

(file) by Nixon

New Jersey 1969 - An Analysis of the
Causes and Constituency of the Cahill Victory

Up until the closing days of the 1969 New Jersey gubernatorial campaign, opinion polls suggested and most observers expected that Congressman William Cahill, a middle-roading Republican who had run a basically non-ideological campaign, would count victory or defeat by a narrow margin akin to Richard Nixon's 1968 edge of 61,000. Thus, Cahill's half million vote majority came as a national surprise. Analysis of the make-up of Cahill victory - it combined mere 15% ^{15-20%} Negro backing, fewer votes than Nixon had won in the fashionable suburbia of Gene McCarthy bent and massive gains over Nixon (largest where George Wallace had fared best) in blue-collar, rural, suburban and small-town "Middle America" -- indicates first the Middle American nature of the ongoing Republican trend and second the effectiveness of late October-early November events in giving the Cahill campaign the coloration needed to rally this electorate.

A pre-eminent factor was the personal intervention of President Nixon. Not only did Nixon's last-minute visit rally conservatives and help imbue Cahill with the national Administration's strong Middle American appeal, but the President's Election Eve address to the nation on Vietnam -- according to Gallup, 77% of the country approved -- helped mobilize the "silent majority" on Cahill's side. At least as important was Cahill's own campaign-closing series of advertisements supporting family values, tougher law enforcement, a crackdown on pornography and state aid to

religious schools. Not that these advertisements were too significant in themselves, but one - the pledge of state aid to parochial schools - evoked a final hour cry of foul play from the Democratic candidate, and thus focused attention on Cahill's commitment to a key Middle American segment - the Catholics - of the New Jersey electorate. (Cahill's appeal to Middle America was heightened by the fact that his opponent, former Governor Robert Meyner, was endorsed by the Left-Liberal New Democratic Coalition. Moreover, Meyner stressed Cahill's identification with the foreign, urban and social policies of the Nixon Administration.)

Election Day brought Cahill a massive triumph - and his increment over 1968 Nixon support came almost entirely in Middle American constituencies.* As the ensuing more detailed analysis will show, Cahill captured a minimal 15-20% of the Negro vote (running only 33 votes ahead of Richard Nixon in the Central Ward of Newark!) and he failed to match Nixon's 1968 vote in the silk-stockings suburbs where McCarthyite-New Democratic Coalition activity is on the upswing. Cahill's big gains over Nixon - and they were huge - came in white and Middle American places like Woodbridge and the Amboys, Jersey City, Hoboken, Passaic, the Italian wards of Newark, Camden and the farm and factory townships of Southern New Jersey. By and large, the GOP gained most where Wallace had been strongest; it

* This Middle American genesis is further confirmed by the fact that the 3:1 Republican legislature elected with Cahill repeated almost exactly the pattern of the 3:1 Republican legislature elected in the wake of the summer-autumn 1967 riots (Newark et al).

appears that on top of adding the Wallace vote to the Nixon vote, the Republicans augmented it - especially in high Wallace precincts - with Middle American Democrats who stuck by their party in 1968.

If one approaches the New Jersey electorate on a group by group basis, it is quite easy to demonstrate the nature and constituency of Cahill victory.

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Taken together, Negroes, Jews and silk-stocking suburbanites (those with McCarthyite - Reform Democratic proclivities) total perhaps 15% of the New Jersey electorate. Despite considerable emphasis put on them by the Cahill campaign, none of these groups gave Cahill support that was substantially improved over that achieved by Richard Nixon in 1968.

New Jersey's Negro population constitutes 8-10% of the state total, but blacks cast only 5-6% of the statewide vote. Their numbers are greatest in Newark and nearby centers. Appendix A shows how Cahill won about 25% of the vote in the key Negro wards of Newark, Camden and the Oranges. Because of small (5-15%) white populations in these units, not all of the Cahill backing was black; and when white voters (probably 2:1 for Cahill as were kindred white election districts) are factored out, Cahill's Negro support drops to a level of 15-20%.* Richard Nixon's 1968 support in such

*Within these wards, many election districts include no white voters (and cast no Wallace votes in 1968) and these typically voted four, five or six to one against Cahill. This behavior tentatively confirms a Negro support level of 15-20%.

districts was 12-15%, his Negro vote share 8-10%. Cahill's increment was minimal -- up from 8-10% to 15-20% of 100,000 votes. In Newark's riot-scarred Central Ward, Cahill won 1833 votes to Nixon's 1800; other wards showed similarly minimal increases. Throughout all of New Jersey, Cahill's increased share of the black vote won him at most five thousand more votes than Richard Nixon garnered.

Centered in Bergen, Passaic and Essex counties (near New York City), New Jersey's Jewish population is only half as numerous as the state's black contingent but because of high turnout ratios casts a nearly equal 6% of the statewide vote. Democratic candidate Meyner had the endorsement of the New Democratic Coalition, a liberal vehicle influential in Jewish circles, and this helped him to draw a clear majority of the Jewish vote. Cahill captured perhaps 35-40%, up from Nixon's 25% in 1968. The only suburban areas in the state which Cahill lost or carried with little to spare have large Jewish populations: Engelwood, Fair Lawn, Teaneck and Livingston. Cahill's Jewish gains were more noteworthy than his scanty Negro pickup, however they were not of compelling magnitude given the ratio of Jews in New Jersey's electorate.

In the normally Republican silk-stocking suburbs of New Jersey, Cahill's vote shares stayed within a few percentage points of those compiled by Nixon in 1968, however Cahill's raw vote totals dropped considerably below Nixon's in most of the prosperous

suburbs -- those of Bergen County especially -- because of lower turnout (see Appendix B). One can safely say that Cahill's showings in these towns were usual for a successful statewide GOP candidate. Nixon won similar support while only narrowly carrying the state. The liberal minority in these townships -- from Ridgewood to Princeton -- along with kindred Jewish constituencies accounts for much of New Jersey's affluent intelligentsia, McCarthyites and suburban liberal strength. Few of these people voted for Nixon -- Republican support, usually sizeable majorities, comes from the prosaic upper-middle-class -- and Cahill does not seem to have significantly widened this constituency. Generally speaking, the affluent suburban liberal element which opposed Nixon showed no appreciable trend to Cahill.

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In sum, none of these three constituencies -- Negroes, Jews or the most affluent of suburbanites -- gave Cahill a vote very different from that compiled by Richard Nixon in 1968. The difference between Nixon's 61,000 vote edge and Cahill's half-million majority lies in the trend of a different electorate. As indicated, most of the great 1969 gains came in areas where George Wallace had done well in 1968 -- and where the policies of the Nixon Administration are now building a growing GOP support base: the unfashionable 80-85% of New Jersey of blue collars, tract houses, VFW halls, dilapidated commuter trains, neighborhood bars, suburban shopping centers and parochial schools, so-called Middle America.

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Five generalized constituencies illustrate the huge Middle American swing to Cahill which turned the narrow victory of 1968 into the landslide of 1969. The five are: middle-class suburbia (substantially Catholic); the blue-collar electorate (also substantially Catholic); rural and small-town New Jersey; Catholic voters; and the military (absentee soldier) vote. Granted these categories overlap, it is useful to discuss each.

Middle-class suburbia stretches across much of New Jersey; indeed there is no other state in the nation save California which is so suburbanized. Large parts of Bergen and Essex counties are lower-middle and middle-class suburbia, however the extensive reaches of this strata - the subdivisions full of supermarket managers, plumbers and bank cashiers - lie in Union, Middlesex, Morris, Camden and Burlington counties. Almost half Catholic, this residential segment of New Jersey includes about 30% of the state's population.

In 1968, such townships usually gave Richard Nixon a small edge while George Wallace harvested another 10% of the vote. A year later, these areas went solidly Republican as most of the Wallace vote shifted into the GOP column. Appendix C shows the sharp Cahill gains. Despite the lower 1969 turnout, the Republican gubernatorial candidate exceeded Nixon's raw vote levels. A tentative confirmation of the crucial role played by relocation of the

Wallace vote can be found in this generalization: across New Jersey, the bigger the Wallace vote in 1968, the bigger the 1969 Cahill gain over 1968 Nixon strength. Silk-stocking suburbia, where Wallace gained only 1-2% support, showed little or no Cahill gain, but from Lodi to Cherry Hill, middle echelon suburbia turned in Cahill percentages 12-18% above Nixon's of the year before, and in blue-collar and rural South Jersey areas where Wallace had amassed his best statewide percentages, Cahill scored even bigger advances -- 20-30%.

Appendix D illustrates the 1968-1969 vote changes in blue-collar areas of high 1968 Wallace support (12-20%) like Carteret, Secaucus, industrial South Jersey and the Italian North Ward of Newark. Cahill's gains over Nixon in such bailiwicks averaged better than twenty percentage points and occasionally reached thirty percentage points in peak Wallace locales.

These blue-collar strongholds, most of them heavily Catholic, mobilize more than a quarter of the New Jersey electorate. GOP gains spread up and down the state in a fairly even pattern, being hardly stronger in Hudson County* -- where local Democratic machine support for Cahill is usually cited -- than in blue-collar areas of other nearby counties (see Appendix D). Not only did Cahill win the Wallace vote in these counties, but his ability to win over Humphrey voters

* Hudson County Democratic solidarity -- at least in national and statewide races where other than local party images are involved -- has been eroding for some time. Richard Nixon did quite well in 1968, losing by much less than the typical GOP deficit. Conservative Catholics have shown an increasing willingness to support the GOP. To some extent, the local Democratic organization which backed Cahill was reaching to a trend rather than precipitating one.

also correlated with Wallace strength, presumably because high Wallace support levels indicated further groupings of conservative Democrats.

Normally, this highly-unionized blue-collar electorate is two-to-one Democratic, however Nixon and Wallace together captured more than half of it in 1968. Democrats blamed Wallace vote diversions for Humphrey's defeat in New Jersey, ignoring indications -- the geographic and socio-economic origins of the Wallace vote -- that the electorate was one in motion between parties. Cahill's success in winning about 55% of the blue-collar vote gives further confirmation to notions of re-alignment.

Together, blue-collar New Jersey and the state's lower-middle and middle-class suburbia cast nearly 60% of the state's vote. They can overwhelm either the Republicanism of the small towns, countryside and upper-middle-class suburbia or the Democratic fidelity of Negroes, Jews and affluent intelligentsia. Without a majority of Middle American votes, the Democrats simply can't win -- and whatever the appeal of local candidates, national party identifications are complicating the Democratic task.

Small-town and rural New Jersey, overwhelmingly Protestant and totaling perhaps 20% of the state's population, is normally Republican by 3:2 and 2:1 majorities. This terrain, interspersed with blue-collar concentrations, jumps from Sussex, Warren, Hunterdon and Somerset counties in western New Jersey to Salem, Gloucester,

Cumberland and Cape May counties at the state's southern end. Cahill's solid victories in these counties -- save Warren, his opponent's home -- typically included two and three-to-one edges in the rural and small-town precincts.

Predictably, the Cahill gains over Nixon's 1968 levels were greatest in the rural areas of southern New Jersey, a region of some traditional (semi-Southern) Democratic strength. Back in 1968, the Wallace vote in Salem, Gloucester, Cumberland and Cape May counties varied from 10-15% (and reached even higher in some towns and boroughs). Generally speaking, Cahill won 65% support in units where Nixon had won 45% and Wallace 15%. Again, the pattern was for Cahill pickup to relate to the size of the Wallace vote. Top Wallace precincts in South Jersey showed Cahill increments over Nixon of twenty-five to thirty percentage points.

To take a different approach which cuts across socio-economic lines, about 50% of New Jersey's electorate is Catholic. So was Republican candidate Cahill, albeit his identification factor among Catholics was not high until the last stretch of the campaign. No other group nearly matched the gains Cahill won among Catholics (both in percentage advance and raw vote totals). Where Nixon had taken perhaps 35% and Wallace 10% of the New Jersey Catholic vote, Cahill garnered between 55% and 60%. While a small part of this came from the empathy of co-religionists (every candidate so benefits), most of it had a Middle American genesis and tended to correlate

with the degree of prior Wallace support.

A last sliver of Middle America - the absentee vote cast by soldiers and sailors - shows strong 1969 Republicanism. In Essex County (Newark), Cahill's lead was 101-63, and in Camden County, the GOP edge was 151-35. Available tabulations in other major counties mixed military and civilian absentee ballots.

In sum, the Cahill victory was a major triumph of the same Middle American constituency marshalling behind President Nixon, and given the pro-Nixon profile of Cahill's vote, the President's active final hour presence - both his visit and Vietnam speech - was doubtless a major factor in turning the nip and tuck unideological race of late October into a landslide. Elements of the New Jersey electorate which have shown less of a trend towards Nixon Administration policies - Negroes, Jews and Gene McCarthy's affluent suburban intelligentsia - evidenced no meaningful 1968-1969 GOP trend. The Cahill landslide increment over 1968 was forged in Middle America, especially among Catholics, and basically represents a combination of 1968 Nixon voters, Wallace voters and alienated Middle American Democrats. This pattern and profile of the 1969 GOP vote is more than just a Cahill triumph, it is a major victory for the policies and Administration of President Richard Nixon and a strong indicator of his probable New Jersey re-election support in 1972.

Appendix A

The Low Republican Negro Vote in New Jersey, 1968-1969

Predominantly Negro Wards*

	<u>Vote Received</u>		<u>Share of the Major-Party Vote</u>	
	Nixon 1968	Cahill 1969	Nixon 1968	Cahill 1969
Central Ward (Newark)	1800	1833	13%	25%
3rd Ward** (Camden)	56	105	8	25
East Ward (Orange)	426	478	20	27
4th Ward (Englewood)	202	403	10	18

*These are not wholly Negro Wards; 1968 Wallace support levels suggest a small but meaningful white vote. Allowing for the probable impact of this white vote, the GOP share of the Negro vote is about 5-10 percentage points lower than the party share of the entire ward's vote. This likelihood is re-inforced by the fact that the solidly Negro election districts within these wards invariably went four, five, six or seven-to-one for Democratic candidate Meyner in 1969. Cahill's share of the statewide Negro vote probably ranged from 15-20%.) 85-20

**In Cahill's old congressional district.

Appendix B

The Similarity of Cahill's and Nixon's (1968) Support in Silk-Stocking Suburbia

<u>Town</u>	<u>Vote Received</u>		<u>Share of Two-Party Vote</u>	
	Nixon 1968	Cahill 1969	Nixon	Cahill
Ridgewood	9758	8212	71%	75%
Wyckoff	5763	4688	77%	78%
Ho-Ho-Kus	1834	1513	76%	78%
Saddle River	1068	854	81%	80%
Essex Fells	1014	889	80%	80%
N. Caldwell	1593	1435	72%	74%
Haddonfield*	5001	4592	72%	79%

* In Cahill's old congressional district.

Appendix C

Lower-Middle and Middle-Class Suburban Area Voting Patterns 1968-69

Township (County)	Votes Received		Percent of the Major Party Vote		
	<u>Nixon</u> 1968	<u>Cahill</u> 1969	<u>Nixon Wallace</u> 1968		<u>Cahill</u> 1969
Cherry Hill (Camden)*	13031	13593	52%	7%	70%
Madison (Middlesex)	7572	8104	47	11	62
Union (Union)	12556	12908	45	10	57
Nutley (Essex)	7409	7836	51	8	63
Lodi (Bergen)	4165	4332	42	10	58

*In Cahill's old congressional district.

Appendix D

The Voting Patterns of Substantially Blue-Collar Areas

<u>Township or City*</u>	<u>Votes Received</u>		<u>Percent of Major Party Vote Share</u>		
	<u>Nixon 1968</u>	<u>Cahill 1969</u>	<u>Nixon Wallace 1968</u>		<u>Cahill 1969</u>
Kearny (Hudson)	7103	9391	42%	12%	62%
Secaucus (Hudson)	2973	3851	51	14	70
Gloucester (Camden)	3676	5338	39	20	67
North Ward, Newark (Essex)	9767	11987	36	16	58
Carteret (Middlesex)	3845	4589	41	13	62

*Within these Units, there are precincts where Wallace's support reached the 20-25% level. In such precincts, Cahill usually ran 25-35% ahead of 1968 Nixon levels.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1970

Middle
America

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Bryce Harlow
✓ Harry Dent
Lyn Nofziger
Murray Chotiner
H. R. Haldeman
John Ehrlichman

FROM: Tom Charles Huston

SUBJECT: The Revolt of the Blue Collar Worker

The events of the past week have focused the attention of the Administration on the anger of the young. For some, it has apparently come as a shock that students are opposed to the war in Vietnam and extensions thereof. It also appears that some were under the illusion that only the "Crazies" resort to violence in the expression of their particular political hang-ups. As a result of having been caught unawares, the Administration has launched a major offensive to "cool the kids." In the meantime, the evidence is mounting that blue collar workers -- the great majority of working Americans, many of whom are under 30 -- are growing increasingly alienated from the Educational-Media Complex.

We have suspected for some time that the working class -- whether they be construction laborers, clerks, store-keepers, taxi drivers, or factory workers -- is becoming increasingly impatient with bearing the burden of social reform. They resent the heavy taxes, the escalating inflation, the social upheaval -- the realities of life which affect them directly and personally. Most of these people did not have an opportunity to go to college. Most, however, are working and saving so that their children will have the opportunity to do so. They regard a college education as a privilege to be earned, an opportunity to be appreciated. They are totally unable to understand why kids who have the chance for a college education engage in activities designed to destroy the centers of education, why they attack the society which makes their education possible.

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What we are witnessing is a class estrangement from the Educational-Media Complex, that combination of forces which represents a direct threat to the way of life which the working class regards as satisfactory, if not totally without flaw. The students, faculty, and administrators by their physical assaults upon the system, and the media by its support of their activities, are rapidly becoming identified as "the enemy." This explains why the Vice President has such support among working Americans. He honestly reflects their concerns, he speaks their language. For every student which he offends, he gratifies the hearts of 10 workers.

In normal times, it would be fatal to arouse the wrath of the Educational-Media complex. It is powerful, articulate, wrapped in moral certitude, pervasive, and influential. But these are not normal times. To the extent that the university, for example, as an institution has abandoned its neutrality and entered the political arena as an active belligerent, it is inviting attacks and reprisals. These attacks should not -- and most likely will not -- come from the Federal Government, but they will come, and they will come from State Legislatures whose members reflect the antagonism developing within the voting community. The universities have, I fear, invited disaster. One can hardly make a convincing case for the autonomy of a state university on academic freedom grounds when that university is a political belligerent. University Presidents, when forced to justify their budgets before hostile state legislators, will find that they no longer enjoy a special claim upon the resources of the taxpayer. The universities, when confronted with this reality, will turn to the Federal Government to bail them out with increased Federal aid. State universities will be caught in a fiscal squeeze which only the Federal Government can alleviate, leading to immense pressure for increased Federal aid by the universities and corresponding demands for some degree of Federal regulation by the electorate.

The state universities as we have traditionally known them may well be the major casualties of the Cambodian invasion.

There is little we can do. The situation has so deteriorated that we must all live with the new realities of university politicization. Time alone will tell the degree to which this changed nature of our institutions of higher education will affect the political life of the country and the educational opportunities of the young.

At the present time, the rampaging students demand our attention. For my part, I am skeptical that the Administration can do more than make gestures designed to buy time. Hopefully we can get by until the end of the term when most students will head to the beaches and exchange their placards for a surf board. I don't believe that our alleged failure to engage in "dialogue" with the students contributed to, or was responsible for, the disorders we have witnessed in the past week. The more honest of the protesters -- including Charles Palmer of NSA -- admit that the President understands their position and they understand his. The problem is that the President does not do what they want done. Obviously, to meet their definition of dialogue, it would be necessary for the President to change his foreign policy.

We should avoid the mistake of drawing distinctions between so-called "reasonable" and "unreasonable" students. The vast majority of the protesters were certainly not revolutionaries but they are nevertheless unreasonable when it comes to defining the proper role of the student in the conduct of public policy. An overwhelming majority believe that the Government can prove that it is listening to them only by agreeing with them. The broad scope of violence on the campuses during the past fortnight suggests that more than a few crazies were responsible. Many of those kids throwing 7-1/2 pound rocks at the National Guardsmen at Kent State would appear "reasonable" if ushered into the Oval Office for a quiet chat with the President. What we must remember is that emotion reigns over reason among many of our young people. They have no respect for authority, they have no understanding of discipline. Anyone who has been on a campus recently knows that the free exchange of ideas is virtually impossible. Utter any absurdity which fits the ideological fad of the moment and the kids will respond with "right on!" Lace your speech with obscenities and conclude it with "Power to the People" and you will be an instant hit.

We ought to quit kidding ourselves. The universities are in chaos because disciplined inquiry and the search for truth have given way to sloganeering and rampant Knownothingism. And there is little Uncle Sam can do about it. At the risk of being fired, I confess that I believe the substance (as opposed to the rhetoric) of the Vice President's comments on the campus scene are exactly on target. In 1965-66, I debated Vietnam on over 150 campuses around the country and was never once seriously heckled. I would

be hardpressed today to find a single campus where I could complete a sentence without being jeered off the stage.

While the working class may not be too sophisticated, they are wise enough to recognize that significant changes have taken place on the campuses over the past few years. They are fed up with all the protesting, the violence, the pious self-righteousness. The poor guy who has to dig and scrape to save enough to send his kid to college sees students going on strike and taking "campaign recesses," and he wonders what the hell is going on.

The blue collar worker is fed up with more, of course, than rampaging students. He knows he has less take-home pay at a time when it costs more to buy the necessities of life. He fears that blacks are going to take his job, or move into his neighborhood, or beat up his kids at school. He is frightened by the rapid pace of events which he cannot understand and which represent a personal threat to the way of life which he does understand. He is confused and frustrated and getting angry.

What we saw in New York on Friday was the first manifestation of a willingness to fight for the America the blue collar American loves: an America where people work for a living, where they respect the flag, where they appreciate what they have. There is nothing particularly admirable about this attitude -- the willingness to resort to violence is, in fact, deplorable -- but there is a great deal for us to learn from it.

As the posturing revolutionary young people should know from a casual reading of Marx or Lenin, revolution in an industrial society is impossible without the support of the working class and at least a portion of the military. The working class in this country is -- at the operational or functional level -- the most reactionary element in our society. It is clearly an anti-revolutionary force. The Progressive Labor faction of SDS has placed much emphasis on a "Worker-Student Alliance," but without success. The greatest bulwark against revolution in America is the working class.

There are two risks, however, involved when dealing with the political temperament of the working class. First, if the workers ever thought that their economic rights were in jeopardy -- that is, if they feared for their jobs or their general economic well-being -- the potential for revolution would be dramatically changed.

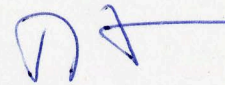
Second, if the cleavage between the workers and the Educational-Media Complex were to widen to the point where open warfare emerged -- that is, if what we saw in New York City last week were to spread across the country -- it is possible that a spark would ignite total social upheaval in which the only options would be anarchy or repression.

What this suggests to me is that we should direct more attention to the problems and frustrations of the blue collar workers, we should attempt to better understand what is bugging them and what we can do about it, and we should attempt to afford these people an opportunity to release their frustrations through the political process with the Republican party as the vehicle.

To the extent that we can manage to keep the economy healthy, thus alleviating any concern these people have about their own economic welfare, we have the opportunity to win their political allegiance. Obviously we cannot cater to an incipient racism or condone vigilante action against protesting students, but we can take steps to show that we are as interested in the Working American as we are in the poor, the black, or the young. We must recognize, however, that there must be trade-offs. We can't simultaneously win the support of antiwar students and blue collar workers. We must begin to consider the effect of actions we take upon the working class; no longer can we afford to gauge the quality of our actions solely by the response they receive on the campus or in the media. In short, we need to quit talking about the great Silent Majority and start talking to it.

I am less inclined than most to believe that we truly face a significant domestic crisis. We have problems, more intense ones than we would like, but if we keep cool and keep our perspective things will look much better in 30 days. My concern is about the country and how it will look a year from now, or in November of 1972. We are in a period of great social flux; new social forces are at work, new political alignments are taking place. We know much too little about what is really taking place in the country, as opposed to what the New York Times tells us is taking place.

We certainly need to know more about what is happening on the campus, and we need to better understand the forces at work there and their implications. But I would suggest that the truly significant changes in the social and political fabric of the country are taking place among the millions of working Americans who have been roundly ignored for the past decade. There is nothing glamorous or exciting about them, but they pay the bills, produce our goods and services, and vote. They deserve some attention.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "TH" with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

TOM CHARLES HUSTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

To: *Harry Dent*

From: Larry Higby

file

John
Middle America

June 10, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR HERB KLEIN

I received a phone call today from Al Abrams, Assistant Director of Public Affairs at OEO. He has just returned from the Western Governors Conference in Park City, Utah, where Director Rumsfeld addressed the Conference.

He reports that he had a long conversation with Wally Turner, West Coast correspondent for the New York Times. It was Abrams' impression that Turner is putting together a major story for the Times which will claim that President Nixon's middle America constituency is turning against him and that the President does not really have the support that was indicated in recent polls.

Turner has been interviewing people such as Governor Anderson of Montana and Governor Burns of Hawaii. Abrams further reported that he believed Turner had discussed the article with Abe Rosenthal of the Times and that it may be carried this Sunday.

JIM HOGUE

Attracting the Middle Class

This provides some ideas for attracting the white middle class, especially the ethnic middle class, into the Republican Party.

The Problem and the Opportunity

The large and politically powerful white middle class is deeply troubled primarily over the erosion of their values. They believe that as individuals they have lost control of a complicated and impersonal society which oppresses them with high taxes, spiralling inflation and enforced integration while rewarding the very poor and very rich.

Socially, the middle class yearns for stability, calm, and a return to the old values. Politically, the middle class appears willing to shift its loyalties to the party that will defend its values while it solves the nation's serious social problems.

Republican Party/Nixon Administration Strategy

To attract the maximum number of middle class voters into the Republican camp, the President should emerge as the defender of the "old values" of patriotism, hard work, morality and respect for law and order. His defense should be specific and overt drawing its justification from the President's instinctual understanding of the American heritage and his concerted attempt to respond to the wishes of those who ultimately control the nation, the decent, law-abiding forgotten Americans.

Programs/Ideas

The following programs and ideas are designed to implement the strategy outlined above:

1. The President's Thanksgiving Day Special - This is an expanded televised version of the annual Presidential Thanksgiving message. The President would host a brief program featuring recent immigrants telling why they are thankful to be in America. The people interviewed would be carefully selected from Eastern European and South American backgrounds so as to boost the President's image with these populous groups. Of course, the program would possess all of the patriotic values we could build into it.

2. America the Beautiful - This is a one-hour television spectacular hosted by the President. Its objective is to remind the citizens of how wonderful our country really is. The President would not restrict himself to speechifying but would narrate film clips of significant visual interest.

3. Wire the President - This is a personal communications system between the average citizen and the President similar to one successfully employed by President Magsaysay of the Phillipines. Through an agreement with AT&T and Western Union, each citizen would be enabled to telephone a 25-word telegram to the President for a nominal charge added to the sender's telephone bill. The President would "personally" acknowledge each telegram and periodically report to the Nation on new programs developed in response to these wire messages.
4. The President as Policeman - The President should narrate an hour long TV spectacular on law and order. This spectacular would feature brief speeches by the President, Chief Justice Burger, Attorney General Mitchell, et al but would depart from the ordinary by using film clips, charts, graphs etc. to impress the public with the President's programs and encourage the public to support local law enforcement officials.
5. The President on Drug Abuse - Another TV spectacular underscoring the President's concern with drugs and his program for stopping drug abuse. Again, this would make use of film clips and other dramatic material in addition to standard Presidential speechifying.
6. Catholic Schools Tax Deduction - The President should express his concern over financial plight of Catholic schools. He should point out how much public tax money is being saved because Catholic parents ease the burden by sending their children to private schools. He should express his interest in a bid to permit Catholic parents to list tuition as a tax deduction. We would have to be careful with this one but it could win us a ton of votes if handled correctly, because it involves money, children and religion, all strong individual issues.
7. National Heritage Day - The President would announce a special holiday celebrating the remarkable cultural heritage of the country concentrating heavily on the immigrant's contributions. The President would host a TV spectacular with representatives of the various nationality groups taking part.
8. Svetlana - Stalin's daughter is in this country! The President should get on TV and discuss the evils of Communism with her. She's an immigrant, an ex-Commie, a believer in God--in short a great asset to us. Let's use her.
9. A Week in the Life of the President - This would be an authentic TV documentary done by a legitimate outsider like Teddy White. The purpose would be to show the President as a dynamic, hard working leader.

10. Infiltrate the Ethnics - Working through the RNC, we should make a concerted effort to gain control of the leading ethnic associations in the U.S. As a first step, we should publish a monthly news letter to ethnic leaders. But even more immediately, we should ensure that the ethnic leaders are treated royally when they come to see the President at the end of October. The President should be photographed with these people and he should let them know Laszlo Pasztor has his ear on matters of ethnic concern.

Gordon Wade

Attracting the Middle Class

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Survey Disputes 'Ethnic' Backlash

By Karl E. Meyer

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Aug. 19—A widely-held political belief—that the blue-collar worker of immigrant descent responds most avidly to backlash appeals—was flatly contradicted by the findings of a national survey made public today.

The survey, conducted in March by the Louis Harris organization, found that native Anglo-Saxon Protestants are more likely to be hostile to blacks than Americans of Irish, Italian or Polish descent.

Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, which sponsored the survey, said he was "somewhat surprised" by its findings since he had been led to believe that the so-called "ethnics" provided the mainspring of white backlash.

"The study suggests that some Americans may be projecting their own prejudices to minorities of recent foreign origin," Young told a press conference at the league's New York headquarters.

In another development, Young also said he was removing his name from consideration for any appointments in the Nixon administration. A month ago, the black leader said he might be available for a presidential appointment.

The Harris survey was based on a sample of 1,609 persons, the standard sample used by the polling organization. Respondents were asked if they felt the push for racial equality was too fast, whether they disapproved the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, and whether they favored racially separate schools.

About half the Anglo-Saxon Americans questioned said the push for equality was too rapid, Harris reported, compared with 37 per cent among Irish-Americans, 42 per cent among Italian-Americans and 44 per cent among Polish-Americans.

While 42 per cent of the Anglo-Saxon Protestants disapproved the school decision, the 1954 ruling was opposed by 31 per cent of the Irish and Italians, and 36 per cent of those of Polish descent. Twenty-two per cent of Anglo-Saxon Americans favored separate schools, compared with 6 per cent of the Irish, 5 per cent of the Italians and 16 per cent of the Poles, according to the survey.

A breakdown by religion showed that 51 per cent of Protestants questioned felt that racial progress was too



WHITNEY YOUNG
... no "black Moses"

fast, as against 47 per cent of the Catholics and 22 per cent of the Jews polled.

As in all polls involving racial attitudes, the Harris survey found a direct correlation between the liberality of views and level of education and income.

But, Young noted, close to half of all households of Irish, Polish or Italian origin are composed of manual or "blue-collar" workers. This may lead them to identify with the problems of lower-income minority workers, he suggested.

Concerning his turnaround on accepting a presidential appointment, Young said in answer to a question that he had not been officially asked by the Nixon administration to take any job. He said he now believes that President Nixon "doesn't need advice from Whitney Young, and Whitney Young has no desire to be a single black Moses."

The administration could get the benefit of advice from blacks by upgrading Negroes already in the government, he said. He said he was heartened by the response to a call made by the Urban League for forming a unified coalition among black leaders and organizations, a development that made him reconsider his earlier view on taking a presidential job.

Young, among the more moderate of nationally known black leaders, has been critical but not totally hostile to the Nixon administration. Today, he again scored what he regarded as the "inconsistency" and "flabbiness" of the government on racial issues, adding "I have never seen the black community quite as disillusioned with any administration."

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