

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	5	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses Malek's visit to California. 1 pg.
35	5	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Lyn Nofziger to Bob Halden . RE: Communications Media Report. 3 pgs.
35	5	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lyn Nofziger to Clark MacGregor, Jeb Magruder, Fred Malek, Bob Mardian, Bob Haldeman. RE: Los Angles County. 2 pgs.
35	5	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lyn Nofziger to Bob Mardian, Fred Malek, and Jeb Magruder. RE: California Nixon Headquarters. 1 pg.

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35	5	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. -- "According to Bob Brown, Floyd McKissick is unfortunately a registered Republican. 1 pg.
35	5	7/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From William E. Timmons to Chuck Colson. RE: Democrats for Nixon. 1 pg.
35	5	7/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Phil Joanou. This document discusses layouts for Nixon/Agnew bumper sticker and button. 1 pg.
35	5	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Clark MacGregor. RE: Strengthening California Campaign. 5 pgs.
35	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Brochure	Title: Campaign Material to Re-elect President Nixon. 10 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	5	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Phil Joanou (cc: Pete Dailey). RE: Campaign Materials. 1 pg.
35	5	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to H.R. Haldeman and Charles Colson. This document discusses Percy his reporting that the President is in favor of "reforms' in delegation allocation and selection." 1 pg.
35	5	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Washington Post--"Percy Outlines Plan for Party Reform," by Lou Cannon. 1 pg.
35	5	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to Clark MacGregor and H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses the political rhetoric and use of the phrase, "I'm behind you 1000%." 1 pg.
35	5	8/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Dwight Chapin. RE: Proposed Meeting of the President with the Youth Group. 1 pg.

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35	5	8/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Phil Joanou (cc: Jeb Magruder and Pete Dailey). RE: Materials Distribution. 1 pg.
35	5	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John Ehrlichman to Bob Haldeman. RE: FYI. This document discusses Clark MacGregor speaking about strategy to the press. 2 pg.
35	5	8/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses an analysis of the "situation in California." 6 pg.
35	5	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Political Action Memorandum--HRH. This document discusses correcting limited campaign effort in California. 1 pg.
35	5	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to Clark MacGregor. RE: Progress in Strengthening the 1701 Field Organization. 9 pgs.



<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
35	5	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Title: Agenda - July 28. 2 pgs.
35	5	7/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Title: Agenda - July 29th. 1 pg.
35	5	7/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rick Fore to Fred Malek. RE: Training Program. 2 pgs.
35	5	7/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Title: Agenda - July 12, 1972. 2 pgs.
35	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	This documents concerns the following information regarding states: electoral vote, political coordinator, approved base budget, approved supplement, store fronts, total field budget, and budget/electoral vote. 3 pgs.

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35	5	7/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to L. Higby. This document discusses a speech by the Vice President on Labor day and the incorporation of McGovern into the speech. 1 pg.
35	5	7/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Fred Malek. RE: "Tribune" Article. 1 pg.
35	5	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Finch to H.R. Haldeman. RE: FYI. This document discusses the upcoming campaign in California. 2 pgs.
35	5	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever" instead of "President Nixon - Help Him Finish the Job." 1 pg.
35	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Campaign Organization Problems. This document discusses "Overall Direction," "Overall Priorities," Political Coordinators," "Programs," "Surrogates." 5 pgs.

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35	5	7/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Overtaken by Events. --"No it wasn't. It was precipitated events." 1 pg.
35	5	7/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses McGovern's candidacy, his positions, statements, and campaign. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 316

Folder: Campaign 24 Part III [Feb] July 29 - Aug. 11, [1972] [1 of 2]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
153	Retain Open
154	Retain Open
155	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Chapin to HRH, 8-4-72
156	Retain Open
157	Return Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 7-31-[72]
158	Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-31-72
159	Return Private/Political Memo, Timmons to Colson, 7-31-72
160	Return Private/Political Memo, Joanou to H [HRH], 7-29-72
161	Return Private/Political Memo, Malek to MacGregor, 8-2-72
162	Return Private/Political Pamphlet, "Campaign Material..." n.d.
163	Return Private/Political Memo, Joanou to H [HRH], 8-4-72
164	Retain Open
165	Return Private/Political Memo, Buchanan to HRH & CWC, 8-4-72
166	Retain Open
167	Return Private/Political Memo, Buchanan to MacGregor & HRH, 8-3-72
168	Retain Open
169	Retain Open
170	Return Private/Political Memo, Malek to Chapin, 8-4-72
171	Return Private/Political Memo, Joanou to H [HRH], 8-2-72
172	Return Private/Political Note, JDE to HRH, 7-21-[72]
173	Return Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 8-3-72
174	Return Private/Political Memo, Malek to MacGregor, 7-28-72
175	Retain Open

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 316

176	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Higby to Buchanan, 7-28-72
177	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to Malek, 7-24-72
178	Return	Private/Political	Note, Finch to HRH, 7-26-[72]
179	Return	Private/Political	Memo, Strachan to HRH, 7-26-72
180	Retain	Open	
181	Return	Private/Political	"Campaign Organization Problems," n.d.
182	Retain	Open	
183	Return	Private/Political	Note, Higby to HRH, 7-26-72

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/31

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Malek is in California today to review the entire situation. He hopes to have a report for you later in the week. In the meantime, you might be interested in Nofziger's materials.

**California Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

1670 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017 (213) 484-1330

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

- RE: Communications Media Report

This is a sample of our weekly Communications report.  
Will send regularly.

Enclosure



CONFIDENTIAL

State of California

Week of 7/14 and 7/21

From: Jack Easton, Communications Director  
1670 Wilshire Blvd, Los Angeles

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CAMPAIGN:

Note L.A. TIMES editorial against Agnew.  
San Francisco Examiner is using anti-Nixon slant on features.  
McGovern is getting a much better shake in California than in the East. Convention received outstanding coverage, promoting Demo interest in minorities, blue-collar workers, women, youth, anti fat cats, etc.

TELEVISION & RADIO COVERAGE:

Good coverage of the MacGregor, Dole and Sam Jackson Press Conferences.  
GOP Registration drive had good coverage.  
The Nixon Newswatch now has more than 200 constant watchers.  
Reporters need more advance information on our Convention in Miami. Will eat up all your material.  
Actualities on MacGregor, Dole and locals.  
Our radio actualities now go to 95 stations.

CAMPAIGN'S KEY ACTIVITIES & COVERAGE:

1. Placed full page ad promoting registration in Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle.
2. Mailed "LEAP YEAR LOLLIPOPS", a Herald -Examiner editorial, to key journalists in plain hand addressed envelopes.
3. Press handbooks have been mailed to all County Press Chairman.
4. Registration Blitz news release mailed. Press conference covering that event.
5. News conferences with MacGregor and Dole.
6. News release announcing Hayden as Calif. Youth Chairman. CBS special feature also.
7. Talk Show bookings for Dr. Brady, Rumsfeld, Villarreal,
8. Letters Program: 20 complaints to NBC re slanted news.
9. We need biogs and photographs of surrogates.

OPPOSITION'S KEY ACTIVITIES & COVERAGE:

1. Speculation that Congressman Schimtz (Rep - San Clemente) being considered on Wallace ticket.
2. California O.E.O. will be investigated by Demos.
3. HEW civil rights Director Pottinger held an L.A. Press conference to announce investigation of California schools. He did not promote the President and the action worked against us.



PROBLEMS, NEEDS AND PLANS:

1. Months ago we requested color chroma-keyed slides of GOP Surrogates and VIP's. Bill Parish says nothing has been done and only has shots of MacGregor available. Our TV people need these immediately. Please advise.
2. Obviously, our campaign would be more successful with more advance notice of major announcements, such as decision to keep Agnew on ticket.
3. Western Airlines TV ad promoting "THE DEMOCRATIC WAY" protested. Please advise RE possible further action. Film sent to you last week.
4. We had no advance notice about Frank Fitzsimmons regarding union support.
5. Banuelos will not go on interview shows.
6. Please send clarification on advertising by local groups.
7. Los Angeles has largest number of Jewish people this side of Brooklyn. Can you help us woo them?
8. Serious problems with "FAT CATS" image of GOP.

Jack Easton  
Communications Director  
1670 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles

July 24, 1972

California Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

1670 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017 (213) 484-1330

July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR CLARK MACGREGOR  
JEB MAGRUDER  
FRED MALEK  
BOB MARDIAN  
✓ BOB HALDEMAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER *rh*  
RE Los Angeles County

Thought you might like to see the kind of enthusiasm  
being generated in LA County.

Enclosure

Contact: Patsy von Schlegell  
(213) 484-1330

SCHEDULE

California Committee for the  
Re-election of the President  
1670 Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90017

WILLIAM S. BANOWSKY - SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS  
Area Organizational meetings & Headquarters  
openings

SPEAKER	DATE	EVENT	LOCATION	COMMENTS
William S. Banowsky	5-23	Headquarters opening	Downey	150 attended
"	5-24	Headquarters opening	Ventura	
"	6-19	Organizational meeting Area 1	Odyssey Restaurant Mission Hills	approx. 400 in attendance
"	6-20	Organizational meeting Area 1	Sheraton Universal Hotel North Hollywood	approx. 400 in attendance
"	6-26	Organizational meeting Area 12	Mira Costa High School Manhattan Beach	365 in attendance
"	6-28	Organizational meeting Area 12	San Pedro High School San Pedro	approx. 200 in attendance
"	7-6	Organizational meeting Area 13	Long Beach	held at Rochelle's Convention Ctr. (480 attended)
"	7-6	Organizational meeting Area 5	Century Plaza Hotel Century City	600 attended
"	7-7	Headquarters opening	Whittier	500 attended
"	7-8	Organizational meeting Area 2	Pasadena	140 in attendance
"	7-11	Organizational meeting Area 6	Los Angeles Convention Center	350 attended
"	7-14	Headquarters opening	Van Nuys	900 - 1,000 attended

✓ cc: Bob Haldeman

**California Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

1670 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017 (213) 484-1330

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB MARDIAN  
FRED MALEK  
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM LYN NOFZIGER *RN*

RE California Nixon Headquarters

As of July 25 there are 85 headquarters open in California:

Region I	25	LA County
Region II	29	9 Southern California counties
Region III	13	6 San Francisco bay counties
Region IV	18	42 Northern counties

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

21

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

According to Bob Brown, Floyd McKissick is unfortunately a registered Republican.

4

ACTION

July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:           CHUCK COLSON .

FROM:                       WILLIAM E. TIMMONS

SUBJECT:                    Democrats for Nixon

1. PETER BRATTI: I passed this to Mike Balzano last week. Had conversation with Bratti who claims to be a "heavy" in Italian-American community. Registered Democrat. Knows Nelson Rockefeller, Malcom Wilson and Johnny Larmenzo (?). Can deliver thousands of votes, he says. Knew JFK personally and travelled country for him working cities with heavy Italian vote. Owns construction company with offices in several cities; specializes in marble work. Recommend Rizzo contact him personally.
  
2. DAVID KENNEDY: This confirms our telephone conversation last week. Democratic Mayor of Miami, Florida. A strong Humphrey supporter who now wants to back the President publicly. Rumored to be close to Governor Askew. He will not work for other Republicans. Needs a very high level contact -- recommend Connally call him and a staffer follow-up. Because of Kennedy's area, I suggest he stay under wraps until the GOP Convention.

Copy to:  
Clark MacGregor

→ H. R. Haldeman

Committee for the Re-election of the President

To  
Joanou

MEMORANDUM

July 29, 1972

TO: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ H  
FROM: PHIL JOANOU

Attached are layouts for a Nixon/Agnew bumper sticker and button. We would appreciate your comments as soon as possible as we would like to make these available to state organizations along with the rest of the campaign material.

OK per H 8/1  
P. Joanou

**Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

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

August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*  
SUBJECT: Strengthening California Campaign

My two-day trip to California was quite productive, resulting in a much better grasp of their progress and problems. I spent 3 hours Sunday night with Gordon Luce in San Diego; spent all day Monday with Nofziger and his people (including Bill Banofsky and Bob Monagan), and met individually with members of the "Old Guard" on Tuesday. This latter group included Len Firestone, Holmes Tuttle, Taft Schreiber, Waller Taylor, Jack Drown, Earl Adams, and Asa Call. Bob Mardian spent Monday with me and was quite helpful and constructive. This memo summarizes my conclusions and outlines the actions planned to deal with the problems that were identified.

CONCLUSIONS

While there is room for considerable improvement, there has been reasonable progress to date in California. They are further along than expected, particularly when compared with certain other large states. For example:

- All County Chairmen have been appointed. In Los Angeles County, 13 well qualified Area Chairmen have been appointed along with over 2,000 new Precinct Chairmen.
- Targeted precincts have been computer identified and prioritized in the 20 largest counties.
- 86 storefront operating headquarters have been opened, and they plan to have 200 by mid-September.
- The most cost effective locations for the planned 46 telephone centers will be computer selected by August 12th. These centers will be open in late August and will cover 85% of the vote in the State.
- Cards are available on over 30,000 volunteers, and they are working toward increasing that number. At my urging they will set volunteer targets for each County to help reach your goal of 1 million by Labor Day.



Despite this progress, however, there are a number of severe problems. These are reviewed below and my suggested solutions are outlined in the next section.

Nofziger's Management. Everyone has said Lyn is a poor manager. My visit confirmed this. He is working his heart out and partially succeeding as a result of tenaciousness, a reasonably competent staff, and several strong Area Chairmen. However, he does not have firm control of operations and has not done a good job of delegating, setting and acting on priorities, or giving clear direction to the staff. Lyn has the added burden of being roundly disliked by most members of the "Old Guard." All this is further complicated by the 4 Regional Chairmen operating quite autonomously and not liking to take direction from Lyn.

Regional Performance Spotty. It is hard to make a firm analysis after two days, but I will offer my tentative conclusions. Packard's region (Northern California) is regarded as the best organized of all and is receiving strong leadership from Dave. Monagan is not spending enough time on his region, and it is the poorest. However, it is fairly stable and has only 15% of the vote, thus, not considered a major opportunity. The biggest problems are Banofsky's region (Los Angeles County) and Orange and San Diego Counties in McCandless' region. Los Angeles has been lagging badly on registration results, and Banofsky is playing only a front role. San Diego and Orange, the traditional bulwarks of the Republicans, are not developing organization and volunteers fast enough, and McCandless is not considered strong. This must obviously be swiftly remedied.

Reagan Domination. The campaign organization is dominated by Reagan people, and there are few moderates or liberals and no Democrats in key campaign positions. It is not a Nixon campaign, but a Reagan campaign for Nixon. The major problem with this is that Reagan has slipped badly in popularity, and some of this could transfer to the President. Also, it will make the recruitment of volunteers from all quarters more difficult. There may be little we can do about this, but we must address the problem.

Old Guard Dissatisfaction. Most of these men are simply rabid about the campaign and Lyn, although most of them don't honestly know what is going on. Nevertheless, their sniping is obviously getting to and having an impact on the candidate, and it is also causing some divisiveness in the State. I feel that most of their gripes result from their not being kept involved or informed.

There are numerous other problems such as materials distribution, internal organization, and public relations. These will be dealt with, but the solutions below relate mostly to the major troubles covered above.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

Most of the recommended actions have been covered with and agreed to by both Luce and Nofziger, and I am confident we can get them implemented.

It is too late in my opinion to change leadership in the campaign. Nofziger is the wrong man for the job, but he is not that bad and we are now stuck with him. The best course of action is to shore him up. Gordon Luce cannot do this as he is unable to devote the necessary time to the task. Therefore, I am planning the following actions:

1. Recruit a strong management-oriented Executive Assistant for Lyn who will really function as a Deputy, handling major problem areas and ensuring the operation is managed properly. Lyn has agreed to this, and I have launched a search for the man. Targeted completion date is August 15th.

2. Place a strong Regional Director over Lyn. Marvin Collins is our best and most experienced Regional Director, although he can only give us 4 days per week. I plan to assign him only to California and really rely on him to ensure effective program implementation. Both Lyn and Luce agree to this, although Marvin will have to work hard to develop a productive relationship with Lyn. Marvin will be trained this week and in the State next week.

3. Work directly with Regional Chairmen where necessary. With Collins in place, we will have the capacity to bypass Lyn (with his concurrence) to deal directly with the major problems that develop in each Region and in some key Counties.

The addition of Collins, plus a strong Executive Assistant, will bring added focus on the problems of Los Angeles, Orange, and San Diego Counties. In addition, I plan the following:

1. Get Banofsky to increase from his present 25% to nearly full time on shaping up Los Angeles County. We talked pretty hard to him, and he has agreed to phase into this by the end of the month.

2. Ask Luce to take on a special responsibility for Orange and San Diego Counties. McCandless does not have the strength to handle this -- Luce does. Moreover, this would be a much more productive use of Luce's time than his present floating role. I will try to gain agreement on this by the end of the week.

It will be difficult to completely address the Reagan domination problem, but the following actions will help:

1. Form an Executive Committee for Banofsky in Los Angeles County. The problem is most severe here, and a broad-based and well publicized Executive Committee would broaden the appeal to volunteers and make it seem more like a Nixon campaign.

2. Name prominent Democrats or moderate Republicans as Co-Chairmen in the regions and in most Counties. These posts will be largely honorary but should have a desirable public relations impact. Lyn has agreed to start work on this, and we should have results by the end of August. ?

The "Old Guard" disaffection is serious, but in my opinion is based more on cosmetics than on any real understanding. Therefore, elements of my recommendations are also cosmetic but should alleviate the problem.

1. It is imperative to show off the new team at its best, and the August 9th Executive Committee meeting provides an excellent opportunity. Governor Reagan expects a hard, substantive session with us at the 2-hour luncheon preceding the meeting. All of the key leaders (50 in all) will be at the Executive Committee meeting itself. I will work this week on a strong presentation -- a real tour de force -- to make the desired impression. Briefly, if you agree, it will include an overview by you on campaign strategy and issues, a presentation by me on operating strategy and field operations plans, and a presentation by Dailey on advertising. We would leave time for discussion and then have the State people follow on with their operating plans and progress.

2. Lyn has agreed to compile news clips generated at least partially by his activity and send them bi-weekly to us and to members of the Executive Committee. One of the biggest gripes was the lousy job they feel Lyn is doing in this regard, and he has never sent them any clips.

3. Lyn has also agreed to submit bi-weekly progress reports to the Executive Committee with copies to us. This should keep them informed if the quality is halfway decent.

4. Encourage communications from key members of the Executive Committee directly to me. If they feel someone is listening and responding in Washington, they may diminish the crap now flowing to the White House. In addition, I will introduce Marvin Collins to these people and have him meet with them periodically.

5. Place key "Old Guard" members on the Los Angeles County Executive Committee and encourage Banofsky to hold meaningful bi-weekly meetings with them.

OTHER MATTERS

Several other matters were addressed that you should know about. On budgets, I insisted that Lyn pay out of the \$2.5 million California budget for the extra NCR sheet needed for canvassing (\$10,000) and for the Youth Fieldmen we now support (\$40,000). He has agreed to this.

You are familiar with the \$165,000 from 1968 that Asa Call has withheld from the campaign. I convinced Ace that he could not give it directly to Los Angeles County since we would simply reduce their budget by that amount. He has now agreed to give the money to us but wants to do it by buying tables for the \$1,000 per plate dinner. This is not an ideal solution, but I will talk to Maury Stans about this. If he objects (as I kind of do), I will try to work out a better deal with Ace on our trip next week.

\*

\*

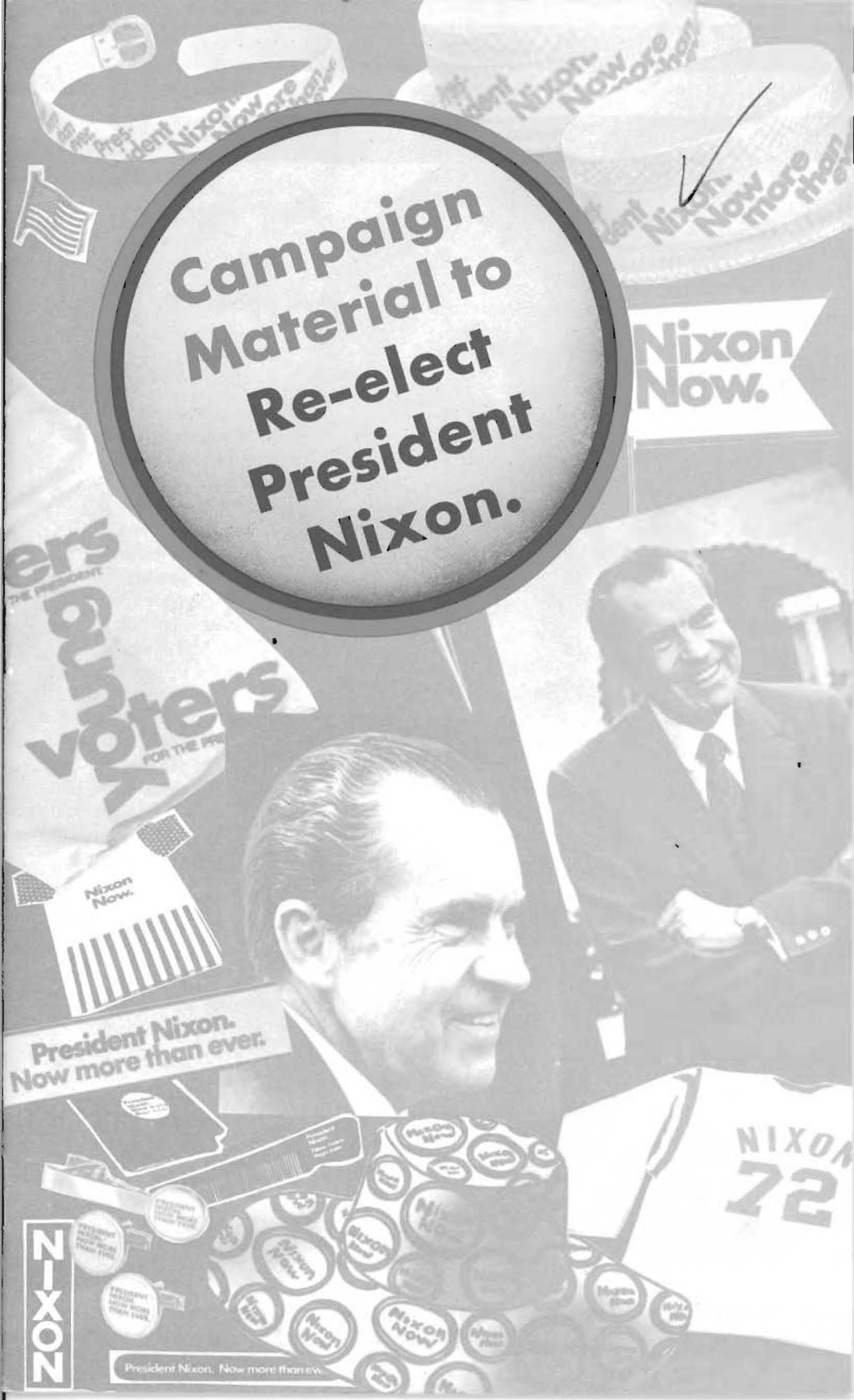
\*

The above actions certainly will not solve all our problems in California, but I feel we are on our way and will show visible results by the Convention. I will remain close to this situation and keep you closely informed.

John N. Mitchell

cc: H. R. Haldeman ✓  
Marvin Collins

**Campaign  
Material to  
Re-elect  
President  
Nixon.**



**9A Bumper Strips.** For the "Winning Team". Vinyl, in 2 colors. Weather-proof, easy to remove. 3¼" x 13¾".

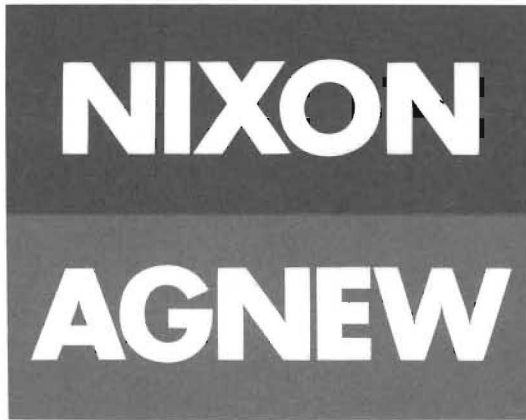


**NIXON AGNEW**



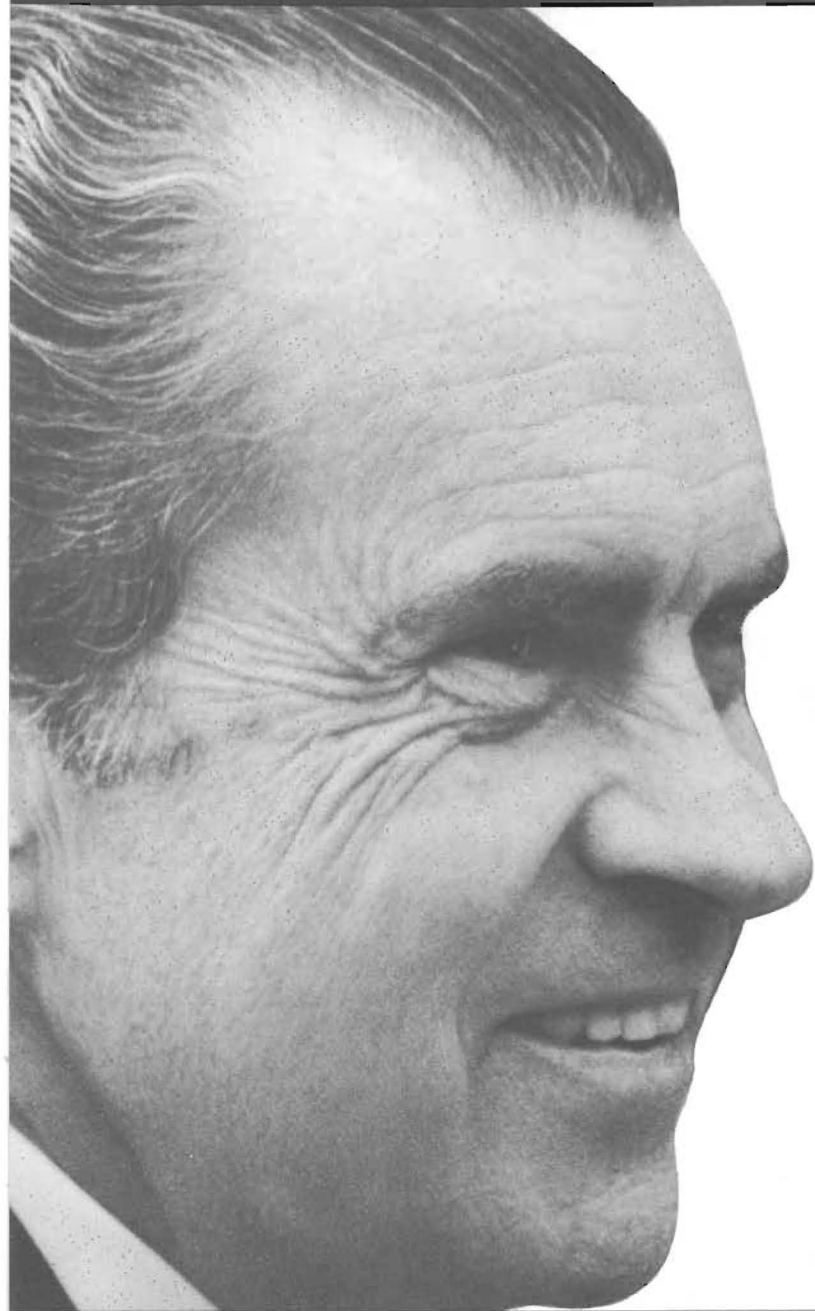
**9B 1¾" Nixon/Agnew Button**  
2 colors. Metal Litho.

**9C 22" x 34" Pole Sign** with the "Winning Team" on both sides with a paper pole.



**PRICE SCHEDULE**

<b>CAMPAIGN MATERIAL</b>	<b>5,000</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>9A Bumper Strip</b>	200.00	45.00	27.00	—	—	—	—
<b>9B 1¾" Button</b>	125.00	28.00	15.00	—	—	—	—
<b>9C Pole Sign</b>	—	—	425.00	235.00	135.00	75.00	25.00



### **Message from the Campaign Director:**

The campaign is upon us and it will be hard-fought—the only kind the Republican party should ever conduct.

This catalog is an important part of that campaign, for it contains the wide range of promotion items that you will need . . . all of them screened and put together very carefully for your benefit.

Here, briefly, is how it works: Each State is given an allocation. Up to the amount of that allocation, there is no cost involved on your part. Beyond that allocation, there is—but then it is a cost that mass purchasing has made as low as possible. This is a new financing approach, adopted to make things easier for you.

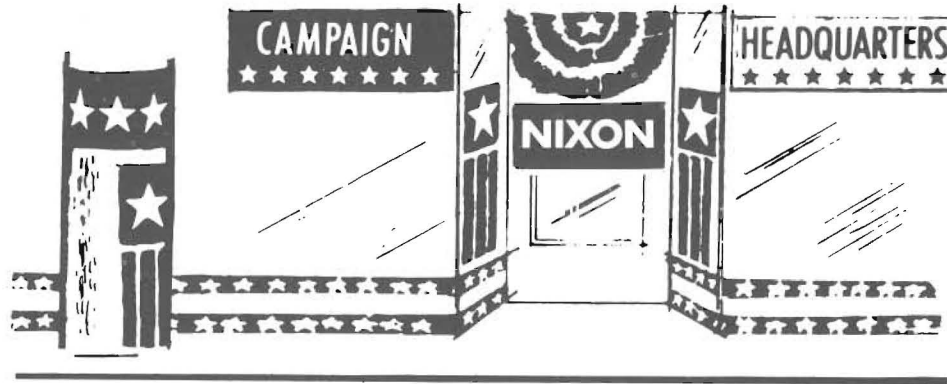
You'll find ordering from this catalog to be very simple—just follow the convenient instructions on Page 9. One suggestion, however: Before ordering, devise a plan for your State that enables you to know exactly what items you need, the amounts needed, and where they are to be shipped. Do that and you'll take full advantage of our distribution system—a system we're proud of because of its delivery time speed.

Of course, the earlier you order, the better. The best time is *right now!* We must not allow complacency to enter this year's campaign. We must lose no time in launching the great effort that will convince America that it needs President Nixon . . . "Now more than ever."

*Clark MacGregor*

**Clark MacGregor**  
National Campaign Manager

**"Now more than ever" Starts right NOW!**



**1A Campaign Headquarters Kit, containing 60 pieces:**

- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| 9 Banner-Brites          | 2 Placement Cases                             |
| 9 Bunting                | 2 Sashes                                      |
| 9 Nixon Streamer-Brites  | 2 Agnew Streamers                             |
| 9 Stars 'n Stripes signs | 2 Auto-Tenna Flags (with rods & wooden bases) |
| 9 Streamers              | 1 Campaign Cloth                              |
| 2 Campaign signs         |   |
| 2 Headquarters signs     |   |
| 2 Campaign caps          |   |



**1B 1-3/16" Nixon Name Button.** with campaign slogan. Metal litho.



**1C 1-3/16" button, 1D 2 1/4" Slogan Button.** Popular size with slogan only.



**1E 7/8" button, 1F 1-3/16" button,** Simply says "Nixon Now" in 2 colors. Metal litho.



**1G 3" Picture Button.** Shows President only. Celluloid button in color



**1H Car Topper** in lightweight vinyl. Great for holding bumper strips with

**Nixon Now.**

**1I Aerial Flags.** 4 1/2" x 6", designed to fit all car antennas. In white plastic, with 2-color slogan imprint. Great for

**President Nixon.**

2A

**President Nixon. Now more than ever.**

2B

**Nixon Now.**

2C

2A 2B 2C Bumper Strips. Vinyl, in 2 colors. Weather-proof, easy to remove. 3 1/4" x 13 3/4".



**2E Large Nixon Poster 41" x 54".** catches President in dramatic, close-up pose in color.

**Now more than ever.**

**2D Color Poster 17" x 22"** with slogan and photo of President.



**2G Nixon Poster 17" x 22",** shows a smiling President Nixon, B/W



**Nixon Now.**

**2H Lawn Sign 24" x 54"** for the pro-Nixon family. Comes with sticks and carries campaign slogan.

**2F Large Banner—24" x 54",** features slogan and color photo of President.



**Now more than ever.**

**2I Window Poster B/W, 17" x 22",** combines moving words next to informal pose of President Nixon deep in thought.





## Literature That

## Gets To The Issues.

- 3A KIT A—Corrugated, self-shipper containing 9 brochures all pre-packed with approximately 2000 brochures.  
 3B KIT B—Additional material for restocking of display.



### Issue Brochures

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| 3C Crime  | 3G Environment    |
| 3D Drugs  | 3H Foreign Policy |
| 3E The Economy                                  | 3I Vietnam        |
| 3F Education                                    | 3J Health Care    |
| 3K The Record (General Brochure—<br>all Issues) |                   |

### In Depth Brochures on:

- 3L Agriculture  
 3M Older Americans  
 3N Spanish-Speaking Americans  
 3O Black Americans

## Goodwill Give-Aways!



- 3Q **Ballpoint Pens**  
 No writer will fail to get its message.

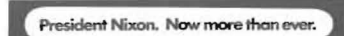
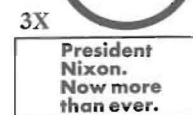


- 3W **Matchbooks** that offer slogan, picture and a little inside information. A hot item.



- 3P **Matchbooks** that offer slogan, picture and a little inside information. A hot item.

- 3W 3X **Window Decals**  
 Sure to brighten your windows—and enlighten passers-by. 2 colors round or oblong.



- 3T **Nail files** with a knack for nailing down a vote!



- 3V **Campaign Visor.** Plastic,



- 3S **Combs**, made of metal, go to one's head with the message that matters.



- 3R **Pencils** that say things in more ways than one!



- 3U **Telephone Dialer** with slogan

## Materials For RALLYING Your Forces.



- 4A **Skimmers** for all who want to be on top of the fun! In sturdy, lightweight styrofoam. Campaign slogan on hat band. Medium and large, with separate adjusters for all head sizes.



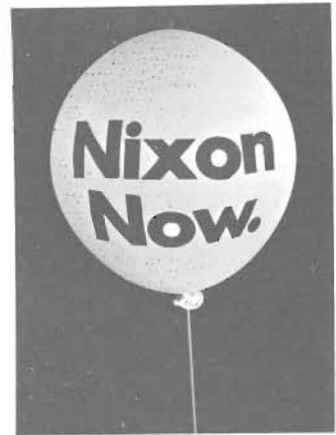
- 4B **Mini-Megaphone.**  
 White, flexible plastic with 2-color slogan. One way to be heard!



- 4H **Rally Sign**—12" x 28", shows President and campaign slogan in color. Two-sided comes with pole.



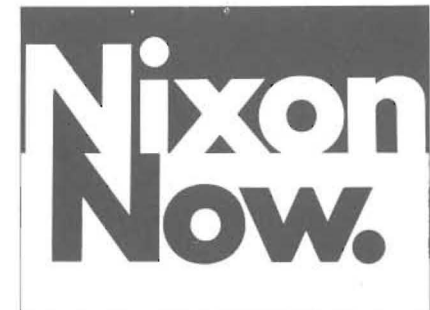
- 4C **Sashes** of metallic cloth, with 2-color slogan and easy-close clasp.



- 4E 4F **Balloons**, with 2-color slogan imprint on both sides. Inflate to 9" 4E and 11" 4F.

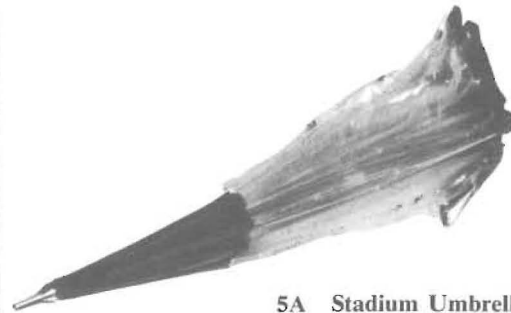


- 4D **Vertical Pole Signs** on weather resistant boards, 5½" x 21", bearing "NIXON" in two colors. Backed with 2 kleenstik for easy application on poles, storefront



- 4G 22" x 34" Pole Sign with slogan

# Great Ways To Raise Funds - For Victory!



**5A Stadium Umbrella**, made of see-through plastic. Very large when opened, to better to see the message it carries!  
Your Price \$3.85  
Sugg. Price \$5.95



**5C Tie Tack**. It's the shape of the U.S. with President Nixon's signature clear across the country!  
Your Price \$2.50  
Sugg. Price \$5.25



5E



5F

**5E 5F Scarfs** in 2 colors with slogan on washable white acetate. Bright way to wrap things up!



**5I American Flag**—"Wear it proudly"—show your support for America.  
Your Price \$1.50  
Sugg. Price \$2.50

**5B Gold Necklace** with picture of President Nixon for all to see.  
Your Price \$3.00  
Sugg. Price \$5.00



**5D Cufflinks** with President Nixon's signature as 37th President of the United States.  
Your Price \$1.25  
Sugg. Price \$2.50

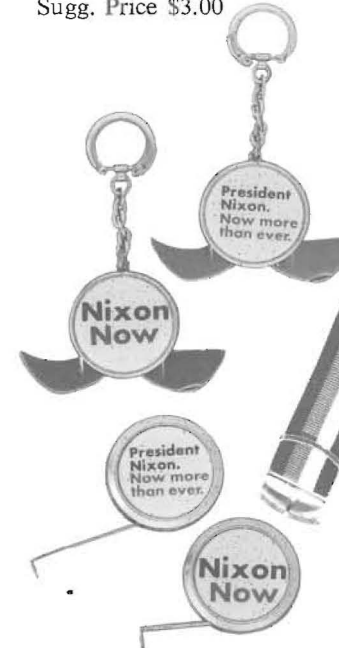


**5H Diamond-Cut Coasters**. Set of 4, each with slogan. Cheers! Your Price \$4.95  
Sugg. Price \$6.00



**5G Round Pin** that's ideal 'round about now. The slogan it bears is reason why! Your Price .45  
Sugg. Price \$1.00

**6E Key Ring** has small knife and right slogan to make it a sharp seller. Your Price \$2.50  
Sugg. Price \$3.00



**6H Tape measurer**, operates with spring and bears slogan. Size it up! Your Price \$1.00  
Sugg. Price \$2.00



**6G Tie Bar**. Just the thing to keep your Nixon tie—or any other tie—in place. 2-color gold finish. With slogan, of course.  
Your Price \$2.00  
Sugg. Price \$2.50



**6F Cuff Links** for the man who likes Nixon! Features 2-color slogan.  
Your Price \$1.50

**N**

**6A "N" Lapel Pin**. This one is gold for the candidate of your choice.  
Your Price .50  
Sugg. Price \$1.00

**NIXON**

**6C Small Nixon Pin** tastefully tells all who you're for! Silver lettering on blue background.  
Your Price .50 Sugg. Price \$1.00

**NIXON**

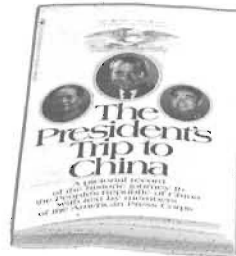
**6B Pearl Nixon Pin** A low-key way for women to declare their preference.  
Your Price .75  
Sugg. Price \$1.50

**6D 4-Color Wristwatch** beats for Nixon all the way! Features face of President, American flag. Unbreakable mainspring. Smart red, white and blue band. Your Price \$9.00  
Sugg. Price \$15.00

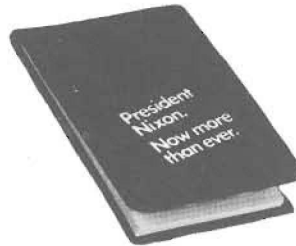


**6I Portrait of President** in color on canvas with wooden frame. A dignified keepsake for the home or office. 14" x 10"

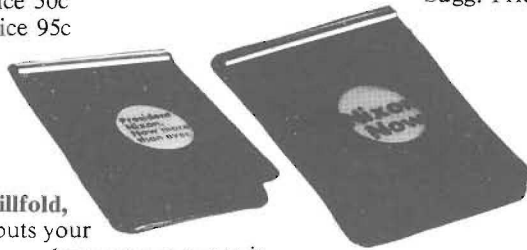
## Fund Raising (cont'd.)



**7A The President's Trip to China.** A pictorial account of President Nixon's journey to China in pocket book form.  
Your Price 50c  
Sugg. Price 95c



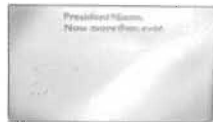
**7D Memo pad** with message about women and blank pages for messages about anybody.  
Your Price 45c  
Sugg. Price 75c



**7C Billfold,** black vinyl, puts your money where your message is.  
Your Price 45c  
Sugg. Price 75c



**7B Luggage/Golf Bag Tags—** 2-color slogan imprint with reverse side for name, address, etc.  
Your Price 25c  
Sugg. Price 40c



**7E Mirror for Sun Visor** that reflects on some key issues.  
Your Price 65c  
Sugg. Price \$1.50



**7I Key Tags—**with 2-color slogan on durable white plastic.  
Your Price 75c  
Sugg. Price \$1.50



**7F Plastic Bags.** Shopping style, displaying slogan. Also available: slogan-bearing litterbags **7G**



**7H Sun Glasses—**dark tinted with slogan that's invisible to wear—but will catch the eye of everyone else!  
Your Price \$3.00  
Sugg. Price \$5.00

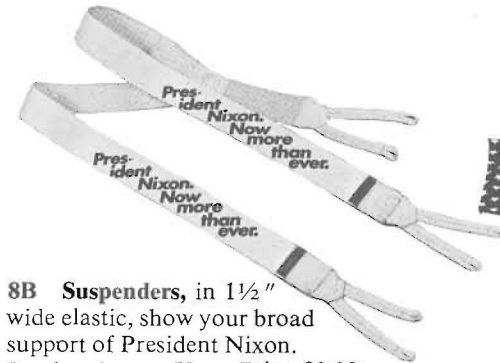
## Wear These - And Spread The Word.



**8A Belts,** carrying campaign slogan on white vinyl. Gold buckle keeps it all on the up and up!  
Your Price \$3.00  
Sugg. Price \$3.50



**8H Football shirts** in 2 colors. S-M-L. Get on the Nixon team.  
Your Price \$4.00  
Sugg. Price \$5.50

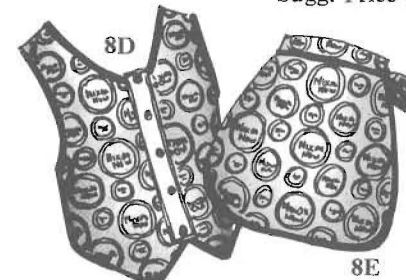


**8B Suspenders,** in 1½" wide elastic, show your broad support of President Nixon.  
2-color slogan. Your Price \$3.00  
Sugg. Price \$6.00

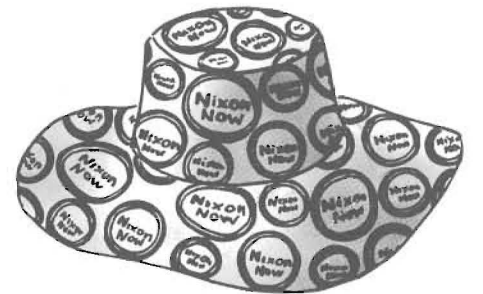


**8D 8E Vest & Apron** in very patriotic red, white and blue stripes on cotton. Slogan, too! S-M-L.  
Your Price \$1.30  
Sugg. Price \$2.00

**8G Terrific T-Shirts** in white cotton, 2 colors, featuring campaign slogan. S-M-L.  
Your Price \$3.00  
Sugg. Price \$3.95



**8F Ties,** for the stylish Nixon supporter. Campaign slogan silk screened right on.  
Your Price \$2.00  
Sugg. Price



**8C Floppy Hat** shows youth, has slogan. Floppy, but never a flop.  
Your Price \$2.50


## How to Order

1. Fill out attached order form listing the items you feel you will need. Remember it's a good idea to have a variety of basic campaign items. Don't forget the fund-raising items, they're important too!
2. You can order up to 50% of your allocation before the convention and up to 90% of your allocation before October 1st. Total up all the items you order each time you order, and keep a running total, to make sure you don't exceed your allocation. If you wish to exceed the allocation, you must pay cash for the additional items. Be sure to enclose a check with that order form. Make check payable to Finance Committee to Re-elect the President.
3. Mail your order form in the enclosed envelope to the distribution center for your state. The map on the opposite page shows the distribution center for each state and its address. The envelope should be sent to the person in charge of that distribution center whose name appears on the opposite page.
4. Be sure to include your return address. Don't use postal boxes! Use a real street address and please be specific.
5. A return card will be sent to you once your order has been received by the distribution center. This card will let you know when to expect your shipment of materials, so please write clearly with pressure.
6. If you want your items shipped to different places in your state, please fill out a separate order form for each place and include on the form the items you want delivered there.
7. Please remember that the distribution center will only ship orders which are sent in by the authorized ordering chairman in each state. Orders received from anyone other than the designated person will not be honored.

### Some other Do's and Don'ts

1. When the order is expected, tell your staff who might be concerned with deliveries to be on the lookout for it.
2. Designate one person only to receive materials for the Committee. Someone who is around the office every day.
3. If a delivery appears missing, don't panic, check neighbors.
4. Don't change an order. Cancel it—in writing. Place a new order in writing.
5. Save all waybills and delivery receipts.
6. Check your order when it arrives. Make sure you received what you ordered.

## Here's where you order from:



**OAK BROOK, ILLINOIS**  
THE REUBEN H. DONNELLEY CORP.  
2000 YORK ROAD  
OAK BROOK, ILLINOIS 60521  
Shift 1—8:00 A.M.-4:00 P.M. (312) 654-2000—Dan Shea  
Shift 2—4:00 P.M.-12:00 Midnight (312) 654-2009  
Shift 3—12:00 Midnight-8:00 A.M. (312) 654-2009

**MT. VERNON, NEW YORK**  
THE REUBEN H. DONNELLEY CORP.  
669 SOUTH THIRD AVE.  
MT. VERNON, NEW YORK 10550  
J. Robert Wright—Account Executive  
Pat Moccio—Group Production Manager  
Shift 1—8:30 A.M.-5:00 P.M. (914) 664-5009 Ext. 10—Olga Torrado  
Shift 2—5:00 P.M.-12:30 A.M. (914) 664-5009—Celeste James

**FULLERTON, CALIFORNIA**  
THE REUBEN H. DONNELLEY CORP.  
2337 WEST COMMONWEALTH AVE.  
FULLERTON, CALIFORNIA 92633  
Shift 1—8:00 A.M.-5:30 P.M. (714) 879-1600 Ext. 18—Sid D'Cruz

**ELM CITY, NORTH CAROLINA**  
THE REUBEN H. DONNELLEY CORP.  
1000 DONNELLEY DRIVE  
ELM CITY, N. CAROLINA 27822  
Shifts 1 & 2—8:00 A.M.-Midnight (919) 236-4114—Robert Putney

### FULLERTON

California  
Oregon  
Washington  
Nevada  
Arizona  
New Mexico  
Texas  
Alaska  
Hawaii  
Utah

### OAK BROOK

Illinois  
Wisconsin  
Minnesota  
Missouri  
Iowa  
Kansas  
Nebraska  
S. Dakota  
N. Dakota  
Colorado  
Wyoming  
Montana  
Idaho  
Indiana

### ELM CITY

North Carolina  
South Carolina  
Georgia  
Florida  
Alabama  
Tennessee  
Mississippi  
Louisiana  
Arkansas  
Oklahoma  
Washington, D.C.  
Maryland  
Virginia  
Kentucky

### MT. VERNON

New York  
Pennsylvania  
West Virginia  
Ohio  
Michigan  
Delaware  
New Jersey  
Connecticut  
Massachusetts  
New Hampshire  
Vermont  
Rhode Island  
Maine  
Puerto Rico  
Virgin Islands







PUBLISHED AND PAID FOR BY THE FINANCE COMMITTEE  
TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT, MAURICE H. STANS, CHAIRMAN,  
C. LANGHORNE WASHBURN, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, PAUL BARRICK TREASURER,  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

Printed in U.S.A.



Committee for the Re-election of the President

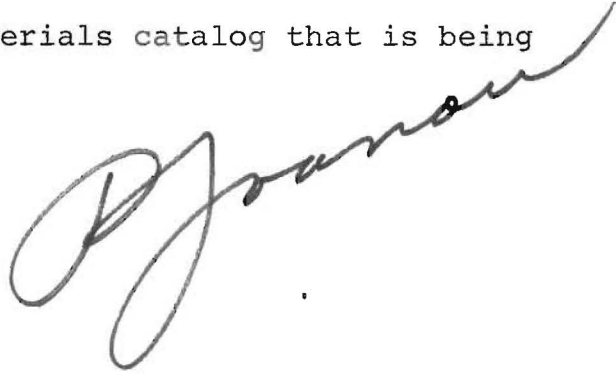
MEMORANDUM

August 4, 1972

TO: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ H  
FROM: PHIL JOANOU  
SUBJECT: Campaign Materials

Attached is the materials catalog that is being shipped today.

cc: Pete Dailey

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "P. Joanou", written in black ink. The signature is slanted upwards from left to right and is positioned to the right of the "cc:" line.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
CHARLES COLSON

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

If this is true, if we have passed, through Clark, the word we are in favor of the "reforms" in delegation allocation and selection -- then we are doing the President a disservice. Some 100 Congressmen have signed a letter strongly opposing those reforms; a nasty left-right battle is shaping up; and the President -- via this Percy story, is being dragged in on the side of the left. Further, there is concern that Senator Scott will use "our" floor operation to lead support in favor of the "reforms." If Ziegler is hit on this question this morning -- does the President support the Party reforms; does he think that the Party has been unrepresentative at its conventions -- Ziegler should knock that down flat.

We have analyzed some of these reforms; and under them RN would not have made it on the first ballot at Miami Beach in 1968. But the primary thing that needs doing now, in my view, is to kill this idea that RN is supporting the Javits-Ripon plan to McGovernize the Party, which this Percy story leads most politicians to believe he does.

Buchanan



# Percy Outlines Plan for Party Reform

W. Post  
August 4, 1972

By Lou Cannon  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Illinois Sen. Charles Percy opened a new beachhead yesterday on Republican convention reform by proposing a formula that would sharply increase delegate representation from the nation's most populous states.

"I have not considered any convention I have ever attended to be truly representative of the Republican Party or the American people," Percy said.

Percy's formula, if accepted by the Rules Committees of the Republican National Committee and the 1972 convention, would swell the number of GOP delegates at the 1976 convention from 1,346 to 2,100.

Most of the added delegates would go to the big northern states, which are presently under-represented in proportion both to population and to party voting strength.

The four most populated Northern states—New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio, plus—California—would have 707 delegates, or 33.6 per cent of the total delegates

under the Percy formula. Presently, they have 358 delegates or 26.5 per cent.

Percy said he would concentrate on the issue of improving the delegate representation for large states. But he said he also supported efforts led by Rep. Tom Railsback of Illinois aimed at increasing the proportion of women, youth, elderly and minority delegates at the 1976 convention.

All of the reform efforts could have an impact on the 1976 political fortunes of Spiro T. Agnew, who is considered popular in the Southern and small Western states which presently are represented at more than proportional strength at party conventions.

Under a formula first adopted in 1948, the Republican convention awards six bonus delegates to a state regardless of size if the state went for the leading Republican candidates in the last statewide election.

This provision was ruled unconstitutional this year by a District of Columbia federal

district court in a suit filed by the Ripon Society, which contended that the formula violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The Republican National Committee has appealed the judgment, and Percy, at a news conference yesterday announcing his proposal, urged the committee to drop its appeal.

"This appeal, unfortunately, makes it seem as if Republicans are not interested in reform when, in fact, serious, widespread and broad-based efforts at reform are under way," Percy said.

The Percy formula stops short of proportional representation based on population.

It would award each state four delegates-at-large for each of its two senators and two delegates for each seat in the House.

To give Republican voting strength a weight in the formula, each state would receive an additional delegate for every 35,000 votes cast in 1972 for the Republican presidential nominee or for the Republican candidate for governor or senator or for all Republican House candidates, whichever total is greater.

This formula would reduce delegates for the 12 smaller states and the District of Columbia. However, Percy said he would "grandfather" in these states and the District, insuring them of delegate strength in 1976 equivalent to their delegates at the 1972 convention.

The Illinois senator indicated that this was a concession designed to allay the fears of the small states, many of which are opposing party reform.

(The District of Columbia, which would be entitled to only seven delegates under the Percy formula, would keep its nine delegates under the grandfather provision.

(Virginia which has 30 delegates to the 1972 convention,

would have 41 in 1976, and Maryland's delegate strength would increase from 26 to 35.)

Percy said he thought the reform efforts had been favorably received at the White House because he had been encouraged by Clark MacGregor, chairman of the Nixon re-election campaign. If the

President opposed the reform he would have made it known to MacGregor, Percy said.

But Percy, who has frequently been at odds on issues with Agnew, was noncommittal about the effect the proposed reforms would have on the Vice President's chances in 1976.

Preservation Copy

Preservation Copy

August 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: CLARK MACGREGOR  
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

That line, "I'm behind you 1000%" ought not to be allowed to slip away; it should become at least as famous as Ike's answer to what decisions RN participated in -- "If you give me a week, I might think of one." In using it against McGovern and repeatedly, we can make it a part of the political dialogue, that even the press will keep going.

"I'm 1000% behind you ought to become a synonym for the prelude to pulling the rug out from under a friend.  
Example: McGovern is behind Israel -- 1000% we understand.

**Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President**

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

August 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DWIGHT CHAPIN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FMM*

SUBJECT:

Proposed Meeting of the President  
with the Youth Group

As we discussed last night, I think it would be most beneficial, highly inspirational, and perhaps a good press piece for the President to meet with a group of Youth leaders from the campaign organization. Those whom I recommend be included are:

Ken Rietz	Director of the Youth Division
Senator Bill Brock	Chairman, Congressional Advisory Board
George Gorton	College Director
Ken Smith	Speakers Bureau Director
Angie Miller	Nixonette Chairman
Angela Harris	Public Relations Director
Tom Bell	Convention Coordinator
Lea Jablonsky	Northeast Area Coordinator
Bob Podesta	Celebrity Coordinator
Tom Davis	Border States Coordinator

If such a meeting is held, I would recommend it be given some visibility as it could have a very favorable impact on the Young Voters. It would also demonstrate the President's concern for the youth and publicize our efforts towards gaining the youth vote.

Since this Division reports to me, I would be glad to accompany these people and introduce them to the President.

Please let me know whether this can be done and the appropriate time. Thank you.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1972 ✓

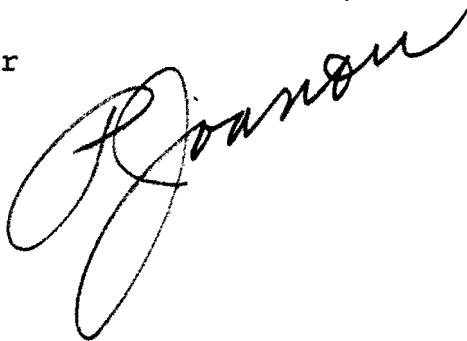
TO: ~~GORDON STRACHAN~~ H

FROM: PHIL JOANOU

SUBJECT: Materials Distribution

The campaign materials catalog will be sent to the states on August 4 or 5. The bumper stickers and buttons with the new slogan will be shipped August 4. The Donnelly distribution system will be in effect August 14, and all campaign materials will be available for shipping on that date, with two exceptions: the framed Presidential portrait on canvas and the headquarters kit. These two items will be available the following week.

cc: Jeb Magruder  
Pete Dailey



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**Date** July 21

**For** Bob Haldeman

**From John Ehrlichman**

FYI.....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN

FROM: John C. Whitaker



I think Clark MacGregor should talk less of our strategy, mechanics, etc., to the press. I've seen three news leads by Clark this week that seem bad:

- "Nixon will win all 50 states" -- that's right, make us overconfident.
- "Nixon aide seeds a three-week campaign." that's right, hang our strategy out for McGovern to react to.
- "MacGregor asks more campaign worker money, less TV funds." -- that's right, let them know what we are doing and tag us with a rehash of 1968 -- too much Madison Ave. jazz.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 8/3/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Malek's analysis of the California situation is good except that it doesn't offer solutions to the three problems mentioned in the July 24 action memo, i. e. Democrats on the Committee, no Democratic organization, and Nofziger will continue to run the organization.

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

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

*Call Malek*



August 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*  
SUBJECT: Strengthening California Campaign

My two-day trip to California was quite productive, resulting in a much better grasp of their progress and problems. I spent 3 hours Sunday night with Gordon Luce in San Diego; spent all day Monday with Nofziger and his people (including Bill Banofsky and Bob Monagan), and met individually with members of the "Old Guard" on Tuesday. This latter group included Len Firestone, Holmes Tuttle, Taft Schreiber, Waller Taylor, Jack Drown, Earl Adams, and Asa Call. Bob Mardian spent Monday with me and was quite helpful and constructive. This memo summarizes my conclusions and outlines the actions planned to deal with the problems that were identified.

CONCLUSIONS

While there is room for considerable improvement, there has been reasonable progress to date in California. They are further along than expected, particularly when compared with certain other large states. For example:

- All County Chairmen have been appointed. In Los Angeles County, 13 well qualified Area Chairmen have been appointed along with over 2,000 new Precinct Chairmen.
- Targeted precincts have been computer identified and prioritized in the 20 largest counties.
- 86 storefront operating headquarters have been opened, and they plan to have 200 by mid-September.
- The most cost effective locations for the planned 46 telephone centers will be computer selected by August 12th. These centers will be open in late August and will cover 85% of the vote in the State.
- Cards are available on over 30,000 volunteers, and they are working toward increasing that number. At my urging they will set volunteer targets for each County to help reach your goal of 1 million by Labor Day.



Despite this progress, however, there are a number of severe problems. These are reviewed below and my suggested solutions are outlined in the next section.

Nofziger's Management. Everyone has said Lyn is a poor manager. My visit confirmed this. He is working his heart out and partially succeeding as a result of tenaciousness, a reasonably competent staff, and several strong Area Chairmen. However, he does not have firm control of operations and has not done a good job of delegating, setting and acting on priorities, or giving clear direction to the staff. Lyn has the added burden of being roundly disliked by most members of the "Old Guard." All this is further complicated by the 4 Regional Chairmen operating quite autonomously and not liking to take direction from Lyn.

Regional Performance Spotty. It is hard to make a firm analysis after two days, but I will offer my tentative conclusions. Packard's region (Northern California) is regarded as the best organized of all and is receiving strong leadership from Dave. Monagan is not spending enough time on his region, and it is the poorest. However, it is fairly stable and has only 15% of the vote, thus, not considered a major opportunity. The biggest problems are Banofsky's region (Los Angeles County) and Orange and San Diego Counties in McCandless' region. Los Angeles has been lagging badly on registration results, and Banofsky is playing only a front role. San Diego and Orange, the traditional bulwarks of the Republicans, are not developing organization and volunteers fast enough, and McCandless is not considered strong. This must obviously be swiftly remedied.

Reagan Domination. The campaign organization is dominated by Reagan people, and there are few moderates or liberals and no Democrats in key campaign positions. It is not a Nixon campaign, but a Reagan campaign for Nixon. The major problem with this is that Reagan has slipped badly in popularity, and some of this could transfer to the President. Also, it will make the recruitment of volunteers from all quarters more difficult. There may be little we can do about this, but we must address the problem.

Old Guard Dissatisfaction. Most of these men are simply rabid about the campaign and Lyn, although most of them don't honestly know what is going on. Nevertheless, their sniping is obviously getting to and having an impact on the candidate, and it is also causing some divisiveness in the State. I feel that most of their gripes result from their not being kept involved or informed.

There are numerous other problems such as materials distribution, internal organization, and public relations. These will be dealt with, but the solutions below relate mostly to the major troubles covered above.

## RECOMMENDED ACTIONS

Most of the recommended actions have been covered with and agreed to by both Luce and Nofziger, and I am confident we can get them implemented.

It is too late in my opinion to change leadership in the campaign. Nofziger is the wrong man for the job, but he is not that bad and we are now stuck with him. The best course of action is to shore him up. Gordon Luce cannot do this as he is unable to devote the necessary time to the task. Therefore, I am planning the following actions:

1. Recruit a strong management-oriented Executive Assistant for Lyn who will really function as a Deputy, handling major problem areas and ensuring the operation is managed properly. Lyn has agreed to this, and I have launched a search for the man. Targeted completion date is August 15th.

*Why not go to Chuck Reed?*

2. Place a strong Regional Director over Lyn. Marvin Collins is our best and most experienced Regional Director, although he can only give us 4 days per week. I plan to assign him only to California and really rely on him to ensure effective program implementation. Both Lyn and Luce agree to this, although Marvin will have to work hard to develop a productive relationship with Lyn. Marvin will be trained this week and in the State next week.

3. Work directly with Regional Chairmen where necessary. With Collins in place, we will have the capacity to bypass Lyn (with his concurrence) to deal directly with the major problems that develop in each Region and in some key Counties.

The addition of Collins, plus a strong Executive Assistant, will bring added focus on the problems of Los Angeles, Orange, and San Diego Counties. In addition, I plan the following:

1. Get Banofsky to increase from his present 25% to nearly full time on shaping up Los Angeles County. We talked pretty hard to him, and he has agreed to phase into this by the end of the month.

2. Ask Luce to take on a special responsibility for Orange and San Diego Counties. McCandless does not have the strength to handle this -- Luce does. Moreover, this would be a much more productive use of Luce's time than his present floating role. I will try to gain agreement on this by the end of the week.

It will be difficult to completely address the Reagan domination problem, but the following actions will help:

1. Form an Executive Committee for Banofsky in Los Angeles County. The problem is most severe here, and a broad-based and well publicized Executive Committee would broaden the appeal to volunteers and make it seem more like a Nixon campaign.

2. Name prominent Democrats or moderate Republicans as Co-Chairmen in the regions and in most Counties. These posts will be largely honorary but should have a desirable public relations impact. Lyn has agreed to start work on this, and we should have results by the end of August.

The "Old Guard" disaffection is serious, but in my opinion is based more on cosmetics than on any real understanding. Therefore, elements of my recommendations are also cosmetic but should alleviate the problem.

1. It is imperative to show off the new team at its best, and the August 9th Executive Committee meeting provides an excellent opportunity. Governor Reagan expects a hard, substantive session with us at the 2-hour luncheon preceding the meeting. All of the key leaders (50 in all) will be at the Executive Committee meeting itself. I will work this week on a strong presentation -- a real tour de force -- to make the desired impression. Briefly, if you agree, it will include an overview by you on campaign strategy and issues, a presentation by me on operating strategy and field operations plans, and a presentation by Dailey on advertising. We would leave time for discussion and then have the State people follow on with their operating plans and progress.

2. Lyn has agreed to compile news clips generated at least partially by his activity and send them bi-weekly to us and to members of the Executive Committee. One of the biggest gripes was the lousy job they feel Lyn is doing in this regard, and he has never sent them any clips.

3. Lyn has also agreed to submit bi-weekly progress reports to the Executive Committee with copies to us. This should keep them informed if the quality is halfway decent.

4. Encourage communications from key members of the Executive Committee directly to me. If they feel someone is listening and responding in Washington, they may diminish the crap now flowing to the White House. In addition, I will introduce Marvin Collins to these people and have him meet with them periodically.

5. Place key "Old Guard" members on the Los Angeles County Executive Committee and encourage Banofsky to hold meaningful bi-weekly meetings with them.

OTHER MATTERS

Several other matters were addressed that you should know about. On budgets, I insisted that Lyn pay out of the \$2.5 million California budget for the extra NCR sheet needed for canvassing (\$10,000) and for the Youth Fieldmen we now support (\$40,000). He has agreed to this.

You are familiar with the \$165,000 from 1968 that Asa Call has withheld from the campaign. I convinced Ace that he could not give it directly to Los Angeles County since we would simply reduce their budget by that amount. He has now agreed to give the money to us but wants to do it by buying tables for the \$1,000 per plate dinner. This is not an ideal solution, but I will talk to Maury Stans about this. If he objects (as I kind of do), I will try to work out a better deal with Ace on our trip next week.

\*

\*

\*

The above actions certainly will not solve all our problems in California, but I feel we are on our way and will show visible results by the Convention. I will remain close to this situation and keep you closely informed.

John N. Mitchell  
cc: H. R. Haldeman ✓  
Marvin Collins

POLITICAL ACTION MEMORANDUM

Our youth registration should be strongly limited to the key states to the extent that that's practical, at least in the allocation of money and national resources. California is by a wide margin the first priority because of the much greater effect there.

There should be a major concentration of external campaign effort in the primary states, particularly California, Oregon, Florida, Wisconsin, and probably New York. In these states at least, McGovern's people made a major effort during the primary and have a lot of bumper stickers and other high visibility items out. We have nothing. That must be corrected within the next couple of weeks. There should be an all-out drive on this.

We've still got to solve our California problem. There are no Democrats on our committee, we have no Democratic organization, and we apparently still have Nofziger still running the campaign there.

HRH  
July 25, 1972

HRH:kb

*Handwritten notes:*  
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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: CLARK MacGREGOR  
FROM: FRED MALEK *FMM*  
SUBJECT: Progress in Strengthening the 1701  
Field Organization

The purpose of this memo is to summarize progress over the past three weeks in our efforts to strengthen the 1701 field organization and to outline our next steps. As you remember, when we came aboard over July Fourth weekend, we were facing the following specific problems:

- The Political Division at 1701 was disorganized and not adequately equipped to manage the state campaign efforts.
- The states had no clear understanding of what was expected of them in the campaign and for the most part were lagging badly in their efforts.
- Several key states did not have operating organizations.
- Budgets were approved for only 25 states, and the funds necessary to run the campaign programs had not yet been allocated.
- The volunteer and women's activities were not adequately coordinated, and were not moving ahead rapidly enough.

Over the past three weeks I feel we have made good progress in addressing the problems. While there are still weaknesses that must be addressed, we have been able to instill a much stronger sense of urgency in the organization and the problems are beginning to yield to our efforts:

- The reorganization and strengthening of the Political Division at 1701 is virtually complete.
- in writing* -- The states now have specific instructions from us as to our campaign expectations.
- We have made good progress in getting operations underway in the key states. Your visits have helped immensely to energize these states.

-- The budget situation is almost completely resolved, and we now have adequate funds to operate the state campaigns.

*Not true  
- advertising  
over all  
budget.  
Ex ?*

-- We have begun to strengthen the volunteer and women's programs.

The next sections elaborate on the above actions in more detail, as well as outline the remaining problems and our action plans through the convention.

STRENGTHENING OF THE POLITICAL DIVISION

The effort to bring the political division under control has been our major undertaking over the past three weeks. In this time, we have: (a) Recruited, evaluated, and selected seven new political coordinators (now called Regional Director) and reallocated the states; (b) Reorganized and strengthened the headquarters staff of the political division; and (c) Relieved me of some of the management burden of the Voter Blocs.

(a) Regional Directors. The seven new men were selected from a list of well over one hundred that was assembled by my recruiting staff at the White House and numerous contacts here at 1701. I think we have found some tough, outstanding young leaders, as described below:

Marvin Collins will be assigned to California only. Marvin is 38 and formerly managed the Holton and Bush campaigns and is technically the best coordinator we have for grassroots campaign activities. Since he can only give us four days a week and now lives in Austin, Texas, I felt the optimum use of his skills would be to assign him full time to the California campaign organization.

*- Who  
briefing  
on Cal?  
- cleared  
by JM,  
R.R., R.F.*

Ray Brown will be assigned to the deep South -- Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Ray is 36 and did an outstanding job as Southeast and state citizens director in Mississippi in 1968. He was also Clerk to Tom Clark at the Supreme Court in 1962-1963. You may remember him as an all American football player for Mississippi and an outstanding defensive safety for the Colts. He is presently a lawyer in Pascagoula, Mississippi.

*- Dent's  
view  
- loyal?*

Peter Sawers will be assigned to the border states -- Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and Florida. Peter comes highly recommended to us by Don Rumsfeld, whose congressional campaign he managed in 1966. He is 38 years old and is presently a highly successful partner of a management consulting firm in Chicago.

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- Rums over  
see?*

Rick Murray is assigned Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey. Rick is an aggressive young man (age 33) who is presently state SBA director in Wisconsin. He has had effective grassroots political experience, having



served as precinct captain, county chairman, congressional candidate, and other roles in his home state of Wisconsin.

*Flemming  
out of  
NY*

Gordon Gooch will be assigned New York and Pennsylvania. Gooch has an outstanding record in law, having been first in his law school class, a clerk for Chief Justice Warren, and a partner in a leading Texas law firm. He also has excellent political experience and has proved to be one of the outstanding men in the Administration over the past three years as FPC General Counsel.

Tom Reed, age 49, has been a fieldman covering Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Hawaii. I have talked at length with Reed and feel it is better to have him continue with these duties rather than replace him with a new face. As you know, Reed is the National Committeeman from California and has had a lot of political experience over the last ten years.

*Good*

Dick Richards will be our fieldman for the mountain states and the northwest. He is presently state chairman for Utah, and was formerly national field director for the RNC. He is 39 years old and has a wealth of grass roots know how.

*also by  
Rich  
Murray?*

In addition to these seven new faces, we have retained three of the previous coordinators. Al Kaupinen will cover the states he had been working with -- Illinois, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Vermont, and Maine. Al has been doing a satisfactory job for us and I see no reason to change his assignment. Don Mosiman was particularly overloaded in the past and we have reduced his state assignments to four -- Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. Finally, Clayton Yeutter will continue his good work with the farm states.

*good*

In order to get the new regional directors up to speed on our campaign plans and programs, we are, as you know, bringing them into Washington this weekend for a two day orientation and training session (the agenda is at Tab A). After this, we will introduce them into the states, and expect them to go to work at once.

b. Headquarters Staff. In addition to bringing on the regional directors, we have developed a strong headquarters staff to support the field efforts. As you remember, there was no staff three weeks ago, and one of the chronic problems was that the staff work necessary to develop and track programs was simply not getting done. I believe we have overcome this problem.

Jerry Jones will be Chief of Staff and my Deputy. His job is to coordinate



staff activities and to ensure that the state programs are implemented according to plan. As you know, Jerry was on my staff at the White House.

?  
wa/camps? Manyon Millican will be Director of Programs. Manyon is a professional campaign consultant, specializing in grass roots programs and organization. He was formerly Executive Director of the Alabama Party and has managed numerous campaigns since he began in politics in 1960. In addition to his responsibilities as program director, he will develop manuals describing the materials necessary to implement the core programs. He will also be charged with monitoring the success of the campaign activities in the states by maintaining a central control room where campaign management can be updated promptly on the activities going forward in the storefronts across the country.

Rick Fore has been transferred from Magruder's planning staff and will be Director of Training. As you know, training the state, county, and storefront managers in canvassing techniques is critical to the success of our grass roots efforts. To do this, Rick will have eight field trainers who will travel continuously between now and November 7th training state personnel. Tab B is a training schedule for the month of August.

John Freeman will be our Director of Budgets and Financial Control. John is an outstanding young man who assisted me in the reorganization of the White House Personnel Office last year. His primary task will be to control state and field headquarters expenditures against budget, and to set up a control system with the finance division which will help ensure that our field operations do not come in over budget, as they did in 1968.

In addition to the above, the November Group is expected to assign us a materials controller to ensure smooth flow of campaign materials to state and county personnel.

c. Voter Bloc/Citizens Activities. When I assumed responsibility for the field organization, we felt that it was important that I also continue to oversee the Voter Bloc and Citizens activities. To make this possible, I have delegated much of the day-to-day Voter Bloc responsibility to Frank Herringer, my Deputy at the White House. Frank can handle the routine Voter Bloc matters himself, and he knows when a situation requires my personal attention. This arrangement seems to be working well, and has been readily accepted by the Voter Bloc Directors, who have been assured that they can have direct access to me any time that

they really need it. This approach has enabled me to spend nearly all of my time on field operations.

#### SPECIFIC DIRECTION TO STATES

As you know, the state campaign management and GOP leadership from all states were invited to the two-day training conferences at the Mayflower Hotel in four groups between July 6 and July 14. These meetings had not been thoroughly planned when we came aboard, and we hastily restructured them on a crash basis. We felt that these meetings would be critical to our ultimate success, for not only would they provide coherent guidance to the states as to our expectations, but also they represented the states' first opportunity to evaluate the credibility of the new campaign management team. I think that everyone would agree that while the meetings could have been better had we had more time, the overall program was a complete success. We have had much favorable comment from many of the experienced state leaders, including Burdell Bixby of New York, the leadership of Ohio, and several other state organizations.

As indicated by the agenda at Tab C, we attempted to give the state campaign managers an overview of campaign strategy, a description of the programs we expected them to implement, and the resources at 1701 available to assist them. We placed great emphasis during the meetings on the need for grass roots campaigning -- voter identification, registration, and turn out of the people who support the President. We constantly hammered at the need for the states to develop great numbers of volunteers to help us carry out people to people voter contact programs. Many of the state leaders indicated to me informally that this was the first time they had a clear idea of what the thrust of the 1972 campaign would be and what was expected of them. Consequently, I believe the sessions accomplished our objectives of providing direction and laying down a clear charge. Also, the receptions at your home built a feeling of camaraderie and helped develop closer and more personal relationships with our state leadership.

#### GETTING OPERATIONS UNDERWAY IN KEY STATES

Campaign efforts were seriously lagging in Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York. Your visits to these states (except Texas) have really energized the troops and created a sense of urgency. In addition, we have made the following organizational improvements.

In New Jersey, we have appointed Harry Sears as Campaign Chairman and have tentative agreement on an Executive Director in charge of field operations. Sears is a state senator, is closely tied to the party and Cahill groups, and is most impressive. He has already begun work, and

in our briefing sessions has been quick to catch on and most enthusiastic. The Executive Director will be finalized in the next several days, and both leading candidates are excellent. Sears and the Executive Director should be able to balance the New Jersey factions and give immediate management thrust to the New Jersey effort.

In Illinois, where Tom Houser has not measured up as a manager, we have taken two steps. First, we have installed Bill Duval in the general manager role in charge of day-to-day operations. Duval was formerly special assistant to Ingersol at Borg Warner. Al Kaupinen and Jerry Jones have worked closely with Duval and feel he is the best possible choice given timing and the organization structure now in place in Illinois. In addition, we have brought in a strong field director, Bill McKonkey, to give guidance to the county campaign activities. McKonkey has run for Congress, been an analyst at the Bureau of Budget, and was most recently an RNC fieldman in charge of the midwest. He has been on board for two weeks and has already made major strides in getting registration and canvassing activities going in the counties.

In Pennsylvania, where Specter and Bloom had not measured up and were out of control, we have added Al Gaudiosi as Director of Field Operations. He is a tough ethnic who ran Rizzo's campaign in Philadelphia, and we feel he is just right to work on the difficult organizational problems we face in that state.

In Texas, we gained agreement that a Campaign Manager would be brought on board as General Manager of the campaign under Eric Johnson and Fred Agnich. This man will be responsible for overall campaign activities, and we hope to finalize his selection early next week. As you know, Gordon Gooch had been locked into this, but we had to change direction yesterday.

In New York, we moved quickly to solve the budget problems which were preventing them from organizing the campaign. In the last week and a half, the 1970 Rockefeller organization has been put in place, and we are beginning to move.

We have also addressed the most serious organizational problems in the non-key states. For example, in Arkansas, Winthrop Rockefeller will be announced as State Chairman today. This will be an honorary position. The actual management of the campaign will come from the Vice Chairman, Congressman Hammerschmidt, and a competent Executive Director, Mr. Novatny. A prominent Democrat will also be named as a Vice Chairman. In Alabama, a prominent former businessman, Richard Comer, will also be announced as Chairman today, an Executive Director has been selected,

Conn.  
Role

sp?

and we will appoint a prominent Democrat Co-Chairman early next week. The Kentucky team is now finalized, and Gene Goss will also be announced as Chairman today. We expect to finalize Louisiana by the end of today and West Virginia by Monday. In addition, as you know, Lt. Governor Dwight has agreed to be Massachusetts Chairman and will be announced Tuesday, along with an Executive Director.

The moves above will complete our State Chairmen, and you will have met your commitment to the President to have them all named by the end of July. Once the regional directors are fully operative, they should be able to take care of the remaining problems in the non-key states.

#### BUDGET SITUATION

As you know, only twenty-five of the state budgets had been approved as of July 14. These budgets covered only the minimum state political organization and did not provide for local storefronts to be used as control centers for our voter contact programs. Also, they did not allocate funds for voter contact activities, the absentee ballot program, ballot security efforts, and other vital campaign activities.

Our lengthy Budget Committee meeting on July 15 went a long way toward resolving this situation. First, you approved 15 additional state budgets. Second, you approved a total field division budget of \$12,281,000, including \$11.5 million for state support, and \$781,000 for headquarters expenses. Finally, you gave me the authority to allocate funds to each state (over and above the "bare bones" budgets) for storefronts and other state programs up to the budget ceiling of \$11.5 million. This provided the resources and flexibility needed to really get things done.

We have now determined the budget supplements necessary to open the storefront headquarters in all but ten states (see Tab D for funds allocation). We have reviewed these budgets with the appropriate Regional Directors, and they in turn have reviewed them with the state directors. In most cases, we have reached agreement that the budget is adequate for the programs we are asking the states to implement.

Ten states do not yet have approved budgets (most have not been submitted), and these include Texas and New Jersey, two of the key states. We will be negotiating these budgets in the next week and will have all budgets ready for your approval by August 5.

An additional budget problem affects both the states and the Voter Blocs. Through oversight and/or poor planning, the state budgets did not generally

provide funding for Voter Bloc activities within the states. We are in the process of analyzing both the requirements of the various Voter Blocs and possible sources of the necessary funds to support these requirements. Given our overall financial situation, the Voter Bloc requests will be cut to the bare minimum. In addition, we have scrutinized the Voter Blocs' headquarters budgets, and squeezed them by an additional ten per cent to provide funds for field activities and promotional materials. It will be tight, but I am confident we will be able to adequately fund all really essential Voter Bloc programs.

#### VOLUNTEER AND WOMENS PROGRAMS

As you requested, I have reviewed the various programs involved in generating volunteers -- Pat Hutar's, Voter Blocs, Canvassing, Direct Mail, Advertising -- and I expect that with the proper coordination, we will be able to meet or exceed your goal of 1,000,000 volunteers by Labor Day.

To ensure that we do this, I have assigned Stan Anderson as project manager to coordinate the various volunteer generating activities. Stan will be reporting his recommendations as to how we can best dove tail all of these activities for maximum result. He will also work with our various reporting systems to ensure that numbers of volunteers generated are reported and kept track of.

We also expect to work a volunteer appeal into the surrogate operation, and hope to have various convention speakers (including the President) include a volunteer appeal in their addresses. Finally, we are planning a major publicity program to establish the importance of door-to-door canvassing, and the fact that this is a broad based, grass roots, "Citizens" type of campaign. This will include extensive use of surrogates and celebrities on the canvassing kick off day -- the Saturday after Labor Day. This publicity should help us generate still more volunteers, as well as retain the enthusiasm of the ones we have.

In addition, we have begun planning the women's program which the President suggested to us in San Clemente. I have asked Barbara Franklin to submit detailed recommendations for our approach to this problem to me by the end of this week. Our action recommendations will be submitted to you within 10 days.

\* \* \* \* \*

Notwithstanding our substantial progress, there are several major problems

remaining, which we have not yet had time to adequately address. For example:

-- Several key states are not yet under proper control, including California and Pennsylvania. I plan to be in California next week to try to come to grips with the problems, and Gordon Gooch's first priority will be to work closely with Specter and Al Gaudiosi to get the Pennsylvania program moving.

-- Our hostess/business loan a phone program has not been well coordinated with Nancy Brataas' telephone program or our door-to-door effort.

-- The materials distribution system has broken down, and we are not getting the proper quantities to the states within the required delivery times.

*True?  
- not per Bailey!  
- sounds, but stop re-heat comm!*

I feel confident that between now and the convention we can make major inroads on the remaining problems, and continue to develop the field organization. However, there is obviously much yet to be done.

\* \* \* \* \*

I expect that by the convention all state organizations will be budgeted and operating, training efforts will be well underway, storefront operations will be proceeding, and telephone banks will be ready to open. In addition, the volunteer effort should be in high gear, and all our organization should be functioning smoothly as a team.

*Test by Telethon Fundraising and Volunteer*

These may seem like ambitious goals, but I think you have created the sense of urgency needed to produce results and to do five or six months' work in two. The whole staff is really turning to, and 14 hour days and 6 day weeks are becoming commonplace. I now have a much better feeling about our probability of success than I did three weeks ago, although we still have a long way to go to make up the ground that was lost in the field.

Attachments

AGENDA - JULY 28

- 9:00            Priorities and Perspective of Campaign  
Fred Malek
- 9:15            McGovern Campaign Organization  
Rick Fore
- 9:30            Registration, Voter Identification and Voter  
Turn Out - Al Kaupinen
- 10:00           Break
- 10:10           Use of Computer Printouts  
Dick Shriver
- 10:35           Telephone Operations  
Nancy Brataas
- 11:00           Clark Mac Gregor
- 11:10           Absentee Ballots  
Dick McAdoo
- 11:25           Volunteer Programs  
Pat Hutar
- 11:50           General Discussion on Voter Contact Programs  
Jerry Jones
- 12:15           Lunch
- 1:00           Presentation on Convention  
Stan Anderson
- 1:25           Program Areas of Campaign  
Jeb Magruder
- 1:45           Direct Mail  
Bob Morgan
- 2:05           Advertising  
Phil Joanou
- 2:25           Polling  
Bob Teeter

2:45 Break

2:55 Surrogate Speakers and Advance Operation  
Bart Porter/Bill Moeller

3:25 Communications  
Ann Dore

3:45 Finance and Election Law  
Bob Odell

4:05 Voter Blocs  
Frank Herringer/Dan Todd/Ken Reitz

4:45 Citizens Blocs  
Chuck Shearer

5:00 Summary  
Fred Malek



AGENDA

July 29th

- 9:00 Role of Political Division  
Fred Malek
- 9:25 Staff Support/Budgets  
Jerry Jones
- 9:55 Registration, Voter Identification, Voter Turnout  
Manyon Millican
- 10:30 Illinois Experience  
Al Kaupinen
- 10:50 Break
- 11:00 Administration Support  
Dan Kingsley
- 11:15 Field Training  
Rick Fore
- 11:30 Volunteer Recruitment  
Stan Anderson/Rob Davison
- 12:00 Summary & General Discussion  
Fred Malek

Committee  
for the Re-election  
of the President

TAB B .

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

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

RICK FORE

SUBJECT:

Training Program

I. Presentation

- a. Registration
- b. Voter Identification
- c. Voter Turn Out
- d. Telephone Program
- e. Volunteer Recruitment (Voter Bloc Role)

II. Calendar

- a. August 5-17 - Statewide Overview Training
- b. August 17-25 - Assist in securing storefront and follow-up training
- c. August 26-28 - Continued statewide overview training
- d. August 29 - Sept. 9 - Preparation for Canvass Kick-off
- Tushete* → e. September 9 - Oct. 1 - Storefront Training (Key States)
- f. October 1 - Nov. 1 - Statewide Get Out the Vote
- ? g. November 2 - Nov. 7 - Storefront Get Out the Vote Training (Key States)

III. Schedule

- a. There should be one day intervals between meetings to allow trainers, Regional Directors, and State Chairmen to meet and iron out particular problems concerning the presentation for each individual state.
- b. One day intervals also allows follow up with individual counties within a state that might have difficulty with certain aspects of the presentation.
- c. One day intervals allows for changes in the schedule that will certainly occur (State Chairmen will not be available, etc.)
- d. In order to maintain one day intervals and provide maximum cooperation with the states, eight or more field trainers will be required.

- IV. Participation by Rick Fore and Manyon Millican - We should attend the first several meetings to offer support and critique the trainers.
- V. Relationship between training staff, regional directors, state chairmen, and state fieldmen - The training staff provides technical support and has no line responsibilities. The state fieldmen will, for the most part, have less experience than national field trainers. Therefore, the national field trainers will also provide support to the state fieldmen.

REASONS FOR EIGHT FIELD/TRAINERS

- 1. Provide input for master control at 1701.
- 2. See that all storefronts are open and functioning properly.
- 3. Act as trouble shooter throughout the campaign. Most national campaigns require 20 or 30 fieldmen. We will also probably require more as the campaign wears on.
- 4. Provide objective analysis of field activities not provided by regional directors.
- 5. Provide smooth and highly visible canvass kick off.

AGENDA  
July 12, 1972

- 9:00 Welcome - Clark MacGregor
- 9:15 Priorities and Perspective of the campaign - Fred Malek
- 9:35 McGovern Organization - Rick Fore
- 9:55 Registration, Voter Identification, Voter Turnout - Al Kaupinen
- 10:30 BREAK
- 10:40 Use of Computer Print outs for Canvassing and Get-out-the-vote  
Bob Morgan, Dick Shriver
- 11:10 Telephone Operations - Nancy Brataas
- 11:50 Summary - Fred Malek
- 12:00 LUNCHEON - Role of the RNC - Tom Evans  
Presentation on Convention - Stan Anderson
- 1:00 Absentee Ballots - Dick McAdoo
- 1:15 Volunteer Programs - Pat Hutak
- 1:45 Voter Blocs - Frank Herringer
- 2:20 BREAK
- 2:30 Program Areas of the Campaign - Jeb Magruder
- 2:50 Direct Mail - Bob Morgan
- 3:20 Advertising - Phil Joanou
- 3:40 Polling - Bob Tester
- 4:00 Surrogate and Advance Operation - Bart Porter/Jon Foust
- 4:20 Communications - Ann Dore
- 4:40 Finance and Election Law - Lee Nunn
- 5:00 Summary of Presentation - Fred Malek
- 5:15 Meeting Concluded
- 6:00 - 8:00 Reception at Clark MacGregor's home

MEETING SCHEDULE

July 13, 1972

Calif.	Conn.	Illinois	Maryland	Michigan	New York	New Jersey	Ohio	Pa.	Tex.	Wash.
BREAKFAST						COLONIAL ROOM - MAYFLOWER HOTEL				
Y	SS	V	Ag	J	OA	B	OC	C	D	
V	UC	Y	D	B	SS	Ag	L	J	OA	
UC	Ag	OC	J	A	L	C	V	D	Y	Bl
SS	B		L	V	D	Bl	A	Ag	C	Y
BREAK						BREAK				
OC	Bl	Ag		C	A	D	Bl	SS	J	L
	D	B	OC	L	C	J	OA	Bl	SS	A
LUNCH						LUNCH				
B	C	Bl	SS	Ag	V	L	J		A	OC
J	Y	C	V	UC	Ag	A	SS	L	B	OA
L	V	SS	Y	Bl	J		Ag	A	OC	D
C	L	A	B	D	Y	OC	UC	V	Bl	J
D		J	Bl	Y	UC	SS	C	OC	Ag	B
BREAK						BREAK				
A	J	D	C	OC	Bl	UC	B	Y	L	V
Bl	OC	L	A	OA	B	Y	D	UC	V	Ag
Ag	A	UC		SS	OC	V	Y	B		C

- Sup A - Jerry Jones/Rick Fore: Review of Overall Campaign Status
- Sup B - Bob Marik/Bob Morgan: Direct Mail
- Sup C - Nancy Brataas/Dick Shriver: Telephone and Computer
- Sup D - Bill Stover/Dan Piliero: Physicians & Dentists and Lawyers
  - Agriculture
  - Blacks
  - Jewish
  - Labor
  - Older Americans
  - Overall Citizens
  - Spanish-Speaking
  - Urban Citizens
  - Veterans
  - Young Voters

State Suites

- California - 761
- Connecticut - 772
- Illinois - 776
- Maryland - 780
- Michigan - 788
- New Jersey - 675
- New York - 672
- Ohio - 688
- Pennsylvania - 554
- Texas - 561
- Washington - 562

Note: The States will remain in their suites at the Mayflower; the Voter Blocs will go to the State suites at the appropriate times.

State	Electoral Vote	Political Coordinator	Approved Base Budget	Approved Supplement	Storefront/Canvassing Add-on			Other	Total Field Budgets	Budget/ Electoral Vote
					Store fronts	Amount	Offset			
California	45		2,500,000		125	400,000	(400,000)		2,500,000	55,555
Illinois	26	Kaupinen	542,650		75	250,000			798,650	30,717
X Maryland	10	Mosiman	107,785	45,000	24	47,000			200,000	20,000
X Michigan	21	Mosiman	207,625		60	200,000	(15,000)		392,625	18,696
New Jersey	17	Mosiman	500,000E		50	170,800			670,800 E	39,458
New York	41	Jones	1,500,000		100	335,000	(91,000)		1,744,000	42,500
X Ohio	25	Mosiman	565,000		70	200,000	(93,000)		672,000	26,880
X Pennsylvania	27	Mosiman	524,000		70	237,000	(85,000)		676,000	25,037
Texas	26	Sawers	500,000E		60	207,400			707,400E	27,207
Alabama	9	Brown	40,000E		4	9,760			49,760E	5,528
X Alaska	3	Richards	30,000		4	7,640	(4,000)		33,640	12,133
Arizona	6	Reed	40,100		5	18,300	(8,000)		50,400	8,400
Arkansas	6	Brown	40,000E		3	7,320			47,320E	7,886
Colorado	7	Reed	40,091		10	26,000	(2,500)		63,591	9,084
X Connecticut	8	Kaupinen	100,050		25	85,400	(15,000)		170,450	21,306
X Delaware	3	Mosiman	25,000		4	10,000			35,000	11,660
Florida	17	Sawers	80,000E		15	44,900			124,900E	7,347

X ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ State field operating Budget approved and formerly communicated to State chairman.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ State field operating Budget approved, but notification of State chairman awaiting appointment of Political Field Coordinator or revised monthly breakdown of expenditures.

State	Electoral Vote	Political Coordinator	Approved Base Budget	Approved Supplement	Storefront/Canvassing Add-on			Other	Total Field Budgets	Budget/Electoral Vote
					Store fronts	Amount	Offset			
Georgia	12	Brown	48,000		10	36,600			84,600	7,050
Hawaii	4	Reed	30,000E		4	14,640			44,640E	11,160
X Idaho	4	Richards	22,500		3	10,980			33,480	8,370
X Indiana	13	Mosiman	81,152	7,500	21	43,000			131,650	10,126
X Iowa	8	Yeutter	39,605		15	36,600			76,205	8,455
X Kansas	7	Yeutter	39,557		12	34,000			73,577	10,511
Kentucky	9	Sawers	90,000E		15	25,000			115,000E	12,777
Louisiana	10	Brown	40,000E		3	7,320			47,320E	4,732
X Maine	4	Kaupinen	26,926		6	21,960	(3,000)		45,886	11,471
Massachusetts	14	Kaupinen	25,000E		6	15,000			40,000E	2,850
X Minnesota	10	Yeutter	75,000		9	32,940			107,940	10,794
Mississippi	7	Brown	35,000		4	14,640	(5,000)		44,640	6,377
Missouri	12	Sawers	100,000		15	40,000	(20,000)		120,000	10,000
X Montana	4	Richards	12,209		5	12,300			24,509	6,127
X Nebraska	5	Yeutter	31,532	5,000	10	21,600			53,162	10,630
Nevada	3	Richards	51,565		4	0			51,565	17,188
X New Hampshire	4	Kaupinen	25,000		5	18,300			43,300	4,575

State	Electoral Vote	Political Coordinator	Approved Base Budget	Approved Supplement	Storefront/Canvassing Add-on			Other	Total Field Budgets	Budget/Electoral Vote
					Store fronts	Amount	Offset			
New Mexico	4	Reed	22,008		6	21,960			43,968	10,992
North Carolina	13		80,000		14	41,240	(9,000)		112,240	8,633
North Dakota	3	Yeutter	10,000	3,000	4	14,640			27,640	9,213
Oklahoma	8	Yeutter	52,736		8	29,280			82,016	10,316
Oregon	6	Richards	99,070		9	32,940	(7,000)		125,010	20,335
Rhode Island	4	Kaupinen	12,910		3	9,000			21,910	5,428
South Carolina	8	Brown	67,300		5	18,300	(10,000)		75,600	9,450
South Dakota	4	Yeutter	22,900		4	12,000			34,900	8,725
Tennessee	10	Sawers	88,150		12	12,000	(2,000)		98,150	9,815
Utah	4	Richards	29,005		4	14,640			43,654	10,911
Vermont	3	Kaupinen	13,164		3	10,980			24,144	8,048
Virginia	12	Sawers	75,000		12	34,000	(5,000)		104,000	8,660
Washington	9	Richards	75,000			36,600	(7,500)		104,100	11,566
W. Virginia	6	Sawers	25,000E		8	19,520			44,520E	7,420
Wisconsin	11	Mosiman	117,200	17,000	Key Cities Program				134,000	12,181
Wyoming	3	Richards	19,240		3	9,000			28,240	9,413
TOTAL			8,897,000	77,500	961	2,959,000	(761,000)		11,172,000	20,800



July 28, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN

FROM: L. HIGBY

Bob asked me to get over to you the fact that the Vice President, in making his acceptance speech, should announce that he is going to begin the campaign the day after Labor Day, that he hereby serves notice that he will ask one question a day, everyday, for the entire campaign of Senator McGovern. McGovern has left a lot of things unanswered and he expects to put this series of questions to him and then perhaps he would ask his first question right after his acceptance speech.

Would you please see what you can do to get this worked into the Vice President's acceptance speech.

LH:kb

<sup>7/26</sup>  
~~Gordon~~ - L,

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED MALEK

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

"Tribune" Article

I noticed in this morning's News Summary that you are referred to in a "Tribune" article by Beckman in which you are cited as "with Malek expressing confidence that a million volunteers will be on tap by Labor Day." That may be accurate and a good description of your program, but the question is whether you are now talking with reporters.

Would you let me know?

Sure - whenever in my judgement it serves the cause, which probably won't be too often. It would be a mistake, however, to be over secretive, <sup>appearing</sup> or over gray in the campaign. This quote resulted from a 2 minute chance conversation & was helpful.

Fred

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 26

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: BOB FINCH

FYI

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE ADMINISTRATIVELY  
WASHINGTON CONFIDENTIAL

July 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HERBERT G. KLEIN  
FROM: ED BLECKSMITH *EB*  
SUBJECT: FYI

*Bob  
Fives  
F4  
Jo HRT*

Roland Elliot, in correspondence, brought up a subject last week which could have an adverse affect on the up-coming campaign in California. Through separate phone conversations with several prominent people from California, Roland was told that the California Campaign Committee to Re-elect the President is a closed shop to anyone who does not have conservative credentials. They claim that the Re-elect Committee will have nothing to do with moderates and young people--and this attitude prevails from volunteer mail stuffers on up. These gentlemen attribute this position to Lyn Nofziger.

The people who expressed these sentiments include: a moderate Republican Councilman in Los Angeles; the Executive Assistant to Congressman Bell; the Assistant Chancellor at U. C. L. A.; and a gentleman who has worked in California politics for 30 years and now holds a high level appointed position here in Washington. Roland would not tell me the names of these people, but he says that you know the latter gentleman.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

"President Nixon - Now More Than Ever"  
instead of "President Nixon - Help  
Him Finish the Job"

A review of my notes of the June 2 meeting with the November Group and discussion with Peter Dailey regarding the selection of "President Nixon - Now More Than Ever", covered these points:

- 1) "Help Him Finish the Job" is a too-tired, hackneyed slogan which has been used by so many Judges and Congressmen;
- 2) "Help Him Finish the Job" was popular among those interviewed because it was so familiar to them from other campaigns;
- 3) The theme "Help Him Finish the Job" is implied and emphasized in all the creative advertising. Dailey says it will be one of the underlying, dominant creative themes; and
- 4) "Help Him Finish the Job" doesn't shorten well -- the result is "Nixon Help" instead of "Nixon Now".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NARS, Date 4-6-82

Copy 1 of 2

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS

This paper responds to your request for general problems I perceive in the campaign organization. It is divided into four sections: (a) Overall Direction, (b) Priorities, (c) Political Coordinators, and (d) Programs.

OVERALL DIRECTION

To my mind, the greatest problem we are experiencing at 1701 is that we lack firm direction and consequently do not have a sense of urgency. There seems to be great complacency -- with many key people spending their time developing multitudes of programs, thinking about organization, and worst of all, plotting to improve their own positions. All the while, precious little is being done to actually put together the strongest possible organization in the States and get it mobilized in a constructive fashion. This is in marked contrast to the McGovern campaign to date which is full of young, energetic, results-oriented people who are focusing totally on organization matters, with considerable success.

The problem may well lie in our campaign leadership. Starting at the top, John Mitchell is a superb political strategist and a man of consistently sound and unflappable judgment. Moreover, he is a strong, firm, and objective decision-maker. However, he is not a charismatic, fast-moving ass-kicking, general manager who first gives firm direction and then pushes people relentlessly in that direction. Jeb Magruder, while a good program manager and organizer, is also not the hard-driving, fast-mover that is needed. In addition, the Political Coordinators are a mixed group and, as is outlined further below, do not provide the kind of leadership that is needed.

What 1701 really needs is a field management group or campaign manager under Mitchell who will for the most part forget about developing programs and concentrate their total efforts on field organization, starting with voter identification and registration. We need people who will travel the States, ask the tough questions, impact and energize the State Chairmen, kick them in their asses if needed, and make sure they are really moving on the right track. This kind of firm direction and operating leadership simply does not seem to be present.

The result is that each State Chairman is kind of doing his own thing, is resentful of direction from Washington, and is more or less building his own empire -- which may or may not be the best approach. The one thing that I am sure of, however, is that we are not organized or fast moving,

and are losing ground on registration and are incredibly weak in the field when compared with the McGovern organization.

This problem has in part been perceived, and we are now embarking on a major new registration drive which will be the top priority of the entire campaign organization. We intend to impart a real sense of urgency on this to try to shake people out of their complacency, and will attempt to mobilize our entire national and field organization for this registration drive. I think this will have a positive effect, but I wonder whether it is the only answer or whether it is enough to correct the major problems outlined above.

### OVERALL PRIORITIES

I sense that the campaign organization is failing to act according to priorities. This is a feeling on my part, and not as crisply defined as are problems in the political or program areas; but it could be an extremely important weakness.

Priorities seem to be well enough delineated in strategic terms -- the key states, constituent groups, etc. -- but the priorities do not appear to carry over into how people spend their time, or where energies are placed.

*Buch?* For example, everyone agrees that McGovern will be the opposition's candidate, and has shown surprising strength. However, we do not seem to be devoting sufficient resources to analyzing his strengths and weaknesses, and exploring his areas of vulnerability. One would think that this would be a top priority project -- but all that has surfaced thus far is a rather obvious one-page 'analysis' that could have been prepared from reading the newspaper.

Another example is the State Chairman situation. We go to the trouble of carefully selecting the key states -- then several of them sit without activity for months because we do not follow through and name State Chairmen.

Part of the problem is that everyone seems to be going in 50 directions rather than selecting what is really important and pushing like hell on it. This is aggravated by the previously described lack of urgency at 1701. The attitude is that we have plenty of time, so there is no reason to hurry, work long hours, or otherwise extend ourselves. Consequently, there is no follow through on priorities -- no urgency to make things happen quickly.

## POLITICAL COORDINATORS

The principal motivators of action in the field should be the five political coordinators. However, as was mentioned above, they are at best a mixed group.

Harry Flemming, in my opinion, is very weak. The slow progress in the development of the organization in the States is largely attributable to his poor performance when he was the sole head of the political division. Although his sphere of influence has been narrowed to the Southern States (plus New York), he remains a negative force on the overall campaign. Many persons still look to him as the "senior" political coordinator, and so his bad judgment affects more than just the Southern States (as if that were not enough). He seems to spend most of his time scheming and plotting on how to improve his position with Mitchell. He spends almost no time in the field.

Bob Mardian, who has the Western States, has proved a big disappointment. Our twice-weekly meetings with Mitchell and the political coordinators have become virtually non-productive, with Mardian and Flemming taking up the entire time with irrelevant verbal battles. Mardian seems intent on having the last word on every point, no matter how inane. Frankly, I do not see how Mitchell stands it. At least Mitchell has stopped Mardian from telling us "how we did it in Arizona in 1964 . . . ." Mardian does not seem to be a clear thinker or good manager. If you are concerned about Nofziger in California, I am doubly concerned about Mardian supervising Nofziger.

Don Mosiman has not really said or done enough for me to draw any firm conclusions about his performance at the campaign. However, he has been cooperative and industrious in his approach, and he appears adequate at this point. He has a really heavy load, being entrusted with key states like Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.

Al Kaupinen (New England) and Clayton Yeutter (Farm States) seem adequate enough for their present assignments, but I do not think they should be given any additional responsibilities.

To sum up, then, it is a pretty grim picture -- two out of the five political coordinators with over half the States are inadequate, in my opinion. As a result, the campaign has been woefully slow in naming State Chairmen --



key States such as Texas are still without Chairmen. In addition, there is no orderly flow of information to and from the States. Communications in the field are so fouled up that the Citizens Group Directors cannot even find out the background of the delegates to the Convention.

I really think that the best solution to this problem is the tough one -- fire Flemming and Mardian, and replace them with outstanding political managers if they can be found. Obviously, this has to be done as quickly as possible, but even at this late date it would be preferable to the alternative of letting them stay on and screw things up even more. I do not have any instant ideas of who could replace Flemming and Mardian, but my bet is that this could be solved inside of two weeks.

One more thought about the political division should be mentioned -- Mitchell seems to be relying increasingly on Fred La Rue for advice on how to handle the political coordinators. I think Fred is very astute politically, and is a good advisor to Mitchell. However, I think it would be a mistake to assume that the problems in the political division could be solved by moving La Rue in over the existing political coordinators. Fred is a good advisor, but I do not think anyone could manage that crew.

## PROGRAMS

In my recent progress report on campaign activities, I concentrated on the problems in the Citizens area, and outlined what I planned to do about them. I also stated that I thought that Jeb was doing a good job, and I do. However, I have concerns about three of his areas: national voter contact programs, surrogates, and public relations. I discussed the understaffing of 1701 PR in the progress report, and it is being taken care of. The other two areas of concern are discussed briefly below.

1. National Voter Contact Programs. The national voter contact programs include direct mail, telephone operations, and door-to-door voter canvassing, all of which are based on computerized voter lists. If the computer tapes containing the various lists necessary for these programs are not accurate and are not received on time, none of these critical programs can be executed properly. In the test run in the California Primary, the computer tapes were neither completely accurate nor on time with resulting delays in the start up of the telephone banks, and delivery of the direct mail (up to three weeks late). While these deficiencies could be coped with in California, we could not expect to overcome similar problems in eleven key states simultaneously in October.

As a result of the poor showing of the national voter contact programs in the California primary, Bob Marik and Bob Morgan have undertaken an extensive review of their efforts. In the last week, they have changed the entire concept of the computer system from a single, centralized computer in Illinois to a decentralized system with a number of regional computer centers. They have also substantially redesigned the paper flow system in an attempt to make their information usable by the door-to-door canvassers, as well as by the telephone and direct mail programs. Finally, they have selected several new vendors to supply the lists to the computer centers.

These actions represent a fundamental change in the entire approach to the national voter contact programs. I agree with these changes, however, if the redesigned program does not work, we will not get another chance. In view of past performance, I continue to be concerned about this critical area. By the end of next week, Marik and Morgan should have a final revised program. I intend to analyze it carefully, and make further recommendations at that time.

2. Surrogates. As you know, the surrogate program has been unsatisfactory in several respects. The principal problem is that Bart Porter is weak, overly defensive, and in my opinion abrasive to work with. Moreover, he does not seem to be creative or a good planner, as shown by the fact that he has not yet pulled together a long-range plan, including identification of key media areas, which surrogates should be in these areas, with what frequency, etc. Some of the Citizens Group Directors have done this for their own surrogates, so there is no excuse for Porter not doing it for the major surrogates. John Whitaker is moving in on this situation now, and I am hopeful that he will be able to straighten it out.

\*

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I realize that this paper has been long on problems and short on specific solutions. However, if we can agree on the problems, I would think we will be able to find solutions.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 7/26/72

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY

Overtaken by events.

*No it wasn't -  
it precipitated  
events ✓*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

Talked Friday with the Vice President; about the handling of the McGovern candidacy between now and the Convention. It was his feeling that we ought to use humor, not to attack hard, but to lay out the McGovern line, the McGovern positions, the McGovern statements, and get all of these onto the record and to keep working on these. The approach that McGovern is a nice, not unpatriotic, well-intentioned fellow, but one who has taken the following positions, was basically his view. I indicated to him, as you suggested, that the President would be talking with him in terms of strategy when you got back from San Clemente. On dealing with the press, I told him that it was generally the President's thinking that we ought to pick our shots on this -- to target our attacks, as any political dividends to be gained from criticizing the bias of the media had been gained. Further, that we might well draw back, as assuredly if the network favoritism toward McGovern continues, we will have to focus on that directly; and perhaps we ought to wait for that situation to develop. He indicated that he had had a meeting with his own staff that morning and they had all generally agreed that this should be the approach. Further, that "humor" should be employed against Mr. McGovern.

Again, in our conversation, I noted the remark that RN might be wanting to talk with him about the handling of McGovern between now and the convention; but he concurs fully, it appeared to me, in the approach to make toward George M.

Buchanan