tallahassee, Florida	7:00 PM
November 20 Saturday	Speech Vicinity of Capitol Tallahassee	10:00 AM
	Appearance at FSU-Tulsa Football game	Evening

✓ November 27  
Saturday

Labor and Business Dinner  
Cocoa Beach, Florida

Time (to be arranged)

November 30  
Tuesday

National Association of  
Insurance Commissioners  
Speech  
Fontainebleu Hotel  
Miami Beach, Florida

10:30 AM

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 15, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By CP NARS, Date 3-25-82

CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN  
JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN  
CHARLES W. COLSON

FROM:

JON M. HUNTSMAN 

SUBJECT:

The Economy - Election Issue

The President noted in the November 13 News Summary that the delegates to the Sigma Delta Chi convention were asked to identify the campaign's principle issues. Of the 122 delegates participating 107 names the economy, 9 chose international affairs and 3 selected law and order. Vietnam was named the top issue by only one, matching environment and "factionalism."

It was strongly stated that the Democrats must not be allowed to get away with this... international affairs is our issue and the economy is their's---regardless of what happens to it because the liberals can always promise more.

Thank you.

cc: George Shultz  
H. R. Haldeman  
Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL/SENSITIVE

may

FU ~~11/12~~  
11/17

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

November 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR FOLLOW

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: H/AG

Check with Magruder on whether the Attorney General has met with Nofziger regarding Dole.

Not alerted by JSM re working on Dole  
11/28 AG → JSM "handle in own way"  
AG + Nof met 12/1  
but probably on Cal situation

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 23, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHARLES W. COLSON  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
SUBJECT: Monthly Youth Report

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of November's monthly youth report. It is a very excellent report, and pursuant to your request, the following are some of my comments on it:

1. Youth Speakers Bureau. While it is true that a number of our Administration spokesmen such as Secretaries Rogers and Richardson, Ambassador Bush, Pete Peterson, and Peter Flanigan are making speeches before major university audiences, this is not due to creative scheduling on the part of a speaker's bureau, but rather these men go out to the campuses generally in response to invitations which go directly to them. There have been discussions about scheduling these people on a more direct basis, and I think we should continue to explore this.
2. Friends of Richard Nixon. This program was put together by Anne Armstrong at the RNC and also Ken Rietz here. Since this is a strictly political affair I doubt whether it would be a good idea for Jamie McLane to be too directly involved in it at this time. And since Ken is on top of it from this end, whatever inputs Jamie could give would seem to me to duplicate what Ken is doing here.
3. Radio Actualities. Radio actualities have been discussed for several months but as yet nothing has really happened. This is a good program, and we would certainly like to see some scripts, transcripts, or lists of stations to which the actualities are being sent.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

4. The Copley Productions Film. Ken Rietz has been on top of the Copley film -- again if Jamie is working with them on it, we are not aware of this and think that it might unnecessarily duplicate what Ken is already doing with Copley.

5. Youth Council of 1971. Jamie did meet with Brock, Steiger, Frey, and Beister to discourage the idea of a formalized youth council. However, the reading we get from the Congressmen is that they were unhappy because they felt as a result of the meeting that their knowledge of the campaign and politics in general was thought to be lacking. Obviously they are very much on top of things and are members of our Youth Congressional Advisory Committee.

~~✓~~ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 18, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By CP NARS, Date 3-25-82

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON  
FROM: JON M. HUNTSMAN *JMH*  
SUBJECT: Young Voters

The President read your November 2 memorandum to the Staff Secretary under the subject P-1891 and P-1885 - Young Voters. He was particularly interested in the final paragraph of page 3 entitled "Boston Rally -- 536 Registered". He noted with pleasure the plans to maximize the yield of "Nixon Voters" beginning in various communities in November and he suggested that a follow-up in this area be made.

Please submit your follow-up report to the Office of the Staff Secretary.

Thank you.

cc ✓ H. R. Haldeman  
Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL

G→  
H.

*Bob Magruder*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date \_\_\_\_\_

TO: *GS*

FROM: BRUCE KEHRLI

*Found this at the  
Bottom of my STACIC-  
Area is all of them  
are's Big coveral?*

*Rec'd 11/18*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN  
THROUGH: CHARLES W. COLSON *unc*  
FROM: JAMIE McLANE *JMcL*  
SUBJECT: Youth Policy Meeting

Per your memorandum of October 13, the numerous memorandums which have been written in the last few weeks concerning our youth organizational and registration efforts and the RNC's inaction on actual registration drives, I recommend you host a meeting this week on this subject to clear the air.

The RNC needs clear direction from the top on the high priority given to the need for "our" registration activities today rather than tomorrow. Ken Rietz's strategy and action steps need to be fully aired for you to gain a sense of action, or inaction.

I recommend the attendees at the meeting include at least the following:

H. R. Haldeman  
Chuck Colson  
Jeb Magruder  
Ken Rietz  
Tom Evans  
Anne Armstrong (responsible for youth)  
Jamie McLane

Suggested talking points are attached.

Attachment

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS  
YOUTH ORGANIZATION AND REGISTRATION  
STRATEGY MEETING

---

- President annoyed at daily News Summary comments to the effect that waves of new voters are joining the Democratic party, even in GOP strongholds; that he could easily lose the next election because of the youth vote; that if only half the potential young voters turned out and only two-thirds of these voted against him, he could lose nine of the states he won in 1968, etc.
- Express our desire to move ahead now with registration efforts of our own.
  - Ask Ken Rietz for specific details of places, dates drives begin.
  - Ask Tom Evans for the same.
- Determine publicity plans for the results.
- Ask for a bi-weekly report to be submitted to Jamie McLane giving the state, the city, the location, the date of each registration drive we have scheduled to kick off in the next two week period with summary results of the registration drives conducted during the past two week period with a publicity plan for making the results known (a copy of the suggested report is attached).

Attachment

YOUTH REGISTRATION REPORT  
Two Week Period Covered by Report ( \_\_\_\_\_ )

I. Our Registration Drives being Launched in Next Two Weeks

<u>State</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Date</u>
--------------	-------------	-------------

II. Results of Our Registration Drives Underway

<u>State</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Date</u> Drive <u>Launched</u>	<u>Results to Date</u>			
			<u>Total New</u> Voters <u>Registered</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Independent</u>

III. Publicity Plan for Publicizing Positive Results (Key this section to section II of report)

12/2

Mag → Evans 12/2 to  
break out responses  
for Comp - Evans' views

Got - Mag + Flem → AG  
go over what Evans wants  
what common plans

Then 12/6 - AG, Evans, Flem  
Mag - review RNC  
budget + instructions for  
1972

RNC meeting on Thur thru Sat  
in Wash  
Evans presents to all  
RNC types both RNC +  
Comm role - AG not  
present.

Only key area is  
Water Regis + Get Out  
Vote - Comm control it  
the local like DeBolt  
has plenty on RNC.

11/31  
8:30

JSM, Bent, Garment, Miller, Maul  
Hoove, Buchanan, Bailey

Camp Spe bill - disclosure  
immed + no D.C. Commis  
provals to be signed.

Natl Journal Summary of DNC Nixon

Garment - P branded lemon in '68,  
so make lemonade not champagne;  
impt to survive in typhoon.

Group will make recomm  
to AG re Butz w/draw.

Public's - "Nixon Re-Elector" -

Recomm  
to AG { paper for internal troops,  
- label to be done by Leonard;  
out in Jan. 50,000  
Same as Nixon Nominal. 250,000  
Not attack function. Monday does that

Next time grp review creative  
materials - posters, etc +  
state of Bailey on Camp There  
- Ray Price - Professional P.

Fla

- Tommy Thomas - head  
Nixon comm - one primary.

- Mc Cl on ballot but  
no real effort expected

- Might be good to test full  
bore regis drive to  
get geared up org.

- If Voter Regis in Orlando County

- Self contained TV mkt to could test

Julie - scheduled by Porter?

G check Parker + D.C. - Fla pol mkt

- Target on Cuban Am - test  
the effectiveness of appeal

- also try test material on elderly.

Questions:

- where small or large TV.

- more or less direct mail.

Rather Test in Pumaies

G - advise H. re ~~JSM~~ on 4<sup>th</sup> Floor  
next to MR G + A + AG move problem.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

October 27, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

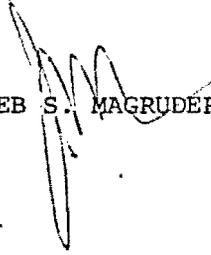
At your request I asked Ken Rietz to contact Huck Boyd concerning the registration rally to be held October 30 in Manhattan, Kansas. At Mr. Boyd's request Ken agreed to attempt to find a speaker to represent the Republicans at this rally. Allard Lowenstein had previously agreed to represent the Democrats.

From the outset the National Student Government Association, who is sponsoring the rally, has been using the Kansas Republican Party organization. The SGA first tried to manipulate the schedule so that Pete McCloskey would be speaking for the Republicans, but when Mr. Boyd heard of their plans, he threatened to repudiate the entire rally and the SGA relented. The Republican Party was then asked to supply a speaker, and this instigated Mr. Boyd's conversation with you. The Kansas Party, with the help of Ken Rietz, supplied the SGA with a list of potential Republican spokesmen including Mr. Rumsfeld, Senator Brock, Congressman Kemp and Kit Bond. When this list was presented to the SGA, they dismissed it and reinvited McCloskey. At this time our Committee suggested that the Kansas State Party repudiate the rally, but the people in Kansas felt a responsibility to the young people involved and decided to fight. Through the use of various pressures McCloskey was once again taken off the program, and Rietz supplied Congressman Kemp to represent the party in Kansas.

In the last few days the SGA, which still has complete control of all arrangements, has been trying various means of sabotage on the Republican participants in the rally. So far our party is holding its own fairly well, but a last minute Friday schedule change is expected from the SGA leadership.

An all-out attempt is being made by all the Kansas Republican organizations to turn this rally around. A massive effort is being made to pack the rally site with pro-Administration people, young and old alike, complete with buttons, signs, banners, etc.

This event will be our first actual participation in an attempt to meet the Lowenstein people on their own ground and embarrass them. If we succeed, it will have a dramatic impact on all of Lowenstein's future efforts. Because of its importance, I have asked Tom Bell of our staff to go to Kansas and supervise the activity.

  
JEB S. MAGRUDER

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N W  
WASHINGTON, D C 20006  
(202) 333 0920

November 3, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Pursuant to your request, we have discussed with four individuals their thoughts on the reasons for the defeat of the Republican candidate for governor of Kentucky. Their comments follow:

LOUIE NUNN, GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY

Governor Nunn blames the defeat primarily on the inability of the candidate to mount an effective campaign, and a united Democratic Party which mobilized its 2 to 1 party registration on behalf of Lieutenant Governor Ford. "Our people never got organized," said the Governor, "and as a result of poor management we lost. Emberton did not defend me or the President and had no firm view on the issues. The Democratic Party was pulled together as never before, and its great advantage in voter registration defeated us."

The Governor also feels that the economy was an issue to some extent, and Emberton's failure to defend the President and the Governor lent creditability to Ford's attacks. The Governor feels that Emberton attempted to divorce himself from the Nunn Administration and didn't use the Governor as much as he should have in the campaign. Although Ford used the economic issue extensively, the Governor believes it was a false issue: unemployment in Kentucky is currently 4.9% and when Governor Nunn took office in 1967 it was also 4.9%. Furthermore, the state's revenues are above their estimates this year.

Governor Nunn urges that anyone who speaks out on the Kentucky race in the national media ought to view it as a contest based on local and state issues. It ought not to be viewed as a repudiation of the President. The Democrat's 2 to 1 margin in voter registration is the primary reason for the defeat of Emberton. The Governor said that if he had one comment to pass along to you, it would be that "it was a poorly run campaign."

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

The Governor would be glad to discuss the results of the campaign with you personally. Should you wish to talk to him, he can be reached at (502) 564-3450 or (502) 223-1646.

GORDON WADE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, KENTUCKY REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Gordon Wade, who was Rogers Morton's Director of Communications at the RNC while Morton was Chairman, is now Executive Director of the Kentucky Republican Party. He points out that Kentucky has never elected two GOP governors in succession and that Ford's mobilization of the united Democratic Party contributed, to a large measure, to Emberton's defeat. When the race began, Ford was a well known Lieutenant Governor with a 90% name recognition factor. Emberton had never run for state office and only enjoyed 2% name recognition factor. Ford was probably the best Democratic candidate for the Democrats, and the hardest candidate for the Republicans to run against.

Wade feels that Ford won for two reasons: One, because the Democrats got back together and took advantage of their registration. Ford hit hard on a party loyalty theme and ran against Governor Nunn and the President. Two, it was difficult for the Republicans to make voters dislike Ford, because Ford had been a fairly effective Lieutenant Governor. However, Wade like Nunn, does not view the race as a repudiation of the President or the Governor. Both are still popular in Kentucky, and Nunn could have beaten Ford had he run. Rather, it was a contest fought over state issues, the primary one of which was tax relief and the 5% tax on food which both Emberton and Ford advocated. Ford, however, evidently made the best case on this issue.

Wade does not feel the Administration should view the results of the contest with alarm, and urges that we attribute it to the Democrats massive registration and the fact that the state has never elected two Republican Governors in succession.

HARRY DENT

Harry feels that for Republicans to win a gubernatorial election in Kentucky "there must be something special," and there wasn't anything unique this time. The Democrats were united and wanted the governor's mansion back -- and they got it. Harry feels "we were up against a good man and there were just too many damn Democrats." Harry does not think any great mistakes were made, but rather that a combination of unfortunate circumstances dictated Ford's election.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

-3-

LEE NUNN

1. On October 10th, the initial television debate between Ford and Emberton set up a Republican victory but there was no follow-through. The aggressive Emberton of October 10th became a Casper Milquetoast on future debates as well as his series of question-and-answer programs. Someone sold him on the idea of "it is not whether you win or lose but how you play the game." He did not understand how to stay on the offensive and how to develop the vote against which is so important in a Democratic state.
2. Taxes. Ford effectively tied Emberton to the Administration's increase in taxes. One example: a TV spot with Ford holding two license plates -- one a \$5 Democratic plate before Nunn entered office; the other, the \$12.50 Nunn/Emberton plate. Ford sold Emberton as the taxer by tying him to the Nunn administration.
3. Very poor precinct organization.
4. Factional splits in the Republican Party in many areas of the state over patronage.
5. Candidate Emberton made very few, if any, commitments and, therefore, had very few "Paul Reveres" going for him throughout the state.
6. Early in the race, there was some indication that a few Republican political figures were dragging their feet for fear that an Emberton win would propel Nunn into John Sherman Cooper's Senate seat next year. Emberton became more and more independent of the Administration. His efforts to maintain a proper position in relation to this problem created some restraints that might have been harmful to the campaign.

OTHER RESULTS

Attached is a memorandum detailing some of the other results across the country. This was put together at the RNC.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

## INDIANA

### INDIANAPOLIS

Incumbent Mayor Richard Lugar won election easily over his Democrat rival, attorney John Neff. Lugar ran extremely well for a Republican in the inner-city, normally a Democrat stronghold. The final vote was 153,407 for Lugar and 100,552 for Neff. Lugar also brought in a Republican State Senator and 2 state representatives who were running in special elections. Republicans think they have won 20 of the 29 city council seats, giving Lugar the support he will need on the council. The two city judges running for the first time on the city ticket, also went to the Republicans.

### SOUTH BEND

Incumbent Mayor, Lloyd Allen, a Republican who has held the office for eight years, did not seek re-election this year. Instead, the election was between Jerry Miller, a Democrat and President of the County Commissioners, and Janet Allen, a city councilwoman. Mrs. Allen, age seventy-some, lost to Miller, who is in his early thirties. South Bend is considered a Democrat stronghold, having never gone Republican in recent elections, save the mayors race in 1963 and 1967.

### BLOOMINGTON.

Normally a Republican city, Bloomington went Democratic in Tuesday's election. This is largely attributed to the large turnout of students from Indiana University who were expected to vote Democratic.

### FORT WAYNE

Until last year when incumbent Congressman E. Ross Adair lost his bid for re-election, Fort Wayne was traditionally a Republican city. This year the Republican Mayor lost in his bid for re-election to the Democrat opponent.

### EVANSVILLE

Normally a Democrat city and county, Evansville went Republican this year for the first time in recent history. Mayor McDonald, a democrat, was not seeking re-election and the two candidates were both new and trying for the first time.

### GARY

Unlike four years ago, the Democratic party was united behind Mayor Richard Hatcher, and he easily won re-election.

INDIANAPOLIS

Lugar 153,407

Neff 100,552

(Exceeds Nixon and Eisenhower margin in past years.)

Republicans won:

20 of 29 Council seats  
both criminal court judges  
2 special elections  
    1 legislature (Both former Republican seats, but won  
    1 State Senate by a large margin.)

All the margins here are well in excess of normal GOP margins (12,000-20,000)

Victories due to:

- 1) Met and won the busing issue and the Democrats were discredited.
- 2) The attack of Matt Reese's involvement in race.
- 3) Positive pitch of Lugar record - pollution control, safest city, lower taxes.

## CLEVELAND MAYOR'S RACE

### UNOFFICIAL RETURNS

REPUBLICAN	Black-INDEPENDENT	DEMOCRAT
Ralph J. Perk	Arnold R. Pinkney	James M. Carney
88,774	72,785	65,887

Republican Ralph J. Perk, Cuyahoga County Auditor since 1962 won on his third attempt at becoming Mayor of the City of Cleveland, Ohio. Perk won with a plurality vote defeating Democrat James Carney and Black-Independent Arnold Pinkney. Carney, a wealthy businessman was estimated to have spent over \$400,000 in his third place finish, Arnold Pinkney, the favorite candidate of incumbent Mayor Carl Stokes finished second spending some \$250,000. Ralph Perk ran a tightly financed campaign (\$40,000) bringing together a coalition of Republicans, Democrats and Blacks. He collected some 40% of the three-way split despite the fact that Democrats out-register Republicans in the City of Cleveland by a 10 to 1 margin.

The vote was an apparent backlash at the two-term Democratic Mayor Stokes who steps down this next Monday morning. The City faces bankruptcy, and may be unable to meet its December payroll. Despite some cries that Perk ran a "racist" campaign, the Mayor-Elect plans to bring together these same three factions in his new administration.

Note: This is the last partisan campaign that will be conducted in the City of Cleveland, because during the September Primary the electorate vote to make all future campaigns for Mayor of the City of Cleveland Non-Partisan.

Ohio - State-wide

The Republicans swept the Northeast Section of Ohio.

1) Long-term incumbents were unseated.

2) The unpopularity of Democrat Governor Gilligan, who actively campaigned, also affected the outcome.

3) Columbus - large youth vote plus black vote, helped upset long-time incumbent Sensenbrenner.

Columbus

Moody (R)	77,853
Sensenbrenner (D)	76,840

Warren

Richard (R)	10,307
Bennett (D)	9,032

Niles

Thorp (R)	4,107
Marino (D)	4,002

San Francisco - Mayor

Joseph Alioto (D)	95,744
Harold Dobbs (R)	68,637
Diane Fienstein (D)	53,911

Joseph Alioto's pending federal indictment had no effect on the lower socio-economic voters who gave him most of his support.

Harold Dobbs suffered his third loss in election for mayor. He lost by a greater margin in this race than he lost by in 1967 (margin in 1967 was only 16,000 votes). Approximate totals for the 1967 race are: Alioto, 112,000; Dobbs, 96,000; Morrison, 50,000.

Diane Fienstein (D) ran on a liberal platform.

The total vote for San Francisco mayor dropped off significantly since the last election.

San Francisco - Other

1) Proposition S - Voters said yes to electing school board at large. This is a direct ramification of the city busing plan instituted in September.

2) Proposition I - took away life-time tenure for teachers and reduced it to 4-year tenure.

3) Proposition T - voters defeated this measure to limit all building in the San Francisco area to 6 stories (139,000-85,000).

San Diego - Mayor

Assemblyman Pete Wilson (R)	109,000 (63%)
Ed Butler (D)	70,000

This victory will provide good assistance for Convention.

Sacramento - Mayor

Richard Marriott(D)  
Milton McGhee (D)

This campaign was an establishment - anti-establishment oriented campaign. Richard Marriott, although a Democrat, was supported by the local GOP organization, and represented the establishment to voters. Milton McGhee was a black, anti-establishment candidate.

VIRGINIA ELECTION RESULTS

LT. GOVERNOR

HENRY HOWELL (I)	332,987	(40.4%)
GEORGE KOSTEL (D)	301,974	(36.6%)
GEORGE SHAFRAN (R)	189,149	(23%)

COMMENT: This is the second significant defeat for Governor Linwood Holton in as many times. The Governor lent the full weight of his prestige to Shafran, but this was not enough to offset a late-starting, poorly-financed campaign run by largely inexperienced personnel. Governor Holton's popularity will be at a new low among conservative Republicans, who opposed his efforts to nominate Shafran this year and moderate Ray Garland for the Senate last year. A conservative revolt could be brewing.

Shafran did well only in Northern Virginia, his home ground. He finished third in the traditional GOP stronghold, the Shenandoah Valley. Howell had broad support all across the state, running third only in Southwest Virginia's Ninth Congressional District. His campaign was built around his own brand of "consumer populism" coupled with racial moderation which drew heavy support from the state's Blacks and blue-collar whites. The busing issue may not have had the impact originally anticipated, although this may be due to a lack of any clear-cut difference between any of the candidates.

Shafran's overwhelming loss indicates the GOP has a long way to go if it is to retain the Governorship in 1973. It looks increasingly like Holton's 1969 victory was more of a personal victory than a Republican victory, and that without another candidate with his personal magnetism, the Statehouse will go to Henry Howell in 1973.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

STATE SENATE: No net change      33D      7R

HOUSE OF DELEGATES: Net loss of two seats    77D      22R    11

COMMENT: Despite Shafran's overwhelming loss, Republican members of the State Legislature held their own by and large. Many local candidates avoided close association with Shafran when it became apparent that the campaign was floundering badly. The failure to make any significant inroads into the Democrat-dominated General Assembly is discouraging, however, in view of the tremendous effort put into candidate recruitment this year. 99 out of 140 General Assembly seats were contested this year, far more than ever before.

OUTLOOK FOR NIXON IN 1972

These races cannot really be viewed in terms of the Presidential contest. The issues were almost exclusively local issues. Nixon should still do well here, and State Chairman Warren French believes there will be little trouble in carrying the state.

BOND ISSUES AND PROPOSALS

CALIFORNIA

San Diego. On the ballot in San Diego was a proposal which would have allowed the city to go in debt \$2,850,000 to acquire land to develop in Balboa Park to be used for educational, recreational and cultural activities. The proposal received 106,260 votes "yes" against 70,799 votes "no". This was a 60%-40% breakdown, but the proposal failed to get the 2/3 majority needed for passage.

<u>San Francisco</u>		On the ballot were the following:	
		yes	no
Proposition A.	Public School bond	107,910	121,913
Proposition B.	Harbor Improvement Bond	160,499	67,266
Proposition C.	Improve Hall of Justice	113,660	110,892
Proposition D.	Fire Improvement Bond	153,664	71,004
Proposition E.	Police Dept. Reorganization	108,269	105,917
Proposition F.	Budget Analysis	91,510	120,345
Proposition G.	Examination by those on disability	152,159	60,208
Proposition H.	Mayors to submit to voters opposing arguments	112,423	96,194
Proposition I.	School dept. contracts	115,767	94,363
Proposition J.	Work week incentive program for Police, fire	87,984	130,959
Proposition K.	Election law	59,547	147,529
Proposition L.	Separate boards for community colleges	119,698	86,692
Proposition M.	Amend zoning ordinances	111,877	84,183
Proposition N.	Retirement benefits	88,762	120,234
Proposition O.	Printing of Legislative Journal	100,049	100,098
Proposition P.	Retirement of widows of police and firemen.	134,013	81,081
Proposition Q.	Save the cable cars	120,989	81,730
Proposition R.	Recodification of city charters	128,794	67,493
Proposition S.	Elective school boards	128,745	91,726
Proposition T.	Height limits on high-rises	86,792	142,399

## BOND ISSUES AND PROPOSALS

### OHIO

Dick Baker of the Ohio Education Association reported today that with 80% of the vote totals in, the results of the school bonding issues were dismal. 67% of the new money requests were defeated in the state and 6 of the renewal issues were also defeated. According to Mr. Baker, defeats of renewals is usually unheard of in Ohio. On a statewide average, only 29% of the bondings for new buildings passed.

In the Dayton school system, the bonding issue was defeated. Starting this Friday, the schools will be closed for at least 10 days. On November 12th an emergency measure will again be on the ballot and if it passes schools will again be open. Without passage, schools will be forced to stay closed until January, when they can borrow from next year's budget.

### NEW YORK

Proposition 1. Proposition 1 failed to pass in yesterday's election. This proposal would have allowed the state to increase the fares for the Mass Transit Authority. Gov. Rockefeller and the Republican Party of New York campaigned for the proposal, feeling the proposal was needed to balance the budget. The Republican Party of New York says the defeat of this measure will leave the state in financial crisis.

Amendment 1. Amendment 1 was a proposal which would have allowed the state to give or lend money for the development of community projects such as housing projects. This proposal also failed to pass.

Amendment 2. This amendment would have allowed the cities to extend for 10 years the authority to exceed their debt limit for the construction of sewage facilities. This amendment also failed to pass.

The defeat of the proposals from New York were given to me by the New York Republican Party, although there are no figures available until late today or tomorrow.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

All municipal races

In the three partisan municipal races, GOP lost all by narrow margins. Due to lack of organization.

MAINE

Income tax referendum: the proposal to repeal an already-existing income tax was defeated by a large margin.

MASSACHUSETTS

Democrat Kevin White won by large margin (over 60 per cent).

Louise Hicks will run for re-election to Congress.

A Republican won in Quincy, which has been Democrat for many years.

NEW YORK

Bond issue was defeated badly. This presents serious problem since the \$300 million which the bond issue was to raise has already been incorporated into this year's budget.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA MAYORAL RACE:

Rizzo                    391,692\* (D)

Longstreth            343,169 (R)

Rizzo, former Police Commissioner, ran on law and order theme.  
Republicans were counting on large black vote - they stayed home.

\*with 1,752 out of 1,756 precincts reporting.

18th DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL RACE

Heinz                    103,000 (R)

Connelly                 49,000 (D)

(This only Congressional race in the country).

PRELIMINARY KENTUCKY RESULTS

Governor - State Wide - 2,873/3,079  
                     Ford - 442,763  
                     Emberton - 381,497  
                     Chandler - 36,553  
                     Smith - 7,133

GOVERNOR AND LT. GOVERNOR BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>GOVERNOR</u>	425/425	328/392	360/360	464/476	441/505	428/441	478/480
Ford	80,615	60,676	49,101	66,370	48,768	65,565	76,995
Emberton	46,124	46,354	44,305	67,115	70,964	54,799	58,682
Chandler	2,263	2,611	7,005	7,539	2,189	14,185	1,954
Smith	1,308	743	1,499	1,485	467	1,310	428
<u>LT. GOVERNOR</u>							
Carroll	80,805	59,724	53,185	69,624	47,737	67,168	72,389
Host	39,287	40,674	40,722	61,127	62,278	51,301	52,913

a) Jefferson County

b) 201/476 precincts in Jefferson County, For those 201 precincts this is the breakdown:

Ford 25,529  
 Emberton 34,974  
 Chandler 4,929  
 Smith 1,097

Adding the results of the third district with this portion of the third Emberton scored the following:

Ford 74,630  
 Emberton 79,279

Emberton carried Jefferson County by 4-5 thousand votes..

c) This district was considered to be Emberton stronghold. He did not do as well as expected.'

d) This district is Chandlers home and he did better here than in other areas.

#### ANALYSIS

1. Ford did surprisingly well in eastern and southeastern parts of the state -- areas very crucial to future GOP hopes. Consider the following statistics:

1967 - Nunn carried region by 40,000 votes

1971 - Emberton carried region by 16,000 votes

2. Emberton carried Jefferson County but not by large enough margin to offset low margins in other sagging areas of the state.

3. The 7th District was considered to be a Bert Combs power base and Republicans expected to do well there because of the bitter Ford/Combs primary battle last spring. However, Emberton ran 15% behind Nunn totals in 1967.

4. General Assembly likely to remain Democrat by a 78-22 margin in the House. In the Senate the Democrats should increase their pre-election 23-15 margin.

5. All Democratic state candidates were swept into office -- generally by much larger margins than that of Ford.

6. Jefferson County elected 12 Democrats in the Aldermanic race and both City Commissioner elected were Democrats.

7. Wendell Ford proclaimed last night and today that the "Dump Nixon Campaign has begun."

## CONNECTICUTT

In Bridgeport, the state's second largest city, the Republican nominee for mayor, Nick Panuzio won by three votes. Panuzio was backed by a young group of Republican who took control of the party two years ago, according to Chip Andrews, the State Executive Director. Panuzio was running against the incumbent mayor, Hugh Currin.

This is the first election in 50 years in which the Republican have won in Bridgeport. The 3 vote margin was out of a total vote of approximately 152,000 citizens in Bridgeport.

## NEW JERSEY

State Senate: previously GOP 31-9 stands now GOP 24-16, but possibly 25-15. Ten GOP incumbents did not run.

State Assembly: previously GOP 59-21; now Democrats 40-39 with one Independent. One race undecided but presently counted in Democrat figures as it is likely to go that way. 20 GOP incumbents did not run who did not run for the Senate.

NOTE: A recount in Assembly District 11D (Essex County) - GOP member running: John F. Trezza

X

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

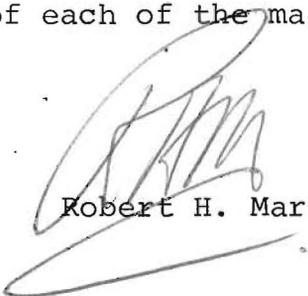
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

November 18, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Election 1972, Analysis and Recommendations  
by John Kessel, Professor at Ohio State  
University

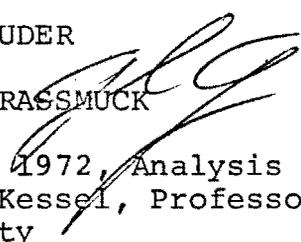
You may have seen this already. I have some doubts about the priorities suggested for areas of probable Republican strength. However, the comments on relative impact on the voters of each of the major issues in 1968 may be valid.

  
Robert H. Marik

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: GEORGE GRASSMUCK   
SUBJECT: Election 1972, Analysis and Recommendations  
by John Kessel, Professor at Ohio State  
University

In 1960, John Kessel helped with Nixon Volunteers in Massachusetts. He was a Republican National Committee fellow in 1963 and 1964, and he participated in the Goldwater campaign. Later, he wrote a book about the Goldwater coalition of that time.

Kessel has a good professional reputation. He has quantitative skills and can program for computers.

You may find his conclusions here to be helpful. In my view they are well worth knowing about, but they must be considered as a few of many valid inputs.

My recommendation here is for the man. If he is not on your list of competent analysts, he should be given some thought.

Attachments

# THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
154 NORTH OVAL DRIVE  
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

TELEPHONE: 422-2880

September 20, 1971

Mr. George L. Grassmuck  
Office of Counsellor Finch  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear George:

During our discussion in Chicago, you put two questions to me. First, what policy emphases during the coming months might help to produce a Nixon victory in 1972? Second, what geographic concentration during the campaign would be most likely to yield 300 plus electoral votes?

I should like to deal with the first question in terms of clusters of attitudes. Politicians more frequently think in terms of blocs of votes coming from regions or demographic groupings. There are, however, at least three reasons why it is helpful to think in terms of clusters of attitudes. First, a politician cannot discriminate in the policies he advocates. If he seeks black votes, white voters will be quick to notice; if he speaks in the South, his speech will also be reported in the North. Proceeding in terms of related attitudes allows the politician freedom from this demographic dilemma. Second, this approach rests on recent studies of the psychology of voting. Each additional attitude the voter has which is pro-Nixon makes it that much more likely he will cast a Nixon vote. My study of belief systems in Pennsylvania, for example, showed that 92% of the voters with consistent pro-Nixon attitudes voted for him. Third, a policy appeal is important to well educated voters. Independent Republicans, whose support is essential to any chance of a Republican victory, have the highest proportion of college graduates (29%) of any party identification grouping.

Let me list the clusters of attitudes, together with the policies and/or actions they imply, in descending order of the contribution they made to Nixon votes in 1968. (As you know, the clusters of attitudes and their relation to voting were drawn from a major study of the 1968 election.)

a. Richard Nixon. The President himself was far more important in appealing to voters than was any stand he took. Candidates are usually more salient than issues, but the disparity in this case was unusual. The 1972 emphasis should be on "The Man Who Knows How." This emphasis stems from the referendum nature of a mid-term election, and also focuses on his capacity for work and first term accomplishments.

b. Cost of Living. This was the only issue that produced substantial Nixon votes in 1968. Here, action obviously has been taken. If the policies announced in mid-August work out, this issue ought to help again.

(No other issue contributed very much. The President won a few votes on each.)

c. Peace in Vietnam. This was the only foreign policy issue with any effect on the voters. Again, action has been taken already. If the troops are home, the President can rightfully claim to have kept his pledge to the voters.

d. Jobs and Wages (and bread and butter issues generally).

The important issue with respect to this attitude is the Family Assistance Program; it is of the greatest importance to get this through the Senate. The mid-August economic package may help on the inflation issue, but if welfare reform is delayed, the President could lose more on this issue than he gains on inflation. The important point here is that this cluster of attitudes has been the core of Democratic voting motivation ever since the depression. They almost won the 1968 election because of it. The Family Assistance Program is a Republican initiative on the basis of which Republicans can say that they care about the little man, too.

e. Law and Order. The President won votes on this because he had a center position between Governor Wallace (who won votes on this issue and no other) and Vice President Humphrey (who lost on this issue).

f. Civil Rights. Both the President and Vice President Humphrey came out about even on this issue; Governor Wallace lost everywhere except the Deep South. The best analysis of this issue comes from Aberbach and Walker's "Political Trust and Racial Ideology": "the best hope of obtaining an enduring racial peace and building political trust at the same time is through a massive, general attack on the outstanding social problems of the society which affect both whites and blacks." They reach this conclusion because of the different attitudes held by working class whites, middle class blacks, and working class blacks, respectively.

(On the above issues taken together, President Nixon did much better than either Vice President Humphrey or Governor Wallace. He didn't win much on anything but inflation, but unlike the other candidates, he didn't lose on any issue.)

g. Spiro Agnew. The only attitudinal object that cost the Republicans votes in 1968 was Governor Agnew. (Senator Muskie, in contrast, won a great many votes for the Democrats.) Given Vice President Agnew's activities in office, it is likely that he will polarize votes to a greater extent in 1972. The choice here is clear cut. Replacing Mr. Agnew will antagonize numerous conservative Republican convention delegates; leaving him on the ticket will antagonize a much larger number of moderate voters in November.

To deal with the question of geographic concentration, I calculated normal votes for regions, and, in three cases where data were at hand, for states. As you know, these are based on the distribution of party identification types, and reflect long-term strength. They do not reflect the appeal of a particular candidate, organizational strength, or recent shifts in party appeal to a particular grouping. Alaska and Hawaii are also excluded due to lack of data.

The states and/or regions, in descending order of Republican normal vote, are:

State	Normal Vote	1972 Electoral Votes
1. Pennsylvania	50.3% Republican	27
2. New York	50.1% Republican	41
3. North-East (Maine, N.H., Vt., Mass., R.I., Conn. N.J., Del.)	47.9% Republican	57
4. Mid-West (Mich., Ind., Ill., Wis., Minn., Iowa, N.D., S.D., Neb., Kan.)	47.2% Republican	108
5. Border (Okla., Mo., Ky., Tenn., W.Va., Md., D.C.)	46.8% Republican	58
6. Ohio	45.1% Republican	25
7. Rocky Mountain (Mont., Idaho, Wy., Utah, Colo., N.M., Ariz., Nev.)	41.6% Republican	35
8. Pacific Coast (Cal., Ore., Wash.)	41.0% Republican	60
9. Peripheral South (Tex., Ark., Va., N.C., Fla.)	35.7% Republican	76
10. Deep South (S.C., Ga., Ala., Miss., La.)	30.0% Republican	46

The point to this particular analysis is that it is easiest for a Republican candidate to gain votes where Republican sympathies already exist. Consequently, one starts at the top of this list and works down. The first six areas cast 316 electoral votes.

It appears that this administration has its greatest appeal in regions where there is the least long-run Republican strength. To obtain an ordering that reflected both normal Republican vote and the President's own appeal, I calculated weighted averages of the two. Again, the list is in decreasing order of probable Republican strength.

1. Border
2. Pennsylvania
3. New York
4. North-East
5. Mid-West
6. Ohio
7. Peripheral South
8. Rocky Mountain
9. Pacific Coast
10. Deep South

As you can see, the principal differences in ranking concern the South. However, the same areas appear at the top of the list. The first six categories, Border States, Pennsylvania, New York, North-East, Mid-West, and Ohio, still add up to 316 electoral votes.

Hope this is of some help to you.

All good wishes,

*John*

John H. Kessel.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
154 NORTH OVAL DRIVE  
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

TELEPHONE: 422-2680

September 21, 1971

Mr. George L. Grassmuck  
Office of Counsellor Finch  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear George:

In due course, I'll write about my proposed analysis of the 1973 State of the Union Message. In the meantime, here is some analysis that bears on your 1972 concerns.

I did not expand on any one point in the body of the letter, but I thought you might be interested in the relative contributions of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew to Republican margins in the major states in 1968.

	Nixon	Agnew
California	+ 4.56	- 1.01
Illinois	+ 8.59	- 0.37
Massachusetts	+ 4.06	- 3.13
New York	+ 4.78	- 2.37
Ohio	+ 8.38	- 0.36
Pennsylvania	+ 6.48	- 0.44
Texas	+ 5.12	- 0.17

These figures are based on both the importance of the attitude and the relative favorability or unfavorability of the attitude object.

All good wishes,

*John H. Kessel*

John H. Kessel.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

November 11, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. *R*

It has been requested that we do not use White House stationery in any way at this committee. Even if we are to draft letters for signature by White House officials, we have been asked to draft those letters on plain paper and let them be retyped at the White House.

Thank you.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON

Date: Nov. 26, 1971

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You called about the New Hampshire poll reported in the Nov. 24 News Summary.

Attached is a copy of the memorandum I had asked Magruder to get from Rietz.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 24, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*  
SUBJECT: New Hampshire Campus Poll

The New Hampshire campus poll described in the President's news summary was not a mock election of the type we can control but a door-to-door canvass of dormitories at the University of New Hampshire in conjunction with a nonpartisan mass registration drive conducted by the student government organization. Our people knew of the registration drive and decided not to participate because it was a mass effort rather than a targeted drive.

Each person contacted was asked which primary he would vote in and then who he would vote for. Thus, while the article indicated the President was matched against McGovern and Muskie, this was not true.

I have asked our people to participate in the next canvass planned by the student government in an effort to control the results. This is currently unscheduled but planned for early December.

George Gorton still feels we could easily win a mock election against McCloskey and is planning one for February. We will carefully evaluate the situation and be certain of the results before scheduling such an election in New Hampshire or anywhere else.

Aynae,

Steve is returning this

to Gordon.

Photos

12/1

11:45

11:50

Steve

Dent

*[Handwritten initials and a large 'G' mark]*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: Campaign Pictures

You advised Dave Parker that the President "... will do pictures for incumbents up for re-election, but will not do pictures for new candidates -- particularly those who are running against Southerners who are supporting us." (Haldeman memorandum attached at Tab A) I called Harry Dent and Jeb Magruder with this information.

Nevertheless Harry Dent is asking for a Presidential picture for Ray Nutter, who will be the Republican candidate for Kentucky's 6th District seat (Dent memorandum attached at Tab B) Dent argues that this case does not fit the general rule because there is no incumbent. The seat is available because of the death of the Democratic incumbent John Watts (D-Ky. 6th).

The Attorney General received a copy of Dent's memorandum but has not responded. Harry Fleming knows nothing about the race.

Recommendation:

*OK to do this one - as an exception*

That the President not do the picture for Ray Nutter because it will set a precedent for Presidential pictures outside the general incumbents only rule.

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

Comment \_\_\_\_\_



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 18, 1971

TO: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Harry S. Dent 

My readings on the race for the Kentucky 6th District seat vacated by Watts' death are conflicting.

Ray Nutter, a Military Aide on the Hill, is planning to make the race for the Republicans.

John Kerr, the State Chairman, believes it can be won, as does Dick Cook. They say that Republicans are well organized in the District, that neither Nutter nor the Democrat have high identity, but that Nutter has the edge because of a dramatic military record and the possibility an Administration heavyweight could go in and campaign for him. Kerr says the Democrat is not liked by some of his colleagues and the Democrats are splintered.

On the other hand, Louie Nunn, in my conversations with him, is very cool, not wanting to be associated with another loser. Lucy Winchester, who knows the district well, took a reading and was told that the Democrat has high visibility and was just elected as Kentucky's outstanding state legislator.

I have been told that our best chance would be in a three-way race. The Democrat is a liberal, and it was felt the presence of a black could splinter that vote. A black named Wallace has been recruited, but only after I assured him we would get him a job if he lost and needed it.

Bob Wilson and the candidate have requested a quick picture with the President. I see no harm in this and we will make it clear that the picture can be used in the campaign but not the fact of the visit with the President because we do not want it to appear the President is intervening in the campaign.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

cc: The Attorney General

---

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

November 30, 1971

FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

For your information.

MEMO

TO: GEORGE MITCHELL, ELLIOT CUTLER  
FROM: ANNA NAVARRO, DAN LOUIS  
RE: December 20th and 21st Scheduling

The December schedule now calls for two days in California, primarily to take advantage of free TV time before it is too late.

Although the detailed results of our California poll are not in yet, reading over the open-ended responses to issue questions makes it apparent that property taxes are all important in this crucial state, and that capturing the issue is worth a gold mine to any candidate.

We have the resources to put on property tax hearings in California under the auspices IGR during those two days. Squier agrees that it would be a brilliant visual event, particularly if we can dramatize the effects of the property tax on elderly homeowners and school children in poor neighborhoods.

Also, capturing the property tax issue would be great in places other than California -- think of all the schools that have closed in the last two years because citizens refuse to tax themselves anymore.

Please let us know if this idea fits well with you. The Hill would have to move on setting up the hearing immediately.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 29, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*

I thought you would be interested in the attached.

WENDELL WYATT  
1ST DISTRICT, OREGON

To  
Ken  
Reitz  
F91

0-11/19/71  
**Nixon wins  
college poll** tates

A poll of about 500 Portland Community College students indicates that President Nixon would be re-elected, and Wayne Morse would grab a U.S. Senate seat if the elections were held today.

But more impressive to the 60 journalism students who conducted the poll was student apathy about voting, and lack of knowledge about the candidates and possible candidates.

Some students do not know who Edith Green is, and other students have no knowledge of Robert Duncan.

The poll showed Morse to be a 2 to 1 favorite over Mrs. Green, Duncan, Mark Hatfield and Gov. Tom McCall.

President Nixon was a close winner over Eugene McCarthy and Edmund Muskie.

Flemming/Dent

FU #11  
12/6

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 26, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: Idaho Senate Race -- Glenn Wegner

Glenn Wegner is on Counsellor Finch's staff detailed from HEW. He is campaigning in Idaho for Jordan's Senate seat. This is causing problems for the President's campaign in that state because Wegner is a "complete disaster" according to Harry Glemming. He is urging us to "do something" to get Wegner out of Idaho.

Harry Dent agrees that Glenn Wegner is a disaster and can cause nothing but trouble since Jim McClure has been selected as the candidate for the Senate. According to Dent Wegner would be a good candidate for Congressman but not Senator. Dent believes you should send Finch a memo telling him to convince Glenn Wegner to stop campaigning as the "White House Staff" candidate.

Recommendation:

Since the Attorney General reported to you on November 4 that Finch is now quite positive and realistic about his own role, the Attorney General should discuss this Wegner matter with Finch. Flemming and Dent would be advised that it is the Attorney General's decision whether there is to be any action concerning Wegner.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree       H      

Comment Flemming and/or Dent shld discuss w/ Finch first. If that doesn't solve it - then get AG in.

G → Dent 11/29 - mention - leave in; H Dent advise AG to meet w/ken forder  
 " Flemming 11/29 - " " will meet w/ Dent

AGENDA

CAMPAIGN ISSUES GROUP

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1971

- I. INTRODUCTION - Harry Dent
  
- II. SUMMARY OF CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY TO DATE - Jeb Magruder  
  
ORGANIZATION OF THE CAMPAIGN  
  
CURRENT STATUS OF THE CAMPAIGN
  
- III. OUTLINE OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES GROUP ACTIVITY - Harry Dent  
  
PROSPECTIVE MEETINGS  
  
ROLE OF THE CAMPAIGN ISSUES GROUP  
  
PROSPECTIVE TOPICS FOR THE CAMPAIGN ISSUES GROUP
  
- IV. DISCUSSION: WHAT ARE THE MAJOR ISSUES WHICH NEED TO BE  
  
FACED DURING THE CAMPAIGN?

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

November 24, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Steve Winchell, Vice President of the Richard A. Viguerie Company, a Washington-based political direct mail firm, has been a close personal friend of mine since college days, and has recently been talking to people here on the campaign committee with regard to the use of direct mail in the 1972 campaign. Steve told me last weekend that on a recent flight to the west coast, former Senator Eugene McCarthy approached him asking if the Viguerie Company would be interested in doing fund raising work for him. Steve's response was that the firm did not work for anyone but Republicans, and McCarthy's response was "doesn't that mean you don't work for Democrats. I won't be running as a Democrat but in another party, so couldn't you raise money for me?" Although the Viguerie Company is not inclined to work for McCarthy, they feel that with the hundred thousand names McCarthy has on file, over one million dollars could be raised through a direct mail program and that this is money which we, as Republicans, would never see, but which might further divide the Democratic party and possibly create a fourth party.

Winchell and his company are politically and ideologically committed to the re-election of the President and if it was our desire to have them raise money for McCarthy, I could quietly communicate this to Winchell and it would go no further.

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

*R.C.O.*

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

CONFIDENTIAL