

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mr. Mitchell. RE: The President's delay of the Campaign Kick-Off speech until September. 1 pg.
13	14	5/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John N. Mitchell. RE: The design of the second wave polling and cost estimates. 4 pgs.
13	14	5/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Wave II Campaign Surveys. 1 pg.
13	14	5/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The Campaign Kick-Off Event. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From J. Curtis Herge to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Proposal for Campaign Kick-Off Event in San Diego and San Clemente (September 14 and 15, 1972). 8 pgs.
13	14	5/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Michael Raoul-Duval to Haldeman. RE: San Clemente/San Diego Campaign "Kick-Off." 3 pgs.
13	14	5/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Dwight Chapin and David Parker. RE: Campaign Kick-Off Meeting in San Clemente. 1 pg.
13	14	4/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Action Paper regarding the comparison between Nixon's "Campaign Kick-Off Meeting" in San Clemente to Eisenhower's in Gettysburg. 1 pg.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell. RE: The President's plan to deliver his acceptance speech at the Convention Hall in San Diego, so that it may coincide with the Campaign Kick-Off. 1 pg.

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13	14	4/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: The President's concern that nothing has been done on arrangements with Manny Garcia. 2 pgs.
13	14		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Dwight Chapin and David Parker. RE: Campaign Kick-Off Meeting in San Clemente. 1 pg.
13	14	4/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Action Paper that makes a point to illustrate the comparisons between Nixon's Campaign Kick-Off Meeting in San Clemente to Eisenhower's meeting in Gettysburg. 1 pg.
13	14	4/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: The President's use of Walker's Cay for meetings with high-level people. 2 pgs.
13	14		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to unknown receiver. RE: Indecipherable message. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry. RE: Message which states, "There's another memo on the way which includes Dewal's info." 1 pg.
13	14		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
13	14	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: John Mitchell forwarded "first draft" proposal for the San Clemente Campaign Kick-Off Meeting. 1 pg.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From J. Curtis Herge to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Proposal for Major Republican Conference in San Diego in September. 4 pgs.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mr. Mitchell. RE: President Nixon's decision to deliver his acceptance speech in San Diego at the Convention Hall. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14	4/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Action Paper regarding the comparison between Nixon's Campaign Kick-Off Meeting and Eisenhower's meeting in Gettysburg. 1 pg.
13	14	5/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Dwight Chapin and David Parker. RE: Campaign Kick-Off Meeting in San Clemente. 1 pg.
13	14		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Herbert L. Porter to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Participation of the President in the '72 Candidates Conference. 2 pgs.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From J. Curtis Herge to John N. Mitchell. RE: Proposal for Major Republican Conference in San Diego in September. 4 pgs.

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13	14	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention-Miami Beach. 1 pg.
13	14	5/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The President's Telephone Call to Harry Dent-May 17. 1 pg.
13	14	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Maryland and Michigan Primary Returns. 1 pg.
13	14	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Meeting with Peter Dailey to discuss campaign advertising. 1 pg.
13	14	5/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Meeting with John Mitchell and Bob Teeter-May 12. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14	4/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Meeting with John Mitchell and Bob Teeter-April 12 to review campaign strategies. 1 pg.
13	14	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Theme ideas for the President's campaign for re-election. 3 pgs.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik to John N. Mitchell. RE: Priority Ranking of the States for the Campaign. 4 pgs.
13	14	4/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John N. Mitchell. RE: The Wallace Strategy, and the current analysis of George Wallace on the November election. 5 pgs.
13	14	5/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Campaign Poll Analysis and Wave II. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14	5/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to John N. Mitchell. RE: Final First Wave/Analysis, and subsequent conclusions. 8 pgs.
13	14	5/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Nebraska and West Virginia Primary Results. 1 pg.
13	14	5/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The March Gallup Surveys. 2 pgs.
13	14	5/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Cambridge Opinion Poll. 1 pg.
13	14	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Tennessee Primary Returns, and the President's expected win. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
13	14	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The RNC Convention, and the discussion of the Miami Beach location. 1 pg.
13	14	5/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Indiana, Ohio, D.C., Primary Returns. 1 pg.
13	14	5/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Whether or not Lillie Lou Rietzke were a contributor to the President's campaign. 1 pg.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: George Wallace's possible candidacy in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas. 2 pgs.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. RE: A summary of the Wallace vote on a state by state basis. 1 pg.

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13	14		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes. 2 pgs.
13	14	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: The discussion with John Davies which confirmed that the President's popularity ratings were not conducted on either the April 15-16 or April 24-25 surveys. 1 pg.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N-1 [OX#9]	MEMO	STRACHAN TO HRH	5/15/72	C(10/10/1)

FILE GROUP TITLE H. R. HALDEMAN	BOX NUMBER 238
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FOLDER TITLE
STRACHAN CHRON - HRH ONLY MAY 1972

RESTRICTION CODES

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy. B. National security classified information. C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights. D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information. F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes. G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material. H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material. |
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Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 238

Folder: Strachan Chron-HRH only May 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
1	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/19/72
2	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/19/72
3	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/18/72
4	Retain Open
5	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/7/72
6	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/10/72
7	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/10/72
8	Retain Open
9	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/15/72
10	Retain Open
11	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/10/72
12	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/10/72
13	Retain Open
14	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/9/72
15	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/9/72
16	Retain Open
17	Retain Open
18	Retain Open
19	Retain Open
20	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/8/72
21	Retain Open
22	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/4/72
23	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/4/72
24	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/2/72

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 238

25	Retain	Open
26	Return	Private/Political mEmO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/3/72
27	Return	Private/Political mEmO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/1/72
28	Retain	Open
29	Retain	Open
30	Return	Private/Political mEmO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/1/72

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Wave II Campaign Surveys

John Mitchell told Bob Teeter yesterday not to include Vice Presidential trial heats in the Wave II Campaign Surveys. This conflicts with an earlier discussion you had with Mr. Mitchell. He now believes that 1) the results before the Democratic Convention would serve no useful purpose; 2) the results would be obtained if needed by a telephone survey. If you still want to include these Vice Presidential trial heats on Wave II, Mr. Mitchell would like to talk to you after the Russia trip.

GS/jb

H - FU - 6/5

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Kick-Off Event

Jeb Magruder gave the attached plan on the Campaign Kick-Off in San Diego and San Clemente to John Mitchell on May 18. Mitchell discussed the proposal with Governor Reagan. Reagan enthusiastically supports the idea but suggests delaying the announcement as long as possible. Mitchell agrees.

Mike Duval did a preliminary survey for Dwight Chapin, based on earlier information from 1701. It also is attached but will be updated after the Russia trip.

GS/jb

F/U - 6/5

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 11652, Section 6-102

CONFIDENTIAL

By CM/one NARS, Date 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE
SUBJECT: Proposal for Campaign Kick-Off Event
in San Diego and San Clemente
September 14 and 15, 1972

It has been proposed that the President and Mrs. Nixon host a two day gathering of Republican leaders in San Diego, California, during the period September 14 and 15, 1972. The purpose of the gathering would be (1) to provide an opportunity for discussions and meetings about campaign strategy and plans and (2) to provide an attractive and suitable forum for the initial campaign address by the President. In that connection, consideration is being given to a proposal that the President deliver his formal acceptance speech during this two day period in California, rather than at the Convention in Miami. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the points which should be considered in connection with this proposal and to describe a proposed agenda.

1. Participants. In addition to the President and Mrs. Nixon and the candidate for Vice President and his wife, the following groups of individuals might be invited to the gathering:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Approximate Number of Individuals in the Group</u>
a. The surrogate candidates	32
b. Members of the Cabinet who are not surrogate candidates (Laird, Rogers, Shultz)	3
c. Republican Senators who are not surrogate candidates	35
d. Republican Governors who are not surrogate candidates	17

e. Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates (Not including Congressmen Ashbrook, McCloskey, Schmitz and Riegler)	171
f. Officers of the Republican National Committee	12
g. National Committeemen and Committeewomen	100
h. State GOP Chairmen	50
i. State Committee for the Re-election of the President Chairmen	50
j. State Finance Committee to Re-elect the President Chairmen	50
k. State Committee for the Re-election of the President Executive Directors	50
l. Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads	70
m. Senior members of the White House staff	15
n. Senior members of the 1701 staff and voting bloc coordinators	20
o. Celebrities for the President	10
p. Athletes for the President	10
q. Elected Republican State Officeholders from California	4
r. Non-incumbent Republican candidates for Congress from California	31
s. Republican leaders not listed above, e.g. Mayor Lugar, Dr. Arthur Flemming and substantial contributors	<u>60</u>
Sub-Total	790
Spouses	<u>790</u>
TOTAL	1,580

The number of participants could be reduced, if deemed advisable, by not inviting (a) the Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates, (b) the Assistant Secretaries, and (c) selected Agency Heads. This question becomes relevant in connection with cost considerations and the proposed barbecue (or fish fry) at the residence in San Clemente. We have been advised that the areas available for that event are either the golf course, or the area immediately to the east. Both areas at the residence could handle "1,000 plus," but 1,580 might exceed the comfortable limit unless the areas were combined.

We recommend that consideration continue to be given to inviting all the listed groups, plus their spouses (a total of approximately 1,580 people), subject to a more definitive determination of the costs involved and the numbers that can be accommodated at San Clemente. If reductions are then indicated, consideration would be given to not inviting, in the order listed, (a) the Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates (the leadership and the California Congressmen should nevertheless be invited), (b) the Assistant Secretaries, and (c) selected Agency Heads.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Dates. The dates proposed are Thursday, September 14, and Friday, September 15.

It should be noted that there will be the following other activities in San Diego during that period:

- a. The Inland Empire Credit Union will be holding a convention at the Town and Country Hotel. Expected attendance: 900;
- b. The U.S.S. Saratoga Reunion will commence on September 15th at the Sheraton Inn. Expected attendance: 300;
- c. Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company will be holding a convention at the Hotel Del Coronado from September 7th through September 14th. Expected attendance: 700;
- d. The Humble Oil and Refining Company will be holding meetings at the Town and Country Hotel from September 10th through September 14th. The expected attendance is not known at this time;

- e. The U.S. Pro Tennis Association will hold a convention at the Hotel Del Coronado from September 14th through September 17th. Expected attendance: 400;
- f. California Affiliate Representatives, Inc. will be meeting at the Bi-hia Hotel from September 14th through September 17th. Expected attendance: 400.

It does not appear that these activities would cause any media or accommodation conflict. It should be noted, however, that the San Diego Padres are scheduled to play in Houston on September 14 and 15. Those games may be televised locally in San Diego.

3. Format. As noted, consideration is being given to a proposal that the President deliver his acceptance speech during this period. It is our understanding that Messrs. Bryan and Willkie, as well as a number of other nominees, delivered their acceptance addresses at a time considerably later than the Convention. The thought in this instance is that there would be some obvious advantages in getting some major attention and television coverage in September when the audiences would be larger than in late August.

An inherent problem is that the three television networks would have to be convinced that (1) the speech is, in fact, the acceptance speech and (2) free time should be provided. The networks probably cannot be convinced that the acceptance speech will be delivered in California until the conclusion of the Convention in Miami. Even then, the networks might want to hear, or read the advance text of, the California speech before deciding if free time should be granted. A more remote problem is that the networks may decide, after the Convention, that we have locked ourselves in and, as a consequence, force us to buy time to have the speech covered.

Mike Duval, at the White House, has presented the following options:

- a. If the address is the President's acceptance speech and it is carried live (video tape) on a national or selected cities hook-up, it should be held on Thursday, September 14, 1972, at 7:00 p.m., before a "canned" audience of about 5,000, including the key participants suggested above. The place selected should be inside, e.g. at the Convention Hall, but not in a dinner setting. In order to create campaign excitement, a rally atmosphere was suggested.

- b. If the address were not the President's acceptance speech and there is only film coverage, it should also be held on Thursday, September 14, but in Charger Stadium (capacity 50,000). Admission would be by ticket and there would be pre-program entertainment and post-speech fireworks.

In view of the tenuous situation with the television networks, we recommend that the President deliver his acceptance speech at the Convention in Miami and that the speech in San Diego be considered as his initial campaign address. We also recommend that this address be delivered indoors on Thursday, September 14, 1972, at 7:00 p.m. The program would be developed in a rally type atmosphere and the President's address should be preceded with a procession of celebrities and entertainment. The site selected, such as the Convention Hall, might accommodate 5,000 people. Negotiations should be undertaken with one network to buy thirty minutes of time to broadcast the President's address.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

The major event on Friday, September 15, 1972, might be to have the President host a barbecue (or fish fry) at the residence in San Clemente either on the golf course or the area immediately to the east. Mike Duval has noted that "both areas at the residence could easily handle 1,000 plus."

Mike Duval has recommended that this event be held at noon, or in mid-afternoon, to permit the participants to fly home that evening.

Our view is that the event should be held from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. as the conclusion of a series of working sessions that would also be scheduled. (Our proposed agenda for the two days' activities, including the working sessions, is attached at Tab A.)

For our guidance, we would appreciate receiving your recommendation whether the event should be held at:

- a. Noon or mid-afternoon _____
- b. From 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. _____

4. Cost. It is estimated that, if all the proposed participants were invited, the two day program would cost approximately \$403,460. That estimate was based upon the following assumptions:

- a. Transportation. It was assumed that charter aircraft would be utilized to transport the surrogate candidates; the other members of the Cabinet; the other Republican Senators; the other Republican Congressmen; the Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads; the 1701 staff members; and, their spouses between Washington, D.C. and San Diego. That includes approximately 660 people, which would require five aircraft at approximately \$22,000 each. \$110,000

- It was also assumed that we would pay the cost of coach class, round trip transportation for the 300 campaign chairmen, campaign finance chairmen, campaign executive directors and their spouses, from their home states to San Diego 88,500

- b. Television Time. Thirty minutes of time for a network broadcast of the President's address on September 14, 1972, would cost between \$65,000 and \$85,000, depending upon the network and the number of affiliate feeds. 80,000

- c. Rooms. It was assumed that one-half the participants might arrive in San Diego on Wednesday evening and that the balance would arrive on the chartered aircraft on Thursday morning. It was also assumed that all the participants would overnight in San Diego on Thursday and Friday nights. The assumed room cost per person per night was \$20 for a single and \$25 for a double. 49,500

d. <u>Food.</u> It was assumed that lunch would be provided on Thursday; and, that breakfast and lunch would be provided on Friday. Other food costs would be borne by the individual participants.	31,600
e. <u>Barbecue.</u> It was assumed that the barbecue at the residence would cost approximately \$15.00 per person.	23,700
f. <u>Buses.</u> It was assumed that forty-three charter buses would be required to bus the participants between San Diego and San Clemente on Friday, September 15, 1972. The cost per bus for the six hour charter would be approximately \$120.	5,160
g. <u>Rally.</u> The cost of the rally on Thursday, September 14, 1972, was estimated at \$15,000.	<u>15,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$403,460</u>

It should be noted that the cost of the "Spirit of '76" and the cost of landscaping at the residence have not been included in the foregoing estimate.

If it were decided not to invite all the Republican Congressmen, the Assistant Secretaries, the Agency Heads and their spouses, the total number of participants would be reduced to approximately 1,120 participants. Accordingly, the cost of the program would be reduced and would amount to approximately \$309,000.

If the concept of the program is approved, it should be noted that planning should be commenced as promptly as possible. This is particularly true in connection with chartering the aircraft and buses and in negotiating for the television time.

cc: Mr. Herbert L. Porter

PROPOSED AGENDA

Thursday, September 14, 1972

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Arrival and check-in
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon, with address by Gov. Reagan (Host Governor)
2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Working sessions, with addresses by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Stans and Sen. Dole
6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Indoor rally, with celebrities and entertainment
7:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Address by the President
7:30 p.m. -	Staff time

Friday, September 15, 1972

7:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Breakfast buffet
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Working sessions with addresses by Gov. Rockefeller, Sen. Goldwater, Sen. Scott and Cong. Ford
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon, with address by the Vice Presidential candidate
3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Bus participants to San Clemente
5:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Barbecue (or fish fry) at San Clemente
8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Return to San Diego

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12165, Section 6-102

By Empire NARS, Date 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HALDEMAN
VIA: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN
FROM: MICHAEL RAOUL-DUVAL *D*
RE: SAN CLEMENTE/SAN DIEGO
CAMPAIGN "KICK-OFF"

The following is a preliminary report on the possibility of a two-day campaign "kick-off" in San Diego and San Clemente on September 7th (Thursday) and 8th.

1. PROPOSAL AND OPTIONS:

I have discussed the proposal drafted by The Committee with Jeb Magruder. It essentially recommends that about 700 key political people, with their spouses, go to San Diego on September 8th for two days of conferences and entertainment. It proposes that the President address a black tie dinner the first night and host a barbecue at San Clemente the second evening.

Since the President is considering making his acceptance speech in San Diego as a part of the "kick-off", I suggest the following options for Presidential participation. The principle difference concerns how the President's speech is staged.

OPTION 1: [Note: Assumes the Thursday night address is the President's acceptance speech and is carried live (video tape) on a national or selected cities hook-up.]

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1972

Helicopter to San Diego from San Clemente.

Do speech at about 7:00 p.m. (local time), before a "canned" audience of about 5,000 which would include the people involved in the "kick-off". The place selected should be inside but not a dinner set-up. In order to create campaign excitement, a rally atmosphere might be best.

Blair T. 4

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1972

The President hosts a barbecue (or fish fry) either on the golf course or the area immediately to the east. (See the attached photo.) In either case, some landscaping work will be necessary. In discussing numbers with Jeb, it was felt that the participants could be cut down to the 400-500 range, exclusive of spouses. Both areas at the residence could easily handle 1000 plus.

Have to make do it this time.

I would recommend a noon to mid-afternoon affair which would permit the participants to fly home that evening.

Concerning San Clemente costs, I discussed landscaping (grass, etc.) with Jack Brennan but we are holding off making any inquiries until we do the survey. Tents, if requested, are available from Santa Anna at a cost range of \$500-\$1100/day depending on the size.

OPTION 2: [Note: Assumes that Thursday night's address is not the acceptance speech and that there is no electronic TV coverage - film only.]

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1972

Helicopter to San Diego for a night rally in Charger Stadium or the appropriate site. Ticket the entire stadium - about 50,000. Do it as a rally spectacular with good pre-program entertainment and post-speech fireworks.

Not outside - when inside -

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1972

Same as Option 1.

2. FOLLOW-UP ACTION:

A) The Committee (Jon Foust) will make all the arrangements for the invited Republican leaders and all events other than the events involved directly in the President's San Diego address and San Clemente activities.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

C

B) The Advance Office will do an on-site survey as soon as we return from the European trip. Until then the site for the President's San Diego speech will not be locked.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

C) As guidance for the survey:

- 1. Plan on Option 1: _____ C
Plan on Option 2: _____

2. At the residence, use:

Golf course: _____ C
Alternative Area: _____

3. Reduce invited leaders to 400-500 range

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ C

Include wives:

Yes _____ No _____ C

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
F. O. 12005
By Embrose Date 1-10-80
May 2, 1972

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has
Mitchell
Plan

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
DAVID PARKER

FROM: L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Campaign Kick-Off Meeting
in San Clemente

Bob asked me to pass on to you the fact that there is great interest in having some sort of a Campaign kick-off meeting in San Clemente in September. Basically this would be similar to what Eisenhower did in Gettysburg and probably run over a two day period. The idea would be to go out there and set up tents and have private meetings and group meetings with the big wheels, opportunities for pictures with candidates, talks with State Chairmen, National Committeemen, candidate pep talks, etc.

He has discussed this with John Mitchell and Mitchell is working out some of the details and will be getting back to Haldeman with a plan.

Bob asked that you have someone get a survey of the available facilities out there. For example, the field on the President's property needs to be leveled and grass probably planted on it or something so we can put up a tent out there to accommodate a lot of people, to see what can be done there and what needs to be done there to get ready for it.

LH:kb

ACTION PAPER - MITCHELL

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This would be something along the lines that Eisenhower did in Gettysburg. We'll set up tents and work it all out there.

The point, though, is to get the announcement out now so as to show our interest in California at a time when they may feel we're looking the other way.

HRH

4/25/72

EYES ONLY

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. MITCHELL
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

The President had a further idea regarding the San Clemente Kick-Off Meeting.

His thought was that instead of giving the acceptance speech in Miami at the Convention, he would delay it until September and give it in San Diego at the Convention Hall in conjunction with the Campaign Kick-Off.

He would, of course, go to the Convention Hall in Miami the night he is nominated and speak informally as was suggested in the television memorandum, but would say at the time that he would withhold his formal acceptance address until the San Clemente Kick-Off in September.

As you know, Bryan, Wilkie, and a number of other nominees have delivered their acceptance address at a time considerably later than the Convention. We'd have to find out if anybody who has won an election has done so. There would be some obvious advantages to this in getting us some major attention and television coverage in early September when the audiences will be bigger and the effect will be more productive to us.

Nothing should be done on this, of course, until Miami is locked, but then we might announce it so that the Californians know that this is what's coming. We could do it on the basis that the President wants to make his acceptance speech in his home state in September.

HRH:pm

April 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

Following up on some of the things we covered on the phone over the weekend, and some I may not have raised with you --

Can't we get Ashbrook to pull out now by working through Lee Kaieser and Bill Buckley and then try to build some party unity? This would be a dramatic move on his part, of course, and would make Ashbrook a big man. Can we work on Parkinson to turn off his deal in this regard?

The President is concerned that nothing has been done on arrangements with Manny Garcia. It was supposed to have been set up to have someone give him a retainer and apparently Bebe has talked with the President about the fact that nothing has been done on this and the President is very much concerned.

On Ray Bliss, I will wait until you say we should bring him in to see the President and then we will set something up on your recommendation.

As I mentioned, the President wants you to consider the use of Walker's Cay for meetings with high-level people and select groups. If you want to have a strategy session with the Rockefellers and Reagan types or with your state leaders or something of that sort, this is the place that can be used for that purpose. It can accommodate 200 people at the present time.

The President wants us to start some very basic planning on the California kick-off deal that I discussed with you on the phone. This, in his mind, would be a two-day operation with a big night time gathering of all the people in the San Diego Convention Hall for a major speech by the President. It would be barbecues or picnics at the President's residence in San Clemente, with maybe the candidates on one day and the Campaign leadership on the second day. This would also provide the opportunity for the President to meet with the Campaign wheels from time to time during the sessions while they are out there. It should be made a big deal with all the GOP State Chairmen, National Committeemen, and so forth, and they should all stay in San Diego for obvious reasons.

The question was raised as to whether we are putting enough young people in positions of major responsibility in the Campaign.

HRH:kb

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

0665, Form-102
By Empuse Date, date 1-10-80

H
1-10-80
C
1-10-80

Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly a list or report. Some words like "Municipal" and "C" are visible.

He is... Mitchell is... back to... with...

...of the available...
...on their...
...to be...

11:45

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HRH

4/25/72

EYES ONLY

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HRH:bb

Mitchell
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announced
long as
possible

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/2
past
in
5/13

Date: _____

TO: *Larry*

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

There's another
memo on the way
which includes
Dawal's info fr/5/8
and some additional
Mitchell-P. input.
*Maguder says it
will be here by 5/16*



The [unclear]

MS

Should the go
Mia is there
another man
on the way?

L

5/13 -
JSM - no
addition but
survals 5/8

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date May 4, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

John Mitchell forwarded "first draft" proposal for the San Clemente Campaign Kick-Off Meeting in response to your May 1st memorandum and April 25th Action Paper.

Chapin and Parker have not yet sent an advanceman to survey San Clemente pursuant to Higby's memorandum of May 2nd. However, Mike Duval will probably go this weekend.

You may want to review and comment on Mitchell's Proposal before Parker submits the advanceman's survey and the formal schedule proposal.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

DEFENSE NEED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958 Section 2-103
By Embrose NAB, 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE *JCH*
SUBJECT: Proposal for Major Republican
Conference in San Diego in
September

It has been proposed that the President and Mrs. Nixon host a two day gathering of Republican leaders in San Diego, California, during the week after Labor Day. The purpose of the gathering would be (1) to provide an opportunity for informal discussions and meetings about campaign strategy and plans, (2) to provide an attractive and suitable forum for the initial campaign address by the President, and (3) to placate, if such is necessary, those residents of San Diego who may be disturbed over the loss of the Republican National Convention. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the points which should be considered in connection with this proposal.

1. Participants. In addition to the President and Mrs. Nixon and the candidate for Vice President and his wife, the following groups of individuals might be invited to the gathering:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Approximate Number of Individuals in the Group</u>
a. The surrogate candidates	32
b. Members of Cabinet who are not surrogate candidates (Connally, Laird and Rogers)	3
c. State campaign chairmen	50

d. State GOP chairmen	50
e. Republican Senators who are not surrogate candidates	35
f. Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates (Not including Congressmen Ashbrook, McCloskey, Schmitz and Riegle)	171
g. Republican Governors who are not surrogate candidates	17
h. Officers, Executive Committee and Members of the Republican National Committee, not including State Chairmen who are listed above	112
i. Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads	70
j. State campaign finance chairmen	50
k. State campaign executive directors	50
l. Senior members of the White House staff	15
m. Senior members of the 1701 staff	15
n. Celebrities for the President	10
o. Athletes for the President	10
p. Republican leaders not listed above, such as Mayor Lugar, Dr. Arthur Flemming, etc.	<u>10</u>
Sub-Total	700
Spouses	<u>700</u>
TOTAL	<u><u>1,400</u></u>

2. Dates. The dates proposed are Thursday, September 7, and Friday, September 8.

3. Location. It has been proposed that the meeting be held in San Diego, which would be a convenient locale for the President. It is known that adequate hotel accommodations are available and that facilities such as the Civic Center are available for the proposed dinner.

4. Format. The program might be developed, as follows:

Thursday, September 7

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Check in
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Reception and Buffet
2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Working sessions
6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Banquet (Black tie)
7:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Address by the President

Friday, September 8

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Breakfast
10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.	Working sessions
1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	Address by the Vice President
3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	Working sessions
6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Barbecue at the golf course at San Clemente
8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Entertainment and fireworks display at the golf course at San Clemente

The tenor of the weekend might be that of the "team" gathering together to discuss how they are going to win. The working sessions should be made known to the press to give the weekend credibility, but emphasis should be placed on the unity of spirit, the unanimity of support and the anticipated importance of the President's address Thursday night.

It will be recalled that President Eisenhower held a similar gathering in Gettysburg after the Republican National Convention in 1956. That precedent might be referred to when faced with the question: "Why is this meeting being held in San Diego." It could be pointed out that the President (who might arrive in San Clemente several days ahead of time) could not accommodate 1,400 people in the Western White House, so San Diego was the natural locale for the meeting.

5. Costs. The cost of the program could range between \$115,000 and \$163,000.

It was estimated that, with the exception of air travel and the banquet, the weekend would cost \$60 per couple per day. The banquet would cost approximately \$35 per person. [State dinners cost approximately \$40 per person. That price includes the printing and mailing of invitations.]

The projected cost could reach the upper end of the scale if we were to pay for the air travel expenses of the key participants. If we were to bear that expense, it would be less expensive to charter an aircraft. A chartered DC-8, which holds 141 people, would cost \$24,000. The round trip cost per capita on a chartered plane would be \$170, as compared with a cost per capita of \$310 on a commercial flight. It appears that two aircraft would be required to transport the surrogate candidates, the Members of the Cabinet, the Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Agency Heads and 1701 staff. It is assumed that the White House staff would travel on the "Spirit of '76."

6. Other activities in San Diego on September 7-8.

- a. U.S. Travel Service Convention, Town and Country Hotel, September 4-9
- b. California Police Olympics, Hilton Inn, September 5-9
- c. Provident Mutual Life Insurance Convention, Hotel Del Coronado, September 5-9.

EYES ONLY

May 1, 1972

H
FC
5/4

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. MITCHELL
FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

The President had a further idea regarding the San Clemente Kick-Off Meeting.

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WRH:pm

4/25/72

May 2, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER
E.O. 12958, Section 2-102

By Emp use NARS, Date 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN
DAVID PARKER

FROM: L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Campaign Kick-Off Meeting
in San Clemente

Bob asked me to pass on to you the fact that there is great interest in having some sort of a Campaign kick-off meeting in San Clemente in September. Basically this would be similar to what Eisenhower did in Gettysburg and probably run over a two day period. The idea would be to go out there and set up tents and have private meetings and group meetings with the big wheels, opportunities for pictures with candidates, talks with State Chairmen, National Committeemen, candidate pep talks, etc.

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LH:kb



Cal Party memo - JSM
update

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN H. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MACGRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER
SUBJECT: Participation of the President
in the '72 Candidates Conference

You will recall that there is a difference of opinion over the proposed participation of the President in the '72 Candidates Conference. The difference of opinion appears to center on the suggestion that each non-incumbent candidate have his picture taken with the President.

I discussed this problem with Bill Timmons, who concurs with us that the President's participation is most important. Timmons' view is that, if there is reluctance to have the participants photographed with the President, there should nevertheless be a White House reception for the participants hosted by the President. Timmons believes that the only alternative is for the President to be in Florida or California during the period of the Conference, June 29 through July 2.

We would appreciate your recommendation whether:

1. A reception should be held at the White House for the non-incumbent Republican candidates for Congress participating in the '72 Candidates Conference. The reception should be hosted by the President and Mrs. Nixon. No tape recorders or cameras will be permitted. No official photographs will be taken.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. If it is decided that the President should not participate in the '72 Candidates Conference, he should be advised that it would be politically appropriate for him to spend the period of June 29 through July 2 in Florida or California.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

cc: JSM chron
JSM subject
JSM working
HLP chron
HLP subject
JCH

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 3-202
By Emprise DATE, Lato 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE
SUBJECT: Proposal for Major Republican
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ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: RNC Convention - Miami Beach

Bill Timmons returned today from his first survey trip to Miami Beach. He mentioned that you asked him after the 8:15 meeting how the convention planning is progressing.

Timmons will need decisions regarding security, convention logistics, and budgetary matters before he returns to Miami Beach next Tuesday or Wednesday. The question is whether you want to meet with Timmons, Ehrlichman and possibly Mitchell before the Russia trip. Timmons believes Mitchell should call any meeting on the convention to re-affirm the arrangement that Mitchell makes campaign decisions but you are kept fully informed.

The main question Timmons would have for you and John Ehrlichman would concern the staffs of the White House, Domestic Council and NSC. The numbers, privileges, and responsibilities of each would have to be resolved. Timmons does not believe he can use most of the rank and file staff members, but ill feelings may result if they are not all invited.

Timmons does not believe he could have a detailed decision memorandum on the convention ready for a meeting tomorrow. He could have a talking paper so that general decisions would be made. Individual, minor questions would be answered in memorandum form while you are in Russia.

Recommendation:

That John Mitchell be asked to chair a meeting of you, Ehrlichman and Timmons on the convention Friday at 4 p.m. (the President will be meeting with the bi-partisan leaders). Timmons will prepare the talking paper.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

GS/jb F/U-5/19

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

President's Telephone Call
to Harry Dent - May 17

Harry Dent called me to say that the President had just called him. They reviewed the Michigan and Maryland election results and discussed the George Wallace situation.

The President told Dent he planned on calling Wallace on Friday. The President said he thought Humphrey had made a mistake going to the hospital so quickly. Dent agreed but suggested that the President go to the hospital unannounced to visit Wallace on Friday. Dent received the impression that the President had changed his mind about calling Wallace and instead would visit him Friday. At the conclusion of the conversation the President told Dent to "call Bob and see about setting something up for him to visit Wallace". Dent called me instead of you directly.

You may want to cover this with the President when you talk today.

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Maryland and Michigan
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 Shanway 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

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Advertising

You last met with Peter Dailey to discuss the campaign advertising on January 12, 1972. In the last four months Dailey has assembled the campaign advertising staff (November Group) in New York and Washington. The staff prepared three presentations for the Campaign Strategy Group (Chapin, Buchanan, Garment, Magruder, Chotiner, Dent, LaRue, Moore, Teeter). The final review of the advertising occurred last night. Firm commitments to suppliers will be made during the next two weeks.

Peter Dailey is anxious to have you review the materials. Dailey can give you an abbreviated presentation with his two top men (Phil Joanou and Bill Taylor) in 45 minutes.

John Mitchell has seen some but not all of the advertising strategy and materials in informal sessions with Magruder and Dailey. The next Political Meeting in Ehrlichman's office with Mitchell, Harlow, MacGregor, and Colson is scheduled for Thursday at 10 a.m.

RECOMMENDATION

That Dailey present the campaign advertising strategy and materials at the Thursday, 10 a.m. meeting for final approval.

_____ Agree

_____ Disagree

_____ Comments

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Meeting with John Mitchell
and Bob Teeter - May 12

On April 11 you asked that the meeting with John Mitchell and Bob Teeter be re-scheduled (memorandum attached at Tab A). Both could meet with you at 11 a.m. today. In addition to subjects raised in your two political meetings this week, you may want to cover Teeter's materials on the Key States, Wallace candidacy, and campaign theme (memoranda attached at Tab B).

_____ Set meeting at 11 a.m. with Mitchell and Teeter.

_____ Magruder and Strachan attend.

_____ Magruder and Strachan do not attend.

_____ Re-schedule meeting.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Meeting with John Mitchell
and Bob Teeter - April 12

John Mitchell and Bob Teeter could meet with you for one hour tomorrow, April 12, 1972 at 1 P.M. to review campaign strategy based on the First Wave survey results. Teeter's memorandum on the Wallace candidacy is attached for your review before the meeting.

When Magruder discussed the meeting with Mitchell he asked who should attend. Magruder indicated no preference and Mitchell deferred to you. The question is whether Magruder and I should attend. Magruder and I have had considerable trouble getting Bob Teeter to respond to anything other than a direct, personal order from you or Mitchell. If Magruder and I could attend, our "clout" with Teeter would be increased and he would be more responsive.

_____ Set meeting at 1 P.M. with Mitchell and Teeter.

_____ / Magruder and Strachan attend.

_____ Magruder and Strachan do not attend.

_____ / Re-schedule meeting.

Your other suggestion about a political strategy meeting at Camp David with Ehrlichman, Colson, Mitchell, Magruder, Malek, you and me has not been mentioned to Magruder.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MESSAGING

E.O. 13065, Section 3-102

By Impulse NRS, Date 1-10-80

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

April 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Campaign Theme

R.M.T. by [signature]

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 politicians 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

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 333-0322

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By Enigma NARS, Date 1-10-80 May 1, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
SUBJECT: Priority Ranking of the States for
the Campaign

This memorandum summarizes the decisions made in the strategy meeting of April 28, regarding current priority ranking of the states, for the purpose of developing strategy and resource allocation for the campaign. A brief rationale is presented with each state or grouping of states.

CATEGORY I - SAFE STATES - (Have supported the President by large margins in the past. Should be won in 1972.)

<u>Farm States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Nebraska	5	+28
Kansas	7	+20
North Dakota	3	+18
Iowa	8	+12
South Dakota *	4	+11
	<u>27</u>	

* Would not be safe if George McGovern is on the ticket.

<u>Mountain and Western States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Idaho	4	+26
Wyoming	3	+20
Arizona	6	+20
Utah	4	+19

New Mexico	4	+12
Colorado	7	+ 9
Montana	4	+ 9
Nevada *	<u>3</u>	+ 8
	35	

*Nixon lost Nevada by 2% in 1960. With a Democratic registration edge of 58%D-35%R-7%I, it is the least "safe" of these states.

Border States (Recent polls suggest the President has increased his margin from 1968, particularly if George Wallace does not run.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Oklahoma	8	+16
Virginia	12	+10
Florida	17	+10
North Carolina	13	+ 8
Kentucky	9	+ 6
South Carolina	8	+ 6
Tennessee	<u>10</u>	+ 4
	77	

New England States (Will not be "safe" if Muskie or Kennedy is on the ticket.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Vermont	3	+ 9
New Hampshire	4	+ 8
Maine *	4	-12
	<u>11</u>	

* Lost in 1968 with Muskie on the ticket; won in 1960, against a New Englander, JFK, by 14%.

<u>Midwest States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Indiana	13	+12
Total "safe" states: 24 (163 electoral votes)		

CATEGORY II - WALLACE STATES - (States won by Wallace in 1968. The President may win some, even with Wallace in the race; if Wallace is out, they should be relatively safe.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Arkansas	6	+ 8 (Nixon Second)
Louisiana	10	+20 (Nixon Third)
Mississippi	7	+40 (Nixon Third)
Alabama	9	+47 (Nixon Third)
Georgia	<u>12</u>	+12 (Nixon Second)
	44	

CATEGORY III - PRIORITY STATES - (Close election expected; intensive campaign must be run including maximum organizational effort within the states. These will undoubtedly be Democratic target states).

Top Priority - (Maximum allocation of resources and focus of management attention. "Must win" states.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
California	45	+0.2	+3
Illinois	26	-0.3	+3
Texas	26	-2	-1
Ohio	25	+6	+2
New Jersey	<u>17</u>	-1	+2
	139		

Second Priority - (High allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
New York *	41	-6	-5
Pennsylvania *	27	-2	-4
Maryland *	10	-8	-2

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Michigan *	21	-2	-7
Connecticut *	8	-8	-5
Washington	<u>9</u>	+3	-2
	116		

Third Priority - (Lower allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Missouri **	12	-0.5	+1
Wisconsin **	11	+4	+4
Oregon	6	+6	+6
West Virginia *	6	-6	-9
Alaska	3	+2	+3
Delaware	<u>3</u>	-2	+4
	41		

* Although past electoral behavior would indicate an uphill battle for the President, recent polls suggest he has a good chance at this time to carry these states. Ultimate strategy will depend on the Democratic nominee. These states must be watched closely during the campaign, to be sure that they are treated as target states only so long as they remain winnable.

**States with the most apparent erosion since 1968.

CATEGORY IV - PROBABLE LOSS STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Massachusetts	14	-30
Minnesota	10	-12
Hawaii	4	-21
Rhode Island	4	-32
District of Columbia	<u>3</u>	-64
	35	

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

APR 11 1972
April 11, 1972

ANNOUNCEMENT

E.O. 12065, Section 104-102

By Empire MEMO, Date 1-10-80

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER *Yarrish*
SUBJECT: Wallace Strategy

This memorandum will outline the current impact of George Wallace on the November election and various campaign implications of his candidacy at this time.

Ballot Effect of the Wallace Vote

In our national study, George Wallace obtains approximately 11% of the vote. As expected there is great geographical variance in his strength. In those states where we have conducted campaign polls, the Wallace vote ranges from 24% in Tennessee to 5% in New Hampshire. Our 1968 experience would indicate that the Wallace vote might range up to 40% in the deep south -- Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia. Attachment A shows the vote in those states where we have polled.

The effect of a Wallace candidacy on the President's vote varies greatly depending on the Democratic nominee. Against Humphrey or Kennedy, a Wallace candidacy hurts the President's chances in several crucial northern states. On the other hand, it is to the President's advantage to have Wallace on the ballot where Muskie is the candidate. In the border states, the President defeats all potential Democratic candidates by such large margins that a Wallace candidacy has no effect.^{1/} The following table shows the effect of the Wallace candidacy:^{1/}

1/

A state was put in "Helps" or "Hurts" category depending upon the change in the President's margin from the two way to the three way ballots. A state was categorized as "No difference" if the margin remained the same or if the President won or lost the state by 10% or more.

	<u>MUSKIE</u>	<u>HUMPHREY</u>	<u>KENNEDY</u>
<u>HELPS:</u>	Indiana +4/+8 Missouri -10/-8 New Hampshire +7/+10 New Jersey +8/+11 Ohio +6/+8 Oregon +1/+3 Pennsylvania -6/-4 Texas -2/-1 Wisconsin -12/-9	Wisconsin 0/+2	Iowa +8/+9
<u>HURTS:</u>	California -5/-6 New York +1/-1	Maryland +4/+1 Missouri -2/-3 New York +9/+7 Oregon +11/+7 Pennsylvania +6/+3 Texas +9/+6	California -5/-7 Kentucky +9/+8 Maryland -1/-2 Missouri -2/-6 New Jersey +8/+7 New York +2/+1 North Carolina +14/+9 Ohio +10/+7 Pennsylvania +6/+3 Tennessee +15/+9 Texas +1/0

NO DIFFERENCE:

Florida +21/+17	California +7/+7	Florida +15/+10
Iowa +8/+10	Florida +22/+17	Indiana +8/+8
Kentucky +15/+15	Indiana +15/+14	New Hampshire +22/+20
Maryland -1/-1	Iowa +18/+21	Oregon +4/+4
N. Carolina +19/+12	Kentucky +16/+16	Virginia +25/+18
Tennessee +14/+11	New Hamp. +24/+23	Wisconsin -11/-11
Virginia +15/+15	New Jersey +18/+16	
	N. Carolina +25/+17	
	Ohio +13/+10	
	Tennessee +17/+11	
	Virginia +23/+17	

Our research shows that the farther to the left the Democratic candidate is perceived from the President the more negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. Therefore, if the Democratic nominee moves to a central position on the liberal-conservative spectrum, a Wallace candidacy should be to our advantage and vice versa. It appears that if McGovern is the nominee, the effect of a Wallace candidacy would be similar to Kennedy and Humphrey rather than like Muskie.

Approximately 50% of the Wallace vote is hard core voting for him on all ballots, while the other half switch to and from Wallace depending on the particular candidate choices offered.

Profile of Wallace Voters

The demographic voter profile of the Wallace voter varies considerably by region. In California, Wallace voters are primarily in the \$7,000 to \$15,000 income bracket, have less education, are more Protestant and are slightly more non-union than other voters. A high percentage are male. In terms of voting behavior, Wallace draws slightly more Republicans than Democrats.

In New York, Wallace voters are more likely to be Democrats, Catholics and union members. A much higher percentage of men support Wallace than do women.

Wallace voters in Florida are highly Democratic, and have substantially lower education than other voters. Wallace also draws heavily from voters who are Protestant and non-union. The support from men and women is more even in Florida than in other states although slightly more men than women support Wallace.

In terms of issues, Wallace voters rank the issues in approximately the same importance as other voters; however, Wallace voters display more intensity of feeling about all issues.

Nationally, bussing remains the least important of all issues tested, although Wallace voters are more opposed to bussing than Nixon or Muskie voters. The most important issues are crime, drugs, and taxes, and Vietnam. The tax issue is more important for Wallace voters than other voters. A majority of Wallace voters disagree that the President's economic policies will benefit the working man, compared to lesser percentages of Nixon and Muskie voters who disagree. Wallace voters generally perceive the President's handling of issues more favorably than Muskie voters but substantially less favorably than Nixon voters.

Other Third Party Candidates

Our research shows that our chances for winning every state are substantially improved with the addition of other Democratic third party candidates such as Shirley Chisholm and Eugene McCarthy on the ballot. This conclusion was confirmed by an independent California study showing a similar result in increasing the President's margin with addition of Benjamin Spock to the ballot.

Alternatively a conservative Republican third party candidate would undoubtedly be a detriment to the President's voting strength.

Campaign Implications

In the border states, the President's large margins preclude any negative effect of a Wallace candidacy. The effect in the deep south, however, is uncertain and consideration should be given to conducting additional secret ballots in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana to determine whether the President would be

able to win these states with and without a Wallace candidacy. A recent poll conducted in Louisiana shows a slight edge for Nixon over Wallace. This finding should be verified and studied in other deep south states.

Our research also indicates that the Wallace voters do considerable switching and a careful program should be developed to identify concentrations of Wallace vote in critical states. The issues that appeal to Wallace voters (crime, drugs, and taxes) are ones which will need emphasis to all voters. Therefore, our success in dealing with the Wallace voters will depend largely on our ability to identify these voters and reach them with our message. Similar to ticket-splitters, Wallace voters should be easier to convert than traditional straight Democratic party voters. Direct mail and canvassing programs should first be directed at the heaviest Wallace precincts from 1968. This effort should be coordinated with an identical effort directed at high ticket-splitting precincts.

The decision as to whether we want Wallace on or off the ballot should be delayed until the Democratic candidate is chosen and his perceived position on the liberal-conservative spectrum is determined. The closer the Democratic candidate is perceived to the President, the more help a Wallace candidacy will be. As of now, it appears that a Wallace candidacy in November would be a detriment against either Humphrey or Kennedy. There are indications, however, that this situation may change as a result of the primaries and further campaigning. At this time, it seems most appropriate to us to keep our options available rather than making any firm decision.

If possible, we should begin to take whatever steps are necessary to have Shirley Chisholm, Eugene McCarthy and Benjamin Spock on the ballot in all critical states. Chisholm appears to be our best choice of these potential candidates. Consideration should be given to funding the candidacy of one of these persons to permit their filing as a third party candidate in as many states as possible. Similarly, we must make every effort to prevent a conservative third party candidate being used against us.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

ATTACHMENT A

AGAINST M/K/H

	<u>Wallace %</u>	<u>Dev. from U.S.</u>
Tennessee	24%	+13
North Carolina	20	+ 9
Florida	20	+ 9
Virginia	17	+ 6
Texas	12	+ 1
Missouri	12	+ 1
Kentucky	11	0
Indiana	11	0
Maryland	8	- 3
Iowa	8	- 3
New Jersey	8	- 3
Ohio	8	- 3
Pennsylvania	8	- 3
Wisconsin	7	- 4
Oregon	7	- 4
California	6	- 5
Illinois	6	- 5
New York	5	- 6
New Hampshire	5	- 6

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. CALDERON

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Poll Analysis
and Wave II

Bob Teeter 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 Teeter 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.

GS/jb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DEFINITIONS OF BEHAVIORAL
ADMINISTRATIVE MAP, INC.
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By Gutierrez MAPS, Date 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: ROBERT H. TEETER

SUBJECT: Final First Wave Analysis

During the past several weeks we have analyzed the first wave polling results utilizing a number of the most advanced statistical techniques available. This analysis has enabled us to identify the most important independent variables which influence presidential vote and to develop a very sophisticated analysis package which can be run and interpreted rapidly on all of our subsequent polling.

While it is not necessary to have knowledge of these techniques in order to use the results, I would be happy to go over them in more detail with you anytime.

Our conclusions from this analysis are:

1. Past party voting behavior is the single most important factor which affects the presidential vote. The classification of voters into behavioral Republicans, Democrats, or Ticket-splitters accounts for almost three times as much of the variance why people vote for or against the President as is explained by any other variable. This appears to be particularly true in Wisconsin, Indiana, and California.
2. The next most important factors affecting the Presidential vote are the voters' perceptions of the President's trust and his issue handling ability. Trust is best defined by the following variables -- honesty, open minded, and just. Seemingly, these personality traits are related to perceptions of credibility. To a lesser degree the presidential vote is related to perceptions of competence -- experienced, trained, and informed.

Most voters have a general perception of how well the President handles issues and problems overall and that appears to be more important to voting than is their perception of his handling of any one or two issues. This overall issue handling ability seems to be perceived by the voters as a single personality dimension similar in many ways to the dimensions of trust, competence, etc.

The only individual issues which appear to have any significant independent effect on voting are Vietnam, inflation, and general unrest. Vietnam and inflation were also, fortunately, the issues that the President was seen as handling well, and his ability to handle the general unrest problem was rated about equally to that of his opponents:

Those issues on which the President is rated relatively poorly -- crime, drugs, and unemployment -- do not appear to affect presidential voting to any major degree. This is particularly true of crime and unemployment. Apparently the President is seen as having done a good job on those problems that the voters think have gotten better overall, while he is seen as having done a poor job on those problems which have become worse during the last few years. There also appears to be little believability that the President will make much difference in the crime or drug problems.

3. Demographic bloc voting is significantly less important than past party voting behavior, and less important than perceptions of the candidates trust, competence, and issue handling ability. Once party behavior is taken into account there is little difference in the vote for various demographic groups. In other words, differences in the rate that various demographic groups support Nixon can be explained almost entirely by party preferences rather than membership in any particular demographic group. The factors having some but small effect on the vote are age, income, and education. Generally speaking, voters who are older, have higher incomes, and have more education seem to have a greater propensity to vote for the President, primarily because of their propensity to vote Republican more than as a result of their demographic group. Bloc voting against the President is evident only with a limited number of groups -- blacks, young voters (18 to 25 year olds especially in California), and Jewish voters in New York. All appear to oppose the President to a greater degree than would be predicted by their past voting behavior or party preference.

It appears to be possible to improve the vote for the President in several demographic groups where he is weak. We have made these conclusions from our analysis of the data from the individual voting blocs:

- A. Older voters (60 years and over) are the single most important group in the election. In Missouri and Oregon, the President is especially weak. Taxes, inflation, and the economy are the important issues.
- B. The President is running very poorly with young voters (18 to 24). Heavy turnout and registration by this group could be devastating. The percentage of Republican support among youth is very small. Vietnam and the economy are the issues. We have special weakness in California and Wisconsin.

- C. The vote for Nixon among blacks varies greatly. The President is running well with this group in the south, the border states, and New Jersey and New York. There is a severe credibility problem and racial appeals to this group are unlikely to work. Pocketbook issues will be important.
 - D. Spanish-Americans are supporting the President to a greater degree than expected. The support appears to be flexible. We could expect to improve our support with this group by at least 15% in California.
 - E. Ethnic support in Philadelphia is very weak and seems to be causing our poor showing there.
4. The importance of each of the vote determining factors varies considerably from state to state. Generally, the relative importance of these factors in affecting the vote is listed below:

Party
Nixon Trust
Comparative Issue Handling Ability
Age
Opponents Competence
Income
Religion
Education

After party, the voters' perceptions of Nixon trust and comparative issue handling ability are the factors which have the greatest influence on the President's vote.

The factors in the individual state studies are shown in Attachment A. Attachment B graphically shows the importance of these factors.

5. While the President was in relatively good shape against any of his potential opponents in January, there was a relatively small undecided vote for that point in time and there appears to be some limits on the President's potential vote. There are relatively large groups of voters who vote for the President on all of the sample ballots and who vote against the President regardless of who his opponent is on all the sample ballots. This indicates to me that once the Democratic nominee is selected the undecided vote may be very small. This, along with the probability that the Democratic candidate will increase his support and that the ratio will get closer during September and October, means that we should attempt to build as large a lead as possible between now and the national conventions on the theory that we will lose ground after the conventions. Moreover, every point we can gain between now and the conventions will come with less effort and at less cost than those percentage points needed during the fall campaign.

6. There does not appear to be any definite ideological basis for voting on any of the ballots. That is, very few people if any are voting for the President because they feel he is particularly conservative or liberal, or that people are voting against the President because they feel he is too conservative or too liberal.

7. The Vice-President's approval rating is somewhat lower than the President's in almost all of the states but follows up and down about in line with the President's. I cannot identify any particular segment of voters with whom the Vice-President is either adding or subtracting from the ticket.

8. The net effect of a Wallace third party candidacy was very small in January and has undoubtedly changed since then. We should defer any hard conclusions as to whether we want him on or off the ballot until after the second wave of polling, but my inclination at this point is that we would do better without him on the ballot.

9. There is no question but that we have a very realistic chance to carry any or all of the big states -- New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, and California and we should continue to make a maximum effort in those states. California appears to me to be the one state where we may not be doing as well as we might be at this time and where there are indications of future problems. Voters in California seem to have a more fixed perception of the President. That is, of course, logical in that California voters probably know him better than those in any other state.

Recommendations

Based on our analysis, we make the following recommendations:

1. A ticket-splitter analysis should be done in each of the priority states by precinct or ward and township. For the rest of the country, the analysis should be done by county. This is undoubtedly the most efficient way to locate ticket-splitters and to develop priority areas for both our organizational and communications efforts. Moreover, it will allow us to identify Democratic areas which have some propensity to split their ticket, and from these areas we may be able to cause ticket-splitting in favor of the President.

2. With apparently small undecided vote, a strong organizational effort will be critical. I would recommend putting a disproportionate share of our resources into organizational personnel to assure that this effort is maximized. I also think our organizational effort should be structured so that we have the flexibility to concentrate our people in a few states late in the campaign, even to the degree of assigning one to each county or congressional district for the top priority states in late September and October.

Special organizational effort should be made to improve the President's voting strength in Philadelphia (especially with ethnics), New York City (outside Manhattan), Buffalo, Los Angeles (Orange County), Baltimore suburbs, Montgomery County (Maryland), Mid-Texas (Austin), rural Missouri, and Kenosha/Racine Wisconsin.

3. As indicated before, I think the development of an overall theme or idea for the campaign is imperative and that this should be done before the Democratic convention and should center around the President's hopes and aspirations for our country. To be effective it must be positive and give people the hope that many of our problems can and will improve.

4. As the President's overall issue handling ability is more important to determining vote than his handling of any individual issue, those issues on which he is perceived as handling well should be emphasized and those he is seen as handling poorly should only be used if we have an impressive story to tell or if the appeal is designed for some particular group.

5. We should emphasize the following personal attributes in our media programs:

Trust - Just
Honest
Open Minded

Competence - Experienced
Trained
Informed
Competent

It is possible to use the President's ability to handle issues in communicating the above attributes. No special effort needs to be directed to make the President appear -- warm, relaxed, and having a sense of humor. To the extent that it is possible to convey these characteristics, we should do so, but not at the expense of the trust and competence variables.

6. Special efforts should be implemented to maximize the President's strength with specific voting blocs.

A. A campaign directed at older Americans through the voting bloc group should be given top priority. Maximum available resources should be allocated into this program. A massive turnout drive should be implemented, and a supportive direct mail effort should be considered. Because of the current high level of registration, no special effort in this regard needs to be made to register older voters. Special emphasis should be made to improve our level of support with older Americans in the following priorities:

Missouri (Primarily Rural)
Oregon
Texas
Wisconsin
Maryland
Indiana
California
Pennsylvania
New York

Taxes and inflation should be given emphasis.

- B. All registration drives among young voters should be stopped. Our primary objective with this group should be low turnout and persuasion of Democrats and swing voters to vote for the President. Areas for special emphasis to improve support among young voters should be:

Wisconsin
California
Maryland
Pennsylvania
New York

Primary issue emphasis should be made on Vietnam, jobs for youth, and pollution.

In meeting our objective of converting Democrats and independents, we must be careful not to direct our young voter campaign solely at our own voters. To keep turnout at a minimum we should attempt to keep the marijuana referenda now proposed for California and Michigan off the ballot if possible.

- C. The Jewish vote bloc should implement a program to improve the President's strength with this voter group in New York state. Careful consideration should be given to the question of parochial schools with this group. Our data indicates support of aid to parochial schools may be a negative with Jewish voters.
- D. In order to carry several critical northern states we will need to carry a greater percentage of blacks than we did in 1968. Because of our credibility problems, we must be careful in making any racial appeals so that our efforts are not counterproductive.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

ATTACHMENT A

CALIFORNIA		NEW JERSEY		OHIO		TEXAS		NEW YORK		PENNSYLVANIA		WISCONSIN		INDIANA	
Party Type	81%	Party Type	7%	Opp. Issue	11%	Nixon Trust	10%	Age	12%	Opp. Competence	9%	Party Type	29%	Party Type	14%
Opp. Trust	4	Nixon Trust	6	Party Type	6	Party Type	6	Party Type	7	Party Type	7	Opp. Issue	11	Age	8
Age	4	Opp. Competence	5	Education	5	Nixon Issue	8	Nixon Issue	7	Income	7	Income	9	Income	3
Income	4	Age	5	Age	4	Age	7	Nixon Trust	5	Age	5	Nixon Trust	4	Opp. Issue	3
Nixon Strength	3	Opp. Issue	4	Opp. Strength	3	Nixon Strength	5	Opp. Issue	4	Opp. Issue	2	Nixon Issue	4	Religion	2
Nixon Competence	3	Income	4	Nixon Issue	3	Opp. Issue	3	Income	4	Education	2	Age	4	Nixon Trust	2
Sex	3	Religion	3	Religion	2	Income	2	Education	4	Nixon Competence	1	Religion	2	Opp. Trust	1
Nixon Trust	2	Nixon Issue	2	Opp. Competence	1	Religion	2	Nixon Competence	2	Opp. Trust	1	Education	1	Nixon Strength	1
Nixon Issue	2	Sex	2	Nixon Trust	1	Opp. Strength	2	Sex	2	Nixon Trust	1	Nixon Competence	1	Education	1
Education	2	Education	1	Income	1	Opp. Trust	1	Opp. Trust	1	Nixon Issue	1	Opp. Competence	1	Nixon Issue	1
Opp. Competence	2	Nixon Competence	1	Nixon Competence	*	Nixon Competence	1	Nixon Strength	1	Religion	*	Opp. Competence	1	Nixon Competence	1
Opp. Strength	1	Nixon Strength	*	Opp. Competence	*	Opp. Competence	1	Opp. Competence	1	Sex	*	Nixon Strength	1	Opp. Strength	*
Opp. Issue	1	Opp. Strength	*	Nixon Strength	*	Education	*	Religion	1	Nixon Strength	*	Opp. Trust	1	Sex	*
Religion	1	Opp. Trust	*	Sex	*	Sex	*	Opp. Strength	*	Opp. Strength	*	Opp. Strength	*	Opp. Competence	*

* Less than 1%

Numbers following each factor indicate percentage of influence on the presidential vote.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN

ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065 Section C-102

CONFIDENTIAL

By Embrey Date 1-10-80

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN W. MITCHELL

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Second Wave Polling

The purpose of this memorandum is to recommend the design of our second wave polling and to get your approval of the basic design so I can begin to work with the vendors on questionnaire design and specific cost estimates.

Purpose

The purpose of this wave of polling will be to update our polling information in the priority states after all the major Presidential Primaries are over and after perception of the potential Democratic candidates is better defined. The Primaries and national events have undoubtedly changed public opinion in several important areas since January, and we need current polling data to reevaluate our position in each of the priority states, to further define our national campaign plan, and to develop individual state campaign plans.

This set of polls will allow us to identify changes in the various candidates ballot strength or perception or in the basic issue structure since January. It will also allow us to begin to develop some trend lines on both the candidates and issues for the campaign.

Some of the major areas I think should be covered on this wave are:

Secret ballot measurement of the President vs. Humphrey, McGovern, and Kennedy with and without Wallace

Ballot effect of various potential Vice-Presidential candidates

Perception of the major candidates

Familiarity/Amount of knowledge of the candidates
Approval rating/Why
Personal perception data

Measurement of core pro and anti Nixon vote

National issue structure

Rating of intensity of issue concern

Rating of candidates ability to handle major issues

Perception of whether a problem has gotten better or worse under the Nixon administration

Attitudes toward specific national problems

Tax reform/VAT

National defense

Status and attitudes toward police

Attitudes toward Congress

Attitudes toward trade unions/George Meany

Attitudes toward Phase II

Marijuana/Drugs

Farm problems

Women's issues

This data would all be tabulated and analyzed by past voting behavior, by current voting intention, by degree of commitment for or against the President, by geographic regions, and by the various demographic groups. These are essentially the same breaks that we used in Wave I and would allow us to identify any specific changes in the President's strength since January. The data from this wave would also be run by Area of Dominant Influence (ADI) which would allow the advertising people to use the data more effectively by relating it to the major media markets.

Design

I think we should divide the states to be polled into two groups on this wave and do a fairly long interview designed to get in-depth data on the candidates and issues only in the top priority states and do a much shorter (and less expensive) interview designed to get the basic head-to-head and issue data in the other states.

The states I recommend we do in June are:

Long Interview

California

Texas

Illinois

Ohio

New Jersey

New York

Short Interview

- Alabama
- Pennsylvania
- Maryland
- Michigan
- Connecticut
- Washington
- Wisconsin
- Missouri
- Oregon
- West Virginia
- Indiana

While Indiana and Alabama are not on our list of priorities, I think we ought to check Indiana because of various state problems and we should survey Alabama to ascertain the President's voting strength in one of the deep south states. Alabama was selected simply on the basis that we can conduct the study on a shared cost basis with Red Blount.

Timing

The appropriate schedule of this wave would be:

Approval of basic design	May 15
Development of questionnaire and final design	May 16-25
Preliminary approval of questionnaire and signing of contracts with vendors	May 30
Final approval of questionnaire	June 8
Interviewing	June 15-30
Preliminary reports	July 5
Final reports	July 15

Cost

The approximate cost of this wave would be \$250,000. This cost estimate does not, however, take into consideration any shared cost studies with individual states which I will negotiate as soon as this project is approved. I now anticipate the shared cost arrangements in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, and possibly Washington, and Oregon.

The final cost would be determined after the questionnaire and design is finalized and will be submitted to you for approval.

Recommendation: That you approve the second wave of polling, the list of states to be polled, and the schedule. The questionnaire and exact cost estimated will be submitted for your approval by May 30.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
MR. KENNETH R. COLE, JR.
MR. CHARLES W. COLSON
MR. PETER H. DAILEY
MR. HARRY S. DENT
MR. PETER M. FLANIGAN
MR. HARRY S. FLEMING
MR. LEONARD GARMENT
MR. ALLAN G. KAUPPINEN
MR. FRED C. LA RUE
MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
MR. ERLFERIC V. MALEK
MR. CLIFFORD A. MILLER
DR. ROBERT H. MARIK
MR. ROBERT C. MARDIAN
MR. DONALD M. MOSIMAN
MR. HERBERT L. PORTER
MR. RAYMOND K. PRICE, JR.
MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN
MR. CLAYTON K. YECTER

FROM:

ROBERT M. TEETER

SUBJECT:

Wave II Polling

We plan to do a second wave of polling in late June with results being available in early or mid July. It will consist of personal interview studies in several of the priority states and a national oversample similar to the first wave.

If there are any specific areas or subjects you would like to have covered, I would like to have this information from you by Wednesday, May 17.

This group of polls will be somewhat shorter and more limited in scope than the January wave and while it will probably not be possible to include everything everyone would like to have included, we will make every attempt to get the data that would be of use to you.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Nebraska and 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 Humphrey 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

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 9, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

The March Gallup Opinion Index contains the detailed demographics on the President's popularity from the Mar. 3-5, 1972 poll. The chart comparing the three previous Gallup surveys is included. The demographics for the Feb. 4-7 Gallup trial heats are also included.

The "satisfaction index" -- on housing, jobs, the future, etc. -- is most interesting. The question is: "On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the future facing you and your family?" The results are 58% satisfied, 30% dissatisfied and 12% don't know. Satisfaction in the housing, job, education and standard of living indices was even higher.

The point about the "future" question is that it seems to highlight the basic optimism that remains in the electorate. The press has been emphasizing the high degree of alienation. This emphasizes the importance of the President continuing to be upbeat about that which is good in the country as opposed to those who think the country is ruined.

Interesting demographics are: Catholics tend to be more satisfied than Protestants; whites much more so than non-whites; among all age groups there is broad uniformity, with the young as satisfied as other groups.

On the other hand, people are widely dissatisfied with the way the nation is being governed -- 37% satisfied to 54% dissatisfied and 9% no opinion. The strange aspect is that people 18-20 years old are more satisfied with the way the nation is governed than all other age groups.

What this may mean is the degree to which people are "fed-up" with government -- an issue on which the President has always been ahead of others (and on which we can stay ahead if we continue to hammer away at it). Thus, while people are confident about the future, they still don't like the way things are governed. Obviously, this relates to the amount of government intrusion in their lives -- taxes, the bureaucracy, busing, etc. In the face of this there seems to be an attitude that they are satisfied with the future, in spite of the way the nation is governed.

This would suggest the President continue his battle against big and inefficient government. It should be pointed out that in the campaign all the Democrats who presently complain about taxes and big government are the very people who have endorsed during their political careers just such policies. A concomitant tack should be taken that the nation has much to be optimistic about -- that we can regain the nation's greatness by rejecting those who constantly preach self-hate and those who claim that "we have lost our way."

Finally, of continued interest is that the President is still doing quite well with farmers in trial heats with Democrats. In each case he does better among farmers than he does nationally. Butz may be more than partially responsible for this.

An analysis of the New York Times surveys by Ken Khachigian of Buchanan's staff is also attached.

GS/jb
Atts.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Cambridge Opinion Poll

Connecticut Governor Meskill sent the President this Cambridge Opinion (Tully Plessner) survey which shows the President behind Muskie but ahead of Humphrey and Kennedy.

<u>Polling Dates</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Humphrey</u>	<u>Kennedy</u>
CO-12/10-12/71	43-47-5-5	46-42-6-6	47-40-6-7

Teeter has a copy of the poll.

A letter for the President's signature acknowledging receipt of the "information" is attached.

att.
GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Tennessee Primary Returns

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

All Democrats and a busing referendum also appear on the ballot.

The Tennessee polls close between 4 and 9 p.m. CBS, NBC, and ABC have not announced shows on the results. 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

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: RNC Convention

Bill Timmons met with John Mitchell and Jeb Magruder on May 3rd to discuss the Miami Beach site and the RNC meeting this weekend.

To have the RNC focus on matters besides the site of the convention, Mitchell and Timmons suggest releasing the names of several convention appointments. The suggested appointments are:

- 1) Congressman Ford -- Permanent Chairman
- 2) Governor Reagan -- Temporary Chairman
- 3) Anne Armstrong -- Secretary of the Convention
- 4) H. Allen Smith -- Parliamentarian at Convention

Next week when Senator Scott returns from China, Mitchell plans on announcing that Scott will serve as the President's "Floor Manager" at the convention.

Timmons will proceed with these appointments and announcements on Mitchell's authority unless Timmons hears otherwise from you.

Timmons will go to Miami Beach this weekend to conduct a survey. Timmons is working on the convention on the basis of 75% of his time for Mitchell and 25% of his time on Congressional Relations. You have an April 20, 1972 talking paper (copy attached) to cover this with MacGregor.

GS/jb
Att - talking paper
F/U - May 8

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Indiana, Ohio, D.C.
Primary Returns

The President's name is on the Ohio and Indiana ballots. In D.C. there is no slate as the original one was successfully challenged and the delegates will be chosen by the D.C. Republican Committee. The President is expected to win easily in Ohio and Indiana.

The Indiana polls close at 6 and 7 p.m., while the D.C. polls close at 8 p.m. Ohio is having real trouble with their four sheet complex ballot, and a late wire indicated Ohio's polls would not close until 11:59 p.m. CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced election shows. I will be in touch with Magruder and Shumway from 7:30 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.

For New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, 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 Indiana, Ohio, and D.C. Primaries for the President.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Comment _____

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: May 3, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Your wife asked whether Lillie Lou Rietzke were a contributor to the President's campaign, and if so whether she ever received a thank you letter. Hugh Sloan reviewed the '68, '70, and '72 records to confirm that Mrs. Rietzke did not contribute. In fact, Mrs. Rietzke is known in fundraising circles as one who frequently claims to have contributed, complains she did not receive a thank you note, and seeks to embarrass the recordkeeper instead of contributing.

However, her telegram is an interesting human story and the couple will receive a special White House tour while they are in Washington.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

George Wallace - Georgia,
Alabama, Mississippi, Texas

You asked for a status report on George Wallace's possible candidacy in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.

Georgia

The American Independent Party (AIP) must hold a nominating convention by May 9, 1972 for Wallace to appear on the AIP ballot on November 7, 1972. If the AIP holds the convention, it must then obtain 98,000 signatures by June 14, 1972. Georgia sources say this "would be tough" to do.

Tomorrow, discreet checks will be made to determine whether AIP convention planning is underway.

If the AIP does not hold a convention, Wallace may run as an "Independent" but again would require 98,000 signatures by June 14th. There is no indication these signatures are now being collected, but again discreet checks will be made on May 2nd.

Alabama

AIP is a recognized party in Alabama. The AIP has until September 8th to certify their Presidential candidate. So, Wallace could easily run in Alabama on the AIP ticket with his decision made as late as September 8th.

Mississippi

The AIP is not a recognized party in Mississippi. However, Wallace could run as an "Independent". Wallace would only need 10,000 signatures on a petition by September 28th. This could be done easily.

Texas

AIP has lost its status as a recognized party. For AIP to place Wallace on the ballot in November, it must obtain 23,000 signatures between May 6th and June 30th. However, the 23,000 signatures cannot include the names of anyone who voted in the May 6th Texas primary.

The Texas election board believes Wallace "would have a tough road" to get on the ballot for two reasons. One is the requirement that none of the 23,000 can have voted in the primary. The other reason is that Wallace has publicly stated in Texas that his followers should work within the Texas Democratic Party.

GS/jb
F/U - May 5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: L. HIGBY L
SUBJECT: Wallace Vote

Bob asked that you put together a summary of the Wallace vote situation on a state by state basis so we can trace at what point in time Wallace loses the option of running as a third party candidate on the ballot in each state. He would like you to update this on the same basis you update the Democratic and Republican primary sheets.

Obviously, in many states the decision will be being contested in the courts. Those states should indicate the date that the state actually closes out and whether or not the opportunity is being contested.

Cedron
5/1

Ge; Ala; Miss; Tx
cur - Then an update memo

The AIP must hold Convention
by May 9, 1972.

- Know 5/2 if plans
of hold Convention - need
98,000 sigs by Fe 14.
"would be tough"

Can run as "Ind" if gets 98,000
by Fe 14.

Ala

AIP recog pol party
Until Sep 8 to certify
their candid

If run as "indep" - must
file 300 sigs by 5/2.

Miss

AIP not a party, must
proceed as "indep";
needs petition w/
10,000 sigs by Sept 28
- "no pol"

Tx - AIP lost status as party by
no Gov land last time

To re-~~elect~~ - must get 23,000
signs bet 5/6 + 6/30,
- But if voted in primary
(May 6 - Gov) can't
sign petition.

- See Bd - "would
have tough read"

① Beef Wallace in TX
publicly urged
his supporters to
work for TX Dem Party

② To be one of 23,000
can't have voted
in primary

③ But AIP people proceeding
on assumption that
trying to nominate

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Gallup Surveys

Discussion with John Davies today confirmed that Gallup did not conduct Presidential popularity questions on either the April 15-16 or April 24-25 surveys. Davies says that Presidential popularity is not conducted when trial heat questions are because the results would be "biased".

Preliminary results from the Gallup "candidates image" study should be available late next week from Davies.

The Gallup release for Thursday, May 4th will describe the Democratic contenders' standings among a nationwide sample of Democrats. Davies would not give me the exact figures, but he told me that "Humphrey is the clear leader, with Kennedy up there". McGovern remains "very low" nationally.

Gallup may release the results of their poll among Democratic County Chairmen next week. As was expected, Humphrey is "way ahead".

GS/jb

F/U - 5/4