# Richard Nixon Presidential Library Contested Materials Collection Folder List

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
34	5	8/2/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Strachan RE: talking paper for the Ehrlichman political action group. 3 pgs.
34	5		✓	Campaign	Report	Talking paper for Ehrlichman political group. 2 pgs.
34	5	7/17/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: Texas. 1 pg.
34	5	7/14/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Hainsworth to Dent RE: California. 4 pgs.

Friday, June 19, 2015 Page 1 of 4

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
34	5	7/28/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Malek and Magruder to MacGregor RE: Staffing of Command Post Off Convention Floor. 3 pgs.
34	5		<b>V</b>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Camp Session. 2 pgs.
34	5	7/12/1972		Campaign	Other Document	State Chairman meeting agenda, Mayflower Hotel. 1 pg.
34	5	7/12/1972		Campaign	Other Document	From CRP RE: State Chairman Meeting, the Mayflower Hotel. 2 pgs.
34	5	7/12/1972		Campaign	Other Document	State Chairman Meeting Agenda, The Mayflower Hotel. 1 pg.

Friday, June 19, 2015 Page 2 of 4

Box Number	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
34	5		V	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Cal - FM. 1 pg.
34	5	7/18/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Malek to Strachan RE: State budgets. 20 pgs.
34	5	7/21/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Malek to MacGregor RE: Establishment of Educators and Teachers for the Re-Election of the President. 2 pgs.
34	5	7/17/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Malek RE: RNC Convention Delegates. 1 pg.
34	5	6/22/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Flemming Mitchell RE: liaison with the Governor's Association, the Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Congressional Campaign Committee. 7 pgs.

Friday, June 19, 2015 Page 3 of 4

<b>Box Number</b>	Folder Number	<b>Document Date</b>	No Date	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Document Type</b>	<b>Document Description</b>
34	5	7/10/1972		Campaign	Memo	From Malek to MacGregor RE: Voter Bloc/Citizen's Activities. 4 pgs.
34	5		<b>✓</b>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Fred La Rue. 2 pgs.
34	5		$\checkmark$	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten notes (author unk) RE: Ken Cole/Ed Harper platform. 1 pg.

Friday, June 19, 2015 Page 4 of 4

August 2, 1972

#### ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

L. HIGBY

I talked to Bob about the subject raised in your political matters memo and the subsequent talking paper you did for the Ehrlichman political action group.

First of all you should know that the rules question has been settled. This was the primary purpose of meeting.

G=H coll to L 8/3 2. With regard to George Wallace, we are still trying to figure out who should be the contact here, but the point was made strongly that Ed Harper should not be in the business of calling up people and telling them to call George Wallace. We'll have to check the contact question again. Bob is trying to work this out, but part of it involves negotiation with C onnally and the President.

G= JEM 8/3 3. With regard to the convention spokesmen question, it has clearly been decided that Klein will not be a convention spokesman and this point has been made to MacGregor.

in 8/3

4. With regard to Malek going to California. unfortunately it is too late to do much about this. It is important, however, that we get a follow-up report from Malek.

TALKING PAPER FOR EHRLICHMAN POLITICAL GROUP

Re: General Matters

Dent on July 27 to ask him to call Wallace and invite him to testify at the Platform Hearings. Dent called Mitchell, who said to wait on the call. Should Wallace be invited to testify at the Platform Hearings? If so, who should call him? John Connally? Harry Dent? Congressman Rhodes?

Republican National Convention -- Are the Platform

Hearings being arranged for TV coverage? What theme should

be used for the Convention? Should Connally appear?

3) Convention Spokesman - Herb Klein wants to be the chief spokesman at the Convention. MacGregor has said no because most believe it would be inappropriate to have a White House Staff member as the chief Convention/Campaing spokesman. Also, Ann Dore had been selected as the "spokes person" to increase the visibility of women. Should Klein nevertheless be the spokesman?

Campaign Kick-Off -- Has it been definitely decided that there should not be a September Campaign Kick-Off in Southern California? Doesn't the poll data indicate we need some high visibility event to improve the President's position in San Diego?

California - Malek -- There are no Democrats on our Committee, we have no Democratic organization, and we apparently still have Nofziger still running the campaign there. If Malek is not to be the one to review and reorganize the California situation, who is?

- 6) Polling Data Platform Ehrlichman -- Bob Teeter is ready to brief Mesers. Ehrlichman, Cole and Harper on the issue information from Wave II. Would it be useful to have this briefing on the public's perception of the issues before we are locked into the Platform?
- 7) Local Officials for the President -- The Vice
  President is concerned that not enough attention is being
  paid to involving Mayors, County Executives, and other
  local officials in the re-election of the President effort.
  Should this activity be run entirely by the Vice President's
  staff?

GS

7/31/72

#### TALKING PAPER FOR EHRLICHMAN POLITICAL GROUP

Re: General Matters

- 1) George Wallace -- Apparently, Ed Harper called Harry Dent on July 27 to ask him to call Wallace and invite him to testify at the Platform Hearings. Dent called Mitchell, who said to wait on the call. Should Wallace be invited to testify at the Platform Hearings? If so, who should call him? John Connally? Harry Dent? Congressman Rhodes?
- 2) Republican National Convention -- Are the Platform
  Hearings being arranged for TV coverage? What theme should
  be used for the Convention? Should Connally appear?
- 3) Convention Spokesman -- Herb Klein wants to be the chief spokesman at the Convention. MacGregor has said no because most believe it would be inappropriate to have a White House Staff member as the chief Convention/Campaing spokesman. Also, Ann Dore had been selected as the "spokes person" to increase the visibility of women. Should Klein nevertheless be the spokesman?
- 4) Campaign Kick-Off -- Has it been definitely decided that there should not be a September Campaign Kick-Off in Southern California? Doesn't the poll data indicate we need some high visibility event to improve the President's position in San Diego?

- 5) <u>California Malek</u> -- There are no Democrats on our Committee, we have no Democratic organization, and we apparently still have Nofziger still running the campaign there. If Malek is not to be the one to review and reorganize the California situation, who is?
- 6) Polling Data Platform Ehrlichman -- Bob Teeter is ready to brief Messrs. Ehrlichman, Cole and Harper on the issue information from Wave II. Would it be useful to have this briefing on the public's perception of the issues before we are locked into the Platform?
- 7) Local Officials for the President -- The Vice
  President is concerned that not enough attention is being
  paid to involving Mayors, County Executives, and other
  local officials in the re-election of the President effort.
  Should this activity be run entirely by the Vice President's
  staff?

GS

7/31/72

July 17, 1972

TO:

Harry S. Dent

FROM:

Brad E. Hainsworth

RE:

TEXAS

The Belden Texas Poll taken from 1031 interviews during the period of June 21 to July 1 indicates the President trailing McGovern:

> Nixon-Agnew 44% McGovern-Muskie 51%

> Nixon-Connally 45% McGovern-Muskie 49%

The State GOP Executive Director feels the poll is not accurate.

The Democrat National Convention has brought many phone calls asking to support the President. Democrats are asking for information, bumper stickers, and offering to help.

Eagleton will not be a help to the Democrat ticket in Texas.

bcc: H. R. Haldeman

MEMORANDUM

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

July 14, 1972

TO:

Harry S. Dent

FROM:

Brad E. Hainsworth

RE:

CALIFORNIA

The State Chairman Putnam Livermore, is optimistic that California can be placed in the Nixon camp. However, this will require great effort and a realistic approach to the state geographically and sociologically.

McGovern is looking for more seasoned and responsible than he has in the past; futhermore, the media is starting to paint him as "Mr. Clean". Mc Govern won a contested primary, has an excellent organization, and is entering into a massive drive to register the youth vote. The State Democratic organization is alleged to have \$500,000 for registration alone.

Eagleton is not a help. He can be portrayed as a light weight, but the media is going to be good to him.

The California GOP is going all out to register young people. They have more than twenty full-time staff in this area. On July 15, they will have between 5,000 and 10,000 volunteers out reistering young people.

There are many Democrats in California who are disaffected with McGovern's "New Politics" and they are asking to support the President. State GOP headquarters has received many calls from old-line Democrats wanting to support the President.

The Mexican-American Democrat County Chairman of Santa Clara County (1 million population) publicly changed is registration to Republican, and the President has strength, in general, among Mexican Americans.

California will demand great effort, but the President could carry the state.

July 14, 1972

TO:

Harry S. Dent

FROM:

Brad E. Hainsworth

RE:

ILLINOIS

The Illinois GOP has been working very hard to organize for the President and the Governor. This has helped and the polls indicate growing strength.

As a result, there is guarded optimism that the President can defeat the Democrat ticket if he can hold his edge through his policy initiatives.

The media is obviously going to project the McGovern ticket as the leadership of a new populist Democratic party that will return government to the people. McGovern is going to try to portray himself as a moderate and attempt to overcome his extremist image.

Eagleton is not favorably known in Illinois, nor will he be easily sold as Vice Presidential material. He won't be of much help to McGovern.

July 14, 1972

TO:

Harry S. Dent

FROM:

Brad E. Hainsworth

RE:

MISSOURI

The political picture is confused, but it is questionable whether Eagleton will help in Missouri. Eagleton could narrow the margin, but the President still has the edge. Eagleton is not particularly popular in the state, he won in 1968 by 51.4%.

Governor Warren Hearnes' preference for the nomination was Senator Jackson and there apparently is a breech between Hearnes and Eagleton over support of McGovern. Many Democrats, and apparently Hearnes is among them, feel that McGovern is too far out on questions such as amnesty, income redistribution, penalties for marijuana use, etc. to be a popular Presidential candidate. Many Democrats may sit it out through November.

Eagleton's candidacy should have little effect on Kit Bond's gubernatorial chances.

July 14, 1972

TO:

Harry S. Dent

FROM:

Brad E. Hainsworth

RE:

OHIO

McGovern's campaign in Ohio has been based on quiet, solid organization right down to the county and precinct level. Leadership and organization could overshadow his extreme stand on many issues.

Surveys indicate that the President has strength, but two factors must be kept in mind: 1) the GOP is the minority party, and 2) McGovern's organization is effective and demands respect.

Eagleton's candidacy makes little difference.

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

**MEMORANDUM** 

July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK
JEB MAGRUDER

SUBJECT:

Staffing of Command Post Off Convention Floor

The purpose of this memorandum is to make recommendations to you concerning the staffing of the Command Post just off the convention floor and to seek your approval for these recommendations.

#### BACKGROUND

The purpose of the Command Post is to serve as a nerve center for all political activities taking place during the convention sessions both on and off the floor. The Post will have instantaneous communications with the convention floor, the podium, police and secret service headquarters, our political headquarters at the Doral and with the White House communications system. In 1968 Mr. John Mitchell filled position A (see diagram of Command Post layout attached) and Dick Kleindienst filled position B.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

We recommend that you assume the role played by John Mitchell in 1968 and sit at position A. This will require your constant presence in the Command Post during critical portions of the convention. At this time we judge those critical times to be the Tuesday afternoon session when the convention committee reports are adopted by the convention and Tuesday evening during the role call of the States for nomination of the President. During other periods of the convention we recommend you be on the floor available for interviews and contact with delegation leaders. You, of course, will have the capability to be in constant communication with the Command Post during these periods.

Approve	Disapprove

We recommend that Fred LaRue assume the number 2 position in the Command Post (position B on the diagram). In this position Fred will assist you during those periods you are in the Command Post and assume full control in your absence. We recommend Fred because he has had similar experience in both

the 1964 and 1968 conventions. Fred Malek might normally assume this role; however, he feels that he does not have the requisite experience to be able to make the necessary split-second floor decisions that might be required. We both feel Fred LaRue has the background and experience necessary to do the job.

Approve	Disapprove	

#### OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES

We also recommend that the ten Regional Directors alternate staffing the five coordinator positions indicated as position C on the diagram. This will allow the other five Regional Directors to be free for floor duty and other special projects as they arise.

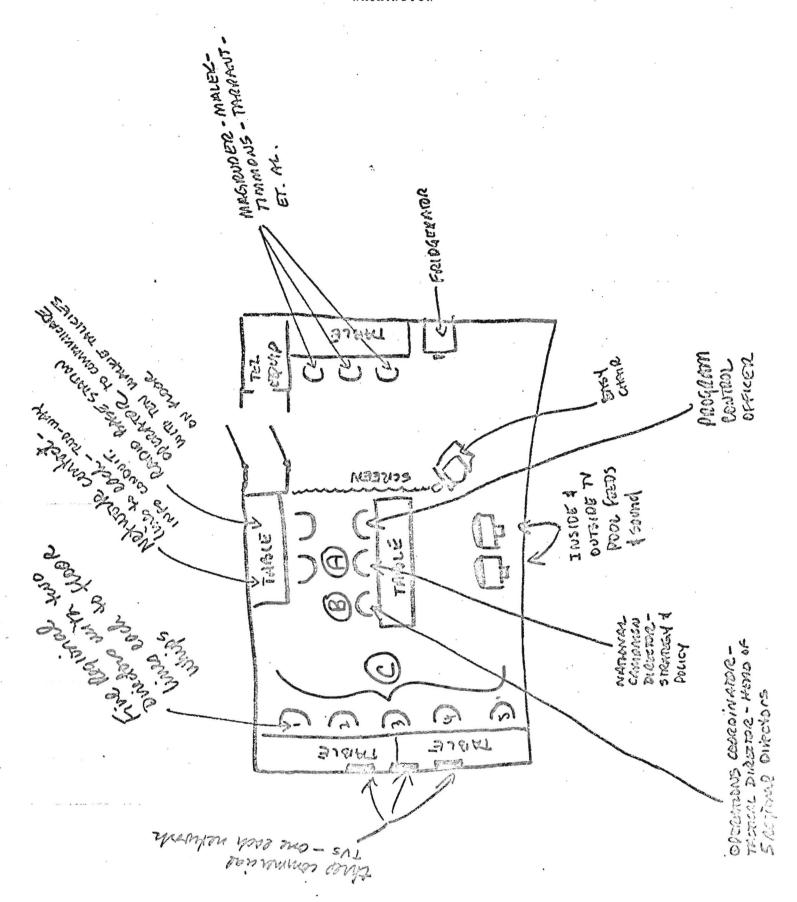
Annrowe		Dicannrove	
$^{ m Approve}$ $_{-}$	<u> </u>	Disapprove	

Senator Scott, as you know, has already been selected to be Floor Leader. We are now preparing a list of delegation Floor Leaders. They will primarily be Members of Congress who understand the rules of the House and who can be counted on to be loyal in all instances. We will forward that list to you for final approval when it is completed.

Attachment

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



Tail #971 / fetatar-7/12 Camp Session w/ 86s - FM opens at 9:15 as Deputy Camp Mang under Mac G for Field Organs. - Table: Jerry Jones, Don Miseman, Kaupinen, Rull Fore 60 De: 7 not Ton House Total Conn. 4 15 ft/1701 NY Brisby - G + Langan - Mar G late. Clark Mac G - newly apptel lamp Dir, a tough boss + whim at helm a successful comp - wants to meet lack Orroccedings at MB demons not a new direction of pol party; Mc6 move +
1 w Abel on Today, etc.
- Refers to 2 ais - my w/Conn.
- habels McG as "Reave are Weadness" utes HI-way to peace thru negot. @ Pol sele spe wemphasis on Mill 3 Complarency + Overconfidence must Outher I wins by 55% it will bury in Corry cef thim For the we look very strong in polls McG less fantastic org + we must level similar org FM - McG sliengths
- H + Gr polls - 16 pt lead but we are at peak - Dems 2 to 1 Regis edge - a credible cond ul god ad camp. - Fuld O reg exul Run on Doores + P continue as P, Basic Voter Contact Program is goal of 8t - no need for polon issue devel Regis, 1D+ Turnout + use Teleph Leadership of the Target, Large Toughto win (1s+ programs much more complicated that 1701

# STATE CHAIRMAN MEETING AGENDA The Mayflower Hotel July 12, 1972

L

9:00	Welcome - Clark MacGregor
9:15	Priorities and Perspective of the campaign - Fred Malek
9:35	McGovern Organization - Rick Fore
9:55	Registration, Voter Identification, Voter Turnout - Al Kaupinen
10:30	BREAK
10:40	Use of Computer Print outs for Canvassing and Get-out-the-vote Bob Morgan, Dick Shriver
11:10	Telephone Operations - Nancy Brataas
11:50	Summary - Fred Malek
1.2:00	LUNCHEON - Role of the RNC - Tom Evans Presentation on Convention - Stan Anderson
1:00	Absentee Ballots - Dick McAdoo
1:15	Volunteer Programs - Pat Hutar
1:45	Voter Blocs - Frank Herringer
2:20	EREAK
2:30	Program Arcas of the Campaign - Jeb Magruder
2:50	Direct Mail - Bob Morgan
3:20	Advertising - Phil Joanou
3:40	Polling - Bob Teeter
4:00	Surrogate and Advance Operation - Bart Porter/Jon Foust
4:20	Communications - Ann Dore
4:40	Finance and Election Law - Lee Nunn
5:00	Summary of Presentation - Fred Malek
5:15	Meeting Concluded
6:00 8:00	Reception at Clark MacGregor's home

# Committee for the Re-election of the President

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

STATE CHAIRMAN MEETING
The Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D. C.
July 12, 1972

#### CALIFORNIA

Lyn Nofziger, Executive Director CREP

#### CONNECTICUT

Nathan (Nate) Agostinelli, Chairman CREP Charles Coe, Executive Director CREP Chip Andrews, Executive Director, Rep. SCC Jim Donnelly, Registration Chairman, Rep. SCC

#### ILLINOIS

Tom Houser, Campaign Chairman CREP
Ferdinand Zeni, City Campaign Chairman, CREP
John Altorfer, Downstate Chairman, CREP
Dean Sodaro, Suburban Campaign Chairman CREP
Bill Simpson, Citizens's Group Coordinator CREP
Bill McConkey, Registration Chairman CREP
Vic Smith, Chairman, Illinois Republican State
Central Committee

#### MARYLAND

Edward P. Thomas, Chairman CREP
David Neideffer, Executive Director CREP
Alexander M. Lankler, Chairman, Republican State
Central Committee
Carole Plante, State Telephone Chairman CREP
Tom Cover, Baltimore County Co-Chairman CREP
Berrie Ciliberti, Montgomery County Ch
Rick Snell, Staff Coordinator CREP

#### MICHIGAN

John A. Gibbs, Chairman CREP
G. Doyle Dodge Executive Director CREP
Mildred Dunnell, Vice Chairman, Rep. SCC
Dan H. McKinnon, Treasurer CREP
Bill Spinelli, Voter Bloc Groups CREP
Mike Nieman, Press CREP
Mary Ann Phillips, CREP

#### NEW JERSEY Barbara Curren, CREP

#### NEW YORK

R. Burdell Bixby, Campaign Director CREP Stephen Blum, Deputy Campaign Director CREP Fiorvante Perrotta, City Campaign Director CREP Harvey O'Donnell, Press CREP Chuck Lannigan, Republican State Chairman Craig Thorn, Upstate Campaign Director CREP

#### OHIO

Charles D. Ross, Campaign Director CREP
John S. Andrews, Chairman, Republican State,
Central Committee
Nodine Henniger, State Telephone Coordinator CREP
Keith McNamara, Organizational Chairman CREP
Ray Bliss, National Committeeman

#### PENNSYLVANIA

Arlen Specter, Chairman CREP
Herman Bloom, Executive Director CREP
Jon Steinberg, CREP
Steve Popalarski, Director of Volunteers CREP
Clifford L. Jones, Chairman, Republican State
Committee

Richard Wright, Alleghency County Chairman Leroy S. Zimmerman, South Center Regional Director

Walter Oelslager, CREP Larry Dunn, CREP Richard Wright, Jr., CREP

#### TEXAS

Fred Agnich, National Committeeman
George Steffes, Executive Director CREP
Peter O'Donnell, Volunteer Coordinator CREP
Allan Rash, CREP
Gene Diedrick, East Texas Regional Coordinator CREP
Dr. Shirley Abbott, Regional Coordinator, West Texas
Bobbie Biggart, Regional Coordinator CREP
Beryl Milburn, GOP Vice Chairman

#### WASHINGTON

John Spellman, Chairman CREP Gwenn Anderson, Executive Director CREP Earle Davenport, GOP Chairman

# STATE CHAIRMAN MEETING AGENDA The Mayflower Hotel July 12, 1972

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

Cal-FM an SD - Sun night
Gordon Luce togeton
to LA on mon.
to-12 rem net u/
Mardian

Hotel + Nastanda,
arief Liedenlan Banewsky + Mclandes Clint Eerstewood -lest? whey not on coneca caled

## Committee for the Re-election of the President

#### **MEMORANDUM**

July 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GORDON STRACHAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

State Budgets

Attached is an incomplete but still readable copy of the State Budget presentation made last Saturday. In view of our conversation about this, I thought you would be interested in it.

Attachment

## BUDGET REVIEW SESSION

## PURPOSE OF TODAY'S MEETING

- REVIEW PRESENT STATUS OF STATE OPERATING BUDGETS
- . CHART STEPS TO COMPLETE BUDGETING PROCESS

# SPECIFICALLY WE HOPE TO COME OUT OF THIS MEETING WITH AGREEMENTS ON:

- BARE BONE BUDGETS FOR FIFTEEN STATES
- AN APPROACH TO PROBLEM STATE BUDGETS
- . AN APPROACH TO NECESSARY SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGETING

### FIRST, THE BUDGETING PROCESS MUST BE PUT INTO PERSPECTIVE.

- BY DEFINING THE STRATEGY IN THE STATES AND THE RATIONALE FOR THAT STRATEGY.
- BY DEFINING THE APPROACH TO IMPLEMENTING THE STRATEGY IN THE STATES.

## THEN WE WILL TURN TO THE BUDGETING PROCESS AND LOOK AT:

- . PAST BUDGETING PROCEDURES
- . THE CURRENT STATUS OF STATE BUDGETS
- . ACTION STEPS NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THE BUDGETING PROCESS
- . THE PLAN FOR FINALIZING THE BUDGETS

# STRATEGY IN THE STATES

CANVASSING

- CONCENTRATE MAJOR EMPHASIS ON VOTER IDENTIFICATION,
  REGISTRATION AND TURN OUT, UTILIZING EXTENSIVE DOOR TO
  DOOR AND TELEPHONE CANVASSING
  - . THIS IS BY FAR THE FIRST PRIORITY, AND THE
    BIGGEST CONSUMER OF BUDGET

    OPERATE A VOLUNTEER PROGRAM IN THE STATES WHICH WILL GENERATE
    THE VOLUNTEERS NECESSARY FOR DOOR TO DOOR AND TELEPHONE

OPERATE VOTER BLOC PROGRAMS IN SELECTED STATES:

- TO ASSIST IN THE VOLUNTEER GENERATION
- . TO OPERATE PERSUASIVE EFFORTS FOR THE CONSTITUENCIES
  OPERATE SURROGATE EFFORTS IN THE STATES
  OBTAIN ENDORSEMENT OF LEADING SUPPORTERS OF THE PRESIDENT,
  BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS

#### REQUIREMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTING STRATEGY

- OPEN LOCAL OPERATING HEADQUARTERS TO BE USED AS CENTER
  OF CANVASSING EFFORT
  - . OPEN FOR 10 TO 12 WEEKS BEFORE THE ELECTION
  - . RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARING CANVASSING KITS, RAISING
    VOLUNTEERS, TRAINING VOLUNTEERS, CANVASS OPERATIONS,
    PREPARING VOTER TURN OUT SHEETS, ORGANIZING POLL
    WATCHING
  - . HEADQUARTERS PROVIDE CONTROL TO ASSURE THAT WORK IS

    DONE AND PRECINCT COVERAGE ACTUALLY OCCURS

    THEY ALSO ALLOW USE OF VOLUNTEERS TO CANVASS IN

    AREAS WHERE PRECINCT CAPTAINS ARE NOT IN PLACE

    FINALLY TELEPHONES CAN BE INSTALLED TO SUPPLEMENT

THE DOOR TO DOOR EFFORT

# GREAT RESOURCEFULNESS SHOULD BE USED IN OBTAINING HEADQUARTERS

- . WE SHOULD PAY FOR THEM IN PRIORITY AREAS
  - . IN OTHER AREAS WE CAN SHARE WITH OTHER
    CANDIDATES OR USE GOP HEADQUARTERS

#### IN ADDITION WE NEED

- MATERIALS FOR CANVASSING
- . TRAINING SESSIONS FOR MANAGERS OF HEADQUARTERS
- . ADDITIONAL FIELD SUPERVISION IN THE STATES
- ADDITIONAL 1701 HEADQUARTERS STAFF TO HANDLE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT, TRAINING, BUDGETING, ETC.

#### WHY THIS STRATEGY?

- TO COUNTER MCGOVERN'S STRENGTHS
  - . HIS PRIMARY ACTIVITIES HAVE DEVELOPED AN UNPARALLELLED FIELD OPERATION :
  - . HE HAS ALLOCATED FIVE OR SIX MILLION DOLLARS TO THE FALL CAMPAIGN FOR REGISTERING AND TURNING OUT FIFTEEN MILLION NEW VOTES THE YOUNG AND MINORITY GROUPS.
  - CANVASSING IS THE MAJOR ROLE LEFT TO THE STATES, SINCE:
  - . THE PRESIDENT CAN CONTROL MEDIA COVERAGE
  - . LEGAL REQUIREMENTS NECESSITATE THAT WE CONTROL
    ADVERTISING AND OTHER PAID MEDIA
- CANVASSING IS THE BEST WAY TO ESTABLISH A CAMPAIGN PRESENCE
  AT THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL

## WHY THIS APPROACH TO DOOR TO DOOR CANVASSING

- . CANVASSING IS A DIFFICULT JOB TO GET DONE EVER. IT IS HARD, UNREWARDING WORK.
- REPUBLICANS HAVE NEVER DONE IT WELL, AND THE PARTY HAS NOT ORGANIZED THE PRECINCTS TO DO IT IN MOST STATES, MOST COUNTIES.
- . WORSE, THE STATE NIXON CHAIRMEN HAVE NOT DEVELOPED PRECINCT ORGANIZATIONS.
- . WITH 120 DAYS TO THE ELECTION, THERE IS NO OTHER WAY TO CANVASS 75% OF THE PRECINCTS WITHOUT LOCAL OPERATING. HEADQUARTERS
  - . TO MANAGE THE DOOR TO DOOR EFFORT
  - . FOR SOME TELEPHONE CANVASSING
- OUR LATE START HAS CLOSED ALL OTHER OPTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING OUR CANVASSING STRATEGY.

## THE BUDGETING PROCESS

- . STATES DEVELOPED BUDGETS WITH MINIMAL GUIDELINES
- . POLITICAL COORDINATORS STRIPPED STATE'S BUDGETS OF INAPPROPRIATE REQUESTS
- RESULTING BUDGET SUBMITTED FOR PRELIMINARY APPROVAL
  TO JOHN MITCHELL
- . BUDGETS SUBMITTED TO MAURICE STANS AND BUDGETING GROUP FOR FINAL APPROVAL

### WHERE WE NOW STAND

- ONLY 25 STATES HAVE BEEN APPROVED: AND THESE ARE BARE BONED
  BUDGETS WITHOUT ALLOCATIONS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THE VOTER
  CONTACT EFFORT IN THE STATES.
- . 15 STATES HAVE SUBMITTED BUDGETS WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED.
- 10 STATES HAVE NOT YET SUBMITTED BUDGETS
- . FINALLY, IN MOST CASES, BUDGET SUPPLEMENTS NECESSARY TO

  IMPLEMENT THE CANVASSING STRATEGY HAVE NOT BEEN SUBMITTED BY
  THE STATES.

### PROBLEM AREAS

- THE SLOWNESS OF THE BUDGET PROCESS IS BEGINNING TO CAUSE SEVERE PROBLEMS.
  - . THE NEW YORK BUDGET HAS BEEN PENDING FOR FOUR MONTHS

    AND THEY CONSEQUENTLY HAVE NOT STARTED THEIR CAMPAIGN.
  - . CALIFORNIA IS RECYCLING THEIR BUDGET FOR THE THIRD TIME.
  - . MANY OTHER STATES ARE NOT YET MOVING BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF BUDGET APPROVAL.
  - WHILE THE BUDGET PROCESS ITSELF IS NOT AT FAULT NECESSARILY; WE NO LONGER HAVE TIME FOR IT.
  - . IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE PROBLEMS, THE SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGETS HAVE NOT YET BEGUN TO CYCLE THROUGH.

- AND WE ARE OUT OF TIME THE STOREFRONTS MUST BE OPENED BY AUGUST 15TH TO BE EFFECTIVE.
- BECAUSE OF THE PRESSURE OF THE STOREFRONT OPENINGS,

  THE PROBLEM IS PARTICULARLY ACUTE IN THOSE STATES

  WHERE NO ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORT HAS BEGUN.
- IN SUMMARY, WE ARE IN A CRISIS SITUATION THAT CALLS FOR AN IMMEDIATE AND RESOLUTE DEPARTURE FROM OUR PAST PROCEDURES; THE STATE STRATEGIES ARE MEANINGLESS UNLESS WE FUND THEM NOW.

## ACTION STEPS NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THE BUDGETING PROCESS

- . APPROVE BARE BONE BUDGETS RIGHT AWAY.
- . IMMEDIATELY NEGOTIATE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEM BUDGETS.
- . DEVELOP OVERALL GUIDELINES FOR SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGETS FOR HEADQUARTERS ACTIVITIES.
- . ALLOCATE FUNDS TO STATES FOR SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGETS.
- . ESTIMATE BUDGET NEEDS OF STATES WHICH HAVE NOT YET SUBMITTED BUDGETS AND APPROVE THEM.

## WE CAN TAKE ACTION TODAY ON

- . APPROVE PENDING BARE BONES BUDGETS
- ADDRESS THE NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA PROBLEMS
- . ESTABLISH THE OVERALL SUPPLEMENTAL BUDGET NECESSARY
  - TO IMPLEMENT THE VOTER CONTACT STRATEGY IN THE STATES.

## NEXT WEEK WE CAN

- . APPROVE ESTIMATED STATE BUDGETS FOR THOSE STATES WHICH HAVE NOT SUBMITTED THEM.
- . APPROVE SPECIFIC ALLOCATIONS TO THE STATES NECESSARY

  TO OPEN AND OPERATE STOREFRONT HEADQUARTERS.

## STATES WITH APPROVED BARE BONES BUDGETS

State_	Electoral Vote	Budget Amount *	Dollars Per Electoral Vote
Arizona	6	\$ 60,100	
Colordao	7	40,091	
Connecticut	8	100,050	
Indiana	1.3	81,152	
Iowa	8	<b>131,040</b>	
Kansas	7	39,557	
Maine	4	26,926	
Maryland	10	107,785	
Michigan	21	207,625	
Montana	4	12,209	
Nebraska	5 3	31,532	
Nevada	3	51,565	
New Hampshire	4	0	
New Mexico	4	22,008	•
North Dakota	3	10,000	
Oklahoma	8	52,736	
Oregon	6	99,070	
Rhode Island	4	12,910	
South Carolina	8	67,300	
South Dakota	4	22,900	
Tennessee	10	88,150	
Utah	4	21,605	
Vermont	3	13,164	
Wisconsin	. 11	117,200	
Wyoming	3	19,240	*
	168	\$ 1,315,915	

<sup>\*</sup> Per Field Operations records these vary from Finance Division Records.

## STATES WITH BARE BONE BUDGETS PENDING

State	Electoral Vote	Budget Amount	Dollars Per Electoral Vote
Banks and a With the sales with the		-	
Alaska	3	\$ 39,950	
California	45	2,850,000	
Delaware \	3	24,325	
Georgia /	12	48,000	
Idaho -	$Z_k$	34,810	
(Illinois)	26	542,650	
Minnesota	10	84,000	
(Mississippi )	7	50,000	
Missouri	12 .	144,911	
North Carolina	13	· 89,985	
New York	41	1,680,552	
(Ohio.	2.5	565,003	
Pennsylvania )	27	523,700	
Virginia	12 .	80,725	
Washington	9	85,685	
	249	\$ 6,844,295	

## STATES WITHOUT BUDGETS

State	Electo Vote	Estimated Budget	Dollars Per Electoral Vote	Comment
Alabama Arkansas Florida Hawaii Kentucky	9. 6 17 4 9	\$ 40,000 40,000 90,000 48,000		No Chairman No Chairman Due August 1 Due August 7 Must be Negotiated
Louisiana Mississippi New Jerscy Texas West Virginia	10 14 17 26 6 118	\$ 40,000 25,000 500,000 500,000 25,000 1,410,000		No Chairman No Chairman Prepared Due July 25 No Chairman

## POSSIBLE NEW YORK BUDGET REDUCTIONS

I.	New Y	ork Headquarters		
	Α.	Research Assistant		\$ 4117.00
**(		Secretary (Demographics)		2530.00
				\$ 6647.00
	37,	Local Substance (Relating Niz	koñ.	
		Record to Local Areas)		8400.00
		Assistant	×	3144.00
		Secretary .		2449.00
				\$ 13,993
	G .	Local Campaign Coordinator		
		(To coordinate campaign's		
		complimentary to President's	)	5610.00
		Assistant		2810.00
				\$ 8420.00
II.	Senat	orial Staff for New York		
	Α.	Senatorial Liaisons	Ţ	
		Executive Assistants	]	
	·*	Admin/Ass't Secretary	1	41,670
		Expenses		24,050
9				\$ 65,720
	*			
		Total Reductions in Salaried		
		Positions		\$ 94,780

## III. New York has computed payroll burden as 20% of salaries.

The figure generally used to compute payroll burden is 7.5%.

New York Headquarters	20% 55,928	$\frac{7.5\%}{20,973}$
Upstate & Suburban	56,657	21,246
New York City	34,688	13,008
<b>^</b>	a.	
Reduction in FICA	\$ 92,046	
Reductions in Salaried Positions	94,780	
Total Reductions	\$186,826	,

gnow Street

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Establishment of Educators and Teachers for the Re-Election of the President

The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize the strategy and organization planned to gain substantial support from the educational community and to introduce you to Dr. Orley Herron, President of Greenville College.

#### BACKGROUND

There are approximately 2 million primary and secondary teachers and an additional 600,000 teachers at the college and technical school level in the United States. While the teaching community has in the past been politically inactive, its activities are increasing thisyyear -- particularly by the National Education Association.

I have discussed the establishment of the Educators and Teachers Committee for the Re-Election of the President with Education Commissioner Sid Marland who approves of the idea. Sid feels very strongly that the Administration has an effective story that can have real impact on teachers around the country. Also, I feel strongly that Sid should be a major spokesman on educational issues during the campaign.

#### ORGANIZATION AND STRATEGY

We propose to establish a national committee of educators and teachers for the Re-Election of the President with 100+ members which will function primarily as a public relations organization and a conduit to state and local educational organizations from which its membership will be drawn. The committee will not be a policy-making body. Each State will have a committee charged with organizing educators in support of the President, recruiting volunteers, and speaking out on issues. A program of \$35,000 has already been budgeted within Citizens and will fund a full-time coordinator, a secretarial assistant, miscellaneous travel, and organizational expenses.

Our strategy will be to publicize the Administration's position on educational issues and to tell the true story of Administration accomplishments in this area. In so doing, the committee will try to counter the overt political activities of the National Education Association, with assistance from several large national educational organizations that have supported the President in the past.

#### COORDINATOR

I have selected Orley Herron, President of Greenville College, Greenville, Illinois, to be the coordinator of the Educators and Teachers Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Dr. Herron will take a leave of absence to work full-time on the campaign. Orley is an outstanding young (age 37) educator with experience in both public and private education. Sid Marland indicates that Herron is very well respected at all levels in the educational community and that he has, in two years as President, rebuilt Greenville College into a first-rate private College.

Dr. Herron comeson board Wednesday. He spent two days last week meeting with all of the top officials at the Office of Education concerning Administration programs and people who can be counted on to become involved in the campaign. On the basis of those conversations, Dr. Herron has already developed a detailed campaign plan.

Once Dr. Herron has his plan complete, I will arrange for him to meet with you briefly and give you an overview of his proposed activities.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL July 17, 1972 MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK FROM: GORDON STRACHAN SUBJECT: RNC Convention Delegates I have just read Stan Anderson's memorandum of July 14 regarding the percentages based on 279 delegates out of the 1,347. In my opinion, this is an impending disaster which we must change quickly or the media will tear us apart. As we have discussed, I do not think there will be any problem getting our old line delegates to accept honorary positions so that we can fill the "real delegate slots" with the proportions we want. If Reagan, Rockefeller, Javits, Buckley, and most of the California fat cats will accept honorary positions, let's do that with the other key states. It is ridiculous to have only 2% Jewish representation when we hope this time to receive substantial Jewish support. I understand the problems about not having the results from California and Texas, but we must move on this quickly. I would like to be able to solve this problem without involving Bob either by memorandum or meeting. However, with all the effort that Timmons and Chapin and others are putting in on the appearance aspect of the Convention for the media, this has to be a top priority project. Just give me a call if you want me to do anything to push this matter to solution. GS/bb FU - 7/24

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



#### **MEMORANDUM**

#### CONFIDENTIAL

June 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM

HARRY FLEMMING

Several weeks ago you assigned me the responsibility of liaison with the Governor's Association, the Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Congressional Campaign Committee. In that regard, I met with Jim Galbraith, Staff Director of the Governor's Association, Buehl Berentson, Executive Director of the Senatorial Campaign Committee and Jack Calkins, Executive Director of the Congressional Campaign Committee. I briefed them in general terms on the structure of the Committee for the Re-election of the President and our approach and philosophy for the campaign. In turn they gave me a list of their target races for the upcoming campaigns. They are as follows:

#### UNITED STATES SENATE

GOP Incumbents - Griffin, Baker, Tower and Hatfield.

Seats presently held by Republicans who are not running for re-election: Kentucky (Nunn), South Dakota (probably Hirsch) and Idaho (probably McClure).

In addition, there are three Democratic seats where they feel we have an excellent opportunity. They are: Oklahoma (Bartlett), New Mexico (Domenici), and Rhode Island (Chafee).

In a slightly lower priority: North Carolina (Helms), Alabama (Blount), and Georgia (Thompson).

Long shots include: Virginia (Scott) and West Virginia (Leonard).

#### GOVERNORS

The following presently held Republican State Houses are major targets of the Governor's Association:

West Virginia (Governor Moore), Illinois (Governor Ogilvie), New Hampshire (Governor Peterson) and Washington (Governor Evans)

In Vermont, Governor Davis has chosen not to run. Our candidate, Hackett, is a likely winner. In Indiana, Governor Whitcomb cannot run, and a nominee has not been chosen as yet. However, our chances of winning are slim.

State Houses presently held by the Democrats which the Governor's Association feels are opportunities for us include:

Missouri (probable nominee - Kit Bond), Rhode Island (DeSimone) and North Dakota (probable nominee - Lt. Gov. Larsen).

#### CONGRESSIONAL RACES

Attached are three lists of target races the Congressional Campaign Committee has chosen. They include attachments:

- A. Republican Open Seats. These are seats where the Republican incumbent has chosen not to run. The danger spots among those open seats are asterisked.
- B. These are danger spots among Republican incumbents who are seeking re-election, and
- C. These are seats which include pick-up opportunities and/or new seats created by reapportionment.

It should be understood that in some cases these are first cuts at target races. Events over the next several months will provide additional information which should firm up these lists. It is my suggestion that the political coordinators handling this information be very careful when discussing it just as we have avoided any comment of targeted states by this Committee. The same guideline should be used in discussing target races with people outside our immediate group.

We have decided to continue to meet on a regular basis, and therefore, any comments or intelligence on these races would be useful.

cc: Messrs. F. LaRue, D. Mosiman, C. Yeutter, A. Kaupinen

Attachments

# June 15, 1972 D. S. (Danger Spots)

DISTRICT		INCUMBENT	DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE
AT ABAMA	2	Dickinson	Reeves
CALIFORNIA	6	Modificand	Boag
COLORADO	1	McKevitt	Primary 9/12
INDIANA	2	Landgrebe	Fithian
	1.0	Dennis	Sharp
ICWA	1	Schwengel	Primary 8/1
•	4	Kyl	Smith
MARYLAND	1	Mills	Hargreaves
MICHIGAN	2	Esch .	Primary 8/8
MINNESCTA	6	Zwach	Primary 9/12
MONTKIOM	1	Shoup	Olsen
NEW YORK	23	Peyser	Ottinger
TENNESSEE	3	Baker	Primary 8/3
	8 .	Kuykendall	Primary 8/3
TEXAS	13	Price	Purcell
HATU	2.	Lloyd	Primary 9/12 (Owens probably)
WISCONSIN	3	Thomson	Primary 9/12
	7	O'Konski	Obey

## REPUBLICAN OPEN SEATS

	DISTRICI		RETTREE	1972 %	GOP CANDIDATE	DFMCCRAT CANDIDATE
	CALIFORNIA	20	Smith	69.2	Moorehead	Binkley
	CALIFORNIA	39	Schmitz	68.5	Hinshaw	Black
*	GEORGIA	5	Thampson		Cook	Primary 8/8
ж	IDATO	1	McClure	58.0	Primary 8/8	
	ILLINOIS	21	Springer	60.9	Madigan	Johnson
÷	MASSACHUSETTS	5	Morse	62.7	Primary 6/19	
*	MASSACHUSETTS	12	Keith	49.4	Weeks (subj. to primary)	Studds .
	MISSOURT	7	Hall		Primary 8/8	
*	NEW JERSEY	12	Dwyer	58.0	Rinal.do	English
	NEW YORK	31	P¢rmie		Primary 6/20	Castle
	NEW YORK	33	Terry	,	Walsh	Kadys
*	NORTH CAROLINA	9	Jonas	67.3	Martin	Beatty
	OHIO	4	Betts-McCulloch	71.9	Guyer	Nicholas
	OHIO	16	Bow	56.3	Regula	Musser ·
	OKLAHOMA	1	Belcher		Primary 8/22	
	PENNSYLVANIA	9	Whalley	64.6	Shuster	Collins
	VIRGINIA	6	Poff	72.0	Butler	Anderson
	VIRGINIA	8	Scott	58.6	Parris	Horan
	WASHINGTON	1	Pelly		Primary 9/19	
*	WISCONSIN	8	Byrnes	52.5	Primary 9/12	

## & indicates danger spots

## PICK - UP OPPORTUNITIES

DISTRICT		1972 %		COP CANDIDATE	DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE
procedure authority rights also as may a company make a commit					
AYASKA	AL	44.9		Young (subject to primary)	Begich
ARTZONA	Ą		open	Primary 9/12	
CALIFORNIA	7	35.2		Hannaford	Dellumn
CALIFORNIA	8	30.8	Open	Warden	Stark
CALIFORNIA	11	76.3	Open	Chase	Ryan
CALIU/ORNIA	3.1	41.4		Valentine	C. Wilson
CALLFORNIA	34	45.7		Ratterree	Hanna
CALIFORNIA	35	46.1		Brown	Anderson
CALIFORNIA	36	57.5	Open	Ketchum	Lemucchi
CALIFORNIA	38	50.9	Open	Snider •	Brown
CALIFORNIA	42	66.3	Open	Burgener	Lowe
COLORADO	4			Primary 9/12	Aspinall
COLORADO	5		Open	Primary 9/12	×
CONNECTICUT	1			June conventions	Grasso .
CONSTICUT	6			June conventions	Cotter
FLORIDA	5		Open	Primary 9/12	
FLORIDA	10		Open	Primary 9/12	
FLORIDA	13		Open	Primary 9/12	
RICHILLE	3	53.8	Open	Hanrahan	Coman
ILLINOIS	10	54.4		Young	Mikva
ILLINOIS	1.1.	28.7		Hoellen	Annunzio
ILLINOIS	17	57.7	Open .	O'Brien	Houlihan
ILLINOIS	22	50.8		Lamkin	Shipley

.ck — up Opportunities Page 2

DISTRICT		1972 %		COP CANDIDATE	DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE
INDIANA	3	40.1		Newman	Bradonas
INDIANA	4	48.7		Blcom	Roush
INDIANA	11	51., 0		Hudnut (subject to recount)	Jacobs
TOMY	2	39.8		Ellsworth	Culver
KWSAS	2.	44.3		Primary 8/1	Roy
KENTUCKY	3	48.3		Kaelin	Mazzoli
KENTUCKY '	6	31.1	Open	Jackson	Breckinridge
MAINE	1	40.8		Primary 6/19	Kyros
MAINE	2	35.8	Open	Primary 6/19	
MARYLAND	4	53.3	Open	Holt	Fornos
MARYLAMD	6	51.0 .		Mason.	Byron
MASSACHUSETTS	4	37.0		Primary 8/19	Drinan
MICHTGAN	12			Primary 8/8	O'Hara
MINNESOIA	7	46.1		Haaven (subject to	Bergland .
MISSISSIPPI	2		Open	primary) Butler	run-off
MISSISSIPPI	4		Open	Cochran	run-off
MISSISSIPPI	5		Open	Iott	run-off
MISSOURI	6	45.7	Open	Primary 8/8	
NEW JERSEY	3	44.3		Dowd	Howard
NEW JERSEY	9	43.2		Schiaffo	Helstoski
NEW JERSEY	13	53.8	Open	Maraziti	
NEW YORK	1			Boyd	Pike
NEW YORK	3		Open	Roncallo	Primary 6/20

## x - up Opportunities age 3

DISTRICT	1972 %		COP CANDIDATE	DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE
NEW YORK 6			Gallagher	Wolff
NEW YORK 26			Primary 6/20	Dow
NEW YORK 32			Koldin	Hanley
NEW MEXICO 2	48.1		Presson	Runnels
NORIH CAROLINA 4	48.7	Open	Hawke	Andrews
OHTO 19			Parr	Carney
OKLAHOMA 2		Open	Primary 8/22	
SOUTH CAROLINA 1	41.4		Limehouse	Davis
SOUTH DAKOTA 1	44.1		Vickennan	Denholm
SOUTH DAKOTA 2	47.4	Open	Abdnor ·	McKeever
TEXAS 5			Steelman	Cabell
UTAH 1	47.7		Wolthuis (subject to primary)	McKay
VIRGINIA 4			Daniel	Gibson
WASHINGTON 4			Bledsoe (subject to primary)	McCormack
WESCONSIN 1	39.1		Primary 9/12	Aspin
WYCMING AI	49.7		Primary 8/22	Roncalio

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

CLARK MacGREGOR

FROM:

FRED MALEK

SUBJECT:

Voter Bloc/Citizens Activities

The purpose of this memorandum is to review the manner in which I believe the Voter Bloc and Citizens activities should be controlled from this point on. It consists of three sections: (a) A description of the current and projected roles of the Voter Blocs and Citizens Groups; (b) A proposed organization; and (c) Implementation steps.

#### ROLES

For purposes of discussion, it is useful to distinguish between the "Voter Bloc" groups -- Agriculture, Blacks, Jewish, Labor, Older Americans, Spanish-Speaking, Special Ballots, Urban Citizens, Veterans, and Young Voters -- and the "Citizens Groups" (Business and Industry, Lawyers, etc.). The major functional differences between the two is that the Voter Bloc activities have a larger persuasive component, particularly in national programs. The role of each of these groups is described below.

Voter Blocs. Each of the ten Voter Blocs has a small full-time staff with a headquarters Director, responsible for planning and implementing national strategy, and fieldmen who assist the States in establishing effective grass roots organizations. The principal purpose of Voter Bloc activity within a State is to provide volunteers for use in regular campaign activities -- voter identification, registration drives, and get-out-the-vote. In addition, the voter blocs in the States should attempt to persuade other members of their constituencies to support the President by utilizing various techniques (e.g., obtaining endorsements from locally prominent members of their constituencies, scheduling surrogate speakers, distributing specialized brochures, holding rallies, etc.).

With two exceptions (Labor and Urban Citizens), the Voter Blocs have basically completed the planning and development of their programs, and from this point on will be concerned principally with the implementation of already approved plans. Therefore, the task of managing the Voter Blocs between now and November will involve: (a) Monitoring overall progress

against plans; (b) Facilitating coordination with programmatic parts of the national campaign structure, including Jeb's Program Directors (advertising, direct mail, etc.) and the White House (Colson's project managers, Domestic Council, Dave Parker, etc.); and (c) Coordinating the voter bloc field efforts designed to produce volunteers from their constituencies and to assist the States in developing persuasive activities.

Citizens. The purpose of the Citizens activity is to demonstrate broad-based support for the President by organizing approximately 30 groups, both nationally and on a State-by-State basis, representing various functional categories of occupations, avocations, professions, etc. The largest functional groups include Business and Industry, Lawyers, and Physicians, each of which has a full-time Director here in Washington.

Chuck Shearer, who reports to me, was to be responsible for the entire Citizens activity. However, the Directors of the three large groups in practice report directly to me rather than to Shearer. In each case, their programs and plans have been developed and approved, and they are well into the implementation phase, organizing their groups in appropriate States.

The other Citizens Groups, under Shearer, are still in the planning and organizing stage. Shearer has three fieldmen (each with an assistant), each responsible for working with a group of States to organize appropriate Citizens groups.

#### PROPOSED ORGANIZATION

The key to the effectiveness of the Voter Bloc and Citizens activities is close cooperation and coordination with the field operations. Up until now, the problem has been that differences between the Voter Blocs and the field operations could only be resolved at the Campaign Director level -- thus, they were never really addressed. With both the Voter Bloc and the field operations now under me, I should be able to adjudicate disputes quickly, and in the overall best interests of the campaign.

In addition, this organizational structure will enable us to place the Voter Bloc and Citizens field activities more or less under the supervision of the Political Coordinators. The Voter Bloc or Citizens Fieldman will receive programmatic guidance from his Director in Washington, but on a day-to-day basis he should be responsible to the State Executive Director or to the Political Coordinator for the State in which he is working. If the Voter Bloc or Citizens Director does not agree with the way in which his program is proceeding in a particular State, he would appeal to me, and if I agreed, I could directly correct the situation through the Political Coordinator.

Having the Political Coordinators take on the responsibility of supervising the field activity of Voter Blocs and Citizens wibl substantially reduce my direct management burden. However, even with this assistance, I recognize that I cannot give the needed day-to-day individual attention to ten Voter Bloc Directors, Shearer, and three Citizens Groups (Business and Industry, Lawyers, and Physicians) -- while also taking on the major additional responsibility of the field operations. I would propose to take two additional steps to lessen the demands of the Citizens Groups and Voter Blocs on my time, while continuing to give them overall direction.

l. My Deputy at the White House, Frank Herringer, Will Play a More Active Role in Handling Voter Bloc Programmatic Activities. To help me with the Voter Blocs, I need someone who can handle the routine problems, provide the day-to-day coordination required with Jeb's programs and the White House, and who has the judgment to know when a problem or other situation requires my personal attention.

The logical person to carry out this role is Frank Herringer, my Deputy at the White House. Frank has been spending most of his time for the last several months working with me on the Voter Blocs, so he is familiar with the programs and personalities. Also, his location at the White House will help him coordinate Voter Bloc activities with the various parts of the White House and the rest of the Executive Branch. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, since Frank and I have worked together, he knows when to handle a problem himself, and when he should bring me in to it. With Frank scheening the problems, I would expect to spend very little time on Voter Blocs, while maintaining control through Frank on the programmatic side, and the Political Coordinators with regard to field operations.

2. Give Shearer Explicit Responsibility for All Citizens Activities.

Shearer should take over the programmatic responsibility for Business and Industry, Lawyers, and Physicians, along with the various functional groups that he is in the process of forming. Shearer's fieldmen, like the Voter Bloc fieldmen, would come under the day-to-day supervision of the Political Coordinators.

Please indicate below whether you agree with this plan. If you do, I will proceed with the implementation steps covered below.

#### IMPLEMENTATION

To implement this realignment of responsibilities, I plan the following steps:

- l. Hold Individual Meetings with Several Key Citizens Group and Voter Bloc Directors. Some of the Citizens Group/Voter Bloc Directors will require individual handling to ensure that they do not misunderstand the intent of the changes. In addition, to explaining the overall changes, I would make the following comments:
  - -- Shearer: he is not getting the entire responsibility because he needs to put his full attention in the next months to organizing functional groups to help meet our target of I million volunteers by Labor Day.
  - -- Rietz and Todd: they will continue to have full access to me when they need it, although I would appreciate it if they would work with Herringer as much as possible. Their programs (Youth and Older Americans) are the most critical, and both men are real pros and can be helpful in other areas as well.
  - -- Piliero, Stover, Kayser: explain the rationale for putting them with Shearer; and assure them that they can talk to me if needed.
- 2. Hold a Group Meeting of the Voter Blocs. In this meeting, I would explain new responsibilities and the need for Herringer to play a more active fole. I would tell them that Frank's responsibility is to bring their big problems over to me, and that if they are dissatisfied with his handling of an issue, it can be appealed to me, but I would not expect this to happen often.

Fred ha Rue -Joanou - Cey II for layouts + bridget Hound Jones - ny on Budget Bulget More G Breakfast up Roche, Bisky,
FM Ritatham Companiguen, Phother,
at 12 an Lefthouris, It Goo,
Roosevelt Press Corn Roosevelt Kress Conf. Resolved Budget in 10 days 1.5-mil Cal - Dems, Inds, rofgiger - H doesn't anow prolis- assegn Gerden Luce te handle old Quard - not wording w/RF, who has his own agenda + works Disowngelys - fin Hald - FM talled a/ JM Dut Loesnic enou détails only stuff at Reagan Level " - En to see RR personallyon - may table Cliff White or ferry forces will deal JM. Women-hund u/Borbara Franklin + pean by 7/28 Older amis

Mac G-NX-7/25-Old Th (fez-H)
- Pat Nison - 10 min film - Compaign Songs. - Rough trail or 5 min China commercial - Mac Gnever to n 4+ noc. Grp into

Rlotferm E, Timmons, Rhodes, Scali & expects TV deared names al. Pon Regin ag 13 u/Dem Council deen ag 11 - No use of polling on by yet