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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Bush, George H.W., Collection  
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**Subseries:** Republican National Committee

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**OA/ID Number:** 25864  
**Folder ID Number:** 25864-013

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**Folder Title:**  
Papers from RNC 12/72 - 9/74 [3]

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#1

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PRELIMINARY PLAN FOR A SERIES  
OF REPUBLICAN REGIONAL TELETHONS

May 8, 1974

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Now it's our turn. As Chairman Bush said recently, "We are not going to surrender the TV battleground to the Democrats." Instead we're going to use this powerful medium for our own purposes. This plan is the first step.

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And finally, it seems that at this point in time our presentation will have greater acceptance if the public sees the Party leadership literally going to the people and joining forces with state and local leaders, rather than speaking from a national platform with an inevitable association with the White House.

The regional approach does not, of course, preclude the possibility of a national telethon in the fall. The feasibility of this will depend, of course, on what happens in Washington between now and then.

The first telethon is tentatively scheduled for late June in Cincinnati. The rest of this plan deals specifically with this program, although most of the items apply also to subsequent regional telethons.

The Cincinnati telethon will be scheduled in prime evening time, probably on a week night, and will be carried live on a regional network of stations in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Dayton, Columbus, Charleston and Louisville. These combined markets contain 3.1 million households. The originating station will be WLW-TV, an NBC affiliate. The station's general manager has assured us that air time for the telethon can be cleared, and that the network of stations described above can be hooked up.

Public interest in the program will be stimulated by a concentrated publicity and advertising effort. This will include press conferences in each city, press releases sent to all daily and weekly newspapers in the region and to selected national media, newspaper advertisements, promotional TV spots, and a mailing to all Republicans in the area. The state and local organizations will probably want to supplement this effort with their own activities.

The objectives of the telethon will be:

- to present the Republican Party as alive and fighting back, undeterred by Watergate (although vigorously denouncing all wrongdoing by any elected official or government worker regardless of Party), and optimistic about the future.
- to encourage Republicans on all levels to get re-involved, and to work and vote for Republican candidates they believe in.
- to re-state and re-affirm Republican principles, to demonstrate that they are workable and can be applied to the problems of today, and that the Party is dedicated to finding solutions and is responsive to people's needs.
- to show that there are many, many fine, highly respected, attractive and likeable men and women who are proud to be Republicans.
- to review the background and history of the Republican Party, both nationally and in the region, as a reminder to viewers that the Party has a long and proud record of accomplishment, integrity and concern for the quality of life of all the people.
- and finally, to request viewers to contribute funds so that the Party can continue to function and Republican candidates can conduct effective campaigns. The policy at this writing is that funds raised as a result of the telethon will be used first to defray the costs of producing and promoting the telethon and buying the air time, and

second, to help support state and local Party activities and the campaigns of Republican candidates. No money will go to the national organization except to the costs of producing the show.

Now about the event itself.

The setting of the telethon will be a rally in a large indoor auditorium, attended by a capacity crowd of enthusiastic Republicans. Music will be provided by a live band.

The televised portion will probably be 90 minutes long, although this possibly could be extended to two hours.

The format will be designed for maximum effectiveness as a television program. That is, the primary goal is to attract and hold viewers, not to provide a platform for long speeches or boring reports or other elements which are not of general interest. It will be a fast-paced, professionally produced presentation of a wide variety of short segments, each one no longer than three minutes. Film clips and tapes will be used where appropriate to add visual interest. At present, there are no plans for any "pure entertainment" segments - such as singing, comedy, etc.

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The first celebrity host will open the program - coming on cold immediately after the disclaimer (or perhaps he could give the disclaimer) for maximum impact and to hold as much of our inherited audience as possible. He will welcome the audience and talk about who and what will appear on the program. The camera will cut away to shots of the audience reacting and applauding (this will be done throughout the telethon). After his opening comments, the host will introduce Chairman Bush.

Chairman Bush will add his welcome, then discuss the need for money. He will stress the traditional importance to the Republican Party of small donations, and will explain that all money raised over and above the cost of the program will go to help Republicans in this region. He will also explain the difference between Party funds and CREEP money.

The Chairman will then announce the phone numbers for pledged contributions, show the telephone banks, and give the address for mail contributions. Appeals for contributions - which should come mostly from state and local Party people - will be repeated every ten minutes.

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-- three "Proud Moments" vignettes. These will be specially produced 2-minute films based on Party history. Each one would highlight one or more events in which the Party figured prominently, such as the solving of a problem, dealing with a crisis, a diplomatic breakthrough, a significant piece of legislation, a case of inspired leadership - and perhaps an example of how the Party staged a dramatic comeback after suffering a disastrous defeat or humiliation. One vignette should deal with a "proud moment" in the regional party's history. The films would use interesting old stills and film clips, and would be narrated by a prominent Republican.

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-- a short 2 minute talk by an objective and knowledgeable observer of the political scene on what a Democratic sweep in November could mean, the danger of a veto-proof Congress, and the importance of preserving the two-party system.

The following lists all the segments being considered and the approximate timings.

	<u>Minutes</u>
opening by celebrity host and Chairman	6
introductions, transitions, applause and miscellaneous for entire telethon	12
fund appeals 8 x average of 30 seconds each	4
guest appearances 9 x average of 2 1/2 seconds each	22 1/2
Vice President appearances	5
"Proud Moments" films. 3 x 2 minutes each	6
"Great Republicans" film,	3
Party philosophy film	3
Young Republican segment	2 1/2
"Listen to the People" film and issues discussion.	3
fair play talk	2
discussion of what Dem sweep will mean	2
closing by Chairman and others	3
credits and disclaimers	<u>1</u>
	75
time for additional program elements	<u>15</u>
total program length	90

#2

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The foregoing represents our initial thinking only. Plans will, of course, be revised and refined as we receive further input.

However, it is imperative that we reach agreement on the general approach as soon as possible so that work on the first telethon can get underway.

Specifically, we need to do the following:

-- decide on Cincinnati as the location for the first telethon

-- decide on the date

-- as soon as the above items are definite, we must find and commit to an auditorium for the event.

-- a small group should be formed and given the responsibility for coordinating all of the various elements. This should include a representative of the state organizations, a representative of the RNC, the telethon producer, and a writer. All should be free to spend a lot of time on the project.

-- a time period must be cleared and a commitment made to the stations involved.

-- a budget must be prepared and approved. This will include the cost of auditorium rental, air time, live production, film production, promotion, research, etc.

-- we should start lining up the people who will appear on the program: the Vice President, the National and regional Party leaders, celebrities, etc.

-- research and scriptwriting. for the special films must be started

immediately. These films should be in production by June 1 at the latest.

The above represents only the most urgent items. There are, of course, many, many other things that need doing in the next two to three weeks.

May 8, 1974

Prominent Southern Republican Chairman:

One of his Congressional candidates thinks RMN may be losing some ground, but generally things are okay. Still thinks we are going to come out on top. It is intertwined - the Presidency and the Party. He wasn't offended by Burch's remarks at RNC meeting. We've got to hustle more. Position GB taking is a correct one. Transcripts are getting a lot of play. It's a "light body blow." Bad letters haven't started.

Atlantic State Committeeman:

A sad day, because the man had to bare his soul. Agrees with Scott, but it doesn't help to talk publicly that way. This stuff is coming out in fits and starts, and reaction in his State is very bad at this point. It may end up coming out better than it now looks, but now it's not good.

Northeastern State Committeeman:

Thought the thing (transcript) was okay. "Not too upset."

Southern Chairman:

Generally okay, but not overwhelmingly favorable. Some good editorials. Definite feeling that RMN has gone the extra mile. Had a number of comments that transcripts show President is human. Thinks this hasn't hurt - in fact, there is a slight improvement.

Mountain State Chairman:

Reaction generally negative and very bad. Had statewide caucuses last night. Remorse over what President has done to Party. Senator Scott's feeling is generally shared in State. "I think the only solution is for Goldwater, Tower, Griffin, and Rhodes to circulate a petition and present consensus of Congress quietly to President."

Midwest Chairman:

Lots of people have read it in the Chicago Tribune. He has problems with March 21 meeting, but overall, this has helped get things resolved. There is still a big credibility problem. Doesn't think his people buy the Scott statement. People are saying that they are fed up with Watergate, and therefore Nixon - because of halting, balking approach to Watergate problem. People respect Judiciary Committee's requests. More regard than for Watergate Committee.

May 8, 1974

Eastern State Committeewoman:

She defends the President and the Presidency everywhere and attacks the pseudo-liberals who have set the stage for present circumstances. Feels people are hungry for more defense of RMN. She hasn't lost faith in the President and is confused by the transcript. She feels the newspapers are trying to do us harm on this whole matter, but she won't leave the ship.

Upper Midwest Committeewoman:

This is making people more dubious. It is creating more doubt among Republicans. "It's just a shame. It bothers the dickens out of me." But she has had a few calls from people wanting to take out ads in the President's favor.

Southeastern Chairman:

He is more discouraged now than he has ever been. Scott's and Rhodes' remarks have influenced him. Thought last week that the transcript release was going to help, but he is afraid that it has not helped. Has talked to a lot of people and he is afraid that a lot of the President's supporters are going to start to back off.

People are saying "What's the use?" and

"How come you're still defending that crooked SOB?"

Very down.

Western Chairman:

It's somewhat serious now. Newspapers are very biased against Administration. Thought at time of speech it was good, but now he is beginning to wonder. Scott's statement is being felt. It gives opponents more ammunition.

Lower Midwest Committeeman:

Very, very negative reaction - not necessarily that RMN is guilty, but that the tone reflects a second-rate type of guys. Thinks this has hurt President terribly across the board. It spills over onto the Party. It's been devastating. He is still mouthing the Party line and trying to avoid making any remark which might hurt the Party or the system.

West Coast Chairman:

General consensus from transcript is a negative one, but most people still want to get this over with and behind us. People seem to think there is enough out. There is a very unhappy, plain depressed feeling. The President's image has changed some over this.

Northwest Committeeman:

The release of the transcript was good at first, but has been deteriorating. Refusal to give more is hurting. The press has been pretty tough. What's killing everyone are things like Senator Scott's statement - and even Jerry Ford is getting a little weaker. Eroding away a bit.

A Southern State Chairman:

Reaction started off favorably, but newspapers and Hugh Scott's statement have hurt. That seems to be all we are hearing now. Momentarily, public opinion is down, but doesn't know if it will stay down.



# Republican National Committee

## NATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

*JK  
File - personal  
May 27 to 74  
To test  
Watergate  
sentiments*

### Objectives:

With a nation-wide telephone study, we want to establish a base line on several issues and problems that face GOP leaders and candidates in the November elections. We want to probe these issues and problems in such a way as to develop motivational and depth of perception data as well as the standard information usually seen from national studies.

Below are listed in outline form the basic areas we would like to see probed for motivational and depth of perception data.

### President Nixon:

- ✓ -standard approval/disapproval rating question
- ✓ -by using a scaling technique, determine to level of confidence people have in Richard Nixon's leadership

### Impeachment:

- ✓ -probe the level of public understanding of impeachment as a judiciary process.
- ✓ -the level of public understanding of a Senate trial -vs- House articles of impeachment, etc.
- ✓ -what effect will impeachment proceedings (a Senate trial) conducted throughout the campaign have on voters in November
- ✓ -how do voters stand on impeachment/resignation and their reasons for their stand
- ✓ -to what extent are voters "turned off" by impeachment -vs- those who feel strongly, pro or con about impeachment

*Portusen  
political  
implications  
is it  
Dear readers  
etc*

### Watergate:

Taking "Watergate" as a separate issue, the following should be probed:

- ✓ -probe voters as to the relative importance of Watergate as an issue in triggering their vote in November

Photo Copy Preservation

Watergate: (cont')

- will perception of how their Congressman votes on impeachment have any impact on their vote for Congress this fall
- ✓ -what does "Watergate" mean to voters; i.e., is it something very narrow in definition such as the break-in, or does it signify something much broader such as corruption in government, etc.
- ✓ -do voters associate "Watergate" with "Republican" in a negative sense

Issues:

In addition to the usual national issue question, we should assume that certain issues, other than Watergate, will be crucial. These probably would be the economy, general corruption in government, etc.

- ✓ -explore what voters think should be done about economy, inflation, recession, etc. in terms of what "government" can or should do
- ✓ -probe for awareness of programs addressing issues; are current programs working; are they the right solutions, etc.

*Debate - tax cuts - more inflation*

Congress:

- ✓ -standard job approval rating for Congress and the overall job it's doing
- ✓ -name identification and job approval of their own Congressman

*is this Dem. Failure??*

Party:

- ✓ -probe as to whether or not voters feel the GOP is or has been involved in or responsible for Watergate
- ✓ -measure the intensity or importance of this feeling in relation to how voters will vote in November
- using a scaling technique, probe the perception voters have of the two parties in terms of such things as sensitivity to individual voter, best able to handle economy, foreign affairs, etc., how corrupt each party is seen

Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_ from Market Opinion Research Company, a national research company with headquarters in Detroit. We are making a study of problems and political figures in the U.S. and your local area, and would like to have your opinions.

1. Are you a registered voter in the state and county where you now live? Yes . . . . . 1  
No (TERMINATE) . . . . . 2

2. What do you think are the most important problems facing the U.S. as a nation at this time?

a. Which one do you think is the single most important problem? (CIRCLE ABOVE)

b. Thinking about the single most important problem, what do you think should be done to solve this problem?

c. How much confidence do you have that President Nixon can help to solve this problem--a lot, some part, but not a lot, only a little, or hardly any confidence? A lot of confidence. . . . . 1  
Some part, but not a lot. . . . . 2  
Only a little. . . . . 3  
Hardly any confidence. . . . . 4  
Don't know. . . . . 0

d. How hard do you think President Nixon is trying to solve this problem--trying his best, trying as hard as anyone else would, or not trying his best? Trying his best. . . . . 1  
Trying as hard as anyone else would. . . . . 2  
Not trying his best. . . . . 3  
Don't know. . . . . 0

(ROTATE ORDER OF "c & d" with "e & f")

e. How much confidence do you have that Congress can help to solve this problem--a lot, some part, but not a lot, only a little, or hardly any confidence? A lot of confidence. . . . . 1  
Some part, but not a lot. . . . . 2  
Only a little. . . . . 3  
Hardly any confidence. . . . . 4  
Don't know. . . . . 0

f. How hard do you think ~~Nixon~~ <sup>Congress</sup> is trying to solve this problem--trying his best, trying as hard as anyone else would, or not trying his best? Trying his best. . . . . 1  
Trying as hard as anyone else would. . . . . 2  
Not trying his best. . . . . 3  
Don't know. . . . . 0

3. Overall, do you think the U.S. as a nation is better off, worse off or about ~~the same~~ as it was 2 or 3 years ago?
- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Better off. . . . .     | 1 |
| Worse off. . . . .      | 2 |
| About the same. . . . . | 3 |
| Don't know. . . . .     | 0 |

a. Why do you feel that way?

4. Do you think that the nation will be better off, worse off or the same as it is today two years from now?
- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Better off. . . . .     | 1 |
| Worse off. . . . .      | 2 |
| About the same. . . . . | 3 |
| Don't know. . . . .     | 0 |

a. Why do you feel that way?

5. Who or what do you feel is responsible for the continuing inflation problem? *any hints*

? (if you had to choose between RN or Congress to answer  $\frac{1}{2}$  which would you blame.)

6. I am going to mention six problems to you and I would like you to rate how bad a problem you think each one is in the country today, whether it is extremely bad, very bad, moderately bad, a little bad, or not too bad a problem. First, how would you rate. . . (READ PROBLEMS BELOW, REPEAT CHOICES EACH TIME)

	Extremely bad	Very bad	Moderately bad	A little bad	Not too bad	Don't know
Crime and drugs	5	4	3	2	1	0
Economic conditions	5	4	3	2	1	0
Honesty in government	5	4	3	2	1	0
Federal taxes	5	4	3	2	1	0
Overall quality of life	5	4	3	2	1	0
Overall way federal government is being run	5	4	3	2	1	0

*Congress*

a. (IF EXTREMELY BAD OR VERY BAD, ASK)  
Who or what do you think is responsible for this situation?

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Richard Nixon is handling his job as President?

Approve. . . . . 1  
Disapprove. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

<p>a. How strongly do you approve the way President Nixon is handling his job as President, very strongly, fairly strongly, or not too strongly?</p> <p>Very strongly. . . . . 3 Fairly strongly. . . . . 2 Not too strongly. . . . . 1 Don't know. . . . . 0</p> <p>b. Why do you approve?</p> <p>c. (IF ANSWER IS "Doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?</p>	<p>a. How strongly do you disapprove of the way President Nixon is handling his job as President, very strongly, fairly strongly, or not too strongly?</p> <p>Very strongly. . . . . 3 Fairly strongly. . . . . 2 Not too strongly. . . . . 1 Don't know. . . . . 0</p> <p>b. Why do you disapprove?</p> <p>c. (IF ANSWER IS "Not doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?</p>
---	--

8. What do you think have been Richard Nixon's greatest accomplishments since he has been President?

9. What do you think have been Richard Nixon's greatest failures since he has been President?

10. Overall, would you say that for the 6 years President Nixon has been in office, his accomplishments have outweighed his failures or that his failures have outweighed his accomplishments?

Accomplishments outweighed failures. . . . . 1  
Failures outweighed accomplishments. . . . . 2  
Evenly balanced. . . . . 3  
Don't know. . . . . 0

11. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Gerald Ford is handling his job as Vice-President?

Approve. . . . . 1  
 Disapprove. . . . . 2  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

<p>a. How strongly do you approve the way Vice President Ford is handling his job as Vice President, very strongly, fairly strongly, or not too strongly?</p> <p>Very strongly. . . . . 3                  Fairly strongly. . . . . 2                  Not too strongly. . . . . 1                  Don't know. . . . . 0</p> <p>b. Why do you approve?</p> <p>c. (IF ANSWER IS "Doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?</p>	<p>a. How strongly do you disapprove of the way Vice President is handling his job as Vice President, very strongly, fairly strongly, or not too strongly?</p> <p>Very strongly. . . . . 3                  Fairly strongly. . . . . 2                  Not too strongly. . . . . 1                  Don't know. . . . . 0</p> <p>b. Why do you disapprove?</p> <p>c. (IF ANSWER IS "Doing a good job," ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?</p>
---	---

12. Overall, would you say that President Nixon or Congress has done the best job over the past year or two?

President. . . . . 1  
 Congress. . . . . 2  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

13. Can you tell me the name of your U.S. Congressman in Washington?

Named \_\_\_\_\_ 1  
 Named other. . . . . 2  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

(IDENTIFY IF RESPONDENT CANNOT)

14. Do you approve or disapprove of the way \_\_\_\_\_ is handling his job as U.S. Congressman?

Approve . . . . . 1  
 Disapprove. . . . . 2  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

*out*

15. In this fall's election, would you like to see your congressman re-elected or do you think it is time for a change and a new person should be the congressman from your district?

- Re-elect. . . . . 1
- Change/New Person. . . . . 2
- Refused. . . . . 3
- Don't know. . . . . 0

<p>a. Why would you like to see him/her re-elected?</p> <p>b. (IF "Doing a good job." ASK) What in particular do you have in mind?</p> <p><del>c. Is there anyone from your district that you can think of you would vote for against your present Congressman?</del></p>	<p>a. Why would you like to see a change?</p> <p>b. (IF ANSWER IS "Not doing a good job." ASK:) What in particular do you have in mind?</p> <p><del>c. Is there anyone in particular you would like to see run against your congressman?</del></p>
---	--

16. Do you think it would be best for the country that after this fall's election Congress was made up of enough Democrats to override any Presidential veto, a majority of Democrats, but not enough to override a veto or a majority of Republicans?

- Enough Dems. to override a presidential veto. . . . . 1
- A majority of Dems, but not enough to override a veto. 2
- A Republican majority. . . . . 3
- Don't know. . . . . 0

good

17. Do you personally hope that your Congressman will vote for impeachment of the President?

- Yes. . . . . 1
- No. . . . . 2
- Don't know. . . . . 0

18. Will how your congressman votes on impeachment be very important, fairly important, not too important, or not at all important to you in deciding whether or not to vote for him this fall?

- Very important. . . . . 1
- Fairly important. . . . . 2
- Not too important. . . . . 3
- Not at all important. . . . . 4
- Don't know. . . . . 0

↓

19. As far as the people in charge of running (READ LIST) are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them? (RECORD BELOW FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST)

	<u>Great deal of Confidence</u>	<u>Only some Confidence</u>	<u>Hardly any Confidence</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. The U.S. Senate	3	2	1	0
b. The press	3	2	1	0
c. The U.S. House of Representatives	3	2	1	0
d. Television news	3	2	1	0
<i>join</i> } e. Local government	3	2	1	0
f. State government	3	2	1	0
g. The White House	3	2	1	0
h. <i>The Courts</i>				

20. Now, I would like to read you a list of issues people have mentioned to us and as I read each one, I would like you to tell me whether each one would be extremely important, very important, fairly important, not very important, or not at all important to you in deciding how to vote for senator or congressman this fall.

	<u>Extremely Important</u>	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Fairly Important</u>	<u>Not very Important</u>	<u>Not at all Important</u>
✓ Unemployment	5	4	3	2	1
✓ Crime	5	4	3	2	1
✓ Watergate/Corruption in government	5	4	3	2	1
✓ Inflation	5	4	3	2	1
✓ Candidate's position on impeachment of the President	5	4	3	2	1
✓ Foreign affairs	5	4	3	2	1

21. In deciding how to vote for congressmen, are the personal qualities of the candidates or the candidate's positions on the issues, or the party they belong to the most important to you.

Personal qualities . . . . .	1
Position on issues . . . . .	2
Party affiliation . . . . .	3
Don't know . . . . .	0

22. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of the Republican Party?

*Maybe need to suggest  
28 -- party of rich etc etc to party of poor etc?*

(IF "NEUTRAL TYPE ANSWER, E.G. "POLITICAL PARTY" (If answer to Q. does not indicate good/bad))

a. Do you consider that good or bad?	Good . . . . .	1
	Bad . . . . .	2
	Don't know . . . . .	0

23. What is the second thing that comes to mind when you think of the Republican Party?

(IF "NEUTRAL TYPE OF ANSWER, E.G. "POLITICAL PARTY" (If answer to Q. does not indicate good/bad))

a. Do you consider that good or bad?	Good . . . . .	1
	Bad . . . . .	2
	Don't know . . . . .	0

24. What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of the Democratic Party?

(IF "NEUTRAL TYPE ANSWER E.G. "POLITICAL PARTY" (IF answer to Q. does not indicate good/bad)

a. Do you consider that good or bad?	Good . . . . .	1
	Bad . . . . .	2
	Don't know . . . . .	0

25. What is the second thing that comes to mind when you think of the Democratic Party?

(IF "NEUTRAL TYPE ANSWER E.G. "POLITICAL PARTY" (If answer to Q. does not indicate good/bad)

a. Do you consider that good or bad?	Good . . . . .	1
	Bad . . . . .	2
	Don't know . . . . .	0

26. Can you tell me the name of the national leader of the Democratic Party?

*Answer*

Named Robert Strauss . . . . .	1
Named other . . . . .	2
Don't know . . . . .	0

(IDENTIFY IF RESPONDENT CANNOT -- Robert Strauss)

27. Can you tell me the name of the national leader of the Republican Party?

*Answer*

Named George Bush . . . . .	1
Named other . . . . .	2
Don't know . . . . .	0

28. Now I am going to read to you several qualities or characteristics that our two political parties may or may not have and as I read each, I would like you to tell me whether you think it describes the Republican Party, the Democratic Party or neither.

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Concerned for people				
Like us	1	2	3	0
Honest	1	2	3	0
Able to handle economic problems	1	2	3	0
Corrupt	1	2	3	0
Able to handle international problems	1	2	3	0
Trustworthy	1	2	3	0
Liberal	1	2	3	0
Dynamic	1	2	3	0
Rich	1	2	3	0
Conservative	1	2	3	0
Powerful	1	2	3	0

1  
2 war  
3 big spender

29. Now, I would like to read you several names and I would like you to tell me if you are aware or not aware of each one. (IF AWARE, ASK:) Is your general impression of him favorable or unfavorable? (ROTATE NAMES)

	<u>Aware</u>	<u>Not Aware</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
a. Edward Kennedy	N	3	2	1	0
b. Barry Goldwater	N	3	2	1	0
c. George Heany	N	3	2	1	0
d. George Bush	N	3	2	1	0
e. Hugh Scott	N	3	2	1	0
f. Robert Strauss	N	3	2	1	0
g. John Rhodes	N	3	2	1	0

why

??

30. When I mention the word "WATERGATE" what is the first thing that comes to mind?

a. What else does the term Watergate mean to you?

31. Do you think President Nixon should or should not resign?

Should resign. . . . . 1  
Should not resign. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

a. If President Nixon doesn't resign do you think he should or should not be impeached?	Should be impeached. . . . . 1 Should not be impeached. . . . . 2 Don't know. . . . . 0
b. Why?	

32. If the election for Congress were being held today and \_\_\_\_\_ was the Republican candidate and \_\_\_\_\_ was the Democratic candidate, would you be voting for the Republican or Democratic candidate?

Republican. . . . . 1  
Democrat . . . . . 2  
Refused. . . . . 9  
Don't know. . . . . 0

a. As of today, which way do you lean-- towards _____, the Republican candidate or _____, the Democratic candidate?	Republican candidate. . . . . 1 Democratic candidate. . . . . 2 Refused. . . . . 9 Don't know. . . . . 0
---	---

33. Did what you know about Watergate influence the way you just answered the above question?

Yes. . . . . 1  
No. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

34. There has been quite a lot of discussion about impeachment recently. From what you know, what does the term impeachment mean?

*Why?*  
35. Do you think the President should or should not be tried by the U.S. Senate to determine whether he is guilty or innocent of any crimes?

Should be tried. . . . . 1  
Should not be tried. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

36. Do you personally think the President is guilty or innocent of committing any crime?

Guilty. . . . . 1  
Innocent. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

37. In the impeachment process, the House of Representatives determines whether or not formal charges should be brought against the President. If charges are brought against the President he is then tried before the U.S. Senate with the Senate itself sitting as the jury. Should the President be charged before the Senate?

Should be charged. . . . . 1  
Should not be charged. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

a. Why? (PROBE)

38. If the House brings formal charges against the President, do you think he should resign or that he should go ahead and defend himself in a trial before the Senate?

Should resign. . . . . 1  
Should defend himself. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

39. People have different ideas on what position the Republican party should take regarding President Nixon. Some think it should continue to support him while others think that the party should not take a position, ~~but should work to elect its candidates at the state and local level and let the investigation take its course.~~ Others yet, however, think the party should repudiate him ~~and~~ the leader of the party. Which ~~of~~ these three positions do you most closely agree with?

Support Nixon. . . . . 1  
Not take a stand. . . . . 2  
Repudiate as leader of the party. . . . . 3  
Don't know. . . . . 0

40. Do you think the President should or should not make available the all of the transcripts/tapes requested by the House Judiciary Committee?

Should. . . . . 1  
Should not. . . . . 2  
Don't know. . . . . 0

**E: PARTY IDENTIFICATION**

Now I would like to talk to you again about the political parties.

E1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	2. INDEPENDENT	3. NO PREFERENCE	4. OTHER	5. DEMOCRAT
---------------	----------------	------------------	----------	-------------

TURN TO P. 25, E1J

E1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or an Independent rather than a Republican?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

TURN TO P. 24, E2

E1c. Was that a Democrat or an Independent?

1. DEMOCRAT	5. INDEPENDENT
-------------	----------------

E1d. When did you change to a Republican?

---



---

SKIP TO P. 24, E2

E1a. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1f. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or an Independent rather than a Democrat?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

TURN TO P. 24, E2

E1g. Was that a Republican or an Independent?

1. REPUBLICAN	5. INDEPENDENT
---------------	----------------

E1h. When did you change to a Democrat?

---



---

SKIP TO P. 24, E2

Photo Copy Preservation

Not ascertained. . . . . 0  
 Other. . . . . 5  
 Black. . . . . 2  
 White. . . . . 1

XII. RACE: (BY OBSERVATION OR FROM NATIONALITY)

Male. . . . . 1  
 Female. . . . . 2

XI. Sex:

*Handwritten mark*

Home-order. . . . . 1  
 Rent. . . . . 2  
 Don't know/Refused. . . . . 0

X. Are you a home-owner or do you rent?

Protestant (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, etc.). . . . . 1  
 Roman Catholic. . . . . 2  
 Jewish. . . . . 3  
 Other. . . . . 4  
 Agnostic/Atheist. . . . . 5  
 None. . . . . 8  
 Refused. . . . . 9  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

IX. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

Respondent. . . . . 1  
 Other member of family. . . . . 2  
 Both. . . . . 3  
 None. . . . . 4  
 Refused/Don't know. . . . . 0

VIII. Do you or does any other member of your family belong to a labor union?

British/English. . . . . 1  
 Irish. . . . . 2  
 Italian. . . . . 3  
 Polish. . . . . 4  
 German. . . . . 5  
 French. . . . . 6  
 Greek. . . . . 7  
 Afro-American. . . . . 8  
 Other. . . . . 9  
 Don't know/Refused. . . . . 0

VII. In addition to being an American, what do you consider your ethnic or nationality group to be?

Grade school or less (Grade 1-8). . . . . 1  
 Some high school. . . . . 2  
 Graduated high school (Grade 9-12). . . . . 3  
 Vocational/Technical School. . . . . 4  
 Some college. . . . . 5  
 Graduated college. . . . . 6  
 Post graduate work. . . . . 7  
 Refused. . . . . 0

VI. What is the last grade of school you completed?

(IF ANSWER TO E1 WAS INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OR OTHER, ASK THE FOLLOWING:)

E1j. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or to the Democratic party?

1. REPUBLICAN

3. NEITHER

5. DEMOCRATIC

E1k. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Democratic party instead of the Republican party?

1. YES      5. NO, NEVER

E1m. When did you change?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

E1n. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or as a Republican? (Which party was that?)

1. YES, DEMOCRAT

5. YES, REPUBLICAN

3. NO, NEVER

E1p. When did you change?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

E1q. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as closer to the Republican party instead of the Democratic party?

1. YES      5. NO, NEVER

E1r. When did you change?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

III. Did you vote in the 1972 presidential election?

Yes. . . . . 1  
 No. . . . . 2  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

a. Did you vote for Richard Nixon or George McGovern for president?

Nixon. . . . . 1  
 McGovern. . . . . 2  
 Other. . . . . 3  
 Didn't vote for President. . . . . 4  
 Refused. . . . . 5  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

*How would you  
 b. if you voted today would you vote  
 for Nixon or McGovern? - on the 2*

IV. Since you were old enough to vote, how many statewide primary elections have you voted in (READ CHOICES)?

All of them. . . . . 1  
 Most of them. . . . . 2  
 About half of them. . . . . 3  
 Less than half of them. . . . . 4  
 None of them. . . . . 5  
 Don't know. . . . . 0

*Why (some states don't have)*

V. What is your approximate age?

17-24 years. . . . . 1  
 25-34 years. . . . . 2  
 35-44 years. . . . . 3  
 45-54 years. . . . . 4  
 55-64 years. . . . . 5  
 65 and over. . . . . 6  
 Refused. . . . . 0

Now I would like to talk to you again about the political parties.

E1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1. REPUBLICAN	2. INDEPENDENT	3. NO PREFERENCE	4. OTHER	5. DEMOCRAT
---------------	----------------	------------------	----------	-------------

E1a. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Democrat or an Independent rather than a Republican?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

E1c. Was that a Democrat or an Independent?

1. DEMOCRAT	5. INDEPENDENT
-------------	----------------

E1d. Why did you change to a Republican?

---



---

E1a. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. STRONG	5. NOT VERY STRONG
-----------	--------------------

E1b. Was there ever a time when you thought of yourself as a Republican or an Independent rather than a Democrat?

1. YES	5. NO, NEVER
--------	--------------

E1c. Was that a Republican or an Independent?

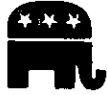
1. REPUBLICAN	5. INDEPENDENT
---------------	----------------

E1d. Why did you change to a Democrat?

---



---



From the desk of  
**GEORGE BUSH**

JK

File CRP

(private)

sent cc to  
Burch 6-1 74  
Melbourn 6-1

W. CLEMENT STONE  
5050 NORTH BROADWAY  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60640

May 13, 1974

Messrs. Gilford Dudley,  
Charles Potter & Maurice Stans  
Trustees  
Committee to Re-elect the President  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We are aware from press reports that substantial funds left over from the 1972 campaign are being held in trust, presumably for eventual disposition to Republican political campaigns and/or for payment of expenses incurred in connection with the 1972 campaign.

We, of course, made contributions for the President's reelection campaign of 1972. We would hope, therefore, that your primary concern as Trustees would be to insure that all expenses, fairly and legally incurred either in connection with or as a result of the 1972 campaign, would have first priority before funds are turned over to the campaigns of others than those to which we contributed. In this regard, we have noted that some of the campaign funds have been used to pay legal expenses of employees of the Committee in connection with civil proceedings and in connection with their representation prior to any criminal charges being brought against them. This, in our view, is an appropriate and reasonable expense associated with the campaign since litigation resulted from the campaign.

There are a number of other persons, however, who were not formally employed by the Committee, but nonetheless were forced to incur legal expenses as a result of the campaign. We have in mind particularly present members of the White House staff or former members of the White House staff who were forced to incur legal expenses in connection with their appearances either in civil litigation or before a Grand Jury or before the Ervin Committee. We

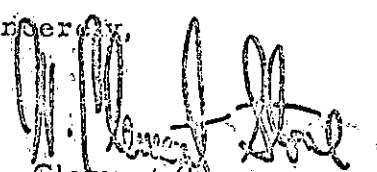
May 13, 1974

find it difficult, morally or legally, to distinguish between employees of the Committee and employees of the President's staff. All of the persons involved were affected by the very unfortunate litigation which resulted from the campaign and there seems to be no difference in our minds whether the individual happened to be employed by the Committee to Re-elect the President or by the Federal Government.

We know of several present White House staff members and some former staff members who have incurred legal expenses far in excess of their personal ability to pay. Attached is a list of those individuals along with the approximate amounts of the expenses for which they are obligated. None has been charged with any criminal act. There may be others not listed on the enclosed. It seems to us that a consistent principle should be applied to all affected, regardless of the amounts involved.

We strongly urge, therefore, that you make some provision to either pay the bills incurred by individuals in this category or reimburse them in the event they have made payment on their own. We would appreciate your advising us at your earliest opportunity whether you concur in this suggestion. We believe that simple equity demands it. We are also confident that others who contributed substantially will agree with us that these funds were contributed for the 1972 campaign and all expenses associated therewith.

Sincerely,

  
W. Clement Stone  
John Mulcahy

WCS/JM/mc  
Enclosure

<u>Names</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Michael Duval	\$ 2,000.00
Ronald Walker	16,000.00
William Henkle	5,000.00
Lawrence Higby	12,000.00
Bruce Kehrli	1,500.00
Henry Cashen	1,500.00
Richard Howard	2,500.00
Kathleen Balsdon	1,000.00
Sarah Brinkerhoff	50.00
Fred Fielding	5,000.00
Jane Thomas	
Ken Khachigian	1,400.00
Bob Barron	
Allen Walker	
William Rhatican	5,000.00
Steve Bull	20,000.00
Rose Mary Woods	20,000.00 (estimate)
Marge Acker	



From the desk of  
**GEORGE BUSH**

JK

File - personal

note address

70 PC

WILLIAM S. WHITE

June 22, 1974

JUN 26 1974

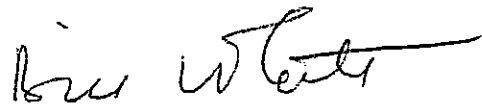
Dear George:

Thanks so much for your warm and thoughtful card. It is strange to be here watching an interpretation of the news from which I am now removed but believe me it has compensations and one obvious one is that Austin at this juncture is a much more civil place to live. However, I believe that civility in public affairs will return and that the patience of you and others will be rewarded. There isn't much hope if that eventuality isn't going to come to pass because the alternative obviously is anarchy.

June and I hope to run into you and Barbara and in the meantime we send our warmest regards and our very best wishes.

Ever your friend,

Country Club Apts.,  
Country Club Road  
1006 Grove #101  
Austin, Texas 78741



OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Republican National Committee

*JK  
put in set*

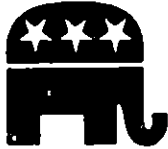
**To:** Chairman Bush

**Date:**  
July 31, 1974

**From:** Research

**Subject:** The text of the statement made by Ron Ziegler when commenting on Mr. Doar on July 19:

" There is no proceeding in our free system where someone who has the key responsibility like Mr. Doar has, that justifies in any way whatsoever the drawing up of impeachment articles before the evidence has been presented, unless it is a kangaroo court, and I would suggest that Mr. Doar may feel he is conducting that kind of proceeding."



From the desk of  
**ROBERT R. ROUSEK**

August 13, 1974

*File*

TO: Chairman Bush

Leslie Stahl, CBS legal reporter who covered much of the Ervin Committee hearings, is doing a story on the charges levelled against Carmen Bellino who was then cleared by the Committee. She said that since you originally made the charges (which is not correct) that she would like an interview with you "to wrap this up."

I told her of your almost impossible schedule but she's insisting. I can get you out of it with no trouble, but they may do the story anyway.

We could issue a statement that the Bellino matter had been called to your attention, you called for an investigation, it was held after some prodding, the Committee cleared Bellino and there the matter dropped.

However, Watergate is for all practical purposes behind us. The Ervin Committee report is in and even if CBS does something I doubt if others will follow up. Therefore, I think it best to ignore this interview. Her only interest in this is because of your original connection and the speculation now about your becoming the Vice President. If you don't do it now (which I think would be wise -- ignore it) she may bring it up in the future if the VP nomination is made.

*Bob*

August 14, 1974

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Haig:

The enclosed letter was received this morning and the Chairman felt you should have it for your information.

Since having submitted our reports to you on suggestions for the Vice Presidency Governor Williams of Arizona has telephoned and listed his preferences as follows: Goldwater, Bush, Rockefeller. There were also a small group of National Committee Members who were in touch with us late this morning with their suggestions. They are:

Robert Linville, Jr.  
State Chairman, Idaho

1. Any good Western Republican

Sarita Gonzalez  
Committeewoman for Puerto Rico

1. George Bush  
2. Nelson Rockefeller  
3. Melvin Laird

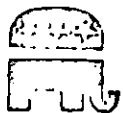
Henrietta Page Crane  
Committeewoman for Main

1. George Bush  
2. Nelson Rockefeller  
3. Elliot Richardson

I believe this concludes the additions to the report which we sent over this morning.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise Smith



New York  
Republican  
State Committee.

AUG 14 1974

RICHARD M. ROSENBAUM, Chairman

August 12, 1974

Hon. George Bush  
Republican National Chairman  
310 First Street, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear George:

I warmly welcome your invitation to submit, on behalf of the Republican Party of New York State, my recommendations to you for the vacant Office of Vice President.

With singular pride, I offer the one individual who best meets President Ford's high standards for the Office, the former Governor of the State of New York, Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Governor Rockefeller would bring to the Vice Presidency a matchless breadth of experience, profound and proven ability, and an omniverous interest in national and international affairs.

As a result of his 15 years as Governor of New York, and of his distinguished service to the Nation before and since, he has won the affection and esteem of millions of Americans.

No one could assist President Ford more in leading the Nation toward solving its many problems.

No one could assist President Ford more in re-establishing the standards of political morality and public service first planted on our soil by the founders of the republic.

Governor Rockefeller's years in public life are emphatic testimony of his humanity and courage, intelligence and integrity. Indeed, his public record is his most compelling advocate.

Though certain political considerations also might tend to favor Governor Rockefeller, the only real question before us is: "Who is best for America?"

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State Headquarters: 315 State Street, Albany, N.Y. 12210 • Tel. 518 462-2601

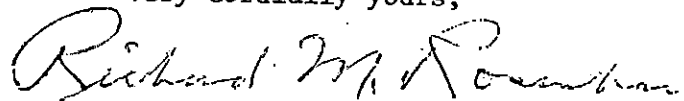
Most New Yorkers, and I feel certain most Americans, would enthusiastically endorse my answer: Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Proven leadership, proven excellence, proven character -- these are his prime and special qualities.

I earnestly hope they are put to work for the Ford Administration.

With renewed appreciation for your invitation, and with best wishes,  
I am

Very cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Richard M. Rosenbaum". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and title.

Richard M. Rosenbaum  
Chairman

RMR:kh

September 16, 1974

Hon. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Al:

Here is my White House pass. Since my official duties at the Republican National Committee ended today, could you please see that the proper security person receives it.

As I pass this milestone, I want to extend my thanks to the White House staff for all the courtesies shown me while I have been Chairman.

The staff, telephone operators, secretaries and guards have always extended to me warm and courteous attention. I don't know how one thanks them enough, but I sure would like to try.

Hang in there.

Sincerely,

George Bush

August 14, 1974

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In response to your request I am enclosing herein the suggestions regarding the selection of a Vice-President which we have received from Republican National Committee Members and Republican governors.

I shall be happy to answer any questions you may have on the details of this report.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise Smith

September 16, 1974

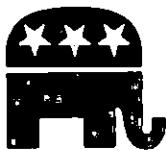
Mrs. Estelle Stacy Carrier  
Secretary, Republican National Committee  
310 First Street, S. E.  
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Mrs. Carrier:

I hereby submit my resignation as Chairman  
of the Republican National Committee.

Sincerely,

George Bush



From the desk of  
TOM LIAS

Mary Jones Smith  
Material re VP & RNC  
August 14, 1974

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTIONS FROM REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS  
ON SELECTION OF VICE PRESIDENT

	First	Second	Third
Bush	59	36	28
Rockefeller	32	22	20
Reagan	8	9	5
Goldwater	15	19	7
Laird	5	6	5
Evans	3	2	
Armstrong	4	4	9
Baker	3	1	4
Richardson	3	7	6
Ray	2	1	1
Gov. Moore	2		
Bond	2		
Brock	1	2	4
Morton	1	5	3
Dominick	1	2	
Hatfield	1		1
Tower	1	1	
Bowen		3	
Quie	2		1
Rhodes		1	
Ruckelshaus		1	
Cook	1		
Scranton		1	

	First	Second	Third
Lugar			3
Holton			2
Bartlett			2
Brooke			1
Dent			1
Dole			1
Fish			1
Frelinghuysen			1
Harlow			1
Hathaway			1
Helms			1
Hickel			1
Meskill			1
Percy			1
Simon			1
Stafford			1

SUGGESTIONS FROM REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ON SELECTION OF VICE PRESIDENT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>ALABAMA</b>				
Perry O. Hooper	Bush	Reagan	Goldwater	
Mrs. Jean Sullivan	Bush			
*J. Richard Bennett, Jr.	Goldwater	Bush	Armstrong	
<b>ALASKA</b>				
Eldon R. Ulmer	Goldwater	Reagan	Bush	
Mrs. Edith Holm	Bush			
*John B. Coghill	Bush			
<b>ARIZONA</b>				
John H. Haugh	Bush	Goldwater		
Mrs. Mary Crisp +	Bush	Armstrong	Goldwater	+ #1 because of diplomacy, respect, wisdom, youth and fresh person
*Harry Rosenzweig	Goldwater	Bush	Laird	
<b>ARKANSAS</b>				
Odell Pollard	Baker	Rockefeller	Bush	
Mrs. Leona A. Troxell	Bush	Rockefeller	Armstrong	
*Jim Caldwell	Bush	Rockefeller	Armstrong	
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>				
William S. Banowsky	Bush			
Mrs. Elsa Sandstrom	Reagan	Bush	Brock	
*Gordon Luce	Reagan	Bush	Brock	
<b>COLORADO</b>				
Bill Daniels	Goldwater	Bush	Reagan	
Mrs. Jo Anne Gray	Dominick	Goldwater	Bush	
*Dwight A. Hamilton	Bush	Dominick		
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>				
John Alsop	Rockefeller	Bush	Richardson	
Mrs. Mary Boatwright +	Laird	Rockefeller	Brook	+Not Richardson
*Vincent Laudone	Bush	Rockefeller	Baker	

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>DELAWARE</b>				
Thomas B. Evans, Jr.	Rockefeller			
Mrs. Judy Day	Rockefeller	Richardson	Percy	
*Herman C. Brown	Bush	Rockefeller	Laird	
<b>DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA</b>				
Robert S. Carter	Bush	Rockefeller	Goldwater	
Mrs. Allie Marriott				
*Edmund E. Pendleton	Rockefeller	Bush		
<b>FLORIDA</b>				
William C. Cramer	suggestions sent directly to President Ford			
Mrs. Paula F. Hawkins	Laird	Armstrong	Rockefeller	
*L. E. Thomas	Armstrong	Reagan	Bush	
<b>GEORGIA</b>				
Nolan Murrah, Jr.	Bush			
Mrs. Nora Allen	Bush			
*Robert J. Shaw	Bush	Armstrong	Simon	
<b>GUAM</b>				
Pedro Diaz Perez	Tower	Rockefeller	Evans	
Mrs. Concepcion Barrett	<b>ROCKEFELLER</b>	<b>BUSH</b>	<b>PERCY</b>	
*Frank F. Bias				
<b>HAWAII</b>				
Edward Brennan	Rockefeller	Richardson	Bush	
Mrs. Kinau Boyd Kamalii +	Rockefeller	Laird	Hickle	+reflects pole of 100 Rep. leaders and elected officials and cross section of some Democrats
*Mrs. Carla Coray	Armstrong	Bush		
<b>IDAHO</b>				
David Little	Bush	Goldwater	Morton	
Mrs. Orriette Sinclair	Goldwater	Bush	Meskill	
*Robert G. Linville, Jr.	<b>WESTERN REP.</b>			

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				
Cliffard D. Carlson	Bush	Goldwater	Rockefeller	
Mrs. Hope McCormick	Armstrong	Rockefeller		
*Don Adams				
<b>INDIANA</b>				
L. Keith Bulen	Bush	Bowen	Lugar	
Mrs. Margaret Hill	Bush	Bowen	Lugar	
*Thomas S. Milligan	Bush	Bowen	Lugar	
<b>IOWA</b>				
Charles E. Wittenmeyer +	Rockefeller	Morton	Bush	+must take political picture i to consideration. Don't pull out Rep. where seat will be lost.
Mrs. Mary Louise Smith	Bush	Ray		
*John C. McDonald	Ray	Bush	Rockefeller	
<b>KANSAS</b>				
McDill Boyd	Bush	Evans		
Mrs. Beth Rogers	Rockefeller	Bush	Dole	
*Jack Ranson	Bush			
<b>KENTUCKY</b>				
Edwin G. Middleton	Bush	Dominick	Laird	+also Armstrong & Moore
Mrs. Nelda Barton +	Laird	Goldwater	Bush	
*Charles R. Coy	Sen. Cook	Bush	Reagan	
<b>LOUISIANA</b>				
John H. Cade, Jr.	Reagan	Goldwater	Bush	
No National Committeewoman				
*James H. Boyce	Bush	Goldwater	Reagan	
<b>MAINE</b>				
Cyril M. Joly, Jr.	Bush	Morton	Baker	
Mrs. Henrietta Page Crane	<b>BUSH</b>	<b>ROCKEFELLER</b>	<b>RICHARDSON</b>	
*Harold Jones	Rockefeller	Bush		

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>MARYLAND</b>				
Richard M. Allen	Goldwater	Bush	Rockefeller	
Miss Louise Gore	Goldwater	Bush	Rockefeller	
*Edward P. Thomas, Jr.	Bush	Morton	Rockefeller	
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>				
Bruce Crane	Richardson			
Mrs. Eunice Howe	Richardson			
*William A. Barnstead	Bush	Richardson	Rockefeller	
<b>MICHIGAN</b>				
Creighton Holden	Rockefeller	Richardson	Bush	
Mrs. Ranny Riecker	Rockefeller	Richardson	Bush	
*William F. McLaughlin	Rockefeller	Richardson	Bush	
<b>MINNESOTA</b>				
Rudy Boschwitz	Quie	Baker - Bush - Richardson		
Mrs. Iantha LeVander +	Armstrong	Bush	Quie	+Rockefeller - all equal
*Robert J. Brown	Quie	Goldwater	Baker	
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>				
Victor Mavar	Goldwater	Reagan	Armstrong	
Mrs. Virginia Hooper	Bush	Morton	Goldwater	
*Clarke Reed	Goldwater	Rhodes	Harlow	
<b>MISSOURI</b>				
Lawrence K. Roos	Rockefeller	Bush	Richardson	
Mrs. Rosemary Ginn +	Bond	Rockefeller	Armstrong-Bush	+1. forward thrust
*Albert L. Rendlen	Bond	Bush	Rockefeller	2. wise & understanding relative to state and federal
<b>MONTANA</b>				
William R. Mackay				3. woman
Mrs. Isabel Moberly	Bush	Armstrong		4. grit and service to party
*Kenneth R. Neill	Bush	Morton	Reagan	

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>NEBRASKA</b>				
Dick Herman	Bush	Goldwater	Rockefeller	
Mrs. Pat Smith +	Bush			+#1 will go well with eastern and Tx. backgrounds
*William E. Barrett	Bush	Goldwater	Ray	
<b>NEVADA</b>				
William M. Laub	Bush	Goldwater	Armstrong	
Mrs. Lucie Humphrey	Bush	Goldwater	Armstrong	
*Walter P. Casey Jr. +	Bush	Goldwater	Armstrong	+#1 wouldn't affect present Rep. office holder, experie at UN, broad-based support among Conservatives & Liberals, good press relations Party strength
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>				
Robert P. Bass Jr.	Bush	Rockefeller	Richardson	
Miss Victoria Zachos	Bush	Rockefeller	Richardson	
*Mrs. Shirley Hodgdon	Rockefeller	Bush	Morton	
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>				
Bernard M. Shanley	Bush	Rockefeller		ary prominent Rep. Governor
Mrs. Katherine Neuberger	Rockefeller	Bush	Frelinghuysen	
*Webster B. Todd +	Bush-Rockefeller			+Bush for running mate & youth Rockefeller for exec. experie ience
<b>NEW MEXICO</b>				
Robert C. Davidson	Bush - Morton - Rockefeller (all equal)			
Mrs. Frances Shipman	Rockefeller	Morton	Bush	
*Murray Ryan	Rockefeller	Bush	Goldwater	
<b>NEW YORK</b>				
George L. Hinman	Rockefeller	Rockefeller	Rockefeller	
Mrs. Dorothy McHugh	Rockefeller	Rockefeller	Rockefeller	
*Richard M. Rosenbaum	Rockefeller			
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>				
J. E. Broyhill	Goldwater	Rockefeller	Bush	
Mrs. Thelma Rogers	Bush	Bush	Bush	
*Thomas S. Bennett +	Reagan	Goldwater	Helms - Brock	+all equal

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>				
Ben J. Clayburgh	Bush	Bush	Bush	
Mrs. Gerridee Wheeler	Bush	Bush	Bush	
*Allan C. Young	Goldwater	Reagan	Rockefeller	
<b>OHIO</b>				
Ray Bliss	( out of country )			
Miss Martha C. Moore	Ray	Ruckelshaus	Bush	consider age, face, experience and competence
*Kent B. McGough	Rockefeller			
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>				
Skip Healey	Reagan	Goldwater	Bush	
Mrs. Grace Boulton	Goldwater	Reagan	Bartlett	
*Clarence E. Warner	Reagan	Goldwater	Bartlett	
<b>OREGON</b>				
George P. Stadelman	Bush	Evans	Hatfield	
Mrs. Dorothea Moore	Hatfield	Bush	Goldwater	
*David Green	Bush	Richardson	Hatfield	
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>				
Thomas B. McCabe				
Miss Sarah Ann Stauffer	Rockefeller	Rockefeller	Rockefeller	
*Richard C. Frame	Rockefeller	Bush		
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>				
Jaime Pieras, Jr.	Rockefeller	Bush		
Mrs. Sarita Gonzalez	<b>BUSH</b>	<b>ROCKEFELLER</b>	<b>LAIRD</b>	
*Jose V. Usera	<b>Rockefeller</b>	<b>Bush</b>		
<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>				
Frederick Lippitt	Rockefeller	Scranton	Richardson	
Mrs. June Gibbs	<b>ROCKEFELLER</b>	<b>CHAFFE</b>	<b>BUSH</b>	
*Thomas E. Wright	Rockefeller	Bush	Richardson	

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>				
Hal C. Byrd	Bush	Goldwater	Morton	
Dr. Inez Eddings	Reagan	Goldwater	Lugar	
*Jesse Cooksey	Reagan	Goldwater	Dent	
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>				
William F. Lenker	(out of country)			
Mrs. Nora Hussey +	Bush	Rockefeller	Goldwater	+veto Richardson & Brooke
*E. Steeves Smith	Bush			should be 55 years or young
<b>TENNESSEE</b>				
George E. Wilson, Jr.	Baker	Brock		
Mrs. Peggy Spurrier	Rockefeller	Laird	Baker	
* S L (Kopie) Kopald, Jr.	Baker	Bush	Rockefeller	
<b>TEXAS</b>				
Fred J. Agnich	Bush	Bush	Bush	
Mrs. Rita Bass	Bush	Tower	Armstrong	
*Jack Warren	Bush			
<b>UTAH</b>				
Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson	Goldwater	Reagan		
Mrs. Myrene Rich Brewer	Goldwater	Holton	Bush	
*T. William Cockayne	Richardson	Bush	Rockefeller	
<b>VERMONT</b>				
Roland Q. Seward, Sr. +	Brock	Bush	Reagan	+all equal
Mrs. Madeline B. Harwood	Goldwater	Laird	Brock	anyone but Richardson
*Stewart A. Smith	Bush	Stafford	Rockefeller	
<b>VIRGINIA</b>				
William H. Stanhagen	Laird	Brock	Bush	
Mrs. Cynthia S. Newman	Rockefeller	Holton	Bush	
*Richard D. Obenshain	Goldwater	Reagan	Bush	

\*State Chairman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
<b>VIRGIN ISLANDS</b>				
Henry E. Rohlsen	Bush	Rockefeller	Evans	
Mrs. Meredith Clark				
*Raymond J. Smith	Rockefeller	Bush	Laird	
<b>WASHINGTON</b>				
Kenneth R. Nuckolls	Evans	Rockefeller	Bush	
Mrs. Naida Pithoud	Evans	Bush	Rockefeller	
*Ross E. Davis+	Evans	Rockefeller	Bush	+should have ability, experience, integrity
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>				
Arch A. Moore, Jr.				
Mrs. Priscilla Humphreys	Arch Moore	Bush	Rockefeller	
*Thomas E. Potter	Arch Moore	Reagan	Bush	
<b>WISCONSIN</b>				
Ody J. Fish+	Bush	Laird	Rockefeller	+also Ruckelshause & Ray
Mrs. Elizabeth Pfeifer +	Bush	Goldwater		+both suggestions considered
*David C. Sullivan	Laird	Fish	Goldwater	equal
<b>WYOMING</b>				
Robert F. Gosman	Rockefeller	Bush	Reagan	
Mrs. Estelle Stacy Carrier +	Bush	Laird	Rockefeller	+Young, fair & smart
*Jack Speight	Rockefeller	Laird	Hathaway	

SUGGESTIONS FROM REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ON SELECTION OF VICE PRESIDENT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
AMERICAN SAMOA Governor John M. Haydon	Evans	Rockefeller	McCall	
ARIZONA Governor Jack Williams	Goldwater	Bush	Rockefeller	
CALIFORNIA Governor Ronald Reagan				
COLORADO Governor John D. Vanderhoof	Evans	Hathaway	Goldwater	
CONNECTICUT Governor Thomas J. Meskill	Bush	Baker		
GUAM Governor Carlos G. Camacho +	Rockefeller			+Rockefeller is respected & capable, one who can work closely with congress in helping solve domestic problems. Vital in restoring status of Republican Party
INDIANA Governor Otis R. Bowen	Bush (no order of preference)	Laird	Ray - Ruckelshaus	
IOWA Governor Robert D. Ray				
MASSACHUSETTS Governor Francis Sargent				
MICHIGAN Governor William G. Milliken	Rockefeller	Bush	Richardson	
MISSOURI Governor Christopher Bond +	Rockefeller - Evans			No preference

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	(1)	(2)	(3)	Comments
NEW HAMPSHIRE				
Governor Meldrim Thomson, Jr.	Goldwater	Reagan		
NEW YORK				
Governor Malcolm Wilson	Rockefeller	Evans	Bush	
NORTH CAROLINA				
Governor James E. Holshouser, Jr.	(will talk to President Ford on Wednesday)			
OREGON				
Governor Tom McCall	Rockefeller	Evans	Hatfield	
TENNESSEE				
Governor Winfield Dunn +	Baker	Brock	Rockefeller	+each would serve with distinction & dedication
VIRGIN ISLANDS				
Governor Melvin H. Evans	Rockefeller	Evans	Percy	
VIRGINIA				
Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr.	Sen. Byrd	Bush	Goldwater	:
WASHINGTON				
Governor Daniel J. Evans	Rockefeller	Milliken	Ray	
WEST VIRGINIA				
Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr.				
WYOMING				
Governor Stanley K. Hathaway	Rockefeller	Reagan	Goldwater	

August 14, 1974

General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Haig:

Pursuant to our instructions from President Ford, we have compiled the suggestions relative to the selection of a Vice-President from Republican National Committee members and Republican governors.

Enclosed herein is this compilation for your presentation to the President. It is complete except for those members that we are not able to contact and for a number of governors who have, I believe, submitted their suggestions directly to the White House.

If you have other questions I will be happy to discuss the report with you further.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise Smith

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