



# **Rockefeller (Nelson A.) personal papers, Politics - Oscar M. Ruebhausen, Series J.3**

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Rockefeller Archive Center

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## Table of Contents

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Summary Information .....	3
Biographical/Historical note .....	3
Scope and Contents note .....	6
Arrangement note .....	6
File Plan note .....	7
Administrative Information .....	7
Controlled Access Headings .....	8
Other Finding Aids note .....	9
Collection Inventory .....	10

## Summary Information

<b>Repository:</b>	Rockefeller Archive Center
<b>Creator - aut:</b>	Ruebhausen, Oscar M.
<b>Creator - aut:</b>	Rockefeller, Nelson A. (Nelson Aldrich)
<b>Creator - ctb:</b>	Molitor, Graham T. T. (Graham Thomas Tate)
<b>Title:</b>	Nelson A. Rockefeller personal papers, Politics - Oscar M. Ruebhausen, Series J.3
<b>ID:</b>	FA347
<b>Date [inclusive]:</b>	1967-1970
<b>Physical Description:</b>	3.49 Cubic Feet 5 legal document boxes, 3 letter document boxes.
<b>Language of the Material:</b>	English .

### Preferred Citation note

Information regarding the Rockefeller Archive Center's preferred elements and forms of citation can be found at <http://www.rockarch.org/research/citations.php>

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

## Biographical/Historical note

Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller was born on July 8, 1908, in Bar Harbor, Maine, the third child of John Davison Rockefeller, Jr., and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller. He graduated from the Lincoln School of Teachers College at Columbia University in New York City in 1926. Mr. Rockefeller attended Dartmouth College where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, graduating cum laude in 1930 with an A.B. degree in economics.

After college, Mr. Rockefeller was active in family enterprises, including real estate, banking, and family philanthropies. His major business interests in time became focused on Rockefeller Center and Latin America. In 1938, he became the president of Rockefeller Center.

In 1935, because of his interest in national affairs and his desire to learn about U.S. business abroad, Mr. Rockefeller became a director of Creole Petroleum Company, the Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. This association led eventually to his deep, life-long interest in Latin America. He made

extensive visits to Latin America in 1937 and 1939 to study economic, social, and political conditions. He resigned his directorship in the Creole Petroleum Company in 1940.

In 1940, Mr. Rockefeller and his four brothers organized the Rockefeller Brothers Fund to carry out a broad range of philanthropic activities.

Throughout his life Mr. Rockefeller was an avid supporter of the arts. He served as a trustee, treasurer, president, and chair of the board of the Museum of Modern Art, which was cofounded by his mother. In 1954, he founded the Museum of Primitive Art, which collected of indigenous art of the Americas, Africa, Oceania, and early Asia and Europe.

After his 1939 visit to Latin America, Mr. Rockefeller prepared a memorandum for President Franklin D. Roosevelt outlining his deep concern over Nazi influence and penetration into that part of the world. In the memo he recommended a U.S. program of cooperation with the nations of the western hemisphere to achieve better relations among these nations and to help raise their standards of living. Largely as a result of this memo, President Roosevelt asked Mr. Rockefeller in August of 1940 to initiate and head a new program ultimately known as the Office of Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Rockefeller served as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, his first full-time position in public service.

Mr. Rockefeller served in this position until December 1944, when President Roosevelt appointed him Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs. In this post, Mr. Rockefeller initiated the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace in Mexico City in February of 1945. It resulted in the Act of Chapultepec, which provided the framework for economic, social, and defense cooperation among the nations of the western hemisphere and set the principle that an attack on one of these nations would be regarded as an attack on all and jointly resisted.

Mr. Rockefeller signed the Act of Chapultepec on behalf of the United States. He also attended the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco in 1945. At the conference, there was considerable opposition to the idea of permitting, within the UN Charter, the formation of regional pacts such as the Act of Chapultepec. Mr. Rockefeller, who believed that the inclusion was essential, especially to U.S. policy in Latin America, successfully argued the need for regional pacts within the framework of the United Nations. The importance of this victory was underscored by the subsequent formation of NATO, SEATO, and the Rio Pact.

During these war-time years, Mr. Rockefeller also served as Chairman of the Inter-American Development Commission, which was established in June 1940 to reorganize and revitalize Latin American economies following the loss of European markets. He was also the U.S. Co-Chairman of the Mexican-American Development Commission to help Mexico emerge as an industrial nation in the transition from war to peace.

Mr. Rockefeller resigned as Assistant Secretary of State on August 24, 1945.

Upon his return to private life in New York in 1946, Mr. Rockefeller became chair of the board of Rockefeller Center and undertook a program of physical expansion. Two other initiatives during this period illustrate Mr. Rockefeller's continuing interest in Latin America and international economic development. In July of 1946, the Rockefeller brothers established a philanthropic organization, the American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA). AIA financed nonprofit projects to ameliorate health, educational, agricultural, and other social problems in the poorer

areas of Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller served as President from July 1946 to June 1953 and from January 1957 to December 1958. In 1947, he organized the International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC), a business corporation to help raise living standards in foreign countries through new economic enterprises. In its early years, IBEC concentrated on enterprises in Latin America but later expanded its activities to other regions. Mr. Rockefeller served as IBEC President from January 1947 to June 1953 and from January 1956 to December 1958.

In his inaugural address in January 1949, President Harry S. Truman announced the Point IV program for providing technical assistance to developing nations. This concept was based in part on programs Mr. Rockefeller and his associates had developed through the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the private, philanthropic AIA. In November of 1950, President Truman asked Mr. Rockefeller to serve as Chairman of the International Development Advisory Board. The Board was charged with recommending policies for carrying out the Point IV program. The Board's report, entitled "Partners in Progress," provided the basic blueprint for America's foreign assistance program.

On November 20, 1952, President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower asked Mr. Rockefeller to serve as Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization, a group created to recommend ways to improve the efficiency of the executive branch of the government. As Chairman of that committee, Mr. Rockefeller recommended 13 reorganization plans to the President, 10 of which were approved by Congress. These plans achieved basic changes in the organization of the Department of Defense, the Department of Agriculture, and the Office of Defense Mobilization, among others. Another of the plans led to the establishment of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In June 1953, Mr. Rockefeller was appointed Under Secretary of the new department. He was especially active in the department's legislative program, recommending measures that covered an additional ten million people under the Social Security program. He resigned as HEW Under Secretary in 1954 to become Special Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs.

While serving as Special Assistant, Mr. Rockefeller played a key role in the development of the "Open Skies" proposal for checking on world armaments through mutual air reconnaissance. He accompanied President Eisenhower to the Geneva Summit Conference in 1955, where the plan was proposed to the world by the President. Mr. Rockefeller resigned as Special Assistant on December 31, 1955.

Mr. Rockefeller first ran for public office in 1958 and was elected Governor of New York on November 4, defeating incumbent Averill Harriman. He took office January 1, 1959, and was subsequently re-elected Governor three more times, thus becoming the first Governor in the nation's history to be elected to four 4-year terms.

Nelson Rockefeller's tenure as a public servant in the federal government was a formative period in his life. By the time he left Washington to assume the governorship of New York, he had received a thorough education in the workings of the federal government. His chairmanship of PACGO permitted him to examine every aspect of the executive branch. This and his work in HEW exposed him to a wide variety of domestic issues. He gained experience in initiating legislation, in foreign policy and diplomacy, in domestic and international economics, and in national security and military affairs. In the process he also received an education in national politics and gained a reputation for being an effective and hardworking administrator. Most importantly, these appointments provided him with the opportunity to form the friendships and personal associations that served him throughout his political career.

Mr. Rockefeller resigned as Governor of New York in December 1973. In August 1974, President Gerald R. Ford nominated him to fill the vacant vice presidency following the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon. Mr. Rockefeller served as Vice President from December 19, 1974, to January 20, 1977. Nelson Rockefeller died on January 26, 1979, in New York City.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Scope and Contents note

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This series contains a portion of the files of Oscar M. Ruebhausen. They were created primarily during Ruebhausen's service as head of DNA, a research organization for Nelson Rockefeller that was founded by Roswell Perkins. Ruebhausen headed DNA during Governor Rockefeller's run for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Some of the materials also cover Rockefeller's gubernatorial reelection campaign in 1970. The majority of these documents may also be found in other series specifically Rockefeller's personal papers, DNA, Series G and Rockefeller's Gubernatorial records, Issue Books, Series 17.

This series contains the office files of Oscar M. Ruebhausen. They document his official activities as a member of Nelson A. Rockefeller's staff. The actions, decisions, and exchanges of information or points of view documented here occurred in the course of proposing and implementing policies for the Rockefeller administration, the political campaigns, and/or Rockefeller's personal activities. However, unless a document is personally signed by Nelson A. Rockefeller, or is referred to in a document personally signed by him, it should not be assumed he saw the document or was aware of its existence or substance. Furthermore, researchers should bear in mind that staff files may contain documents or drafts addressed to Rockefeller that were never shown to him.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Arrangement note

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There are four subseries in this series:

Subseries 1 - Current Issues, 1968

Subseries 2 - NAR Political, 1968

Subseries 3 - OMR General, 1968

Subseries 4 - Notebooks and Reports, 1967-1970

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## File Plan note

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Former Classification: III 04 J.3

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Administrative Information

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### Publication Statement

Rockefeller Archive Center

15 Dayton Avenue

Sleepy Hollow 10591

[archive@rockarch.org](mailto:archive@rockarch.org)

URL: <http://www.rockarch.org>

### Processing Information note

Processing Level 3: Standard Processing.

### Conditions Governing Use note

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### Conditions Governing Access note

Open for research with select materials restricted as noted. Brittle or damaged items are available at the discretion of RAC. Material in the Rockefeller family collections that provides the names, correspondence, or activities of living members of the Rockefeller family, and/or documents the net wealth of any Rockefeller family members, is restricted. Researchers interested in accessing digital media (floppy disks, CDs, DVDs, etc.) or audiovisual material (audio cassettes, VHS, etc.) in this collection must use an access surrogate. The original items may not be accessed because of preservation concerns. To request an access surrogate be made, or if you are unsure if there is an access surrogate, please contact an archivist.

## Processing Information note

John LeGloahec November 2001

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Controlled Access Headings

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- Art, Primitive
- Arts
- Brazil
- Business
- Business enterprises, Foreign
- Civic improvement
- Civics
- Developing countries
- Governors -- Election -- New York (State) -- 1962
- Governors -- Election -- New York (State) -- 1958
- Government policy
- Government agencies
- Federal government -- United States
- Education -- Latin America
- Agriculture
- Agriculture -- Latin America
- Philanthropy -- United States
- International relations -- United States
- Latin America
- International economic relations
- International relations
- Governors -- Election -- New York (State) -- 1966
- Governors -- Election -- New York (State) -- 1970
- Philanthropy -- New York (N.Y.)
- Philanthropy
- Venezuela
- Philanthropy -- New York (State)
- United States
- State governments -- United States
- New York (N.Y.)
- New York (State)
- Education
- National security -- United States
- Economic policy
- Economics



- Public health -- Latin America
- Social problems -- Latin America
- Presidential campaigns -- United States
- Presidential candidates -- United States -- History -- 20th century
- Political campaigns -- United States
- Political science

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## Other Finding Aids note

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Detailed finding aids for each series of this collection are available:

[Nelson A. Rockefeller papers, Activities \(FA338\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, AIA-IBEC \(FA339\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Art \(FA340\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Countries \(FA341\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, DNA \(FA342\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Family and Friends \(FA343\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Oral Histories \(FA344\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Politics - New York City Office \(FA345\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Politics - George L. Hinman \(FA346\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Projects \(FA348\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Speeches, Post-Vice Presidential \(FA349\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Washington, DC \(FA350\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Ann C. Whitman - Politics \(FA351\)](#)

[Nelson A. Rockefeller Papers, Hugh Morrow Interviews \(FA352\)](#)

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

## Collection Inventory

### Current Issues, 1968

Physical Description: 1 Cubic Feet

#### Arrangement note

Subseries 1 is arranged alphabetically by issue.

#### Scope and Contents note

This subseries is primarily files created by the research staff of DNA for the 1968 presidential campaign. The files comprise reports and position papers as well as memoranda and correspondence with outside sources offering expert advice on issues.

Title/Description	Instances	
Agriculture	box 1	folder 1
Agriculture	box 1	folder 2
American Indians	box 1	folder 3
Civil Rights	box 1	folder 4
Consumer Protection	box 1	folder 5
Crime	box 1	folder 6
Economy	box 1	folder 7
Education	box 1	folder 8
Federalism	box 1	folder 9
Foreign Policy	box 1	folder 10
Health	box 2	folder 11
Housing	box 2	folder 12
Issue Summaries	box 2	folder 13
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>		
Collected position papers on variety of political issues.		
Judicial	box 2	folder 14
Labor	box 2	folder 15
Latin America	box 2	folder 16
LBJ and the Great Society	box 2	folder 17
Natural Resources	box 2	folder 18

Poverty	box 2	folder 19
Presidency	box 2	folder 20
Science	box 2	folder 21
Social Issues	box 2	folder 22
Urban Issues	box 3	folder 23
Vietnam	box 3	folder 24
Welfare	box 3	folder 25
Youth	box 3	folder 26

## NAR Political, 1968

Physical Description: 0.6 Cubic Feet

### Scope and Contents note

These files date primarily from May through July 1968, when Nelson Rockefeller was actively pursuing the Republican presidential nomination. The files contain a variety of political information and advice given to Oscar Ruebhausen in his role as head of DNA or offered directly to Rockefeller, either by or through Ruebhausen. Of particular interest in this subseries are memoranda on how Rockefeller might go on to win the general election if he was successful in gaining the Republican nomination.

Title/Description	Instances	
Candidate Debate, 1968	box 3	folder 27
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Correspondence and memoranda surrounding NAR open offer to debate Richard Nixon and other presidential candidates in a debate.		
Convention, 1968	box 3	folder 28
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Pre-convention "checklist," other memoranda and clippings on NAR plans at Republican convention in Miami, Florida.		
Letters Written for the Governor, 1968	box 3	folder 29
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Draft replies and correspondence to various organizations that had written to NAR asking for his views on the presidency.		
Mailings, 1968	box 3	folder 30

## Scope and Contents note

"Rockefeller for President" and "New York Citizens for Rockefeller for President" correspondence on behalf of the campaign, urging support for NAR.

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National Election, 1968

box 3

folder 31

## Scope and Contents note

Correspondence and clippings surrounding concerns of a deadlock in the Electoral College, based on the candidacy of Governor George Wallace.

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News Coverage, 1968

box 3

folder 32

## Scope and Contents note

Copies of newspaper clippings on political campaigns and activities of candidates.

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Nixon, Richard M., 1968

box 3

folder 33

## Scope and Contents note

Correspondence, memoranda, clippings, notes on the Richard M. Nixon candidacy and the Rockefeller campaign's response.

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Other Candidates, 1968

box 3

folder 34

## Scope and Contents note

Correspondence, memoranda, clippings, notes on the activities of the other presidential candidates, including Senator Eugene McCarthy, Governor Ronald Reagan, and Senator Robert Kennedy.

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Pamphlets, 1968

box 4

folder 35

## Scope and Contents note

Selection of campaign literature used by the Rockefeller campaign in the 1968 presidential season.

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Platform, 1968

box 4

folder 36

## Scope and Contents note

Policy papers for use on committee to draft Republican platform.

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Post-Nomination, 1968

box 4

folder 37

## Scope and Contents note

Memo from Oscar M. Ruebhausen to NAR on vice presidential selection possibilities, George L. Hinman

memo on strategy for NAR if successful in garnering the Republican nomination.

Public Opinion, 1968	box 4	folder 38
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Correspondence and selection of polling information on NAR campaign.		
Rockefeller Record, 1968	box 4	folder 39
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Selections of NAR statements used in the campaign piece, "The Rockefeller Record."		
Schedule, 1968	box 4	folder 40
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Memorandum from the "Scheduling Committee" reviewing NAR's pending invitations based on the national campaign.		
Speeches, 1968	box 4	folder 41
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Drafts, press releases, transcripts of selected NAR speeches on various issues.		
Themes, 1968	box 4	folder 42
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Memoranda and correspondence on various themes that could be utilized by the campaign to attract voters.		
Voter Registration, 1968	box 4	folder 43
<b>Scope and Contents note</b>  Memorandum on percentages of population registered to the two main political parties from 1956 through 1966.		

## OMR General, 1968

Physical Description: 0.4 Cubic Feet

### Scope and Contents note

This small subseries is entirely office memoranda and correspondence concerning Ruebhausen's tenure as head of DNA in 1968.

Title/Description	Instances	
Correspondence, 1968	box 5	folder 44

## Scope and Contents note

Oscar M. Ruebhausen correspondence with selected individuals offering perspective of NAR candidacy and Oscar M. Ruebhausen urging of support of Republican ticket.

DNA Organization, Staff, 1968

box 5

folder 45

## Scope and Contents note

Office memoranda on day-to-day operations of running of DNA offices.

DNA Personnel, 1968

box 5

folder 46

## Scope and Contents note

Memoranda and correspondence on individuals working on DNA in spring 1968.

Miscellaneous, 1968

box 5

folder 47

## Scope and Contents note

Campaign archive material from Saville Ryan, primarily letters from NAR to various organizations congratulating them on achievements, holding meetings, anniversaries, etc.

Miscellaneous, 1968

box 5

folder 48

## Scope and Contents note

Campaign archive material from Saville Ryan, primarily letters from NAR to various organizations congratulating them on achievements, holding meetings, anniversaries, etc.

Miscellaneous, 1968

box 5

folder 49

## Scope and Contents note

Campaign archive material from Saville Ryan, primarily letters from NAR to various organizations congratulating them on achievements, holding meetings, anniversaries, etc.

Notes, 1968

box 5

folder 50

## Scope and Contents note

Oscar M. Ruebhausen notes on issues of campaign.

## Notebooks and Reports, 1967-1970

Physical Description: 1.2 Cubic Feet

**Scope and Contents note**

The final subseries consists of materials accumulated by DNA staff and the Answer Desk, a research group headed by Graham Molitor to assist with the Presidential campaign. Also found in this subseries are two general issues polls of New York voters undertaken prior to the 1970 gubernatorial reelection of Nelson Rockefeller.

**Title/Description****Instances**

Answer Desk Profile on Richard Nixon, 1968

box 6

folder 51

**Scope and Contents note**

Comprehensive profile of Nixon compiled by DNA research staff. Chapter titles: "Loser Image"; "Political Image: Tricky Dick"; "Personality: The Unstable Man"; "Everybody on Nixon"; "Campaign Style"; "Nixon: Unqualified for President."

Answer Desk Profile on Richard Nixon, 1968

box 6

folder 52

**Scope and Contents note**

Comprehensive profile of Nixon compiled by DNA research staff. Chapter titles: "Loser Image"; "Political Image: Tricky Dick"; "Personality: The Unstable Man"; "Everybody on Nixon"; "Campaign Style"; "Nixon: Unqualified for President."

Answer Desk Profile on Richard Nixon, 1968

box 6

folder 53

**Scope and Contents note**

Comprehensive profile of Nixon compiled by DNA research staff. Chapter titles: "Loser Image"; "Political Image: Tricky Dick"; "Personality: The Unstable Man"; "Everybody on Nixon"; "Campaign Style"; "Nixon: Unqualified for President."

Answer Desk Profile on Richard Nixon, 1968

box 6

folder 54

**Scope and Contents note**

Comprehensive profile of Nixon compiled by DNA research staff. Chapter titles: "Loser Image"; "Political Image: Tricky Dick"; "Personality: The Unstable Man"; "Everybody on Nixon"; "Campaign Style"; "Nixon: Unqualified for President."

"The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society"

box 6

folder 55

**Scope and Contents note**

February 1967 report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

Domestic Research Staff - Recommended Position Papers, May 30, 1968

box 6

folder 56

## Scope and Contents note

Indexed position papers on domestic issues prepared by DNA staff.

Domestic Research Staff - Recommended Position Papers, May 31, 1968	box 6	folder 57
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## Scope and Contents note

Indexed position papers on domestic issues prepared by DNA staff.

Fact Sheets on Foreign Policy, 1968	box 7	folder 58
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## Scope and Contents note

Indexed position papers on foreign policy issues prepared by DNA staff.

Foreign Policy Comparisons of Candidate Positions	box 7	folder 59
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## Scope and Contents note

Summary positions on foreign policy held by Nelson Rockefeller, Richard Nixon, and the other GOP candidates.

Nixon on Civil Rights, 1968	box 7	folder 60
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## Scope and Contents note

Briefing book, which includes a general position paper on civil rights record. Includes memos on Nixon's major weaknesses and suggest possible means for exploiting them. Prepared by Answer Desk, Graham T. T. Molitor, Director. Chapter titles: "Southern Strategy"; "Open Housing"; "Busing"; "Riots"; "Rebuilding the Ghetto."

"Political Opinion in New York State"	box 7	folder 61
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## Scope and Contents note

Poll conducted by Political Surveys and Analyses, Inc., interviews conducted in late April and Early May 1970.

"Political Opinion in New York State"	box 7	folder 62
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## Scope and Contents note

Poll conducted by Political Surveys and Analyses, Inc., interviews conducted in late April and Early May 1970.

"Poll Data About Gubernatorial Candidates"	box 7	folder 63
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### Scope and Contents note

Poll conducted by Political Surveys and Analyses, Inc.,  
interviews conducted in late July and early August 1970.

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"Poll Data About Gubernatorial Candidates"

box 7

folder 64

### Scope and Contents note

Poll conducted by Political Surveys and Analyses, Inc.,  
interviews conducted in late July and early August 1970.

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Positions on the Issues, 1968

box 8

folder 65

### Scope and Contents note

Published brochures, statements, speeches, press releases,  
internal memoranda on the positions held on national issues  
by the major candidates for Presidency in 1968, including  
Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy, Ronald Reagan,  
Richard Nixon.

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Positions on the Issues, 1968

box 8

folder 66

### Scope and Contents note

Published brochures, statements, speeches, press releases,  
internal memoranda on the positions held on national issues  
by the major candidates for Presidency in 1968, including  
Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy, Ronald Reagan,  
Richard Nixon.

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Positions on the Issues, 1968

box 8

folder 67

### Scope and Contents note

Published brochures, statements, speeches, press releases,  
internal memoranda on the positions held on national issues  
by the major candidates for Presidency in 1968, including  
Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy, Ronald Reagan,  
Richard Nixon.

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Positions on the Issues, 1968

box 8

folder 68

### Scope and Contents note

Published brochures, statements, speeches, press releases,  
internal memoranda on the positions held on national issues  
by the major candidates for Presidency in 1968, including  
Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy, Ronald Reagan,  
Richard Nixon.

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"The Rockefeller Strategy"

box 8

folder 69

### **Scope and Contents note**

Research and intelligence report with a plan to win the 1968 Republican nomination, April 18, 1968.

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"The Summer Campaign"

box 8

folder 70

### **Scope and Contents note**

Research and intelligence report on the Rockefeller candidacy and Republican politics, April-May 1968, May 28, 1968.

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Trip: Kansas, May 7, 1968

box 8

folder 71

### **Scope and Contents note**

Oscar M. Ruebhausen travel book on NAR political trip to the state.

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Trip: Minnesota, May 8, 1968

box 8

folder 72

### **Scope and Contents note**

Oscar M. Ruebhausen travel book on NAR political trip to the state.