Richard Nixon Presidential Library Contested Materials Collection Folder List

| Box Number | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | Document Type | Document Description |
|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 31 | 5 | 5/17/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Dent to RN RE: voting and delegate totals in Michigan and Maryland. 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/12/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Teeter to Mitchell RE: Campaign Theme. 3 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/2/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Higby to Haldeman RE: Daily Political Meeting. 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/3/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Stachen to Haldeman RE: Dent's primaries update report. 1 pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | Document Type | Document Description |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 31 | 5 | 4/10/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Haldeman to Colson, Chapin, and Magruder RE: Surrogate Scheduling. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/18/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: discussing Apr. 11, 1972 memo from RN to Haldeman. 5 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/4/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Magruder to Mitchell RE: Press Interviews. 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/9/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: Nebraska and West Virginia Primary Returns. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/10/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Dent to RN RE: Nebraska and West Virginia Primaries. 2 pgs. |

| Box Number | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | Document Type | Document Description |
|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 31 | 5 | 4/20/1972 | | Campaign | Other Document | Talking paper for Clark Macgregor RE: Bill Timmons and the RNC Convention. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/8/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: discussing May 3, 1972 Proposed Event for California memo from Porter to Mitchell. 4 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | | | Campaign | Brochure | "Re-elect the President" brochure. 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/11/1972 | | Campaign | Other Document | Press release from CRP RE: Pundit Ted Williams Splinters Nixon Critics. 3 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/15/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haledman RE: discussion on Strachen to Haldeman May 12, 1972, Campaign Poll Analysis and Wave II memo. 2 pgs. |

| Box Number | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | Document Type | Document Description |
|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|---|
| 31 | 5 | 5/13/1972 | | Domestic Policy | Memo | From Foust to Mitchell RE: Departure and Arrival Ceremonies for the President's Trip to Russia. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/8/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Nofziger to Reagan RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 6 May 1972). 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/16/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: Maryland and Michigan Primary Returns. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/17/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Dent to RN RE: Michigan and Marylan primary results. 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/3/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Dent to RN RE: Indian and Ohio primary results. 2 pgs. |
| | | | | | | |

| <u>Box Number</u> | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | Document Description |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 31 | 5 | | | Campaign | Other Document | Press releas from CRP RE: Wisconson primary winner (RN). 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/3/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: March 27, 1972 Nofziger to Reagan 'California Campain (Week Ending March 25) memo. 3 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/3/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: Democratic Candidates in California Primary. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | | | Campaign | Other Document | Statement from Francis L. Dale RE: "certain Democratic presidential aspirants using last minute desperation gutter tactics." 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | | | Campaign | Other Document | Press release from the RNC RE: Wisconson primary. 1 pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | Document Type | Document Description |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 31 | 5 | 3/29/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | Action Memorandum RE: getting surrogates into Pennsylvania well ahead of the PA primary. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/5/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to RN RE: Wisconson Democratic primary results along with handwritten notes and other memorandi. 9 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/5/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Magruder to Haldeman RE: Dom Bonafede's National Journal Articles. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/8/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: April 5, 1972, Colson to Mitchell memo. 4 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/8/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: April 6, 1972, Porter to Mitchell memo on Pennsylvania Surrogate Plan. 15 pgs. |

| Box Number | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | Document Description |
|------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 31 | 5 | | | Campaign | Other Document | Press releas from CRP RE: Wisconson Republican primary RN victory. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/10/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Moore, Klein, & Finch RE: list of Ashbrook delegates in California. 4 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/7/1972 | | Campaign | Other Document | Press release from CRP RE: 'Romney Hits Democrat Critics of the Vietnam Air Support.' 5 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/3/1972 | | Campaign | Other Document | Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Primary concerns. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/6/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Timmons RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | Folder Number | Document Date | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | Document Description |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 31 | 5 | 4/10/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Buchanan to Haldeman & Ehrlichman RE: 'Senior Senator from Illinois. 2 pgs. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/12/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Strachen to Haldeman RE: Announcement of John Mitchell as Campaign Director. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 5/2/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Timmons to Mitchell RE: '72 Convention. 1 pg. |
| 31 | 5 | 4/28/1972 | | Campaign | Memo | From Yeutter to Mitchell RE: Dick Lyng. 1 pg. |

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

| Collection: Box Number: | H. R. Halden 311 | man | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--|
| Folder: | Campaign 19 | Part IV March 29-N | fay 17 |
| Document | Disposit | ion | , |
| 98 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Dent to the President, 5-17-72 |
| 99 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Teeter to Mitchell, 4-12-72 |
| 100 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Higby to HRH, 5-2-72 |
| 101 | Retain | Open | |
| 102 | Return | Private/Political | Note, Strachan to HRH, 5-3-72 |
| 103 | Retain | Open | |
| 104 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, HRH to Colson et al, 4-10-72 |
| 105 | Retain | Open | |
| 106 | Retain | Open | |
| 107 | Return | Private/Political | Note, Strachan to HRH, 4-18-[72] |
| 108 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 5-4-72 |
| 109 | Return | Private/Political | Merno, Strachan to HRH, 5-9-72 |
| 110 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Dent to the President, 5-10-72 |
| 111 | Return | Private/Political | "Talking Paper For Clark Mac Coregor," 4-20-72 |
| 112 | Return | Private/Political | Note, Strachan to HRH, 5-8-72 |
| 113 | Retain | Open | |
| 114 | Return | Private/Political | Brochure, Re-Elect the President, n.d. |
| 115 | Return | Private/Political | CREEP Press Release #5-8, 5-11-72 |
| 116 | Return | Private/Political | Note, Strachan to HRH, 5-15-72 |
| 117 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Foust to Mitchell, 5-13-72 |
| 118 | Retain | Open | |
| 119 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Nofziger to Reagan, 5-8-72 |
| 120 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Strachan to HRH, 5-16-72 |
| 121 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Dent to the President, 5-17-72 |

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

| Collection: Box Number: | H. R. Halden 311 | nan | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--|------------|
| 122 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 5-17-72 | |
| 123 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 5-3-72 | - |
| 124 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 5-3-7: | 2 |
| 125 | Return | Private/Political CREEP Press Release #4-2(4), n.d. | |
| 126 | Return | Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 4-3-[72] | |
| 127 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 4-3-72 | |
| 128 | Retain | Open | |
| 129 | Retain | Open | |
| 130 | Return | Private/Political "Statement by Francis L. Dale" n.d. | |
| 131 | Return | Private/Political Rnc Press Release, 3-30-72 | |
| 132 | Return | Private/Political Action Memorandum by HRH, 3-29- | 72 |
| 133 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 4-5- | 72 |
| 134 | Retain | Open | |
| 135 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Dent to the President, 4-5-72 | |
| 136 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Magruder to HRH, 4-5-72 | |
| 137 | Return | Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 4-8-72 | |
| 138 | Return | Private/Political Note, Strachan to HRH, 4-8-72 | |
| 139 | Return | Private/Political CREEP Press Release #4-1(4), n.d. | |
| 140 | Return | Private/Political Note, Strachan to Moore, Klein & Finch 4-10-E7: | / 7 |
| 141 | Return | Private/Political CREEP Press Release # 4-4(7), 4-7- | [72] |
| 142 | Return | Private/Political Notes, "Busing - Dent" 4-3-[72] | |
| 143 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Strachan to Timmons, 4-6-72 | ર . |
| 144 | Return | Private/Political Memo, Buchanan to HRH, JDE, 4-10-72 | - |
| 145 | Retain | Open | |
| 146 | Retain | Open | |
| 147 | Retain | Open | |

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Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

| Collection: Box Number: | H. R. Halde 311 | man | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| 148 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Strachan to HRH, 4-12-72 |
| 149 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Timmons to Mitchell, 5-2-72 |
| 150 | Return | Private/Political | Memo, Yeutter to Mitchell, 4-28-72 |
| 151 | Retain | Open | |

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

Governor George Wallace shattered Labor's "stop-Wallace" hopes by winning substantial victories in Michigan and Maryland. The President swept house in both states.

In Michigan, here was the count at 6:30 AM with 99% of the precincts reporting:

| | MIC | HIGAN | (99% | <u>in</u>) | |
|----------|---------|-------|------|-------------|----------|
| | Votes | % | | Deleg | ates |
| Wallace | 791,321 | 51 | | 69-u | ncertain |
| McGovern | 416,671 | 27 | | 37 | 11 |
| Humphrey | 246,546 | 16 | | 26 | |

On the Republican side, the President took 97% of the vote. McCloskey, the only other Republican on the ballot, failed to win 2%.

Humphrey and organized labor suffered a strong defeat. Wallace carried Detroit city with 40%, and swept the Detroit suburbs with 2/3 of the vote. Wallace also ran strongly in Republican and ticket-splitting precincts. The Michigan Democrat party will take that into consideration when they apportion convention delegates, and may be able to trim some of Wallace's delegates. The black vote was Humphrey's, but rank and file labor support went to Wallace. One factor was the UAW's early endorsement of Muskie, which kept labor from closing solidly behind Humphrey. Wallace was the big spender in TV campaigning and did the most personal appearances, followed by Humphrey. To compound Hubert's misery, McGovern hardly campaigned in Michigan.

| | MARY | LAND | (99% in) |
|----------|---------|------|-----------|
| | Votes | % | Delegates |
| Wallace | 216,019 | 39 | 41 |
| Humphrey | 144,849 | 27 | 6 |
| McGevern | 118,311 | 22 | 6 |

The President won easily with 86%, trailed by McCloskey with 8% and Ashbrook with 6%.

- 2 -

Wallace handily carried the Eastern Shore and other rural areas, and did better than expected in Baltimore. He also carried Prince Georges County. McGovern's pocket of strength was Montgomery County, with Humphrey doing well with the blacks.

Overall, the sympathy vote for Wallace did not seem a major factor. It may have mobilized additional Wallace voters, but did not seem to result in mass conversions.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROBERT M. TEETER

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

· by paste

FROM:

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

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SUBJECT:

Campaign Theme

As we begin to focus the campaign exclusively on the general election and as the President increases his travel schedule, I think it important that we develop a central theme or idea for the campaign. It is important that the President's campaign have one central idea --•a message that everyone knows by election day to which various statements and actions can be tied. It does not necessarily have to be a slogan, although one could emerge later. The main point is that the campaign have a central idea or message that the majority of voters find attractive and would support.

Based on my analysis of our first wave data and the other research data I have looked at, I am concerned that the President is viewed as a tactician without an overall strategy or master plan for the country. This causes voters to interpret many of his positions and programs as things done for political expediency or to appease specific special interest groups rather than as part of an overall plan to move this country toward a perceivable set of goals or objectives. A majority of voters do not apparently think the President has such a master plan. No one seems to know how the President would like to leave the country after eight years "for his children and grandchildren."

I think it is imperative for the President and for the campaign to articulate his master plan to the voters and to show how the President's positions and programs fit into the plan. This should become the campaign theme -- the idea that ties everything together.

While this is important for every campaign and every President, I think it is particularly important for this one. It is a relatively well-accepted fact that he does not have any great personal appeal and will not be re-elected on the basis of personality or personal appeal. Moreover, because of the current issue structure and the type of problems he has had to deal with, I think we would have trouble trying to fight the campaign on a series of specific issues.

As an incumbent, the President is always open to the charge that he should have done more. More importantly, the general attitude in the country toward government, and politicans is very negative. If the voters know and understand what the President is trying to do for the country and how each of his programs are a part of that plan, it should be easier to gain support for his programs.

Also, the fact that voters are concerned about more issues now than has been the case in previous campaigns and also because the solutions to many of these problems are complex, it will be difficult for the President to attract the ticket-splitter on the basis of specific issues. Rather, he is going to have to appeal to these swing voters on the basis of a set of well-articulated goals for the country and further showing that his programs are moving the country toward these goals, and that he is more capable of leading the country toward these goals than his opponent.

The essential elements of this theme are what the President believes to be the destiny of the nation and the element of hope. The President could do this well. It would be positively received in the press and it is the type of approach which the public apparently wants and would favorably receive. The President may find that a "destiny speech" is the appropriate vehicle to deliver such a theme. It would allow him to stay on the high road and elevate the level of the campaign. It would be something he could develop and use now as President and yet carry into the campaign. It would give the campaign a common thread with which to tie things together while giving many of his individual statements and positions a prospective which they currently lack, yet be general enough so that the President would not be trapped by events between now and the election.

By giving the voters the idea that he has a master plan, the President would go a long way in solving the credibility problem. If the voters could see his various positions in the context of an overall strategy the President would be less suspect of being political. This approach gives the administration more breath and depth by tying things together such as China, Vietnam, welfare reform, bussing, economic controls, revenue sharing etc. It would also emphasize the complexity of the job and give us the benefit of being evaluated on the record as a whole.

While I recognize that the President should not get into a position of over promising, and also realizing that anything he says must be believable, I think his basic theme must restore the element of hope. I believe our data clearly shows that the people have lost hope that things can and will get better. More recently, there are indications that the public is looking for someone to restore this feeling of hope and optimism which has characteristically been the American attitude.

I have the feeling that the President has been very close to this idea several times when he has talked about the loss of the American spirit and desire to be number one, but his choice of words has left him just off the mark. Possibly a slight change of words or emphasis could make this basic idea catch hold. Also, I have the feeling that the President has used this approach to defend unpopular positions in the past, such as the SST. He has left the impression that we should strive to be number one so that we will be better than everyone else, not just for the sake of excellence itself. This is a subtle difference which has occurred in our society in the past 10-20 years.

We have the advantage of time to experiment with this approach over the next several weeks while the Democrats are involved with the primaries. The various domestic appearances which the President makes during the spring and summer present an excellent opportunity to try to find the combination of words and ideas that catch. Possibly the President needs a "new" inaugural address to be used on some occasion when people least expect it, such as during a campus appearance or before ethnics. It may be possible to tie this approach to the Bicentennial.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

May 2, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

| MEMORANDUM FOR: | H. R. HALDEMAN |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| FROM: | L. HIGBY |
| SUBJECT | Daily Political Meeting |

In his memorandum to you, April 29, (attached) the President raised with you again the importance of meeting with the political group and developing the strategies with regard to the key Democratic candidates. This raises once again the need to establish a daily political meeting such as you have suggested.

It would be my recommendation that you begin this meeting as soon as possible so that it is an operational fact, prior for the departure for Russia. Also, the meeting could be a convenient vehicle for making some rather long-term assignments that could be worked on during the Russian period.

Two immediate issues come to mind:

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1. Our stance on the key issues -- Ehrlichman, now for the past three weeks, I believe, was supposed to be doing this, but so far nothing has come about and it would be a good vehicle to use to press Ehrlichman, hopefully, into some action.

2. Strategy for all key candidates -- This would comply with the President's request for our coordinated strategies on McGovern, Humphrey and Kennedy.

3. Continuing to set the appropriate political line on the issues raised in the morning News Summary that may be in doubt. This would act as a guidance vehicle and also a check on Colson and give Mitchell the feeling that this is being pulled together.

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Per your earlier instruction, the participants in the meeting would be Mitchell, Colson, Ehrlichman, and MacGreger. If this is still the case, I would suggest that you hold the first meeting on Wednesday, May 2, immediately following the 8:15 a.m. staff meeting.

Gorden Strachan should sit in on these daily meetings as notetaker.

Attachment

LH:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE

Date: May 3, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This is Dent's update report on the primaries yesterday. You may not want to send it to the President because of speculation by Magruder.

OK to P.

April 10, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. CHARLES COLSON MR. DWIGHT L. CHAPIN MR. JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Surrogate Scheduling

As we approach the campaign, it becomes increasingly clear that we are going to need a single surrogate scheduling operation to handle this activity between now and the campaign. The current split operation has shortcomings from several standpoints and these will probably increase as we approach the campaign.

What is needed is a creative scheduling operation for the Cabinet officers and other speakers that is based on political necessities rather than a Speaker's Bureau that is primarily in the business of filling requests for speakers. This is not to imply that the efforts of Pat O'Donnell, to date, have not been satisfactory or successful. It simply means that it is time for us to beef-up this operation substantially in proparation for the campaign. This would include developing an overall master strategy of how we are going to use our speakers and the inclusion of advance men where appropriate to make sure that each speaker's appearance is of maximum value.

Will the three of you please meet on this subject and submit your proposal as to her these current shortcomings should be received and her this operation should be handled between now and the campaign.

Please submit your proposal by Menday, April 17th.

ce: Larry Higby

HRH:LH:kmt

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON 4 18 Date: H.R. HALDEMAN TO:

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Bob Teeter had planned on discussing this memorandum with you and John Mitchell on April 17. Teeter may be back in D.C. on April 24-25 and we will try to reschedule the meeting then.

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Howing - Hold Howing - Hold intik you get Etylich THE WHITE HOUS ASHINGTON April 11, 1972 MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN FROM THE PRESIDENT

As a general outline for some of the matters you will want to consider in developing with Ehrlichman et al the program on the PR side for the next several months, I would like for you to have in mind the following considerations:

1. <u>Players</u> -- here I would like for three or four of you to sit down and make up a list of the 10 best players we have. Obviously, the Vice President, some members of the Cabinet, a few members of Congress, a couple of Governors, some members of the White House staff including, of course, people like Finch and Klein, political people like Dole and perhaps truth squad people who may be developed.

In another category you have, of course, the members of the family for the so-called soft news and then, of course, at a secondary level you have the sub-Cabinet and nonpolitical types in labor, veterans and other organizations which are on file in the Colson office.

By having this list in front of you it will serve two purposes -one, when a story has to be told you will be able to look over the list and pick the ideal man or woman to tell it. Two, you will have the small group who can be pulled together for briefing when the story is important enough to require that kind of treatment.

2. <u>Tactics</u> -- there should obviously be one major story a day including particular emphasis on a major Sunday story. Have in mind the fact that our plans should be built around the assumption that I will have one hard news story each week in which television will be involved.

What is most important about the tactics, however, is not the number of stories but repetition and follow up. Once I start on a line, for example, in a news conference or a speech there should be sustained follow up day after day until we finally hammer the point home. Don't be concerned about the fact that each story is not carried. The important thing is to follow up and not to scatter our shots so that we get some sustained themes through one way or another.

In this discussion of tactics I am referring only to our positive stories. Obviously, the counter attack or answer desk operation should be supplemental to these positive stories and on some occasions they will naturally override the positive stories, because we may feel that it is more important to get out answers to an opposition attack than simply our own positive story. But on many days both should run because we never can tell how the media will play them.

3. <u>Theme</u> -- here, getting across the basics about the man -- strong, courageous, intelligent, patriotic, country first politics second particularly in view of the recent Vietnam development.

4. <u>Issues</u> -- I have already discussed this matter on several occasions but will list the issues in order of priority as I see them at this time.

1. Peace and foreign policy generally still have to be at the top of the list. Temporarily, the emphasis will not be on the generation of peace -- that will come back when we go to Moscow and when we return -- temporarily the issue must obviously be the strong, experienced foreign policy leader who is at his best in a crisis.

2. Cost of living with particular emphasis on the cost of food.

3. Crime with particular emphasis on drugs.

4. Property tax -- of course, in those areas where people are interested hit hard on tax relief for non-public schools.

5. Jobs

6. Busing -- where our major effort should be to put our Democratic friends strongly on record in favor of busing and us on record against it and getting this across in areas where it is an issue.

7. 'for all of the people" -- this is a tough one to handle but it is the only way that we can answer the charges that we are solely interested in big business, etc. This will require some real PR effort.

8. Reform -- here I have mixed feelings as to which direction we should follow. We have an excellent program of reform -- welfare, revenue sharing, reorganization, health, environment, etc. -- on the other hand, the question is whether it is wise to stir up the voters on the basis of reform and change and excitement or to use that theme as a subsidiary issue before audiences of special interest and emphasize more of the stability and a return to some kind of confidence in government after so many years of crises and upheaval. Of course, both themes can be played at the same time, but at least this should be a matter for discussion within the political group to see which way we should move. If we decide to go all out on the reform issue this means going all out on an attack on the Congress. The latter, incidentally, is probably a good idea in any event, and should occur immediately after the Democratic Convention with the groundwork being laid before. This will tend to deflect some of the fire which is directed against the Administration to the Congress for failing to carry out the recommendations the Administration has made.



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I am not suggesting that this list of issues is exclusive or that it will not change as time goes on. For example, we may want to hit the environment and other issues if they appear to be lively. Connally, of course, feels strongly we should hit foreign competition and the need to build America's competitive position, but in any event this memorandum will give you an idea as to my own thinking, and I would like for you to use it as a framework at least for discussion with the political group.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Press Interviews

I believe it is time for us to begin press interviews for you in your position as Director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

But I know you don't want to have press interviews simply to have them. That has always been my operating principle too. I propose we accomplish two primary purposes with our initial round:

I. Show by a recitation of the primary election record the terrific public support for the President's re-election. We have won every single election in which the President's name has been entered because the people believe in what he is trying to do.

II. Give some of the reasons why the President should and will be re-elected. This can be done by simply responding to press questions of why he should be re-elected by reciting the record.

A member of my staff could prepare a talking paper for you if you agree to either of three alternatives which I am proposing. Each involves an on-the-record press conference or briefing.

It is my suggestion that we aim for mid-May for the first conference -- before the Oregon Primary. I do not think it is wise to let the questions build up to the point where we cannot orchestrate the direction of the press conference.

I propose three alternatives.

The Alternatives:

Agree

Agree

1)

.....

Comments:

I. That we call in the political writers of the two major domestic wire services, Reuters (for European and South American coverage), and the news magazines to discuss the thrust of the campaign with you: the issues on which we are campaigning in this initial stage of the election year. I suggest 30 minutes to an hour. We should have a 24-hour lead time.

Disagree

Disagree

II. That we expand option 1 to include the major national newspapers: the New York <u>Times</u>, the Washington <u>Post</u>, <u>Star</u> and <u>News</u>, the Los Angeles <u>Times</u>, the Atlanta <u>Constitution</u>, the New York Daily <u>News</u>, the Wall Street <u>Journal</u> and such groups as Hearst, Newhouse, Gannett and Scripps Howard. This would be about 20 persons.

Comments:

III. That we call in only the national newspapers and the news magazines, leaving out the wire services and invite the wires in at a later date.

I would recommend option 2.

DeVan L. Shumway

5.1

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

PROM:

Nebraska dod West Virginia Primary Returns

The President's name is on the Nebraska ballot with Ashbrook and McCloskey. The President is expected to win easily. The President's name does not appear on the West Virginia ballot.

All Democrats appear on the Nebraska ballot; only Numphrey and Wallace appear on the West Virginia ballot.

The Nebraska polls close at 9 p.m. The West Virginia polls close at 7:30 p.m. CBS has announced a show on the results. NBC and ABC have not announced shows. I will be in touch with Magruder and Shumway from 8:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

Harry Dent will prepare a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary will be on your desk at 7:45 a.m. for you to decide whether it should go to the President.

GS/jb



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

in u

May 10, 1972

| MEMORANDUM TO: | The President |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| FROM: | Harry S. Dent |
| SUBJECT: | Nebraska and West Virginia Primaries |

Humphrey won West Virginia easily, but he lost Nebraska to McGovern in a close race after barely leading most of the evening. Here are the scores:

| DEMOCRATS: | NEBRASKA | (89% precincts | reporting) |
|------------|----------|----------------|------------|
| McGovern | 67,142 | 41% | |
| Humphrey | 57,207 | 35% | |
| Wallace | 20,670 | 13% | |

Muskie and Jackson won 3 per cent each with all the six others scoring 2 per cent or less each

REPUBLICANS:

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| RN | 149,860 | 92% |
|-----------|---------|-----|
| McCloskey | 7,894 | 5% |
| Ashbrook | 4,223 | 3% |

| DEMOCRATS: | WEST VIRGINIA | (66% precincts | reporting) |
|------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| Humphrey | 155,010 | 68% | |
| Wallace | 72,934 | 32% | |

The commentators saw no gain for McGovern over Humphrey by the two primary results or for Humphrey over McGovern. Wallace was considered to have done well in Nebraska with no campaigning.

Page Two Nebraska and West Virginia Primary Results

McGovern pulled ahead of Humphrey with late University and rural returns. Again, Humphrey relied on labor and Black votes. McGovern's leader claims he did less than expected because of RN's speech and extremist literature circulated against him on various stands, like abortion, Henry Wallace, etc.

It is still too early to determine delegate counts, but neither state binds its delegates anyway.

TALKING PAPER FOR CLARK MACGREGOR

Later

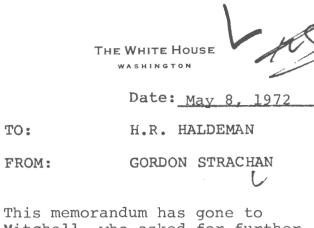
RE: Bill Timmons and the RNC Convention

Bill Timmons has been working with John Mitchell and the RNC on convention arrangements. The demands on his time are increasing.

In light of the convention problems and the importance to the President that the convention proceed correctly, Timmons should spend 75% of his time on the convention. He would remain here on the White House Staff and would spend 25% of his time managing the Congressional Relations office. He would not work on the Hill.

Do you have any problems with this arrangement?

April 20, 1972



This memorandum has gone to Mitchell, who asked for further staff work including a survey of Bakersfield and cost projection for the film.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

May 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JOHN N. MITCHELL THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER DOAL SUBJECT: Proposed event for California

Background

At your request, we have reviewed some of the possibilities for a "visual" event to be held prior to the California primary, June 6. Jon Foust and I were in California last weekend to discuss such an event with Lyn Nofziger and his staff. In addition, Bob Mardian and Taft Schreiber have been consulted.

Purpose

There are several reasons why a major event - particularly one involving celebrities - should be held in California: 1) In spite of the full surrogate program already in progress, Republican voter turn-out is not expected to be high, 2) Ashbrook supporters and other conservatives may try to turn out their vote to embarrass the President (some say Ashbrook could get as much as 15% of the vote), and 3) Senator McGovern's fundraiser at the Forum in Los Angeles (\$300,000 raised) was very successful.

The Event

All those contacted agree that an event involving Country and Western entertainers would be successful. Country and Western music is extremely popular today with both young and old voters. It is truly American music and does not

Page 2

attract pot smokers, drug users, or any part of the hippie element.

Bakersfield, California is the home of the second largest Country and Western recording industry in the country (Nashville is first). We therefore propose the following: An old fashioned, typically California picnic, to be held on Saturday, May 27th in the afternoon in Bakersfield. The picnic would be sponsored by the California Committee for the Re-election of the President and would feature as many of the top Country and Western recording stars as could be gathered for such an event. The event would be all entertainment, with an occasional "testimonial" for Richard Nixon before or after an act.

The event in and of itself will not do much politically for California, except in Bakersfield and the surrounding area. However, it could have tremendous impact, if it were filmed (a la "Woodstock") and shown around the country during the campaign. Someone like David L. Wolper Productions could be asked to film the event as a documentary, hopefully for immediate use in California, but, more importantly, for later use across the country.

It is felt that such a film would have strong appeal in the South, as well as the Midwest and the Far West, where Country and Western music is most popular.

If the liberal Democrats can "lock up" the rock 'n roll groups, then we ought to make an all-out effort to ensure that Country and Western is on our side (as most of them are -people just don't know it). In our opinion, Country and Western music is a good Nixon vehicle.

Recommendations

 That you approve of a Country and Western event in Bakersfield, California, on Saturday, May 27th, to be sponsored by the California Committee for the Re-election of the President.

| APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | COMMENT | |
|---------|------------|-------------|--|
| | | | |



Page 3

2) That Jon Foust proceed directly to Bakersfield and report back to you as quickly as possible on all details such as where the event could be held, its costs, organization, etc.

| APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | COMMENT |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| | | |
| 3) That the | Celebrities operation | begin an immediate |

canvass of available Country and Western talent for such an event.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENT _____

4) That, through Peter Dailey, David Wolper be contacted for the purpose of determining the feasibility of shooting a documentary, including full production costs.

| APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | COMMENT | |
|---------|------------|---------|--|
| | | | and the second |

5) That full reports on both the event and the filming be submitted to you by Monday, May 8. These reports will include budgets, names of available celebrities, and, in the case of the documentary, whether or not such a film could be edited in time for an independent broadcast in California before primary election day, June 6.

| APPROVE | DISAPPROVE | COMMENT |
|---------|------------|---------|
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Revenue Sharing: The President has proposed a dramatically new program that would cause power to flow back to local officials away from the Federal Government. The program features the sharing of Federal tax revenues with State and Local governments, with no strings attached.

Older Americans: The President has developed a strategy to increase Social Security benefits to the nation's elderly by one-third. He has advanced programs to enable more of the elderly to live in their own homes, to improve nursing home care, and increase jobs for older people.

Health Care: President Nixon's proposals will make health care available to *everyone*, with the emphasis on *keeping* people well as well as taking care of the sick. He is leading the fight to eliminate cancer and sickle cell anemia.

Drugs: The President is negotiating the end of opium production in Turkey. He has an agreement with France to help stop the traffic of drugs. He has stepped up arrests of pushers. He is spending 6 times more for rehabilitation and 5 times more for drug education than ever before.

Foreign Policy: President Nixon is the first American President to visit China. The talks were the first between leaders of the countries since 1949. He will also visit Moscow this year. His administration has brought crisis diplomacy to an end, opened negotiations to reduce tension in nuclear weapons, and the Middle East.

America Needs President Nixon. And the President Needs You.

Paid for by Finance Committee for the Re-election of President Nixon Hugh Sloan Jr., Chairman, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

- CALLANS

The Record

Vietnam: The President has brought 400,000 Americans home from Vietnam. He has reduced American ground combat involvement by 90%. He has reduced casualties by 95%. He has reduced spending by two-thirds. He has laid the foundations for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia.

The Economy: President Nixon has taken strong steps to flatten inflation, change the tax structure, and avert an international money crisis. He created 125,000 more jobs, caused \$1.5 billion to be loaned to small business. He initiated a 90-day freeze on wages and prices. Housing starts are up 42% over last year.

Welfare Reform: The present welfare system strips the recipient of dignity and promises no end to the vicious welfare cycle. President Nixon has proposed a major change in the system. His program provides training and work incentives, and it would prevent the break-up of families and relieve the mounting burden on taxpayers.

The Environment: President Nixon is the first President to really do something about our environment. He has proposed 25 separate bills regarding our environment. He has initiated plans and programs that are *working* against air pollution, water pollution, waste disposal, radiation and noise pollution.

Young Americans: President Nixon has given 18year olds the right to vote by supporting the bill and signing it into law. And he has overhauled the selective service system toward the goal of an all-volunteer Army.



for the Re-election of the President 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

May 11, 1972

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

News from

the Committee

CONTACT: DEVAN L. SHUMWAY (202) 333-7060 #5-8

"PUNDIT TED WILLIAMS SPLINTERS NIXON CRITICS"

WASHINGTON -- Four former stars of baseball, football and track -- who have added the verbal skills of a U.S. Congressman to their physical skills as athletes --today praised baseball great Ted Williams for his "straight-talk" blasts at critics of President Nixon's Vietnam policies.

House Republican Leader Gerald Ford (R-Mich.), a former All American center at the University of Michigan, said Williams "is telling it like it is." He placed in the <u>Congressional Record</u> excerpts from a newspaper article headlined, "Pundit Ted Williams Splinters Nixon Critics."

The GOP leader was joined in his praise of the **Splendid** Splinter by fellow Congressmen Bob Mathias (R-Cal.), legendary U.S. Olympic Decathlon champion, Wilmer "Vinegar Bend" Mizell (R-N.C.), one-time pitching ace for the St. Louis Cardinals, and Jack F. Kemp (R-N.Y.), long-time quarterback for the San Diego Chargers and the Buffalo Bills.

Williams, baseball's last .400 hitter and now manager of the new Texas Rangers of the American League, described President Nixon as "the greatest President of my lifetime"

In regard to the President's latest actions in Vietnam, the former Marine fighter pilot said, "Nixon had to do it, regardless of the consequences. We have 60,000 guys over there we have to protect."

-- MORE --

2-2-2-2-2

TED WILLIAMS ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S VIETNAM ACTION

The four Congressmen praised his "straight-talk comments on the President and his critics," which, they said, "reflects that honesty and patriotism which has characterized both our athletes and the great body of the American people."

Their statement, as delivered by Congressman Ford, said: MR. CHAIRMAN: Since the days when he was baseball's greatest hitter with the Boston Red Sox, Ted Williams has been known by friends and foes alike as a man who minced no words. And I am pleased to note that Ted is still "telling it like it is" today.

Commenting on President Nixon's most recent efforts to bring a speedy end to the war in Vietnam, Ted Williams put it the way most Americans would have -- "Nixon had to do it, regardless of the consequences. We have 60,000 guys over there we have to protect." As most people will recall, Ted was a crack Marine fighter pilot in both World War II and the Korean War, and he knows what it is to be in the military service of one's country.

Mr. Chairman, as a one-time and perhaps overrated football player in my college days, I appreciate hearing these words of support for the President from one of America's greatest athletes. My colleagues Bob Mathias, "Vinegar Bend" Mizell, and Jack Kemp -all great athletes in their own right -- join me in this appreciation.

We feel Ted Williams' straight-talk comments on the President and his critics reflect that honesty and patriotism which has characterized both our athletes and the great body of the American people. I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from a <u>Washington Post</u> article on his remarks be included in the Record.

-30-

The Washington Wost SPORTS Pundit Ted Williams Splinters Nixon's Critics

By George Minot Jr. Washington Post Staff Writer

BALTIMORE, May 9—Thoughtful Americans everywhere were talking today about President Nixon's decision to mine North Vietnam's ports.

Ted Williams was no exception. The manager of the Texas Rangers, the old Washington Senators, was lobby sitting in the Lord Baltimore Hotel, sweating out the rain which eventually washed out nis night game with the Orioles.

"Nixon had to do it, regardless of the consequences. We have 60,000 guys over there we have to protect," said Williams, the firebrand Marine fighter pilot of World War II and the Korean conflict.

"He's the greatest President of my lifetime," added Williams, who once caused a stir when he questioned President Truman's "guts."

Williams cut across party lines by praising Franklin D. Roosevelt as "great" but his opinion of the leading Democratic presidential hopefuls was less than laudatory. "Those four guys make me puke," he fumed. "and you can put that in your column."

Obviously mellowing in his middle years, the manager did not further identify the "four guys."

In the view of the last .400 hitter, "Nixon always makes the right decision. At least he makes the effort." When someone questioned him about the reaction of the Soviet Union to the mining, Williams shot back: "I'm not afraid of the Russians."

Williams' staunch defense of the Chief Executive came as no surprise to anyone who had visited Williams' old office in RFK Stadium. Mr. Nixon's photograph hung over the couch

While he was about it, the Rangers' manager took a swipe at NBC's Today Show, which, he charged, this morning interviewed more opponents of Mr. Nixon's policy than proponents. "That was horsefeathers," he said.

"Then you ask the clowns on the street to comment," he continued. Williams equated the "clowns" to "those long-haired college kids with baggy clothes, who don't pay taxes and haven't been in the Army."

Williams was asked about his own baggy attire, especially his flapping slacks. He said he said he has them cut "full" because that's the way he likes them. "At least they're clean."

On baseball matters, Williams has faith the new franchise will draw in Texas. He cited bad weather, competition from hockey and basketball and the strike as reasons for the club's poor gates to date.

"I know they love football down there and the fans aren't baseball oriented. We're going to have to educate them; next year will be the measure."

But what kind of an education can his club provide, needled Williams' interviewer.

"We'll be aound .500," he said with almost as much heat as when he was discussing the long-hairs. "We might be better than .500 in Arlington (Tex.) and that's what counts.

"Even you will admit we're better organized, that young guys are coming up. We still don't have enough draft choices making the club. The other day none of the nine guys we started were drafted."

Back in Williams' good graces and back in center field is Elliott Maddox, whom the manager was faulting last month for lack of "zing."

Maddox isn't completely "cured," however. The other day Williams spoke to him for playing music on his tape recorder while the team was waiting for 'its charter flight. "I said I knew he had three hits (in the justplayed game) but that we had lost."

In that same airport waiting room Williams admonished three other Rangers for pitching pennies in a corner. What really bugged the manager was that all three were college men.

The rain-out was the fifth of the young season for the Orioles, who were washed out 14 times last year. The game will be made up when Texas returns in July.

Date: May 15, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

As suggested in my May 12 memo, you may want to use Teeter's Final First Wave analysis as the talking paper at the 10 a.m. political meeting in Ehrlichman's office today.

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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

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H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

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SUBJECT:

Campaign Poll Analysis and Wave II

4

Bob Tester submitted his Final First Wave Analysis to you and John Mitchell today. It is attached at Tab A. The conclusions and recommendations are specific and surprising. You may want to use this memorandum as a talking paper at one of the regular political meetings, either with or without Tester present.

Teeter also asked Mitchell for authority to conduct the second series of polls in mid-June. The cost is approximately \$250,000. Teeter is soliciting suggestions from the Campaign and White House Staffs. The final questionnaire will be submitted to you and Mitchell for final approval on June 1. Teeter's memoranda are at Tab B.

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GS/jb

MEMORANDUM

May 13, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

TO THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: JON A. FOUST

SUBJECT: Departure and Arrival Ceremonies for the President's Trip to Russia

At the present time the departure ceremonies at Andrews Air Force Base on May 20 is tentatively being planned as an extremely lowkey affair. At this time it seems inappropriate to invite our celebrities or athletes to this event.

The arrival ceremonies on June 1, tentatively scheduled for 10:00 p.m. on the South Lawn, seems like an appropriate event to invite our celebrities and athletes to attend. The thinking at this time is that the President will chopper to the Ellipse and drive up to the South Lawn where a large crowd would be expected. The President would make some kind of remarks in a setting similar to a state arrival ceremony. We will devise a plan of inviting celebrities and athletes to this event.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

bcc: Gordon Strachan (White House)

California Committee

for the Re-election

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

May 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 6 May 1972)

<u>Registration</u>: We are receiving good cooperation now from everyone with the exception of Put Livermore who only promises cooperation but delivers nothing. Los Angeles County has given us their six staffers just for registration. We expect to find a total of 10 Youth for Nixon staffers for registration. And one way or another we intend to have somewhere between 25 and 30 staff people on registration by the end of the month, even without Livermore's help.

Our emphasis will be on Los Angeles County where we expect to have one staffer for about every two Assembly districts. The Los Angeles youth group picked up a little over 100 registrations Saturday (6 May) with a registration walk at Marina Del Rey. Contra Costa County now has its books back and has a walk planned for Saturday, 13 May.

<u>Phone Banks</u>: We have nine pilot phone banks going. Most are going well, especially Sacramento (Monagan) and Sunnyvale (Packard). There was delay in the phone bank operation because the data computer firm hired by national--Reuben Donnally--has been late with needed material. However, we think that this kind of problem can be ironed out well before the general election.

<u>Direct Mail</u>: The mail program begins this week--1.8 million letters will be mailed. Bob Morgan of national will be here this week and next to observe and find out if this size operation can be made to work.



Organization: For the most part we are organized now at the top, with state chairmen in most major areas (Will Gill, Jr., has accepted Agriculture.). The job to be done now is to get down to the precinct level and to the individual voter through mail, phone and canvass techniques as well as speakers and large quantities of literature.

Speakers, by the way, is going well with an operation underway for oncampus speakers as well as speakers for special events.

<u>Budgets</u>: We are wrestling with budgets now, because of the decision to include county budgets in the state budget. I am at a loss to know at this time whether our budgets are out of line because this has not really been done before. What we are having to do is account for spending in advance that perhaps was never accounted for at all in prior campaigns. We meet with Gordon Luce on this on Wednesday and will report to you before submitting them to Washington.

<u>UROC</u>, as you know, endorsed Ashbrook. We had people at the UROC convention and discovered that it has been taken over by persons who think the President is a communist controlled by Henry Kissinger who is controlled by the Council on Foreign Relations. The rest of us are either dupes or communists, also. So be it.

cc: John Mitchell Bob Haldeman Bob Mardian Gordon Luce Ed Meese



WASHINGTON



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

F ROM:

Maryland and Michigan

SUBJECT:

Primary Returns

The President's name is on the Maryland ballot with Ashbrook and McCloskey. The President's name is on the Michigan ballot with McCloskey. The President is expected to win easily.

Eleven Democrats appear on the Maryland ballot, with Humphrey, Wallace and McGovern the only real contestants. There are seven Democrats on the Michigan ballot; again only Wallace, McGovern and Humphrey are contesting.

The Maryland and Michigan polls close at 8 p.m. CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results at 10:30 this evening. I will be in touch with Magruder and Shumway from 8:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

Harry Dent will prepare a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary will be on your desk at 7:45 a.m. for you to decide whether it should go to the President.

X

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT

Governor George Wallace shattered Labor's "stop-Wallace" hopes by winning substantial victories in Michigan and Maryland. The President swept house in both states.

In Michigan, here was the count at 6:30 AM with 99% of the precincts reporting:

| | MIC | HIGAN | (99% | <u>in</u>) | | |
|----------|---------|-------|------|-------------|---------|---|
| | Votes | % | | Deleg | ates | |
| Wallace | 791,321 | 51 | | 69-u | ncertai | n |
| McGovern | 416,671 | 27 | | 37 | н | |
| Humphrey | 246,546 | 16 | | 26 | 11 | |

On the Republican side, the President took 97% of the vote. McCloskey, the only other Republican on the ballot, failed to win 2%.

Humphrey and organized labor suffered a strong defeat. Wallace carried Detroit city with 40%, and swept the Detroit suburbs with 2/3 of the vote. Wallace also ran strongly in Republican and ticket-splitting precincts. The Michigan Democrat party will take that into consideration when they apportion convention delegates, and may be able to trim some of Wallace's delegates. The black vote was Humphrey's, but rank and file labor support went to Wallace. One factor was the UAW's early endorsement of Muskie, which kept labor from closing solidly behind Humphrey. Wallace was the big spender in TV campaigning and did the most personal appearances, followed by Humphrey. To compound Hubert's misery, McGovern hardly campaigned in Michigan.

| | MARY | LAND | (99% in) |
|----------|---------|------|-----------|
| | Votes | % | Delegates |
| Wallaco | 216,019 | 39 | 41 |
| Humphrey | 144,849 | 27 | 6 |
| McCovern | 118,311 | 22 | 6 |

The President won easily with 86%, trailed by McCloskey with 8% and Ashbrook with 6%.

Wallace handily carried the Eastern Shore and other rural areas, and did better than expected in Baltimore. He also carried Prince Georges County. McGovern's pocket of strength was Montgomery County, with Humphrey doing well with the blacks.

Overall, the sympathy vote for Wallace did not seem a major factor. It may have mobilized additional Wallace voters, but did not seem to result in mass conversions.



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WASHINGTON

May 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

Sen. Humphrey appears to be winning his 2nd and 3rd primary victories in real squeakers, with Ohio still in doubt. Both Wallace and McGovern were claiming victories--at least psycho-logical.

As of 6:30 AM, here were the results:

| | INDIAN | <u>A</u> (93%) | | |
|--------|---------|----------------|-----------|--|
| | Votes | <u>%</u> | Delegates | |
| HHH | 307,925 | 46% | 54 | |
| GW | 278,878 | 42% | 22 | |
| Muskie | 77,867 | 12% | 0 | |

| | OHIC | <u>)</u> (60%) | |
|----------|---------|----------------|------------------|
| | Votes | <u>%</u> | Delegates |
| ннн | 261,693 | 41% | 38 statewide and |
| McGovern | 246,561 | 39% | ll5 in districts |
| Muskie | 60,818 | 10% | (still too |
| Jackson | 52,077 | 8% | uncertain) |
| McCarthy | 15,499 | 2% | |

The Ohio results will not be finally tabulated until later today because of voting machine problems in the Cleveland area. A judge ordered the polls kept open there until midnight. McGovern could yet win depending on the outcome among blacks and blue collars in Cleveland.

Sen. Jackson pulled a Muskie, saying he'll engage in no more primary battles but stay in the race.

Wallace guarded his rear in Alabama, spending \$100,000 in the past two weeks to do so. The complicated primary vote gave

him control over Alabama's 37 delegates, with 6 uncommitted (anti-GW), one undetermined, and the national committeeman and woman, expected anti-GW.

Sparkman barely avoided a runoff in his primary, and Blount won his easily over two challengers, Jim Martin and Rep. Bert Nettles. Blount did better than expected.

In D. C., Delegate Fauntroy won everything on the Demo side. Carl Shipley was defeated 3-1 for national committeeman, and the GOP had a close delegate nomination race between Jerry Moore and Dr. Chin-Lee.

HHH appears to be getting another boost toward nomination, but Wallace is getting and taking much acclaim for his best outof-South showing ever, and McGovern is winning praise for his spectacular underdog showing in Ohio. Much attention centered over the friction generated by the voting machine foul-up in Cuyahoga County. By noon there were no votes cast in 73 Cuyahoga precincts. McGovern was blaming HHH, and HHH was heatedly denying all. 51 of the 73 were black precincts where HHH was expected to prevail.

Wallace's name was not on the Alabama ballot and things were so complicated with the procedures that there was no way to tell what Wallace's personal percentage of the vote would have been.

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1972

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THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

لاحصرية

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Sen. Jackson pulled a Muskie, saying he'll engage in no more primary battles but stay in the race.

Wallace guarded his rear in Alabama, spending \$100,000 in the past two weeks to do so. The complicated primary vote gave

him control over Alabama's 37 delegates, with 6 uncommitted (anti-GW), one undetermined, and the national committeeman and woman, expected anti-GW.

Sparkman barely avoided a runoff in his primary, and Blount won his easily over two challengers, Jim Martin and Rep. Bert Nettles. Blount did better than expected.

In D. C., Delegate Fauntroy won everything on the Demo side. Carl Shipley was defeated 3-1 for national committeeman, and the GOP had a close delegate nomination race between Jerry Moore and Dr. Chin-Lee.

HHH appears to be getting another boost toward nomination, but Wallace is getting and taking much acclaim for his best outof-South showing ever, and McGovern is winning praise for his spectacular underdog showing in Ohio. Much attention centered over the friction generated by the voting machine foul-up in Cuyahoga County. By noon there were no votes cast in 73 Cuyahoga precincts. McGovern was blaming HHH, and HHH was heatedly denying all. 51 of the 73 were black precincts where HHH was expected to prevail.

Wallace's name was not on the Alabama ballot and things were so complicated with the procedures that there was no way to tell what Wallace's personal percentage of the vote would have been.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: DeVan L. Shumway (202) 333-7060 #4-2(4)

STATEMENT BY FRANCIS L. DALE, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Only one winner has emerged from the Wisconsin primary: Richard Nixon. Without making a personal appearance there, without spending substantial money on advertising, without an organized attempt of any kind to get out the vote, he has received the overwhelming endorsement of Wisconsin Republicans.

Yet the numerous Democratic candidates suffering from White House fever spent hundreds of thousands of dollars, spent weeks in the state, cranked up elaborate campaign organizations -- and still have not produced a single man whom the people can call a leader.

The message is that Richard Nixon will be re-elected in November. It comes through loud and clear from Tuesday's election - on top of his victories in New Hampshire and Florida.

-30-

| | THE WHITE HOUSE |
|-------|-----------------|
| | Date: 4/3 |
| TO: | H.R. HALDEMAN |
| FROM: | GORDON STRACHAN |

Nofziger's report on the California campaign for Reagan emphasizes the financial problems and the lack of guidance from 1701.

Discussion with Nofziger today indicates that the financial problem was resolved, apparently by Reagan calling Mitchell. Reagan's call probably criticized Magruder, who is now somewhat upset with Nofziger.

March 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER KIN

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending March 25)

Registration. Picking up in many counties. San Diego County now getting organized under our people. It will not make a big splash by April but will be in good shape by September. Betty Kajowa, who is the most competent worker in San Diego, has taken the co-chairmanship of the campaign with responsibility for registration. L.A. is still slow, but we are pushing away at them. The youth group under Tom Hayden is working at finding registration volunteers and claims some success. Hayden will give me a report next week.

Organization. We now have a Mexican-American steering committee with **repr**esentation state-wide. Its members will meet regularly and are at **work** now sorting out competent leadership in the Mexican communities **throughout** the state.

Mike Donaldson, a Torrance lawyer and former candidate for Congress with good political experience, has agreed to head up the state-wide speakers bureau. We have also hired Gary Hunt to take charge of a special on-campus (both high school and college) speakers bureau.

Retired Superior Court Judge Alfred Paonessa has agreed to head up our older American's program in Southern California.

We will ask two prominent Negroes, one a Democrat and one a Republican, to co-chair our Southern California black organization this week. An April 6 meeting is scheduled in San Francisco as a preliminary for setting up a Northern California organization.

This week should see Banowsky, McCandless and Packard with all their chairmen. Monagan, with 42 to pick, has a little way to go yet. We have called a meeting of the Southern California county chairmen for next Saturday to go over campaign organization and plans with them.

Nancy Bradaas, the national committee's phone bank expert, will be here Wednesday and Thursday to explain procedures.

Communications. We are feeding a lot of radio actualities using Administration spokesmen who come to California as well as doing the usual press releases. We are attempting to set up volunteers to monitor radio and TV and are also working to set up letter writing volunteers.

Problems. 1. We are not getting enough money adequately to finance this campaign although enough has been raised. It is a matter of getting it out of Washington. I believe it is going to be necessary for you to talk to John Mitchell about this.

> 2. We are not getting enough materials from national nor have we received any of the so-called "plans" that are meant as guidance. We can get along fine without the latter, but I hope not to get too far away from their proposals if I don't have to.

3. National is also having a tough time keeping track of where Administration figures are speaking. We need to know when they are speaking in California so we can utilize them in speaking for the President.

4. We also need to develop two or three prominent Californians who are willing to take on the enemy. At this moment timidity is rampant in our ranks.

None of the above is serious except the money problem. We just can't operate effectively without sufficient funds. As you know, Ashbrook qualified so we will have a primary. I believe it is essential that we win overwhelmingly in order to show the Ashbrook people they do not have any significant support. This is why the money situation is so important.

cc: John Mitchell Bob Haldeman Jeb Magruder Gordon Luce Ed Meese

P

WASHINGTON

Administratively Confidential

April 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Democratic Candidates in California Primary

You asked for the final list of the Democratic candidates in the California primary. Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown, Jr. certified the list on Friday, March 31. The order the names will appear on the ballot is:

George McGovern Edmund Muskie Shirley Chisholm John Lindsay Hubert Humphrey Eugene McCarthy Sam Yorty Henry Jackson

CONTACT:DeVan L. Shumway (202)333-7060 #3-41(30)

STATEMENT BY FRANCIS L. DALE, CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Francis L. Dale, Chairman of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, today charged "certain Democratic presidential aspirants" were using "last minute desperation gutter tactics" in the Wisconsin primary elections.

Commenting on a charge by New York Mayor John Lindsay that President Nixon's supporters were deliberately downplaying the Republican primary in order to encourage Republican voters to cross over and vote for Alabama Governor George C. Wallace, Dale said:

"Such remarks are last minute desperation gutter tactics by a candidate who is trying to find an excuse for his impending defeat five days before that defeat happens.

"Anyone who knows John Lindsay's record of chronic crybabyism in New York City could have expected something like this. His whole record there has been one of finding excuses for his failures. It's always somebody else's fault. Now he's about to get defeated in a Democratic primary by one of the most lackluster sets of candidates the Democrats have ever fielded and he's trying to blame that on the President.

"If Governor Wallace gets more votes Tuesday than John Lindsay, it will be because the voters in Wisconsin think Wallace has more to offer than Lindsay. They will be trying to tell him something which I would have thought had long ago become obvious -- that he should go back to New York and try to solve that city's problems rather than excusing his way around the country.

"We want every Republican voter to go to the polls and to support the Presi-

STATEMENT BY FRANCIS L. DALE

dent. Let's get every Republican voter into the voting booths and show President Nixon how much we appreciate what he's done for our country."

-30-

3/30/72

Senator Bob Dole, Chair:

310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 484-6

FOR INMEDIATE RELEASE: MARCH 30, 1972 CONTACT: JOE REPPERT (202) 225 5521

Republican National Chairman Bob Dole said today that his Democratic counterpart, Lawrence F. O'Brien, needed a "history lesson" in Wisconsin voting patterns if he thought the vote in Tuesday's primaries would be a clue to who would carry Wisconsin in the November election.

from the republican national committe

Dole pointed out that in both 1960 and 1968 the combined votes of Democratic candidates in the Wisconsin primary exceeded the combined votes of Republican candidates, yet President Nixon had carried the state by substantial margins in the general elections that followed.

"We hope for a good turnout of voters in the Republican primary," Dole said. "But the big brawl is going on among the Democrats and fights are what draw crowds. With the President having virtually unanimous support for re-election within the Republican party as evidenced by his overwhelming vote in New Hampshire and Florida, it is only natural that we would have a relatively small turnout. However, President Nixon will carry Wisconsin next November - as he has in the past."

Dole cited figures showing that in 1960, with Richard Nixon running unopposed in the Wisconsin primary, 843,000 people voted in the Democratic primary and 339,000 voted in the Republican primary. However, in the November general election, the President carried the state with 895,000 votes to 830,000 for the Democratic nominee.

In 1968, 490,000 voters participated in the Republican Primary while 733,000 were voting in the Democratic primary. Yet again, the President carried Wisconsin on his way to the White House with 810,000 votes to Hubert Humphrey's 749,000.

-30-

ACTION MEMORANDUM

We need to be sure to get our surrogates into Pennsylvania well ahead of the Pennsylvania primary to answer the Democratic candidates. We failed on this completely in Wisconsin and the Democrate have gotten away with making all the news while we get no answers out on our side. In Pennsylvania, which is the next one that will really count, we should not let this happen.

HRH:kb March 29, 1972

Hype 413 6 Has

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

The Democrat presidential candidates discombobulated themselves further in Wisconsin with a big victory for McGovern (30%) and big losses for everyone else except Wallace, unexpectedly number 2 with 22%. On the GOP side, the President got 97%, although his total vote of 266,551 with 97% counted was less than McGovern's 326,450 with 98% counted. This was due to the 1/3 or more GOP crossover vote (HHH said 40%).

The results with 98% of the precincts reporting are at Tab A.

Played as the big news were the McGovern and Wallace scores, HHH's failure to win, Muskie's fourth place disaster, and Lindsay's withdrawal. These results, plus the 97% victory for the President were billed as another victory for the President in both primaries.

John McIver says he regrets the President's vote total did not exceed McGovern's but this fits the 1960 and 1968 patterns and is well understood there with the big crossover and \$1 million spent on the Demo side versus our very little. He feels the beneficiaries of the crossover votes were Wallace, Jackson, and McGovern, with Wallace getting about half. His 2 law partners voted for McGovern.

McGovern really played the populism theme, directing his fire at "them," the establishment. It got him across-the-board votes in all groupings and may have netted 56 of the 67 delegate votes, the other to HHH, as of 6:30 AM.

HHH came too late and used too much "me-tooism." McGovern was always advocating twice as much first.

In the last 4 days Muskie virtually gave up, spending too much time watching pro basketball. His people began defecting. He says he won't surrender.

Wallace had great advance work, spending one day on each engagement and getting the best crowds.

McIver says the fall fight in Wisconsin will be "tough."

| McGovern | 30 | 326,450 |
|------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Wallace | 22 | 2 42 , 748 |
| ннн . | 21 | 229,145 |
| Muskie | 10 | 113,677 |
| Jackson | 8 | 86,536 |
| Lindsay | 7 | 74,486 |
| McCarthy | 1 | 15,316 |
| Chisolm | 1 | 8,905 |
| Yorty | · _ | 2,294 |
| Mink | · _ | 1,261 |
| Hartke | - . | 940 |
| Mills | - | 933 |
| All others | - | 1,912 |
| | | |

| | REPUBLICAN | |
|-----------|------------|---------|
| Nixon | 97 | 266,551 |
| McCloskey | 1 | 3,461 |
| Ashbrook | 1 | 2,642 |
| Others | 1 | 1,558 |

P. S. - Republican Clifford Carlson defeated Democrat Tim Hall to fill the unexpired term of Charlotte Reid. Carlson polled 30,724 votes to 25,780 for Hall.

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No reference to Flem in Dent memo to P. 4/4 CBS Radio 9p Record Turnout - Ste Poppos Milevander entry-people lined up coarting will be able to vote to mary be handley Undere Stopproduct, 22% - meet come in 2nd to get & for other premeries Ques 920 - None Louna - 3 33-7060 mont - mus liste del ask Rep In 4 his in appleton 930 - 718 - Miles AP H 28 No Rep returns Ual 13 mus 10 Leno 6 CBS Rodic 935 Comp 72 - Geo Hermon Polls 'closed" but lines sh Rep Pn. 12 recorded Cestin Mc G eycos H Roder Wal 33 22 17 HHHpedicis Mes 10

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WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

Wisconsin Primary

Returns

SUBJECT:

Tonight, Jeb Magruder will have an election watch at 1701, based on the Wisconsin campaign individuals' analysis of the returns.

The polls close at 9:00 p.m. EST. Network projections are expected between 9:30 and 10:30 p.m. CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has announced shows at 10:20 p.m. and 11:40 p.m. I will be in touch with Magruder from 9:00 p.m. on. I can be reached through the White House Operator, either in Magruder's office or on pageboy. Should you wish to talk to Jeb Magruder directly, he can be reached through 333-0920 or bellboy 381-1949.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

For both New Hampshire and Florida, Harry Dent has prepared a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary has been delivered to the President at 7:30 a.m. the next morning.

RECOMMENDATION

That Dent be asked to prepare his analysis of the Wisconsin Primary for the President.

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

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· April 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

. ,

For your information I am attaching a copy of a memorandum describing our press plan for Wisconsin primary night.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DEVAN SHUMWAY

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Press Plan for Wisconsin Primary Night

The following is our press plan for the state and national headquarters on election night, April 4.

TOM GIRARD Tow

In Wisconsin

Committee Chairman John MacIver, campaign workers and other supporters will get together Tuesday in the Milwaukee committee office, (414)/278-0262. As the results become clear, MacIver will visit the city room of the <u>Milwaukee Journal</u>. I am told this is where the press usually gathers and the TV stations do interviews there.

Harry Flemming says MacIver wants us to deal directly with him that night, instead of through Charlie Davis. On Tuesday Art will prepare a statement for MacIver. We will discuss what approach to take at the Monday News Planning meeting. Obviously, the main line will be to continue our emphasis on the Democrats' confusion over who their leader is.

Harry Flemming says he has no plans t_0 go to Wisconsin or to receive election returns in any special way.

In Washington

We again should be partially staffed to follow the wire and be available if necessary. Our national audio service may be operative in time to use it Tuesday night.

Frank Dale should be here if possible to again serve as spokesman and to be ready for a Wednesday news conference if necessary. We should put out a written statement and have him read it for audio.

We will check to see if Senator Dole can come by again to issue a statement and to do audio. We will also see if Senator Scott and Congressman Ford will issue statements.

It might also be useful to see if the Vice President would be willing to comment for us. If possible let's also record that.

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cc: Magruder, Flemming, Dore, Amolsch

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

The Democrat presidential candidates discombobulated themselves further in Wisconsin with a big victory for McGovern (30%) and big losses for everyone else except Wallace, unexpectedly number 2 with 22%. On the GOP side, the President got 97%, although his total vote of 266,551 with 97% counted was less than McGovern's 326,450 with 98% counted. This was due to the 1/3 or more GOP crossover vote (HHH said 40%).

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|------------|------------|------------|------------------|-------|----|
| X . | | DEMOCRAT | | 1 | C |
| | McGovern | 30 | 326,450 | | |
| | Wallace | 22 | 242 , 748 | 570 | |
| | ннн . | _ 21 | 229,145 | 790 | L. |
| | Muskie | 10 | 113 , 677 | 900 | |
| | Jackson | 8 | 86,536 | 986, | |
| | Lindsay | 7 | 74,486 | | |
| | McCarthy | 1 | 15,316 | 1,030 | |
| | Chisolm | 1 | 8,905 | | |
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| | Mink | - | 1,261 | | |
| | Hartke | - | 940 | | |
| | Mills | - | 933 | | |
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REPUBLICAN

| Nixon | 97 | 266,551 | 600. |
|-----------|----|---------|------|
| McCloskey | 1 | 3,461 | |
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| Others | l | 1,558 | |

P. S. - Republican Clifford Carlson defeated Democrat Tim Hall to fill the unexpired term of Charlotte Reid. Carlson polled 30,724 votes to 25,780 for Hall.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 5, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

| MEMORANDUM FOR: | MR. I | H. R. HALDEMAN |
|-----------------|-------|---|
| FROM: | JEB S | H. R. HALDEMAN S. MAGRUDII Bonafede's Mational Journal Articles |
| SUBJECT: | Dom 1 | Bonafede's Mational Journal Articles |

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Though the March 18 issue of the <u>National Journal</u> contained the mistaken statement that the campaign's in-house advertising group was "presided over" by you, this error appeared despite the fact that on two occasions I personally spoke with the author and described the structure of the campaign. Naturally, when I talked with Dom Bonafede I explained Peter Dailey's role as the head of our in-house agency. Bonafede admits now that his statement concerning the ad agency was derived from information that he picked up elsewhere and failed to check out.

Van Shumway talked with Bonafede today and he assured Van that similar misinformation would not appear in the article on national politics that he is currently writing.

CONFIDENTIAL

| - | THE WHITE HOUSE |
|-----------|-----------------|
| | Date: 4/8/72 |
| TO: | H.R. HALDEMAN |
| FROM: | GORDON STRACHAN |

Malek discussed this RNC Communications Division problem with Mitchell on April 7. Tom Evans has been either "skiing or in Florida with Rollins" when Mitchell has tried to contact him. According to Malek, Mitchell will come down hard on Evans and get this matter resolved.

April 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

FROM: CHARLES COLSON

As we discussed this morning, you might find the attached from Tom Evans of some interest. I was pressing Lofton for two things:

- Get the attack in <u>Monday</u> off Muskie and spread it around to some other Democrats, a position which I know you and I strongly felt to be correct. You remember we discussed it on a couple of occasions.
- 2. To defend Kleindienst and attack the Democratic smear campaign being waged against him. I just can't understand <u>Monday</u> making the unilaterial decision that they wouldn't defend the Administration and Kleindienst's nomination without at least calling us to discuss it.

All that this points up is what has been a continuing problem: refusal from time to time to deal with the issues we ask them to deal with, but much more important than that, a tremendous need for professionalism in the communications operation. One good man would be better than the 30 half-wits they have sitting around right now.

April 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

TOM EVANS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

2

FROM

SUBJECT:

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CHARLES COLSON

Your Memo of March 31.

I don't know that we will get anywhere by exchanging memos other than for me to say that I am horrified at your reluctance to defend the Administration on the ITT matter. Senator Scott, Cook, Gurney, Hruska and others have done a valiant job; none of them have questioned the material we have provided them with. In fact, they have been eager to rise to the President's defense on what has become, at least in Washington, the Number 1 political issue and I am simply distressed that <u>Monday</u> is not willing to apparently join the good fight on our side. You refer in your memo to a number of reasons why John Lofton and you feel that nothing of a substantive nature in connection with this issue should be dealt with by <u>Monday</u>. Perhaps we should get together and discuss this because it seems to me there is a serious policy issue that you have raised with this judgment.

In any event, I would be glad to meet with you at your convenience. I can assure you, Tom, that we all want to work together in the cause. For a while, I thought things were going very well between Lofton and ourselves, but we seem to have lost touch in recent weeks; that could be our fault as much as anyone else's and I would certainly want to work with you constructively in any way we can to keep <u>Monday</u> the very valuable, partisan, rallying journal that it has been. It can only be that, however, if we work together. I had the impression that John Lofton was very eager to do that and let's see if we can now somehow get it back on the track.



Thomas B. Evans, Jr., Co-Chairman

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CHARLES W. COLSON

John Lofton, Editor of Monday, has passed on your memorandum of March 27, 1972, regarding your disappointment in the last issue of Monday. You were concerned that we did not criticize the media, as you suggested, for improperly reporting on the ITT case. Secondly, your memo states you were disappointed that we had not shifted our attack against the Democratic contenders; and thirdly, you suggested we might return to regularly scheduled meetings.

First of all, we appreciate your help in making Monday an even more effective publication, and if you desire regularly scheduled meetings, we will set them up. Personally, I am a firm believer that they always improve communications.

As for shifting the attack on leading Democratic contenders (it's hard to tell the leaders from the laggers), I draw your attention to the lead article in the issue you mention. It does in fact shift the attack. (A copy of that issue is attached.)

As far as the ITT situation is concerned, we do not differ with you on the manner in which the press has blown it out of all proportion. (Attached, you will find excerpts from an address I gave three weeks ago.) Am also enclosing our April 3 issue of <u>First Monday</u> which has a much larger circulation than <u>Monday</u>. Page 22 of that issue refers to the media distortion of the ITT matter.

stantive nature in connection with III acres for downber of reasons of concur with his and tee that the matter is of such importance that the old principle of checks and balances should be applied before taking any for the steps.

Monday has fair credibility among our readers and with the media. However, there is nothing more many of our friends in the media would like to do than to damage that credibility. Consequently, I believe that John Lofton is correct in being entirely certain of our facts before we start the attack. There have been enough inconsistencies in this matter – and one more would not help the objective we all share.

Thank you for your comments and for your help; and I would be more than happy to meet with you at your convenience.

Jon ban

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: 4/8/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

A March 29 Action Memorandum requested a plan for Surrogates to answer the Democratic candidates.

On April 5, you asked John Mitchell to advise Magruder and Porter regarding the types of events and particular surrogates.

4n sun on April 19th ? Stop alro- do they get adaguet alro - do they get adaguet info se attacking or do they info se attacking or do they

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH:

JEB S. MAGRUDER HERBERT L. PORTER Bas

SUBJECT:

FROM:

Pennsylvania Surrogate Plan

It has been requested to develop a surrogate speakers plan to answer the Democratic candidates in Pennsylvania prior to the April 25th primary.

TAB A lists twelve (12) events in which we have now scheduled major surrogate speakers. TAB B lists seventy-one (71) events that have been scheduled by Republican Congressmen from Pennsylvania and other representatives from the Executive Branch who are going to be in Pennsylvania between now and April 25.

Our plan for the major surrogates is as follows:

- 1) The press office of our Pennsylvania Committee will obtain the Democratic candidates' speaking schedules and, when possible, advance texts of their speeches and Telex this information to our press office at 1701.
- 2) In every case, Democratic candidates' speeches will be monitored and telexed to 1701.
- 3) Responses will be prepared and disseminated immediately to the major surrogates for answering.
- In addition, special emphasis will be placed on assisting these surrogates in planning press conferences and scheduling T.V. appearances.

1 1

Page 2

As for the Congressmen and Executive Branch personnel, they have been contacted requesting them to include in their speeches comments favorable to the Administration and support of the President. We have forwarded to each of these speakers information on major issues, including fact sheets, speech inserts, and Presidential quotations. The major surrogates are already in possession of these materials.

An example of the kind of activity we are trying to engender in Pennsylvania is Secretary Volpe's appearance in Philadelphia on April 10 at the Pennsylvania Association of Township Supervisors. We discovered this event was taking place, determined their arrangements, contacted the event Chairman, and suggested a speech by the Secretary. They were delighted; and, as a result, Secretary Volpe has chosen this event to announce two significant grants relating to transportation. In addition, he will speak on Revenue Sharing, a subject that the supervisors are most interested in. Also, Secretary Volpe will use this event to attack the irresponsible charges of the opposition.

We will continue to look for and schedule additional opportunities in Pennsylvania between now and April 25.

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TAB A

APPEARANCES IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIOR TO APRIL 25, 1972

| Date | Event | Speaker |
|----------|--|---------------|
| April 7 | Johnstown Chamber of Commerce, Johnstown | Sec. Laird |
| | | • • |
| April 10 | Pennsylvania Association of Township Supervisors (plus Press Conference), Philadelphia | Sec. Volpe |
| | | |
| April 13 | 25th Annual Convention of Pennsylvania Personnel Association, Pittsburgh | Sen. Dominick |
| | | |
| April 13 | AMEN Corner Dinner, Pittsburgh | Mr. Finch |
| April 13 | Meeting with Gov. Cahill, including media events covering the Philadelphia area, Trenton | Sec. Volpe |
| April 15 | Philadelphia Congress of Republican Women's Councils | Mrs. Knauer |
| April 16 | Order of the Sons of Italy, Philadelphia | Sec. Volpe |

• •

| | Date | Event | Speaker |
|---|----------|---|-------------------------|
| | April 17 | Philadelphia Federal Executive | Mrs. Knauer |
| | | Board and Philadelphia Federal Business Associations | |
| | April 17 | Our Lady of Angels College, Glen Riddle | Mrs. Knauer |
| | April 18 | Mike Douglas Show, Philadelphia | Sec. Volpe |
| | April 19 | Philadelphia GOP Committee Dinner, Philadelphia | Sen.Scott Sen.Javits |
| • | April 19 | Johnstown Republican Dinner, Johnstown | (Invitation Pending) |
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APPEARANCES IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIOR TO APRIL 25, 1972

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| Date | Event | Speaker | |
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| April 7 | "Meet the Candidates Night" Bradford | Cong. Albert Johnson | - |
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| April 7 | Union League, Philadelphia | Cong. Ware | |
| April 7 | Republican League of Rockledge | Cong. Coughlin | |
| | | | |
| April 8 | Tour of Speaking Districts and Souderton Candidates Rally | Cong. Ware | |
| | | | |
| April 8 | Campaign Saturday, Ambler and North Penn. | Cong. Coughlin | |
| | | | |
| April 8 | Camp Association Dinner, Bradford | Cong. Albert Johnson | |
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| April 8 | Dubois Council of Republican Women Dinner, Dubois County | Cong. Albert Johnson | |
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| Date | Event | Speaker |
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| Amont 1 0 | Major House Turchese | Cons. Rissbar |
| April 8 | Union Hours Luncheon, Doylestown | Cong. Biester |
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| April 8 | Penn Ridge Republican Club, | Cong. Biester |
| | Penn Ridge | |
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| April 8 | Southampton Republican Club | Cong. Biester |
| April 0 | Dinner Dance, Southampton | cong. Diester |
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| April 9 | Young Republican Meeting, | Cong. Ware |
| | Radnor | |
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| April 9 | Springfield Township's Young | Cong. Coughlin |
| | Republicans | e e |
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| April 10 | Ursinus College, Collegeville | Cong. Ware |
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| April 10 | Senior Citizens Meeting, | Cong. Ware |
| April 10 | Schwenksville | oonge ware |
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| April 10 | "Operation Identification" | Cong. Coughlin |
| | Press Conference | |
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| | Date | | Event | Speaker |
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| | April | 11 | Bristolboro Candidates' Night, Bristolboro | Cong. Biester |
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| | April | 11 | Pennsylvania Delegation of VFW, Washington, D.C. | Cong. McDade |
| | | | vrw, washington, D.C. | |
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| | April | 1,1 | Sommeset County GOP | Cong. Saylor |
| | | | Committee Banquet, Berlin | |
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| | April | 12 | Republican Women's Club, | Cong. Ware |
| | | | Radnor | |
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| | April | 12 | Lancaster County Chapter | Cong. Eshelman |
| | | | American Businesswomen, Lancaster | • |
| • | | | Lancaster | |
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| | April | 13 | Chambersburg Council of | Cong. Whalley |
| | | | Republican Women Dinner, Chambersburg | • |
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| | April | 13 | Tredyffrin Township Republican Rally | Cong. Ware |
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| Date | • | Event | Speaker |
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| April 1 | 3 | Audubon Club, Norristown | Cong. Coughlin |
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| April 1 | 4 | League of Women's Voters Meeting, Radnor | Cong. Ware |
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| April 1 | | Littlestown High School, | Cong. Goodling |
| · • | | Littlestown | |
| | | | |
| April 1 | 4 | Potter County Republican Commercial Business Meeting, Coudersport | Cong. Albert Johnson |
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| April 1 | 4 | Republican Women of | Cong. Biester |
| | | Pennsbury, Yardley | |
| April 1 | 4 | Woodrow Wilson High School, Levittown | Cong. Biester |
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| April 1 | 5 | Springtown Rod and Gun Club, Springtown | Cong. Biester |
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| Date | • • • | | Event | Speak | <u>er</u> |
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| April | 15 | | Fulton County Jaycees, McConnellsburg | Cong. | Whalley |
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| April | 15 | | Candidates Night, Bensalem | Cong. | Biester |
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| Apri1 | 15 | | Clinton County Spring Dinner | Cong. | Albert Johnson |
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| A pril | 15 | | Republican Rally, Lower Providence | Cong. | Ware |
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| April | 16 | | Fashion Show for Pennsylvania Republican Women, Holland | Cong. | Biester |
| | | | | | • • |
| April | 16 | | Republican Rally, Lionville | Cong. | Ware |
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| April | 17 | | Meet the Candidates Night, State College | Cong. | Albert Johnson |
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| A pril | 17 | | East Whiteland Rally | Cong. | Ware |
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| Date | Event | Speaker |
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| | | |
| April 18 | Haverford Township Council of Republican Women | Cong. Ware |
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| April 18 | Haverford Township Republican Rally | Cong. Ware |
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| April 18 | Consolidated Natural Gas Co. Reception and Dinner | Cong. Saylor |
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| April 19 | Bradford Senior High School, Bradford | Cong. Albert Johnson |
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| April 19 | Lebanon Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C. | Cong. Eshelman |
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| April 19 | Pennsylvania Bankers' Agricultural Conference, Gettysburg | Cong. Goodling |
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| April 19 | Council of Republican Women, Telford | Cong. Ware |
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| | Date | Event | Speak | er | |
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| | April 19 | Radnor Township Republican Rally | Cong. | Ware | • |
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| | April 19 | Abington Republican Club | Cong. | Coughlin | |
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| | April 19 | Cambria County Republican Committee Dinner, Johnstown | Cong. | Saylor | |
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| | April 20 | Clearfield Education Association Legislative Night, Phillipsburg | Cong. | Albert Johnson | |
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| | April 20 | Oil City Annual Dinner, Oil City | Cong. | Albert Johnson | |
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| | April 20 | Republican Rally, Trappe | Cong. | Ware | |
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| | April 20 | Lower Merion Rally | Cong. | Coughlin | |
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| Date | Event | Speaker |
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| | | • |
| April 20 | Corps of Engineers Public Meeting, Dayton | Cong. Saylor |
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| April 21 | Western Clinton County C ouncil of Republican Women | Cong. Albert Johnson |
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| April 21 | Northeast National Banks' Credit Week Dinner, Scranton | Cong. McDade |
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| April 21 | Harrisburg area Chamber of Commerce, Harrisburg | Cong. Goodling |
| • | | |
| April 21 | Phoenixville Rally | Cong. Ware |
| | • | |
| April 21 | Darby Township Republican Organization | Cong. Williams |
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| April 22 | Pennsylvania Education Association, Redding | Cong. Biester |
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| Date | Fuent | 0 1 |
| | Event | Speaker |
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| April 22 | Elk County Pre-Primary Dinner Dance, Ridgeway | Cong. Albert Johnson |
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| April 22 | Young Republican Meeting, Monroe County | Cong. McDade |
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| Anni 1 99 | Routh Dairs Dowrin | Cong Viero |
| April 22 | Earth Fair, Berwin | Cong. Ware |
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| April 22 | Eddystone Fepublican Organization | Cong. Williams |
| | organization | • |
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| | | Comp. Eshalman |
| April 23 | Wreath-laying Ceremony at Grave of President Buchanan | Cong. Eshelman |
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| | o the Congressmen, the following person cheduled appearances in Pennsylvania. | as from the Executive |
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| April 7 | Italian-American Heritage League, Scrapton | Mr. Santarelli |
| April 7 · . | Italian-American Heritage League, Scranton | Mr. Santarelli (Justice) |
| April 7 · . | | |
| • | League, Scranton | (Justice) |
| April 7 April 7 | | |
| • | League, Scranton Philadelphia Conservationists, | (Justice) Mr. Reed |
| • | League, Scranton Philadelphia Conservationists, | (Justice) Mr. Reed |
| • | League, Scranton Philadelphia Conservationists, | (Justice) Mr. Reed |
| • | League, Scranton Philadelphia Conservationists, | (Justice) Mr. Reed |

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| Date | Event | Speaker |
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| April 11 | Pennsylvania Township Supervisors Association, Chambersburg | Mr. Smith (USDA) |
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| April 12 | Water Dedication, Chambersburg | Mr. Smith (USDA) |
| | | • |
| April 12 | Altoona, Johnstown and Tri-State Traffic Club, Bedford | Gen. Davis (DOT) |
| | | |
| April 14 | Business, Industry and Union Consultation, Philadelphia | Elizabeth Koontz (Labor) |
| | | |
| April 20 | Industrial Medical Association Convention | Mr. Guenther (Labor) |
| | · · | |
| April 23 | Dedication, Pittsburgh Residential Manpower Center, Pittsburgh | Mr. Fasser (Labor) |
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News from the Committee for the Re-election of the President 1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 (202) 333-0920

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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CONTACT: DeVan L. Shumway (202) 333-7060 #4-1(4)

STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR BOB DOLE, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

The winner of the Republican primary in Wisconsin is the same man who will be the winner in the general election in November -- Richard Nixon.

But the winner of the Democrat primary was not even on the ballot. Today's vote showed conclusively that so far this year the Democrats have produced nothing but regional candidates. And it further demonstrated that none of those candidates can ever hope to scramble to the top of the heap.

Thus, the <u>real Democrat winner today was Senator Edward Kennedy</u> who has been laying back and using the announced candidates as a herd of stalking horses.

Who is the only potential candidate free to roam the country campaigning without getting his uniform dirty in the trenches?

Who will be the only candidate with enough money to run a national campaign after these primaries have depleted normal fund raising sources?

Who is the only potential candidate with enough arrogance to try to pick up the marbles after all the others are exhausted from the game? I think it is time Senator Kennedy came out of hiding and declared himself. And I believe the other Democrats should demand that he do so.

-30-



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON Date: 4/10

TO:DICK MOORE, HERB KLEIN, BOB FINCH

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

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Lyn Nofziger forwarded this list of Ashbrook delegates in California. Bob asked that you look through the list for any significant names.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Date: 3/30

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Nofziger sent the attached list of Ashbrook delegates filed in California on Friday, March 24. Copies will be sent to Moore, Klein and Finch for review.

Dide pon # 15+8/+ 82+92 - at least 3 Juthom are Buch Stiet, members - I have never heard Jang of these people. Fascination!

CALIFORNIA

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ASHBROOK DELEGATES

| | | Residence | |
|-------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| <u>No</u> . | Name | (city or town) | County |
| 1. | Ernest V. Joiner | Sebastopol | Sonoma |
| 2. | Richard W. Matteis | Willets | Mendocino |
| 3. | Donald L. Maxon | Paradise | Butte |
| 4. | Mrs. Jewel A. Reynolds | Grass Valley | Nevada |
| 5. | Mrs. Frances L. Cunningham | Sacramento | Sacramento |
| 6. | William P. Baker | Sacramento | Sacramento |
| 7. | Robert E. Mackensen | Yuba City | Sutter |
| 8. | Mrs. Sheila D. Messick | Marysville | Yuba |
| 9. | Paul C. Cahill | San Francisco | San Francisco |
| 10. | Madison A. Davis | San Francisco | San Francisco |
| 11. | James Wong | San Francisco | San Francisco |
| 12. | Elmer M. Burns, Col.USA (Ret.) | San Francisco | San Francisco |
| 13. | Hugh O. Pessner | Greenbrae | Marin |
| 14. | Wally Reenelin | Berkeley | Alameda |
| 15. | Mrs. Susan A. Smith | Piedmont | Alameda |
| 16. | Richard A. Burgard | Castro Valley Oakland | Alameda |
| 17. | Albert B. DelMasso | • | Alameda |
| 18. 19. | Mrs. Mary M. Castle, D.D.S. | Castro Valley Fremont | Alameda Alameda |
| 20. | John J. Bates William James Stron, Jr. | Fremont | Alameda |
| 20. | William Clarence Hahn | Los Altos Hills | Santa Clara |
| 22. | Roland C. Wilkinson, Cdr.USN (Ret) | Los Altos | Santa Clara |
| 23. | Miroslav Djordjevich | Daly City | San Mateo |
| 24. | David H. Keyston | Burlingame | San Mateo |
| 25. | William W. Holden | San Mateo | San Mateo |
| 26. | Herbert L. Reid | Santa Cruz | San Mateo |
| 27. | Richard J. Muir, M.D. | Santa Cruz | San Mateo |
| 28. | F F | Thousand Oaks | Ventura |
| 29. | Mrs. Ruth W. Brennan | Moorpark | Ventura |
| 30. | Walter J. Hinpzen | Santa Barbara | Santa Barbara |
| 31. | Mrs. Rena Bertolero | Lafayette | Contra Costa |
| 32. | Doland L. Hoskins | Lafayette | Contra Costa |
| 33. | Clifford Goehring | Lodi | San Joaquin |
| 34. | • | Acampo | San Joaquin |
| 35. | Kent H. Kaiser | Atherton | San Mateo |
| 36. | Trevor C. Roberts | Atherton | San Mateo |
| 37. | Noel T. Casey | Stamford | Santa Clara |
| 38. | Thomas Rinehart | Oakdale | Stanislaus |
| 39. | Mrs. Patricia Whitcomb | Twain Harte | Tuolome |
| 40. | John Emmett Cronan | LaMirada | Los Angeles |
| 41. | Mrs. Shirley H. Odou | Montebello Burkenk | Los Angeles |
| 42. | Tru G. Wilhelm | Burbank | Los Angeles |
| 43. 44. | Robert A. Avery Donald T. Carpenter | Burbank La Canada | Los Angeles Los Angeles |
| 44. 45. | J. Edward Martin | Pasadena | Los Angeles |
| 45. 46. | Roger M. Gertmenian | Pasadena | Los Angeles |
| 40. | Mrs. Ruth E. Wakefield | South Gate | Los Angeles |
| 48. | Mrs. M. Virginia Jorn | South Gate | Los Angeles |
| 49. | Mrs. Lucille M. Manfull | Arleta | Los Angeles |
| 50. | Dale R. Ferguson | Garden Grove | Orange |
| 50. | Date W. Let Broom | | |

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San Bernadino San Bernadino

San Bernadino

| No. | Name | Residence (city or town) | County |
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| | | (city of town) | |
| 51. | Clarke E. Hess | Downey | Los Angeles |
| 52. | Bruce Bogue | San Marino | Los Angeles |
| 53. | Mrs. Kathleen E. Crowe | San Marino | Los Angeles |
| 54. | Mrs. Mary D. Vallentine | Azuza | Los Angeles |
| 55. | Mrs. Mary M. Burger | Covina | Los Angeles |
| 56. | Mrs. Ema L. Turner | Whittier | Los Angeles |
| 57. | Willis E. Stone | Los Angeles | Los Angeles |
| 58. | George Halversen | Los Angeles | Los Angeles |
| 59. | Mrs. Edith K. Staffurd | North Hollywood | Los Angeles |
| 60. | Wilber B. Leinberry | Studio City | Los Angeles |
| 61. | James L. Cawdrey | Redondo Beach | Los Angeles |
| 62. | Wiley Ganey, Major General | | |
| | USAF, Retired | Santa Monica | Los Angeles |
| 63. | Norman E. Witt | Palos Verdes Estate | Los Angeles |
| 64. | Rudolph Rios | El Monte | Los Angeles |
| 65. | Rev. Calvin Caho | Los Angeles | Los Angeles |
| 66. | Joshua M. Workma | Los Angeles | Los Angeles |
| 67. | Donald Cortum, MD | Redondo Beach | Los Angeles |
| | Arthur D. Guy | Long Beach | Los Angeles |
| 69. | Mrs. Doris May Loeffler | Huntington Beach | Orange |
| 70. | Maxine T. Bloomer | Barston | San Bernadin |
| 71. | Roy Edmond Wilk | Redlands | San Bernadin |
| 72. | Yvonne Barber | Huntington Beach | Orange |
| 73. | Edmond C.P. Sheehan | Westminster | Orange |
| 74. | James E. Maris | Westminster | Orange |
| 75. | K. Robert Hahn | Rolling Hills | Los Angeles |
| 76. | John M. Bennett | Rolling Hills | Los Angeles |
| 77. | Gilbert Shearon | Hanford | Kings |
| 78. | Irwin W. Bosworth | Bakersfield | Kings |
| 79. | Marvin Lee Roby | Pomona | Los Angeles |
| 80. | Joseph L. Davis | Montclair | San Bernadin |
| 81. | Honorable John Schmitz | Santa Arora | Orange |
| 82. | George Brokate | Newport Beach | Orange |
| 83. | Pasquale P. Schalera | Anaheim | Orange |
| 84. | Everett Stunz | La Jolla | San Diego |
| 85. | Tyler K. Norton | La Jolla | San Diego |
| 86. | Robert S. Green | Chila Vista | San Diego |
| 87. | John A. Conlin | Chila Vista | San Diego |
| 88. | Robert D. Grathan | La Mesa | San Diego |
| 89. | George D. Donklee, MD | El Cojon | San Diego |
| 90. | Lawrence B. Van Worman | Jamul | San Diego |
| 91. | Lewis H. Landt | Alpine | San Diego |
| 92. | Frank H. Talley | Newberry Park | Ventura |
| 93. | Richard H. Dougherty | Tarzana | Los Angeles |
| 94. | Craig E. Thornhill | Chapsworth | Los Angeles |
| 95. | Lloyd A. Harline | Fresno | Fresno |
| 96. | Leonard C. Hoar, Jr. | Fresno | Fresno |
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the Committee for the Re-election of the President

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

FOR RELEASE, FRIDAY, APRIL 7, 6:00 PM EST:

CONTACT: DeVan L. Shumway (202) 333-7060 #4-4(7)

ROMNEY HITS DEMOCRAT CRITICS OF VIETNAM AIR SUPPORT

PHOENIX, April 7 -- Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George W. Romney tonight charged that "campaigns often bring out the worst in candidates" and blasted Democratic presidential aspirants who have made "irresponsible attacks" on the Administration for increasing U.S. air support to South Vietnam.

"But those publicity-seeking critics," he said, "in my opinion have seriously misread the attitude of the American people in ascribing to them a willingness to abandon our allies and endanger the safety of our own men."

He described the stepped-up North Vietnamese actions as "a blatant assault which can only be described as an invasion."

Romney excluded from his attack three Democratic candidates -- Alabama Governor George Wallace and Senator Henry Jackson and Hubert Humphrey -who, he said, showed "a sense of responsibility which their colleagues so clearly lack.

"These three, at least, indicated that increased air support was the proper response when American lives were threatened by the North Vietnamese invasion."

Romney's comments came in remarks prepared for delivery tonight at the National Republican Womens Conference which is meeting in Phoenix:

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ROMNEY BLASTS DEMOCRATS

"The latest escalation of the war in Vietnam points up the cynical designs of the North Vietnamese. Dropping all pretense that this is a "revolutionary" war, they have now launched calculated, massive attacks across their border -- not the guerilla attacks of the past but full-scale armored attacks. They have mounted a blatant assault which can only be described as an invasion.

"This comes at a time when the United States is continuing to disengage itself from the war, and it threatens not only the South Vietnamese but our residual American force as well. It has already resulted in American casualties. Our response has been prompt and well within our overall policy of disengagement. We have provided air support to the South Vietnamese to help them resist the invasion and to assure minimal U.S. casualties.

"This proper and necessary response on our part has immediately become the focus of irresponsible attacks from various presidential candidates in the Democratic Party. There is an obvious leadership void in their party -- as the Democratic primaries have demonstrated -- and it is not surprising to see some of their many presidential candidates clamoring for the publicity which such attacks provide. But if their actions are not surprising, they are no less irresponsible. One of them is quoted as saying, "Bombing only mkaes the other side retaliate the only way they can, on the ground." It is difficult for me to imagine what kind of retaliation on the ground could exceed the blitzkrieg which the North Vietnamese have already launched.

"Presumably, if any one of these Democratic candidates were President today, he would simply abandon our South Vietnamese allies.

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ROMNEY BLASTS DEMOCRATS

"Four Presidents, backed by the Congress, have made commitments to support the sovereignty and self-determination of South Vietnam. If we were to abandon our ally, we would make ourselves a chief party to the destruction of South Vietnamese sovereignty and the denial of South Vietnamese self-determination. This would destroy the confidence of all the world to whom American commitments have been made.

"The peace of the world rests in critical measure on the balance of power among the great nations. And confidence in America's commitment to her allies is a chief foundation stone on which that balance rests. Destroy it, and you destroy our hopes for peace.

"This is what President Nixon means when he says we must end the war in Vietnam <u>in a way</u> that will not lose the peace. Democratic presidential candidates and others may not agree with all that was done by previous Presidents to involve us in Vietnam. Neither do I. Four years ago, on January 15, 1968, in Keene, New Hampshire, I said: "I believe it was a mistakes to have become involved in Vietnam in the way that we have, but we cannot afford to look back wistfully at the past. We must address: the problem as it exists today to try and find out what is wrong and what can be done about it. We must work harder for peace."

"But against that background, I beg you to remember that undercutting confidence in the word of the United States is not the way to work for peace. Abandoning an ally, turning against a friend, is not the way to work for peace. Repudiating the commitment of four Presidents of the United States is not the way to work for peace.

"The major Democratic candidates supported at the time, the policies that got us into Vietnam. They were party, at the time, to brainwashing the American people about the way we got involved in Vietnam. They were

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ROMNEY BLASTS DEMOCRATS

participants in making that mistake. We must not let them brainwash us now about the way we get out of Vietnam. That could prove to be an even more costly mistake.

"When President Nixon revealed to the Nation the months of painstaking and enlightened effort behind the scenes to reach a negotiated settlement, he said:

> "Honest and patriotic Americans have disagreed as to whether we should have become involved at all 9 years ago; and there has been disagreement on the conduct of the war. The proposal I have made tonight is one on which we all can agree."

"And I believe that, fundamentally, most of us do agree that the President has gone the extra mile in search of peace not only in Vietnam but all around the world.

"In all fairness, let me note that at least three Democratic candidates --Senator Jackson, Senator Humphrey and Governor Wallace -- showed, in their reaction to the North Vietnamese invasion, a sense of responsibility which their colleagues so clearly lack. These three, at least, indicated that increased air support was the proper response when American lives were threatened by the North Vietnamese invasion.

"Campaigns often bring out the worst in candidates, and this one seems to be no exception. But those publicity-seeking critics, in my opinion, have seriously misread the attitude of the American people in ascribing to them a willingness to abandon our allies and endanger the safety of our own men in the face of this mass attack.

"I for one am proud to serve and stand with Richard Nixon.

"I urge you and all Americans to support the President -- and, in his

5-5-5-5

ROMNEY BLASTS DEMOCRATS

words, to "unite now, unite in our search for peace -- a peace that is fair to both sides -- a peace that can last... a peace on which a generation of peace can be based."

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4/3 Busing - Dent-CAM, Chotiner, moore, Dent, J8M, RFinch, Buch -Real trouble - near lig strategy - E + H - must anow; Myst have leitin Comp. in only 3 8ts - MO% Calt, One+ Mil No media in Cal; teleph mail henvy. Wisc-il 350 OK, beloup, a tremendores crossover; and then/mcG+Wol win. Finch - Keep hitting nearly golenemy Destrib meany carterns - Wants flegeres on Meany Dent - Ropulian attack the bureac as a strevening 200 cu/-no taxes Ptial actain - firedrug quy Flan - Mr. First, tar -etc All be moved - and of Proto Defis a lightning wot shed go. hategon/ Never Sto: May Wise, Wash, Conn, MD, HD, NT, Fel ag/mus +5 Ohyor TX, Cal, Meil, Ra, NY, One

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April 6, 19

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

BILL TIMMONS GORDON STRACHAN

RHC Convention

Bob asked me to contact you directly regarding the plans of the President and the First Family to stay at San Clemente during the Convention. There will be to stay at San Clemente Suite nor for rooms for any of the First Family at the Sheraton, Westgate or any other hotel in San Diego. No publicity or problems should result as the President never intended to stay at any hotel in San Diego.

cc: Dwight Chapin

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN JOHN EHRLICHMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

The attached you might find of some interest, concerning our Senior Senator from Illinois. Seems to me we ought to get some money behind a candidate who:

"has had the political courage to vote his conscience even when subjected to intense political pressure, as was the case when he opposed Judges Haynsworth and Carswell, unwarranted extension of the ABM, the Lockheed Loan and the Supersonic Transport."

Buchanan

Citizens for Progressive Leadership

30 West Monroe Chicago III.60603

Dear Fellow American;

Will the state of Illinois take a step backward where civil liberties and social justice are concerned?

It could, unless we pull together now to insure that Senator Percy wins in November. He must be successful against Mayor Daley's hand-picked candidate--a man who has been insensitive to the causes of equal rights and equal opportunity for all Americans.

I'm asking you to help out in Chuck Percy's campaign for reelection so that the progressive measures that he has championed and his enthusiasm for keeping Illinois moving ahead will prevail. Citizens for Percy needs your financial support now...and your quick response will enable us to mount a campaign that will assure victory.

Chuck Percy's term in the Senate has been marked by a deep concern for people. He has worked untiringly for progress in the areas of civil rights, health care, poverty and hunger, education and more humane treatment of the elderly. He has had the courage to vote his conscience even when subjected to intense political pressure, as was the case when he opposed Judges Haynsworth and Carswell, unwarranted extension of the ABM, the Lockheed loan and the Supersonic Transport.

In all of these matters, he's taken a logical, yet a compassionate approach. And he's been consistent, a fact which stands in marked contrast to his opponent. In the critical days, months and years that lie ahead, we need the experience and the innovative thinking of Chuck Percy, more than ever, in the U.S. Senate.

If you want to continue this record of thoughtful liberalism, and avoid having Illinois represented in the Senate by a Daley-picked politician, send a contribution as generous as you can make it to Citizens for Percy. We will sincerely appreciate it and Chuck Percy will be pleased indeed to know that you have joined the ranks of his early supporters. Please send your check, along with the contributor form, in the enclosed envelope.

Appreciatively yours,

Charles Evers Fayette, Miss.

Walter J. Hickel Anchorage, Alaska

A copy of our report filed with the appropriate supervisory officer is (or will be) available for purchase from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Announcement of John Mitchell as Campaign Director

Fred LaRue called this afternoon for your reaction to the possibility of releasing to the press John Mitchell's official role as Campaign Director. A press release by Frank Dale would make the announcement. It would be as low key as possible. There would be no photographs or special interviews.

Mitchell wants to release the information tomorrow rather than wait until Monday, April 17th. However, according to LaRue, Mitchell defers to your judgment.

ue Yes, Mitchell release tomorrow No, delay until Monday, April 17th

Other

May 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THROUGH:

FROM: .

SUBJECT:

JOHN MITCHELL

JEB MAGRUDER

WILLIAM TIMMONS

'72 Convention

If the Miami Beach City Council extends a bid for the '72 Convention site, I recommend an advance party go to the city on Sunday evening and make the necessary preliminary arrangements for the campaign committee's convention operations.

The team must analyze housing, facilities, security, local support, convention hall set up and network coverage.

It is anticipated some of the group will stay several days, others the whole week. The RNC Arrangements personnel should also be in Miami Beach during this period in order to coordinate our activities.

At the conclusion, a detailed report will be submitted for approval. It will contain a plan of operations and a revised budget.

Those who should be in the advance party are:

| 1. | • 1 | Convention Coordinator: | Bill Timmons |
|-----|-----|-------------------------|------------------|
| 2. | | Advertising: | Pete Dailey |
| 3. | | Press: | Van Shumway |
| 4. | | Security: | Jim McCord |
| 5. | | Housing: | Bill Henkel |
| 6. | • · | Youth: | Ken Rietz |
| 7. | •• | Special Events: | Jon Foust |
| 8. | | Communications: | Nick Volcheff |
| 9. | | Television: | Bill Carrouthers |
| 10. | | Secret Service: | Dick Kaiser |
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APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

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April 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

THROUGH:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

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CLAYTON YEUTTER

I don't know if you've ever had occasion to meet Dick Lyng, who is one of the Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture. Dick is from Modesto, California, and was owner-manager of a highly successful seed company prior to being named Director of Agriculture in California under Governor Reagan. He moved from the latter position into USDA at the beginning of the Nixon Administration.

I would respectfully suggest that you keep Dick in mind as an informal counselor on the California campaign. In my judgment, he is one of the outstanding people in this Administration. And he knows the California political scene - both agricultural and non-agricultural - very well. I would place great faith in any comments he might have re the political situation in that state.

While I was discussing an unrelated matter with him a couple of days ago, Dick mentioned that he is concerned about the Nixon organization that is presently being put together in California. His basic reactions were (1) too many moderate to liberal Republicans are being turned off by the actions to date, and (2) someone must begin to recognize that what worked for Governor Reagan a few years ago will not necessarily work for the President in 1972.

This is out of my area, but I offer these comments for whatever they are worth in view of the importance of the state.

CONFIDENTIAL