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From: Gordon Strachan
To: John Whitaker
RE: RNC Research Report on Farmers. 1 pg.
# Presidential Materials Review Board

## Review on Contested Documents

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July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:
JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:
GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:
Celebrities Charter

Pursuant to our conversation today, will you make sure you forward to me the decision memorandum regarding celebrities charter. Included should be Caliero’s suggestions as well as Timmons reservations.

GS/jb
FU - 8/4
July 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  FRED NALEX
FROM:  GORDON STRACHAN

Rose Mary Woods sent the attached memorandum to Bob regarding Earl Adams' suggestion. I know you will give the memorandum every consideration.

GS/jb
MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN
FROM ROSE MARY WOODS

In talking with Earl Adams the day before we left San Clemente, he thought it was vital that we put some fear in some of our people who are working on or running the campaign so they won't take anything for granted.

He felt we should all remember that in 1930 Hitler offered everyone everything and he won. Earl feels when this line is used many people lose all intellectual balance and are converted by these false promises.

In his opinion, McGovern has been doing exactly what Hitler did in 1930 and will probably continue to promise everything that anyone could dream about.
I just read Bob Morgan's July 27 memo on the September mailing copy points. I would like to forward it to Bob with copies of the actual mailings and brochures so that he has a better understanding of exactly what is being done via direct mail. Would you obtain these materials for me at your earliest convenience so that Bob can have a chance to review the materials with the July 27 memo?
MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1972

E. O. 12065, Section 6-102

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN

SUBJECT: September Mailing Copy Points

The copy points that will go into the non-Republican letter for California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Cook County, Illinois have been developed and our copy is presently being written for these letters. The copy points were arrived at through an analysis by Arthur Finkelstein using all available source data. They were mutually agreed upon by Dr. Marik and myself. TABS A, B, C and D show the voter segments for these states, the percent that we anticipate from the total non-Republican universe, and the major copy points by segment.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the issues by state as shown in TABS-A, B, C and D.

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENTS _______

There will be four (4) different brochures going with the various voter segments -- a general brochure; one geared to Older Americans; one designed for the Spanish-speaking; and one for the peripheral urban ethnic (PUE) constituency. TAB E shows the various brochures along with the issues to be included. These issues were also developed by Arthur Finkelstein based on the available source data, and agreed to in detail by Dr. Marik and myself.
RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the issues to be included in the various brochures.

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENTS _______

The September mailing in California and New Jersey to Republicans will include the general brochure to non-Republicans. The RNC Contributor File for California and New Jersey will be identified and sent computer letters in order to maximize the dollar return. The other mailings will be personalized only on the Volunteer/Contributor Card.

The decision has to be made within the next two (2) weeks as to who signs the non-Republican letters, as well as the Republican letters in the different states. Dr. Marik will head up an Ad Hoc Committee to recommend who signs the letters, coordinating with the White House. He will also arrange for the signer's approval.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the Ad Hoc Committee with Dr. Marik as Chairman to decide who signs the letters and obtain the signer's approval.

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENTS _______

Attachments:
TAB A
TAB B
TAB C
TAB D
TAB E

cc: Mr. Arthur Finkelstein
    Dr. Robert H. Marik
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"Conservatives Play Hard to Get With RN," tops an inside page in NY News. Conservative party sources insist RN doesn't have party endorsement locked up, an endorsement which could mean 400,000 votes for RN, and writer says observers would give GOP-cons line the edge over Dem-lib coalition. Conservatives want to see plenty of conservative planks in GOP platform; specifically, strict construction, no welfare give aways, and US second to none as military power. Decision will be made at meeting on August 30.

Tuesday night's Agronsky show focused on the Vice President. All three participants (Rusher, Witcover, Ted Lippman) seemed to feel that RN's choice for the VP to run again was politically wise, and almost inevitable. The Eagleton issue was seen by one to "diminish the vulnerability" of the VP to attack.

William Rusher clearly dominated the show, was strongly pro-Agnew, emphasized his political attraction not simply in holding the South but in reaching blue-collar Northern Dems who couldn't care less about the "lettuce boycott." Ted Lippmann made basically the same points, arguing that the NY Conservatives had made it a condition, and this was important to the conservative wing of the GOP. Rusher called it an "extremely shrewd and able choice," that the Veep was the "strongest man". Witcover said the decision was "probably made some time ago. There was no evidence in Jules' view, that RN was dissatisfied with the Veep; he had done everything he had been asked to do.

The show got most interesting, however, when Agronsky read an extremely harsh and negative Times edit on the Veep, and Rusher ridiculed the Times; and Rusher was pressed on the Veep's criticism of the media, and responded by saying that criticism of the media bias was right on the mark, and anyway what about the Guild endorsement? This set the cat down among the pigeons and the show ended with the three reporters calling on Rusher to recognize that many press members were appalled at the Guild action.

UPI's Wash. local of Guild called for referendum on McG endorsement saying such activity "endangers the credibility of its members among the general public."...Steady comment on the Guild endorsement continues w/the Trib's Bill Anderson critical and the W.S. Journal feeling the action "reflects certain aspects of the Press" wasn't really
MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You probably noticed this morning's story regarding the New York Conservative Party indicating that there is some question as to whether they will endorse the President in New York. Apparently, they want several conservative planks in the Platform. Who is your direct contact with the New York Conservative Party? Does he see any problem?
MEMORANDUM FOR:
JEB MAGRUDER
FROM:
GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT:
Tester's Time

As we discussed on the telephone on Friday, Bob Tester is still not at our full time immediate call. He could not brief Dwight Chapin prior to the trip to California on the documentaries. Yesterday I was unable to meet with Tester to review three matters which Bob raised with me directly. These recent problems coupled with the possible Canadian election before November again raises whether Bob Tester is our campaign pollster. Realistically, he has had too much access to be probably cut off. However, we should make clear to him in no uncertain terms that he is to be at our call seven days a week. If you want me to sit in on the meeting with you to hit him with both barrels,fine; if not, advise me of a solution because it has now reached crisis proportion.

GS/jb
FU - 7/31
July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: "Tribune" Article

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

Would you let me know?

GS/jb
FU - 7/28
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Direct Mail

In light of the long Steven Issacs' article this morning on McGovern's direct mail, it would be appreciated if Bob Morgan submitted a statement of his theory of direct mail. We are particularly interested in this in light of the decision to increase the direct mail effort and change its organizational structure.

GS/jb
FU - 7/28
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Nielsen Analysis of Television Shows

What ever happened to the project whereby you were going to purchase from A. C. Nielsen and Company a service which correlated the voter and viewing habits of the television shows?

GS:car
H F/U 7/27
cc: Dwight Chapin
I have just read Stan Anderson's memorandum of July 14 regarding the percentages based on 279 delegates out of the 1,347. In my opinion, this is an impending disaster which we must change quickly or the media will tear us apart. As we have discussed, I do not think there will be any problem getting our old line delegates to accept honorary positions so that we can fill the "real delegate slots" with the proportions we want. If Reagan, Rockefeller, Javits, Buckley, and most of the California fat cats will accept honorary positions, let's do that with the other key states. It is ridiculous to have only 28 Jewish representation when we hope this time to receive substantial Jewish support. I understand the problems about not having the results from California and Texas, but we must move on this quickly.

I would like to be able to solve this problem without involving Bob either by memorandum or meeting. However, with all the effort that Timmons and Chapin and others are putting in on the appearance aspect of the Convention for the media, this has to be a top priority project. Just give me a call if you want me to do anything to push this matter to solution.
EYES ONLY

July 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED NALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Mayor Sam Yorty

Fred, this is merely a personal note which I have mixed feelings about sending to you. Today, when I asked you about the Henry Salvatori telephone call to Bob and his suggestion for Mayor Sam Yorty, you told me you had detailed the matter to Dan Kingsley and that I should check with him for the status. My original memorandum was July 7 with a follow up of July 14.

I called Kingsley and he had not heard from you anything about the project. It may well be that papers crossed or you thought you had covered it orally with him or whatever. However, the problem is that Bob accepts whatever you say at face value. Had I informed Bob that the Salvatori-Yorty matter had been handled, the facts would have been otherwise. It is far better for you to tell me that a project hasn't been handled yet than that it has been handled by someone else. Otherwise, we are going to get caught sideways with Bob to the detriment of the President.

GS/jb
MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED NALEX
                FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
                SUBJECT: Fundraising Project for Senate, Governor and House Races

Harry Dent submitted the attached request to Bob for a Presidential meeting with John Rollins and Tom Evans of the NHC. The schedule request is being staffed by Dave Parker. Dent has discussed the subject briefly with Mitchell.

The Problem - you may not believe this - is Harry Fleming. Dent says Rollins thinks Fleming is worthless and Tom Evans would absolutely refuse to work with Fleming.

Dent was surprised and discouraged to learn that Fleming had been given a "lateral arabesque" into this area where Dent, Evans, and Rollins had been moving with what they thought to be Mitchell's charter.

Would you unscramble this and advise Clark and Bob.

GS/jb
July 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED WALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Convention Delegates

I was discouraged to discover today when I talked with Stan Anderson that he has been unable to obtain lists of the delegates from the various states to determine the percentage of young, old, black, Spanish speaking, etc. Stan says that he can't get the information from the State Chairman because only two sources, the ANC and Harry Fleming, have been pushing the State Chairman as hard as possible with no results. Hearing that Harry Fleming was still in charge caused me even more concern because it was my understanding that he was to handle only Senatorial and Congressional races. Whatever that overall personnel problem, we must figure out a way to develop quickly a list of the delegates to the Convention so that any political decision regarding encouraging people to become honorary delegates, thereby having an appropriate quota of minority delegates, can be solved. Would you let me know at your earliest convenience how we can solve this? Should it be one of the subjects that Clark MacGregor covers when he meets each of the State Chairman? In your opening remarks with State Chairman, should you cover this point? Or should Stan Anderson merely call each of the State Chairmen and establish a new relationship through the field organization?

cc: Stan Anderson

GS/jb
July 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Older American Voters

You probably noticed in today's News Summary that the UPI contained a report that a senior citizens' caucus was postponed. This was considered an indication that low priority older people are getting at the Democratic Convention. I trust this fact will not go unappreciated among the older voters in the election. I have attached a copy of the News Summary article and you may want to get the full UPI story as this looks like a golden opportunity to separate this crucial voting bloc from the Democrats.

GS/jb
H - FU - 7/17
Walters noted the Natl. Women's Caucus was bipartisan and asked each to name her Pres. preference. Friedan was for Shirley; Carpenter for HHH, and Abzug said it was important for women to unite behind her candidate -- McG -- to defeat RN so women and other minorities can get into important positions. Steinem never expressed her choice. Carpenter summarized the Caucus' major accomplishments as the 40% female Dem delegates (no mention of gains in GOP); the women's rights amendments; and increased number of female candidates who are winning. Walters concluded: A year ago you were ridiculed and now you are listened to, respected and being sought out.

UPI reports a sign on ornate door of Dem hotel hdqtrs read: "Senior Citizens caucus -- postponed." Its a "sad commentary" that "nobody shows" at such a caucus, said its organizer. "It's evidence of the low priority that aging has here." One organizer admitted he'd "goofed" in setting up the meeting. Hutton of the Natl. Council of Senior Citizens and Brickfield of the Natl. Retired Teachers Assn. were "bitter," says UPI. The wire points out only 8.5% of Dem delegates are over 55, compared to 20% of the US population. Brickfield pointed out elderly accounted for 30% of the '68 vote, and that the GOP has a Senior Citizens Div while the Dems have only youth, women and minorities divisions.
You probably noticed in this morning's News Summary several derogatory remarks about Clark MacGregor. I have attached Page 15 of the News Summary as you may want to activate your leaks mechanism to determine who is putting out this trash.
of Congress that could deliver RN an election dividend." Newsweek says MacGregor found 1701 his campaign for complacency and field organization in very confused status. The new director is expected to play a key role in exploiting division in Dem ranks and one WH aide says until RN takes to the hustings, "Clark will be [his] public spokesman and not RZ or even the VP."

Time says MacGregor "made a name as a GOP moderate" in Congress and "he has long been a RN devotee." MacGregor's hopes to activate GOP volunteers take a somewhat unfair rap from a party operative: "We're supposed to leave strategy to this guy and he lost 2-1 in '70." Mitchell seen to retain a key, the background, role -- one WH aide calls him "chairman of the board." US News, noting a political observer as saying MacGregor is issue-oriented, says issues can be expected to get "increasing emphasis" under his leadership. US News notes MacGregor's 10 years on Hill -- where he's "well respected" -- will be an asset to the "relaxed, gregarious politician of sound judgment."

As for Mac's relationship with RN, "it's excellent," says US News.

In the most negative assessment seen so far, Nat'l Observer's Totenberg, saying Mitchell was advised his wife's mental health would be risked if he didn't resign, notes MacGregor was chosen only after a "brief struggle" with the WH "palace guard." She notes Mitchell took orders only from RN; never had to go thru top WH aides; and was RN's conduit to VP Agnew as Mitchell was the only emissary the VP would listen to.

Altho MacGregor signaled he'd follow Mitchell's plans on contributors and in not repudiating or softening VP Agnew statements, top GOP politicos "fear" MacGregor will be vulnerable to WH staff pressure and will be unable to control the Veep. He's not been a "personal intimate" of RN, says Totenberg, nor has he had much access to RN in the past. Totenberg quotes a top GOP Senator (who admires MacGregor) as saying that "when Mitchell gave orders, we knew he had probably talked "to RN, but now when Clark tells us something, I'm going to assume he doesn't know anymore than I do, and I'll do what I think best."

Another GOP politician quoted by Totenberg says MacGregor hasn't kept tabs on anyone but those on the Hill, so when RN tells MacGregor to do what Mitchell was doing, Clark won't know "what John has been doing." Totenberg says the fact MacGregor didn't know of Keating's plans 24 hours before the resignation caused reporters to wonder if
EYES ONLY
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED NALEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: California

Attached are the Lyn Nofsiger reports on California for Governor Reagan that you requested.

Also, on a very confidential basis, you should be aware that we have received the following information regarding California:

1) If the election were held today, the President would lose California;

2) Our effort out there is not very good;

3) Nobody in our top command has any real organizational experience. Nofsiger is a press man and the people who he has brought in around him are all non-experienced;

4) The regional structure Nofsiger has imposed on the state -- 5 divisions -- is contrary to the historic northern-southern division with strong emphasis on the counties. It is not a good division. There should be much more emphasis on the counties. (I am not convinced this is right.);

5) While we should be in good position to pick up disaffected blue-collar types, Mexican-Americans, etc., we are not doing one thing to go after these people, and we are not set up to do so.

Fred, I know you are working on California and probably all you need is more advice on how to run the campaign out there, but in light of the interest you should be aware of this input.

GS/jb
April 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR ROYALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 22 April 1972)

Phone banks have been set up in the nine test areas on schedule. Work begins this week on finding volunteers for this project. It is on schedule.

The direct mail program from national has been agreed on and at this moment is on schedule. This will involve the sending of 800,000 letters. The purpose is to find volunteers, primarily at the precinct level.

Members of the state staff met with about 100 chairmen and other volunteers from Northern California Saturday, 22 April, to outline what is being done for them and what is expected from them.

Headquarters are beginning to open around the state, including in Orange, San Diego and Sacramento Counties. All four regions now have offices opened.

Demonstrators marched on this office Saturday and broke the window in a door to the foyer. There were no injuries, and police responded immediately. We decided to keep the incident as quiet as possible so as not to encourage future demonstrations.

We have had a rash of staff from 1701 out here. Without exception they have been cooperative and helpful.

Bruce Nestande and I meet with Los Angeles County precinct chairmen on registration Thursday night. If their cooperation is as poor as their results, it means we will indeed be doing most of the registration effort in Los Angeles County. In this regard Bruce has developed a plan that calls for direct help from you. A copy is enclosed.

We are developing forms for weekly reports in our main areas: registration, organization, communications, speakers bureau that will enable you to tell easily just where we are and what progress we are making.

This memo is rather short, but I believe we are on track. Future memos will include specific reports.

Enclosure
MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 15 April 1972)

Headquarters opening was most successful. Only a very few demonstrators who quickly went away. Good coverage in the papers and on TV. However, Tom Brokaw on NBC noted that Finch is not taking an active role in California and blamed it onto differences between him and Reagan-Nofziger.

I reported to you in person on Gordon's and my trip to Washington. I think all went well.

The basic campaign organization is now about put together. We met with the Southern California county chairmen last Thursday night—McCandless' chairmen and the 14 area chairmen Banowsky has picked. I, frankly, am pleased at the general quality. Hopefully, today's meeting (Monday, 17 April) with the finance people will clarify how they can raise money. The confusion over this has been less than helpful, to say the least.

John Mitchell, by the way, has asked for county budgets, and I have relayed the request to the regional chairmen, stressing the urgency of it. Telephone bank meetings were held north and south on Saturday, and this program appears to be getting off to a good start. Our Spanish-speaking steering committee met Friday, and our organizational structure is complete in this area. We are attempting to work out money problems with the Hispanic Finance Committee but, aside from this, are ready to begin rolling in the Spanish-speaking community.

Registration for the primary wound up last Thursday. We will have results this week. They will not be good, but I think at least we are getting a handle on it. I will meet with the Assembly district precinct chairmen of Los Angeles County on the 27th. In the meantime we have told our LA County chairmen that we are going to be running registration out of many of their headquarters and that it is essential to get these opened now. Once again, their problem has been not knowing how they could raise funds for opening headquarters.

Next Saturday members of our staff will meet with Northern California chairmen in San Francisco, both Honagan's and Packard's. This will see us with a full show on the road throughout California.
April 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN
FROM LYN HOZIGER

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending April 1)

Finances. Last Thursday we did not have enough money to meet payroll and pay bills. After I complained, money allegedly was sent and a method allegedly has been set up to get money out here regularly. I hope so. It is ridiculous to try to run a campaign in the biggest, most diverse state on peanuts, especially when the money is available. I do not know what Stans is thinking.

I sent you a separate memo about the national effort to raise money in amounts of under $100 in California. I strongly urge that you attempt to put a halt to this. National cannot have it both ways—telling us we have to support the campaign in the counties with these small amounts and then competing with us for them.

Organization. Telephone Banks. Nancy Bradaas from national was here three days, and we had good meetings with representatives from our staff and the four regions. We now have a state telephone chairman, Arthur Groesbeck, who formerly ran campaigns in Kansas. We will have nine phone banks for the primary as training centers and pilot projects. Elsa Sandstrom will find the volunteers to man them. These will be joint ventures with the regions and the state headquarters will control them. We are on schedule here.

Judge Paonessa, (ret.), has now agreed to be our state-wide senior citizens chairman. We will have meetings next week with people from national and the RNC in this area.

We are having some problems in the youth area. However, by the time you get this, they will have been straightened out or some heads will have rolled.

In the black area we have picked Southern California co-chairmen—Hendell Handy and Richard Allen. We have asked Jimloods to head a Southern California steering committee. Meetings are scheduled this week to pick county, area and special groups chairman for the black community.

We are in the process of picking area chairmen for the Mexican-Americans. This should be complete early in the week.

Headquarters opening is on schedule. April 14 is the day.
Selection of county chairmen proceeds. McCandless has all but Riverside and may have that at this writing. Packard has all but Contra Costa and Alameda and expects those next week. Banowsky has L.A. broken into 14 regions. About nine chairmen have been picked. Remainder scheduled next week. Monagan has about 15 out of 42, including the big counties. He expects to have chairmen in all of his 42 counties. Vic Andrews in Orange County is really moving now. I am encouraged.

Registration. Proceeding well in some areas, not so well in others. I will have a separate report for you next week. Trouble spots and San Diego where ADH. Gehres is a hang up and L.A. which we are going to have to take over as soon as Banowsky has his chairmen picked.

We are still handicapped by lack of material from national, compounded by our own lack of funds.

cc: John Mitchell
    Bob Haldeman
    Jeb Magruder
    Gordon Luce
    Ed Heese
May 22, 1972

MEMENTUM FOR RONALD REAGAN
FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 20 May 1972)

Relations with Put Livermore seem to have hit an all-time low as he refuses to cooperate in any way. He is rewriting a contract on the use of Compass Systems, the data company, that was drawn by Bob Morgan of the national re-election committee, and I am fearful that if he does not stall indefinitely he will redraw it so as to make it difficult for the campaign to get access to necessary data.

As you know, the data is controlled by a board of trustees made up of you, Bob Morgan and Put. It may be necessary for you and Morgan to insist on taking direct control. This situation is going to have to be straightened out very soon if we are to get maximum use of Compass data.

Ron, I frankly don't believe we can continue putting up with Put's obstructionism, even if it means demanding his resignation. He is hurting the State Central Committee, and he is hurting the campaign. He seems to have no concept of the seriousness of the situation; he is certainly more interested in controlling his own little domain than he is in re-electing the President.

The phone and mail programs are now in full swing. If nothing else, we are learning that you can't treat California the same way you treat New Hampshire or even Florida.

The phone banks, although there have been a couple that have lagged, have generally performed well. The mail program is forcing county organization along, and this will be its main benefit. However, there have been some bad breakdowns and mistakes in both programs due largely to initial delays by Compass Systems and then because of errors and misunderstandings by the Reuben H. Donnelly Company that provides much of the material and does the mailings, and also because it is difficult for many of those involved to understand the size and complexity of California. Another problem has been the fact that about 40 percent of all telephones in California are unlisted.
We have been in constant touch with Washington on this matter, and they are confident that the bugs can be ironed out by the general election. I concur. This is one reason that I have been so insistent that we use the primary as a time for organizing and for getting out the bugs. Incidentally, our staff is performing well in handling these crises as they occur.

Registration proceeds on target. The Los Angeles County staff is a great addition and is working in nicely. Our problem is a shortage of competent staff, which makes even more incomprehensible Put's refusal to lend us any staff.

We expect to be able to utilize the volunteers the mail and phone programs are turning up for registration purposes, especially during our three blitz days this summer.

Other segments of the campaign seem to be progressing satisfactorily. Our Spanish-speaking and black efforts are doing well, and the senior citizens program is getting organized.

I believe our communications/press effort is the best in the country. We are the only campaign feeding film to television. In addition, we are actively soliciting radio actualities and are working hard to maximize the impact of surrogates and others who either are already in the state or who come to the state.

Likewise, our speakers bureau is functioning effectively.

All in all, things are going well. However, we need to (1) get our budgets approved, (2) straighten Mr. Livermore out, (3) make sure we get the kinks in the mail and phone programs ironed out during this primary election. I think Livermore presents the only serious problem at this time.

cc: John Mitchell
    Bob Haldeman
    Bob Hardman
    Jeb Hageruder
    Gordon Luce
    Ed Meese
May 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 13 May 1972)

Last week was a week of some accomplishment and some disappointment. The chief disappointment is the failure of Put Livermore to offer more than lip service on behalf of this campaign.

1. He stands alone among the State Central Committee officers in refusing to provide us any staff help in our registration efforts. Despite repeated requests on my part for at least token staff support by the Republican State Central Committee for registration, he has not provided any help.

2. At the state meeting last Friday he ordered the Youth for Nixon to take down a table that was distributing literature and soliciting signatures on petitions supporting the President. This was done over my personal protests and despite my willingness to allow the Ashbrook people to put up a table, also.

3. His inability to get satisfactory performance out of Compass Systems which is supposed to provide the California campaign with demographic, census and historical data.

Aside from the area of Compass Systems, where we seemingly have no choice, I see no percentage in attempting to work with Mr. Livermore any further. We will continue to maintain good relations but will not look to him for material aid because I do not think he will deliver.

In effect this means we will literally take over registration in the state, although we will work with county central committees, since they do not come under his authority. This means we will work within the Cal-Plan districts, which we initially had hoped would be registered through state committee efforts.

Despite our problems at the RSCC meeting, the Nixon Youth picked up more than 600 names on petitions supporting the President in Vietnam. There was no visible sign of Ashbrook support.
Tuesday Region III opens its headquarters in San Mateo and on Wednesday Sacramento opens its headquarters. Both will be low keyed because of the shooting of George Wallace.

As you know, we meet with John Mitchell Tuesday afternoon on budgets, including county budgets. I will report to you on the results at our Thursday meeting.

We have scheduled a Steering Committee meeting May 24 and will add a few names to take in some of our new leadership.

Our phone banks—we have nine in operation—are picking up although running behind the quota given us by national. Part of the problem has been a breakdown in the data processing, which is not our area. Out of something over 46,000 calls made through last Saturday, the President is getting 78 percent approval with Ashbrook getting 7 percent and the remainder undecided. This compares with a field poll which shows Ashbrook at three percent and my own very broad prediction that he'll get between 10 and 20 percent.

I believe the Wallace assassination attempt, unfortunate as it may be, will trigger a conservative trend and will hurt those, such as McGovern and Kennedy, who have been at least tacitly supporting the peace mobs.

Registration: As you know, we are in the process of putting together four major "blitz" days this summer.

We have run into a rather pleasant problem: Because of our constant harping on registration, our Nixon chairmen are all planning registration on their own. This means we must meld Bruce Mestande's efforts, which have been funnelling through the county central committees, into the Nixon campaign.

This will increase our volunteers and broaden our efforts.

Primarily, we must work to coordinate all segments of the party into one unified registration effort. I do not see any major problem in this.

Organization. Organization is now about complete. Our task is to make our organizations operate effectively. We are pushing this now. The primary will tell us where our weak spots are. As I have said before, one of the problems is the fact that they are not involved in money-raising nor in raising money for their campaigns. This takes away some of the zest. Hopefully, we can add to that with registration.

Support for the President has been heavy, and we have turned much effort to make it vocal and to let Congress and the White House know it. Indications are that thousands of letters and wires have been sent.
June 28, 1972

GOR DON:

This memo is to be hand delivered to Mr. Mitchell personally by you and no one else.
I wanted to pass along to you some information from a contact in California who is now with Spencer-Roberts. He has been involved in most state-wide campaigns for fifteen years in California so should have some feeling for what's happening there. He, of course, has an axe to grind since Spencer-Roberts was in the running to get the campaign. He reports the following:

1. If the election were held today, the President would lose California.

2. Our effort out there is not very good.

3. Nobody in our top command has any real organizational experience. Nofziger is a press man, and the people who he has brought in around him are all non-experienced.

4. The regional structure Nofziger has imposed on the state -- five divisions -- is contrary to the historic Northern/Southern division with strong emphasis on the counties. It is not a good division. There should be much more emphasis on the counties. (I'm not convinced this is right.)

5. While we should be in a good position to pick up disaffected blue collar types, Mexican/Americans, etc., we are not doing one thing to go after these people, and we are not set up to do so.

I know that all you need is more advice on how to run the Campaign, but pass this along for what it's worth.
July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MAZEK
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Older Americans

We discussed briefly on the plane yesterday Bob's continuing concern that we are doing everything possible to capture the older Americans vote. One of the most effective spokesmen of the older Americans is Arthur Fleming, and yet I've seen only one media notation of his remarks. Is he being utilized fully? Is he being programmed by Danny Todd? Is there something else that should be done with him to assure the strongest possible pursuit of the older Americans vote?

GS/jb
FU - 7/14
MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB HAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Mailings

July 1, 1972

In one of your recent plans I noticed that you will be sending three mailings to all Republicans in the eleven top states. Since 90% of the Republicans always support the President, why mail to them? We already have them. Instead shouldn’t the mailings go to Democrats and Independents that can be persuaded to vote for us.

GS/jb

cc: Fred Malek
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT McKEE
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: China Cup

Pat, sorry to keep raising this point, but the cup which Chapin brought me from China last November still needs to be replaced. You will recall that another China cup was unfortunately broken and the one Chapin gave me was used as a substitute. Would you please advise me when I will have that new cup?

GS/jb
You probably noticed in this morning's (July 29) News Summary that there are several references to McGovern's schedule. Trips to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and to Texas to see LBJ are all discussed.
July 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE PARKER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: McGovern's Schedule

You probably noticed in this morning's Wall Street Journal the additional information on McGovern's campaign schedule. A copy of the note is attached for your developing calendar.

cc: Dwight Chapin

GS/jb
McGOVERN READIES campaign appeals to blue-collar labor, "middle America."

He plans a few forays around the country before the Republican convention. One will take him to New England, probably the Manchester, N.H., shoe factory where his primary drive got rolling. He'd dwell on unemployment, dramatize his blue-collar support. A Midwestern swing may stop at the troubled Lordstown, Ohio, auto plant; McGovern would talk of job boredom, job dangers.

Another jaunt will be in the South, perhaps Texas or Arkansas. The candidate wants to plumb reported populist sentiment in Dixie. He'll do much listening to voters, avoid big set speeches. But McGovern will attack the GOP candidates as "economic elitists." He'll reveal his personal finances, challenge Nixon and Agnew to do likewise.

McGovern plans to hit nearly all states, even little ones, in September-October. He wants to appear to be uniting the country, refuses to worry about spreading himself too thin.
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MEMORANDUM FOR:

DAVE PARKER

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Fundraising Project - Meeting with President

July 13, 1972

Mr. Dent submitted the attached request for the President's time to Bob. Some definite days are suggested. Would you submit this to Bob after appropriate staffing in the schedule format?

Thank you.

GS/jb

CC: Harry Dent
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Bob Haldeman
FROM: Harry Dent
RE: Fund-raising Project for Senate, Governor, and House Races

John Rollins, Tom Evans (RNC), and I are meeting on Friday to discuss the plans for the special fund-raising project. After we set a tentative plan of action, Rollins wants to meet briefly with the President on July 18, 26, 27, or 28.

I will prepare a full briefing paper prior to that time. I recommend the meeting to get him revved up to do the job and leave the distribution decisions to here.

My plan is to recommend that everything be handled outside of here except calling the shots as to who gets how much when.
 ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  KEN RIETS
FROM:  GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT:  Briefing for Youth Group

The only question Bob had regarding the Youth Group you
and MacGregor are going to meet with on Friday morning
is whether they really want the briefings you suggested.
Bob emphasized that there would be no problem to arrange
the briefings - the question is, whether they really want
briefings or whether they would prefer something in written
form or whether they would rather not be bothered about it.
Would you advise me at your earliest convenience so that
we can keep this project right on track.

GS/jb
July 10, 1972

KEN RIETS

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Beggs & Copland College Poll

You may have noticed the most recent Beggs & Copland Poll shows McGovern favored by college voters over the President by 50-47%. Since this is a rather significant change from the 39-34% in April as well as from the President's former position ahead of McGovern and Muskie in March, it might be interesting to receive your comments. Do you have any lines into the Beggs & Copland organization?

On another matter, there was an interesting UPI feature on the 19-year-old Mayor, Jody Smith, of Iowa. Is he going to be a delegate to the Convention?
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: 
KEN RIETS

FROM: 
GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: 
12-year-old Mayor

You probably noticed all the coverage that McGovern has received regarding their 12-year-old delegate from Oregon.

Whatever happened to the 12-year-old conservative Mayor from Ohio? Is he one of our delegates? If he isn't, advise me right away as a decision should be made quickly as to what should be done.

Have you selected some young, particularly effective, 18 or 12-year-old delegates for your use in Miami Beach?

Whatever happened to Don Schollander?

GS/jb
FU - 7/13

cc: Fred Malek
MEMORANDUM FOR:  
KEN RIETH

FROM:  
GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:  
Washington Post Picture of McGovern Advisors

When McGovern begins campaigning as the candidate of the Youth, an excellent counter would be to run the front page Washington Post article which showed McGovern in shirtsleeves with his advisors. You probably noticed that none of the advisors were young and the only woman in the room was his secretary. This picture, coupled with McGovern's Wall Street Journal ad appealing business interests, might be rather effective on the campuses this fall.

GS/jb
FU - 7/15
July 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL SAFIRE
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Abel Seconding Speech

Attached is a transcript of the I.W. Abel speech seconding the nomination of Henry Jackson. You may have some suggestions as to how we might use this. Please advise.

GS/jb

cc: Ken Khachigian
I. W. Abel, seconding the nomination of Henry Jackson

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates:

The choice you make tonight is the most momentous of your lives.

At stake is not only the Presidential nomination but the future of the Democratic Party.

Our party has its roots in the vast majority of working people. Tear up those roots, reject that great tradition -- the tradition of Roosevelt, and Truman and Kennedy and Johnson -- and this party will go down to a crashing defeat in November.

You may win the votes of self-styled liberals, the anti-labor snobs -- but that's not America.

Tonight, I want to tell you something about tens of millions of ordinary working Americans. They are the real unsung heroes of America. Everyday they struggle to make ends meet. They struggle to find a decent home in a wholesome neighborhood. They struggle to get a good education for their children.

They are the base and the root of the liberal victories in this quarter of century and they are sick and tired of being called racists and reactionaries by slick Madison Avenue hustlers -- or by alleged liberal politicals who couldn't get elected without them.
And we are tired of the politicians who denounce "big labor" and "labor bosses" on Monday, and then come to us on Tuesday with their hands outstretched.

We have heard a lot about hypocrisy at this convention -- especially from those who called them advocates of a "new politics."

Well, let us end hypocrisy.

Let us end the hypocrisy of candidates who tell us they are for the working people and then turn around and vote for the right to work laws and against minimum wage programs.

Let's end the hypocrisy of candidates who say they are for the working people and then serve as a mouthpiece of the weak lobbies.

Let's end the hypocrisy of candidates who say they are for young people and then vote against summer jobs for youth.

Let's end the hypocrisy of candidates who say they are for the blacks and then seek to weaken the voting rights provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

And let's end the hypocrisy that says that democracy is only for Americans -- and the hell with the rest of the world.

To those who say that building a democracy at home is the road to peace in the world I say: Yes, but if democracy is worth building at all it is worth defending in the world.

There are those among us who say that the way to win in November is to reject the traditions and the values of our
party. And to them I say: Where were you when the chips were down four years ago?

If some of these new politicians had worked this hard to support our party as they subsequently worked to reform our party, we would be meeting here tonight to renominate and lay plans to re-elect President Hubert Humphrey.

This is the party of working people.

Give us a candidate with a unblemished labor record.

Give us a candidate with an outstanding civil rights record.

Give us a candidate with a perfect record of pioneering for a better environment.

Give us a candidate who believes in a strong America -- and who believes that the cause of freedom does not stop at the water's base.

Give us a candidate who can put America back to work.

Give us a candidate who speaks for the vital progressive center - where the people are. Give us a candidate working people can support.

I give you such a candidate who can defeat Richard Nixon in 1972. Fellow delegates, there is only one candidate whose name is before you who meets these tests. I am proud to second the nomination of the great Senator from Washington, Senator Henry Jackson.
July 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL TIMMONS
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Convention Tickets

Would there be any problem in obtaining two spectator tickets for the Convention for a pollster who deserves a small reward? Harry O'Neill, of Opinion Research Corporation, would make all other arrangements, but has asked if we could obtain these two guest tickets.

Please advise if there are any problems.

GS/jb
FU - 7/23
July 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  ROBERT TENTER
FROM:  GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT:  Wave IX Poll Results

It is my understanding from Jeb Magruder that seven people have copies of the Wave IX trial heat poll results. The seven are: you, Magruder, Malek, Marik, MacGregor, LaRue and Haldeman. As we have discussed many times, it is essential that this information be kept extremely close. I would suggest that you discuss with each of these individuals that they are to release the trial heat information to no one and that the only use of the material can be made with the express approval of Clark MacGregor and Bob Haldeman. When the rest of the results arrive on July 15, we should develop an acceptable system for release of the information, again with the express written approval of Haldeman and MacGregor. If you have any question, please give me a call, as the security of this information is considered of the utmost importance.

cc: Fred Malek
    Jeb Magruder

GS/jb
FU - 7/11
ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN WHITAKER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: RNC Research Report on Farmers

You probably received the attached summary by the RNC research division on polling information on farmers. Do you know if Clayton Yeutter also received a copy?

GS/jb