

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
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 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>
16	20	2/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Jeb S. Magruder To: The Attorney General RE: Operating Plan for the Wisconsin Primary. 13 pgs.
16	20		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Graphs RE: Trend of Republican Support by Congressional District. 4 pgs.
16	20		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Special Survey-The Wisconsin Democratic Primary.1 pg.
16	20		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Arthur Renander Jr. To: Senator Robert P. Knowles RE: 1972 Wisconsin Primary Considerations. 8 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
16	20		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	General Statement RE: Media Proposals, Wisconsin Primary Campaign. 10 pgs.
16	20		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From: L.B. Thomas To: Mr. Forte RE: Volunteer Card for President Nixon. 2 pgs.
16	20	2/9/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Wisconsin Primary Speaking Events Prior to April 4, 1972. 1 pg.
16	20	2/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Hugn W. Sloan Jr. To: Gordon Strachan RE: Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President. 4 pgs.
16	20	2/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Lyn Nofziger To: Ronald Reagan RE: California Campaign. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
16	20	2/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Lyn Nofziger To: Ronald Reagan RE: California Campaign. 1 pg.
16	20	2/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Lyn Nofziger To: Ronald Reagan RE: California Campaign. 2 pgs.
16	20	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Jeb S. Magruder To: The Attorney General RE: Status Report of the New Hampshire and Florida Primaries. 4 pgs.
16	20	2/29/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Jeb S. Magruder To: The Attorney General RE: Regular Meetings Within the Campaign Organization. 7 pgs.
16	20	2/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From: Robert C. Odle Jr. To: The Attorney General RE: 15 pgs.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 11, 1972

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By Emo NARS, Date 8-26-87

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the Wisconsin Primary

The Wisconsin Primary Election will be held on April 4, 1972. It is a state where the President's name will automatically be placed on the ballot. This election, more than any other primary, resembles the General Election, because a voter can choose to vote in either the Democratic or Republican primary. There is no registration by party.

Background

In analyzing the Wisconsin political scene, it is necessary to look at its voting history. The state was the home of both LaFollette Progressivism and McCarthyism. Wisconsin's large ethnic population was instrumental in the acceptance of these two seemingly opposing political trends. The Germans who settled Wisconsin approved of both of the isolationism of LaFollette Progressivism and the anti-communism of Joe McCarthy. Furthermore, McCarthy, an Irish Catholic, was aided by the tremendous Irish and Polish Catholic vote.

To a large degree, the same ethnic divisions that existed then are still an influence in Wisconsin elections. Approximately 23% of Wisconsin's population is of foreign stock (first or second generation). There is, however, probably a much higher degree of ethnocentricity. Germans still constitute 8% of Wisconsin's population. Over one-third of Wisconsin's residents are Catholic. Only 3% of the population is non-white. Milwaukee, which is by far the largest city, has 30% of the state's population. North Milwaukee is made up of Germans and Blacks. South Milwaukee is Polish and mostly White.

Politically, Wisconsin has had a Republican background. The Republican party dominated Wisconsin in the 30's and 40's, and the early 50's. In the late 1950's, the Democrats began to coalesce support and have continued to strengthen. As a result, 1970 represented a high mark for the Democratic party and a disastrous low point for Republicanism. (Tab A shows the trend of Republican support in Wisconsin compared to other states in the same region.)

Both U. S. Senate seats and the Governorship are held by Democrats. Senator William Proxmire won re-election to a third full term with 71% of the 1970 vote. The 1970 state legislative races were particularly disappointing to the Republican party. There was a net loss of three seats in the upper house and the lower house suffered a net loss of nineteen, plus the additional loss of one vacancy. The overall trend shows an accelerated erosion of Republican strength. Today, the State Republican party is reported to be apathetic and loosely organized, although the Chairman, John Hough is generally well-liked.

#### Analysis of the Congressional Districts

The ten Congressional seats are divided evenly between Republicans and Democrats (Tab B). Due to the fact that Wisconsin has not grown as fast as the national average, it will lose one seat in 1972. A review of the districts points up the Democratic trend in the state. Republicans lost the 1st District in 1969 and the 7th District in 1970. The retirement of Congressman Byrnes in the 8th District creates a void for 1972. Congressman Glen Davis' narrow victory on the 9th District suggests that he is vulnerable. Tab C shows the trend of Republican support for the past four Congressional elections, by district.

A brief description of each Congressional District follows:

1st District - Democrat. This district had been a Republican district for 8 out of 10 years in the last decade. Unemployment proved to be a major problem in 1970 when Lee Aspin defeated Republican incumbent Schadeberg.

2nd District - Democrat. Congressman Kastenmeier, a liberal Democrat, represents Madison, the center of liberalism in Wisconsin.

3rd District - Republican. This has been the most Republican area in the state. Congressman Thomson probably has a safe seat. He did drop 9% between his 1968 and 1970 race. If Thomson retires, this seat would be questionable.

4th District - Democrat. Congressman Zablocki represents South Milwaukee, which contains a high degree of Polish voters. The blue collar workers of the 4th are very conservative in their voting. George Wallace did quite well in the 1968 primary.

5th District - Democrat. North Milwaukee is predominantly German and Black. The 5th is considered a liberal Democratic area. Congressman Reuss has endorsed Muskie.

6th District - Republican. Congressman Steiger, who is considered liberal, represents a traditionally Republican district.

7th District - Democrat. Melvin Laird had represented this district for 18 years until his appointment to the Nixon cabinet. Congressman Obey, who is considered to be quite liberal, won the seat in 1969, in a special election. He then won re-election in 1970 by 67% of the vote. Obey has endorsed Muskie.

8th District - Republican. Congressman John Byrnes, ranking Republican of the Ways and Means Committee, is retiring in 1972.

9th District - Republican. Congressman Glen Davis won a narrow victory in 1970 with only 52%. He dropped 11% from his 1968 victory.

10th District - Republican. (To be lost to redistricting). Congressman O'Konski will probably run against Democratic Congressman Obey in the 7th.

The Prospects for the President in 1972

Even though there has been an apparent Democratic trend in Wisconsin during the 1960's, the state was carried by Nixon in 1960 and 1968. He carried Wisconsin in large part due to the slippage in Milwaukee and other large towns of Democratic votes to Wallace. Nixon strength in 1968 was evident particularly in the southwestern quarter of the state and the eastern edge of the state. The pockets of Nixon weakness center around the larger more industrial cities like Madison, Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha.

The continued erosion of Republican strength and the uncertainty of the Wallace candidacy would imply that the President will have a difficult time in winning Wisconsin's eleven electoral votes. Our public opinion surveys have confirmed that he currently trails most

potential Democratic candidates in head-to-head trial heats. This is true, whether or not Wallace is on the ballot. Muskie in particular is strong in Milwaukee, and strong with Catholics across the state.

If the President is to build his strength, the best opportunities would be expected to be among the higher income blue collar workers in the southeastern part of the state (Congressional Districts 1, 4, 5, 6 and 9). There is also potential for improvement among non-college young people, among whom the President's support is lower in Wisconsin than the average across the country.

Key Issues

The most important issues among voters in the state, according to the surveys are:

1. Taxes - State and local taxes have increased substantially in recent years. The voter persists in the belief that only the Federal Government can alleviate the problem.

2. Unemployment - (Especially in the southeast corner of the state). The major Wisconsin industries, such as foundries and machine tools, are the first to become depressed in a recession and the last to revive in an economic upswing.

3. Crime and Drugs -

Vietnam and inflation seem to be of less importance to the voters at this point.

The Primary Election

On the Republican side, McCloskey and Ashbrook will be on the ballot to oppose the President. The strength of their campaigns will not be known until the results of the New Hampshire and Florida primaries are in. On the Democratic side, virtually all those mentioned as possible nominees will be on the ballot (Tab D).

If there is a minor contest on the Republican side, and a major contest on the Democratic side, the estimated turnout would be (Tab E):

Republican	450,000
Democratic	850,000
Total	<u>1,300,000</u>

That would represent the greatest numerical turnout ever for a Presidential Primary in Wisconsin.

In 1968, the President received 390,368 out of 489,853 votes cast in the Republican primary, or 79%. The names of Stassen and Reagan were on the ballot, but there was little active campaign opposition. This year, if Ashbrook is able to mount an effective campaign, he may receive as much as 20% of the statewide Republican vote, principally from the 6th and 9th Congressional Districts. In the 6th, the District Chairman is thought to be leaning toward Ashbrook. In the 9th, the District Chairman and Vice Chairman will not endorse the President. Wallace received 48% of the vote there in the 1964 Democratic primary. There has been no activity seen yet in behalf of McCloskey in the state.

There is a great danger of allowing the Nixon opposition to claim victory from a 5% to 15% Republican primary vote. The Nixon strategy might indicate that 21% of the Republican primary voters supported various opponents in 1968 and surely there isn't unanimous support for his nomination, but that no Democratic candidate will have the support of more than say 40% of the primary voters. The comparison of the Nixon percentage and the winning Democratic candidate's percentage will be dramatic and should be emphasized.

#### Objectives of the Primary Campaign

Efforts on behalf of the President during the primary would be oriented toward three objectives:

1. To clarify issues and shape attitudes about President Nixon among all Wisconsin voters, so that his overall standing in the state will not erode in the face of a hotly contested, highly publicized Democratic race.
2. To identify volunteers who will be available to the State Re-election Committee during the General Election.
3. To soundly defeat any Republican opposition that might be on the ballot.

The primary campaign, however, will not be conducted in a way which will conflict with the previously established plans for the General Election. Thus, John McIver has recruited key people for the general campaign on the promise that their responsibilities will gradually increase over the spring and summer. He does not believe that they can

be geared up for a major organizational effort in the primary. Therefore, very little precinct and volunteer activity is planned.

Planned Activities

The primary campaign plan which follows was developed in coordination with the Wisconsin Re-election Committee. Our preliminary meeting was held with John McIver, Charles Davis and Joe Noll. The final recommendations were reached in a meeting on February 12, 1972, attended by Charles Davis, Fred Hartley and Dick MacDonald of the Wisconsin Committee, and the directors of the relevant activities from the Washington Committee.

Five areas of emphasis are contemplated:

1. Media advertising (TV, Radio, Newspapers)
2. Direct mail (including solicitation of volunteers for the General Election).
3. Appearances in the state by pro-Administration speakers.
4. Voter registration and Get-Out-The-Vote activities by young people.
5. Limited organizational activities by the State Re-election Committee

The time schedule for the total operating plan is given in Tab F. The preliminary budget of \$336,505 is presented in Tab G. The individual elements are discussed in more detail below.

1. Media Advertising (Tab H) Five media plans have been developed, representing different expenditure levels: Plan A - \$97,000, Plan B - \$132,000, Plan C - \$163,000, Plan D - \$200,000 and Plan E - \$250,000 (includes \$20,000 in production costs for each plan). To meet the objective of reducing the gap between the President and the Democratic candidate, it is strongly felt that Plan A and Plan B will be inadequate to offset the impact of at least six substantial media campaigns by Democratic contenders. The remaining plans represent a balanced blend of television, radio and newspaper advertising with impact in proportion to costs. McDonald, Davis & Associates, the Wisconsin agency for the primary, recommends Plan E, the highest level.

Recommendation

That Plan D, representing total television, radio and newspaper advertising cost of \$200,000 be approved for the Wisconsin primary.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

2. Direct Mail. The objectives of the direct mail program in Wisconsin are to:

- A. Provide a highly personalized selective medium to communicate with and influence the reachable voter to support the President.
- B. Recruit volunteers in order to help build a strong organization for the General Election.
- C. Increase the turnout of those voters supporting the President.

Since the Wisconsin voter can vote in either of the party primaries, names and addresses will be obtained from the Donnelley list of all Wisconsin households rather than the voter registration lists which are often difficult to get and are out of date. Coverage of 400,000 households is recommended (about 700,000 voters) since it best fits the predetermined budget of \$100,000. In 1968 the President received 810,000 votes in winning the state. (We would have to mail approximately 570,000 households to reach 1,000,000 people in order to actually contact 800,000 Nixon supporters, assuming an efficiency index of 80%. This would cost \$161,000 or \$61,000 more than the budgeted cost).

The list will be narrowed to concentrate on the probably supporters of the President in November. First, the mailing will be divided between rural and urban-suburban in proportion to the 1968 Republican vote. The gubernatorial election will be taken as the measure, since the Wisconsin people believe it best reflects voter patterns vis-a-vis the 3-man Presidential race. Secondly, in both the rural and urban-suburban categories, precincts will be selected in descending order of the percent Republican vote received, until enough precincts are chosen to reach the pre-established quota of households. In the rural areas, all households in the selected precincts will receive the mail.

In the urban-suburban areas, only households having an income over \$10,000 will be used. Emphasis will be given to the southeastern part of the state, where the President has the best chance of regaining some eroding support.

Wisconsin voters will receive two mailings. The first mailing will be in early March. It will contain a personalized computer letter (the bottom portion being the volunteer card), a brochure and a business reply envelope (BRE). The letter and brochure will be more hard-hitting and specific than comparable mailings used in Florida and New Hampshire. The issues covered will be those which the polls show to be the most important among Wisconsin voters. Those voters who would want to volunteer for the General Election Campaign would return the volunteer card in the BRE to our Wisconsin Committee. This mailing would influence the voter to support the President and provide volunteers for the General Election.

The style of the mailing would be similar to that of Florida (Tab I). When the volunteers return their cards, they will receive a letter asking them to contact ten friends and ask them to vote for the President. The volunteer would write the names, addresses and telephone numbers of his ten committed friends on a Presidential Commitment form that would be part of his mailing ensemble. He would then return his list of ten names to the state headquarters. A computer letter with a personalized Presidential Commitment Club certificate would be sent by our data center to the volunteer. The certificate would be suitable for framing. They will also be told that the Wisconsin Committee looks forward to their help in the General Campaign and that they will be kept informed of developments up to that time. Three newsletters would be sent out to all volunteers between April 4 and September when the General campaign structure would be firmed up. The total cost of the proposed direct mail program, including follow-up newsletters to the volunteers, would be \$113,800 (see Tab G).

Recommendation

That you approve the direct mail program, as described above, at a budget level of \$113,800.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

3. Surrogate Speakers. The most effective way to counter the news media exposure given to the Democratic candidates will have well-known pro-Administration speakers visit the state on behalf of the President. For the most part, the news media in the state are attempting to give equal space to both sides, and, therefore, will give good coverage to such events. Our people will assure that film

clips are available for use on TV news programs on the day of each visit. Speech material will be made available to these spokesmen, focusing on the issues most important to them as found by opinion polls: taxes, unemployment, crime and drugs, and others.

The state Republican organization has performed well in scheduling events for these speakers and coordinating their visits. The Wisconsin people prefer to have their own advance men, rather than to have the preparations done by people from Washington.

The schedule of speakers committed up to this time is shown in Tab J. In addition, efforts will be made to schedule the following people:

Secretary Connally or Peter Peterson	Fon du Lac Chamber of Commerce (date open)
Clark MacGregor	Address to Republican legislators (date open)
Senator Hatfield	3rd Congressional District (date open)
Senator Percy	7th Congressional District (date open)
Rita Hauser	Several locations in the state (one day, date open)
Peter Dominick	8th Congressional District (date open) Very effective among ethnics and Catholics.

The idea of a major rally near the end of the campaign was discussed, but no final conclusion was reached. Depending on the results of such rallies in New Hampshire and Florida, a recommendation will be made at a later date.

Recommendation

That you approve the program for surrogate speakers as outlined above.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

4. Youth Activities. Voter registration, distribution of bumper stickers, and door-to-door get-out-the-vote drives will be conducted by young people during the primary campaign. The youth director in Wisconsin is Bob Kasten, a volunteer, who will be assisted by Ted Wigger, the New Hampshire Youth field man. They will coordinate with Ken Reitz in conducting the campaign activities. These activities will be important in the primary campaign, however, the greatest value will be to involve large numbers of young people for the General Campaign, and thereby enable the President to increase his support among new voters.

Recommendation

That you approve the general plan of activities for young people in Wisconsin as outlined above.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

5. Organizational Activities. As mentioned previously, there will be little, if any, precinct activity connected with the primary campaign. Many of the key people thus far recruited by John McIver will not be called upon to participate in the primary effort, since they had been specifically told that their responsibilities would not become intensive until the campaign. Nevertheless, the Wisconsin Committee wants to support the programs proposed in this planning memorandum, and assure a successful primary campaign. To accomplish that, one office will be opened and staffed in Milwaukee.

The leadership of the Wisconsin Committee will plan to spend more personal time on the primary than originally contemplated. Pat Hutar of the Washington Re-election Committee is working with John McIver's people to develop recommendations for limited volunteer activity. They will be presented within a few days.

The cost of the intensified primary campaign was not included in the financial plans of the Wisconsin Committee. Therefore, they have requested that the Washington Committee provide \$20,000 to support their organizational activities. They also request that all brochures, bumper stickers and buttons used in the primary campaign (about 25,000 of each; total cost \$2,625) be provided by the Washington Committee.

Recommendation

That you approve the proposed level of organizational activities of the Wisconsin Committee as outlined above, and financial support of

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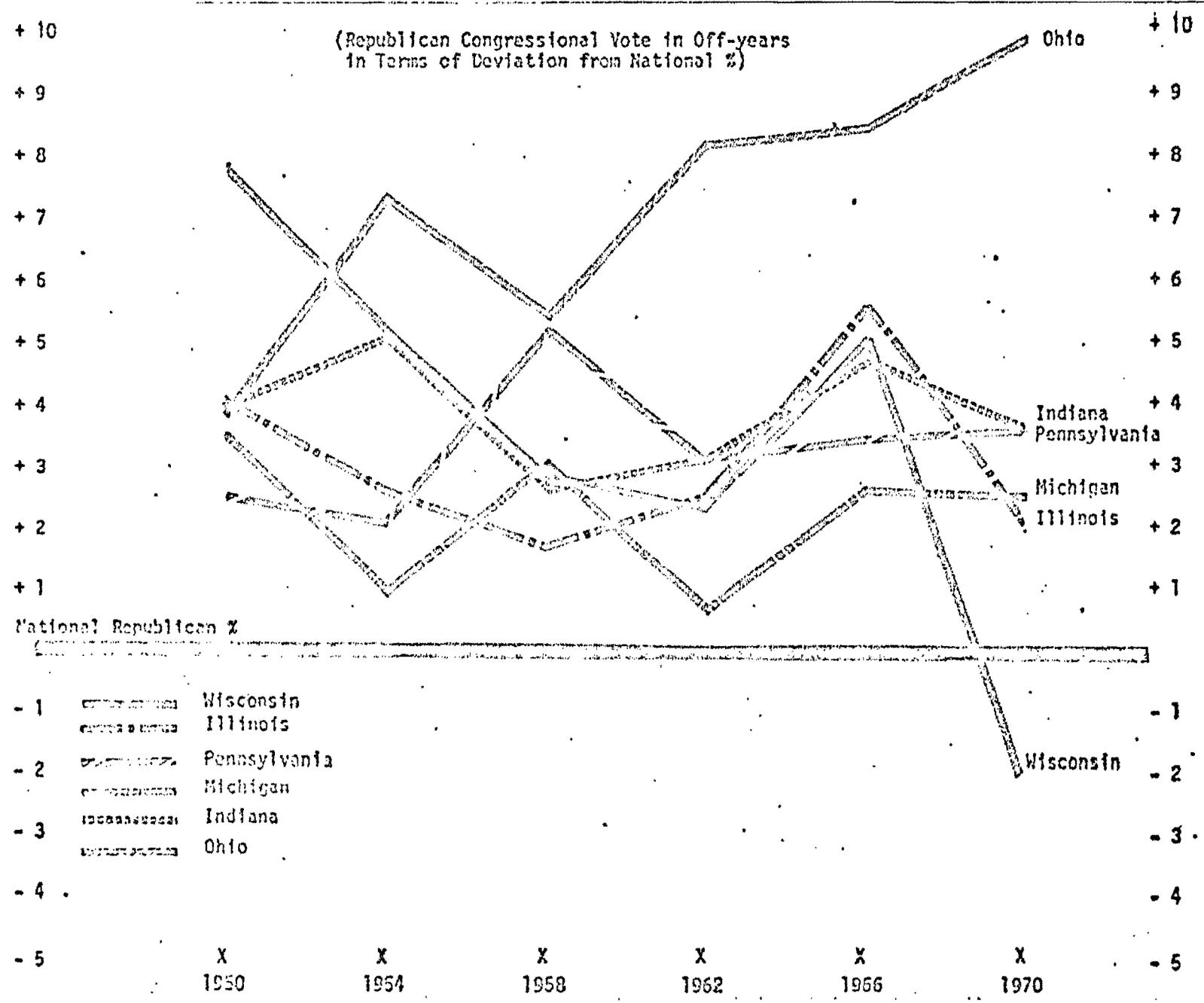
- 11 -

\$20,000 for the campaign primary.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_ Comment \_\_\_\_\_

JEB S. MAGRUDER

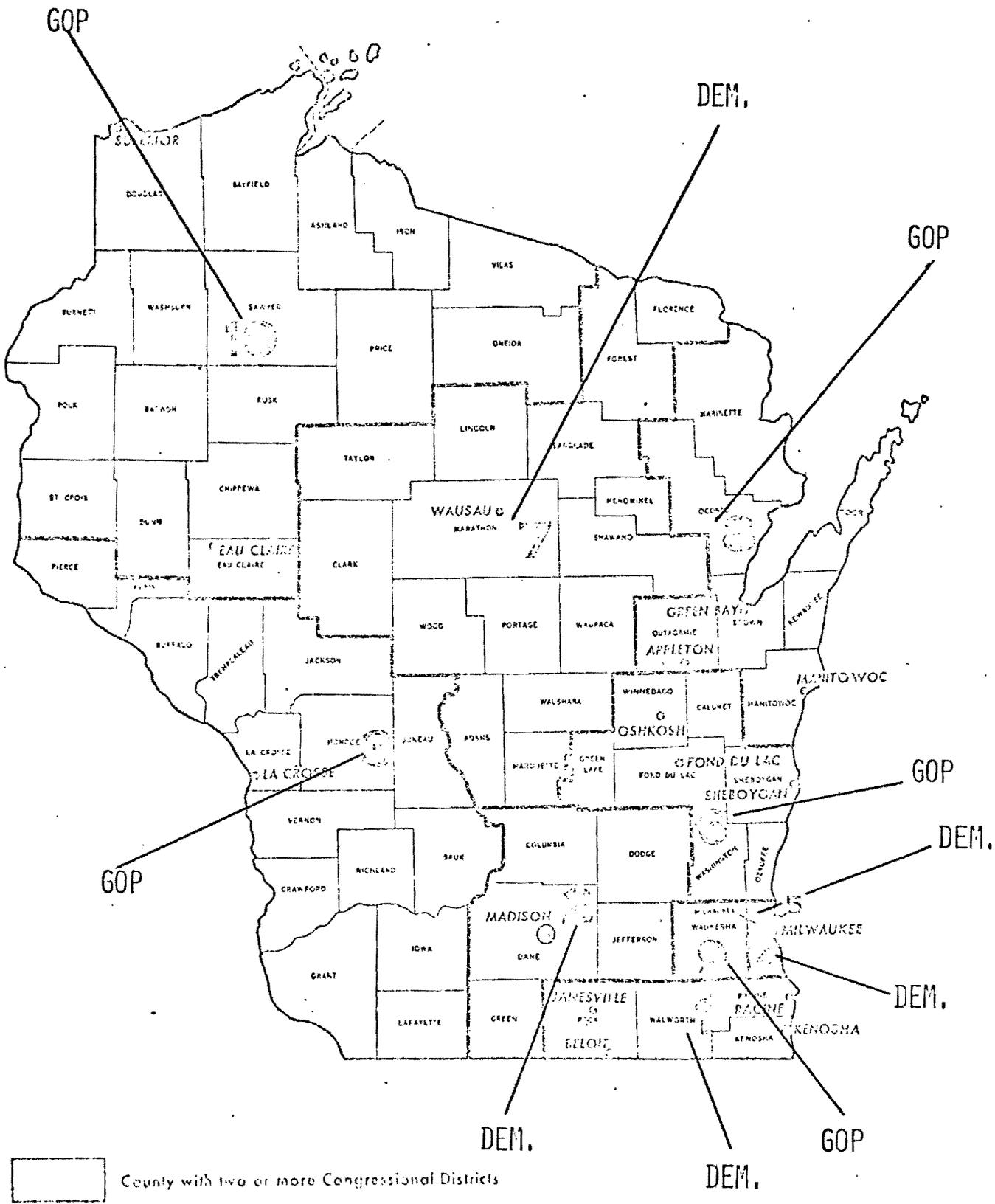
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TAB A

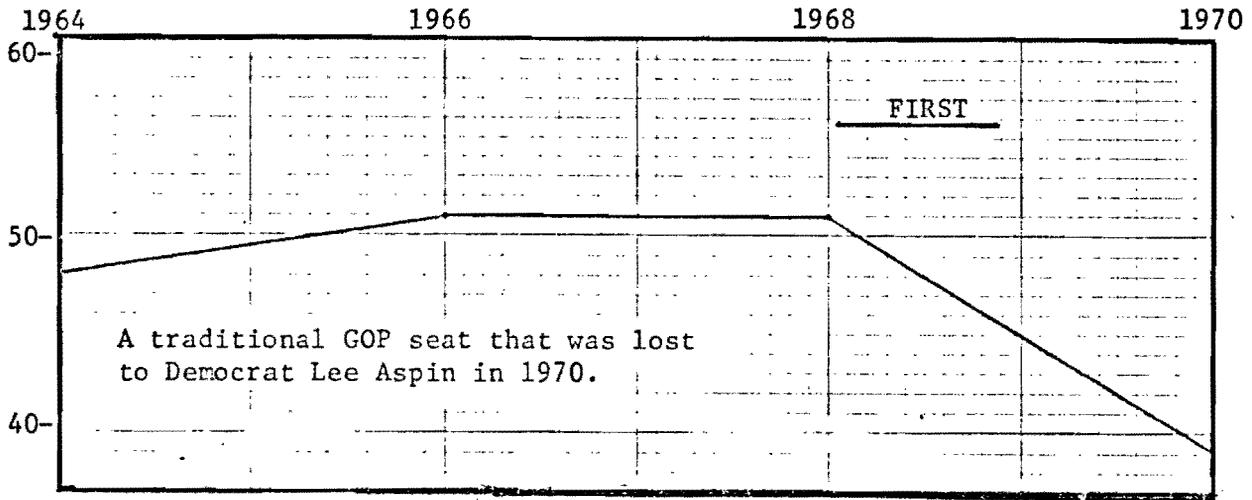
# Map of Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Cities

(10 Districts)

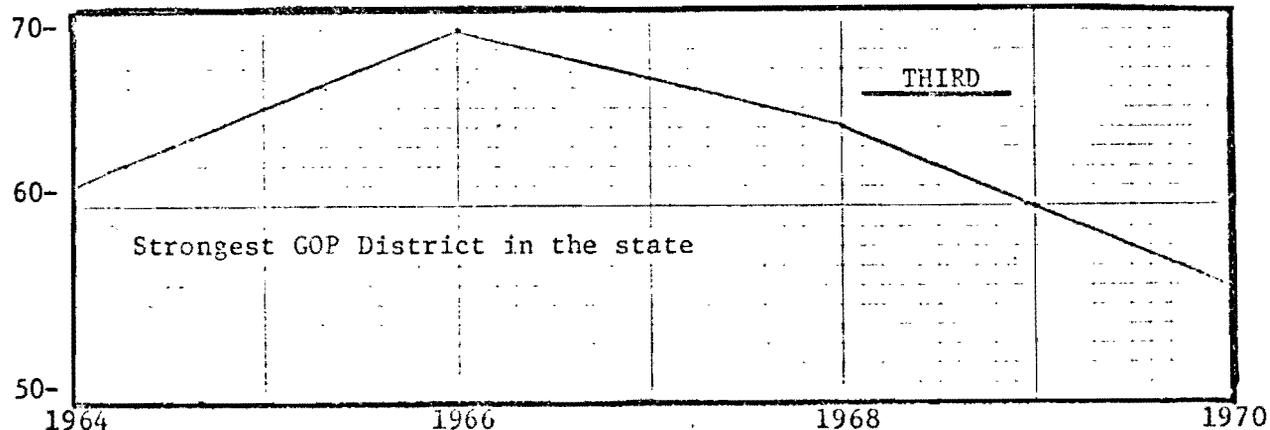
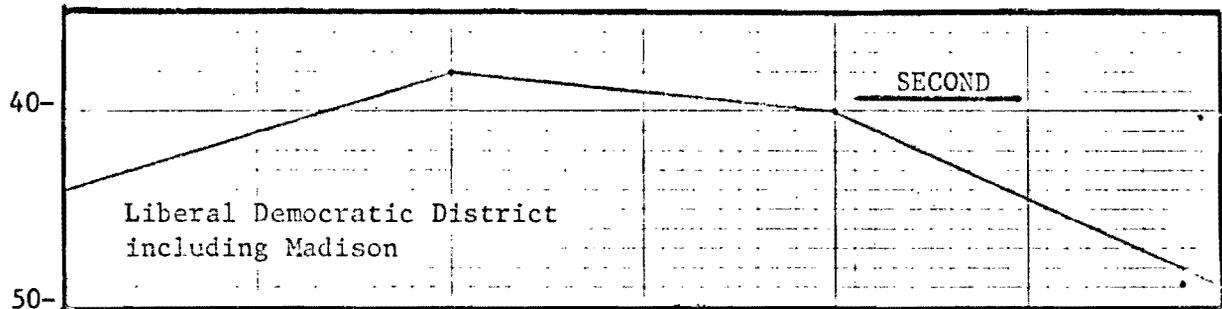


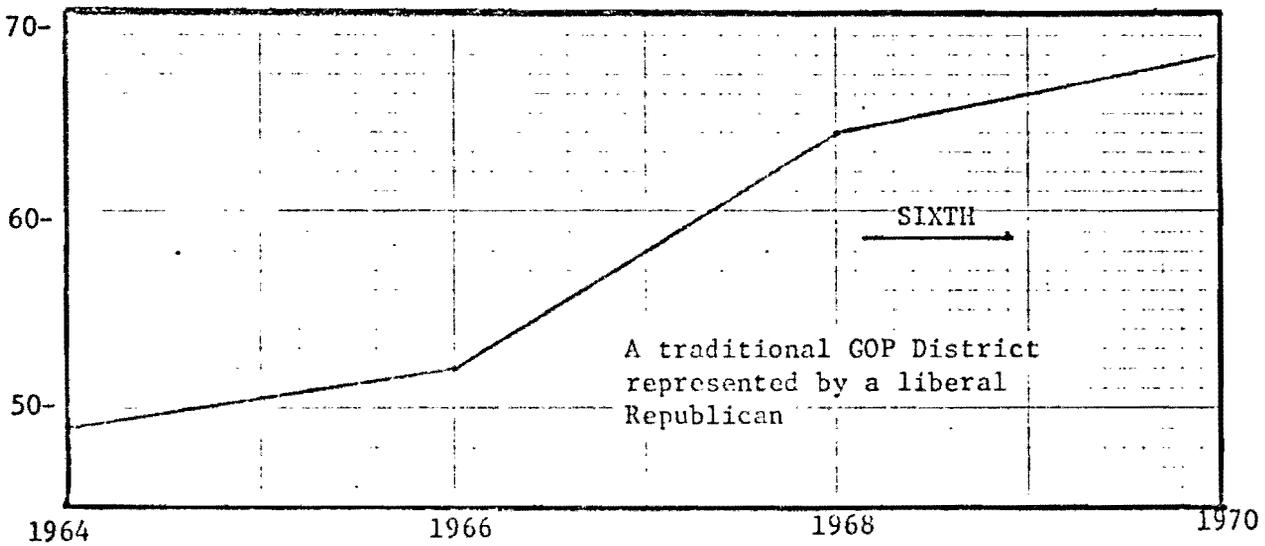
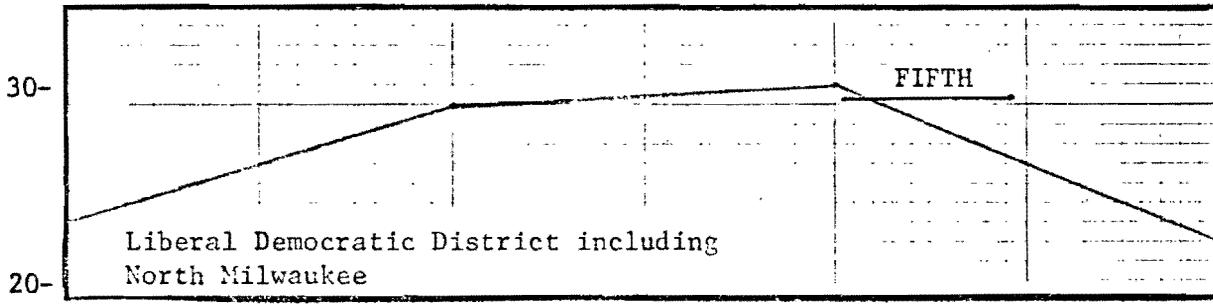
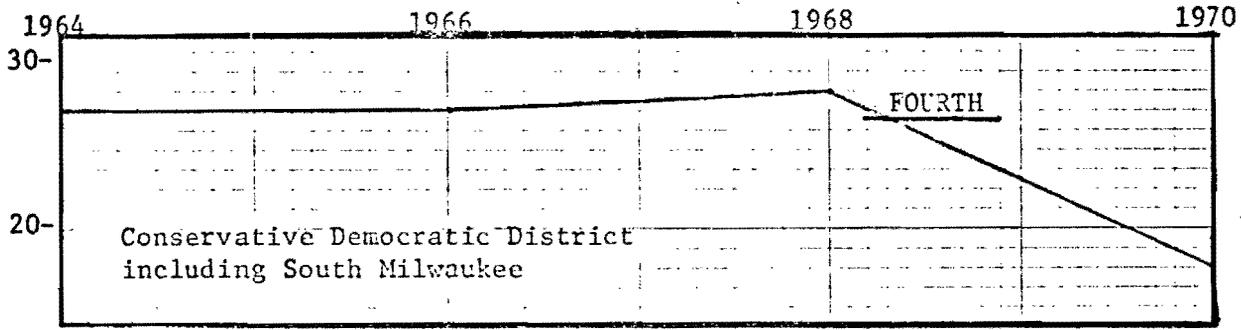
U.S. Department of Commerce  
Bureau of the Census

TREND OF REPUBLICAN SUPPORT BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT



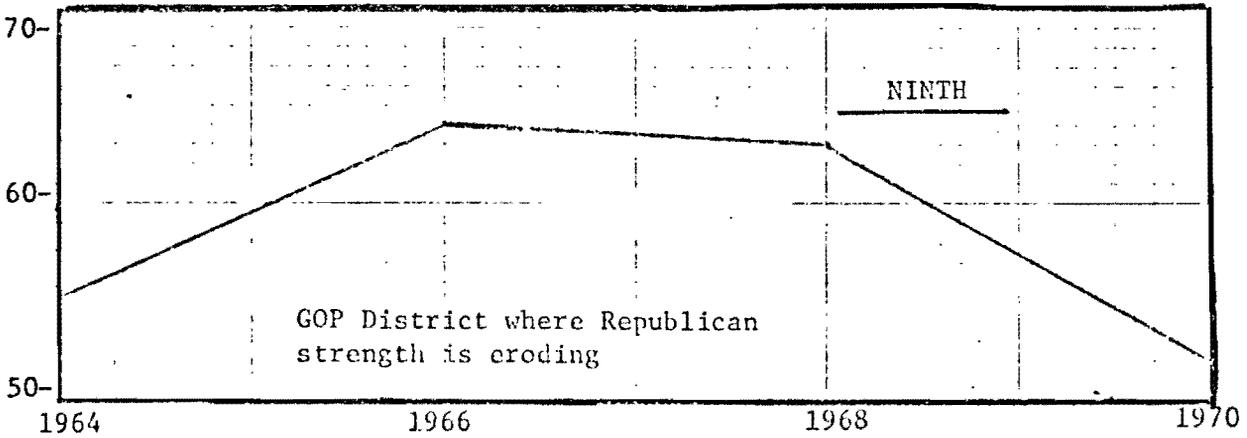
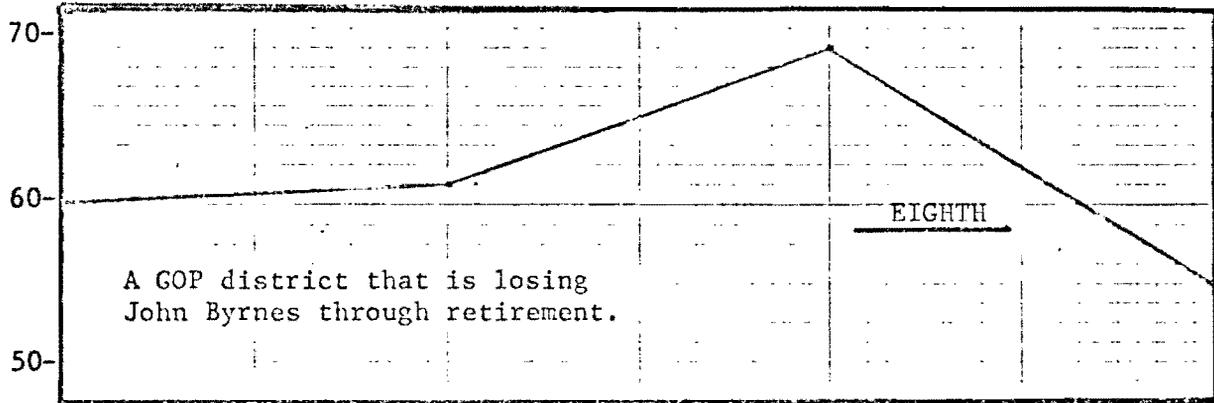
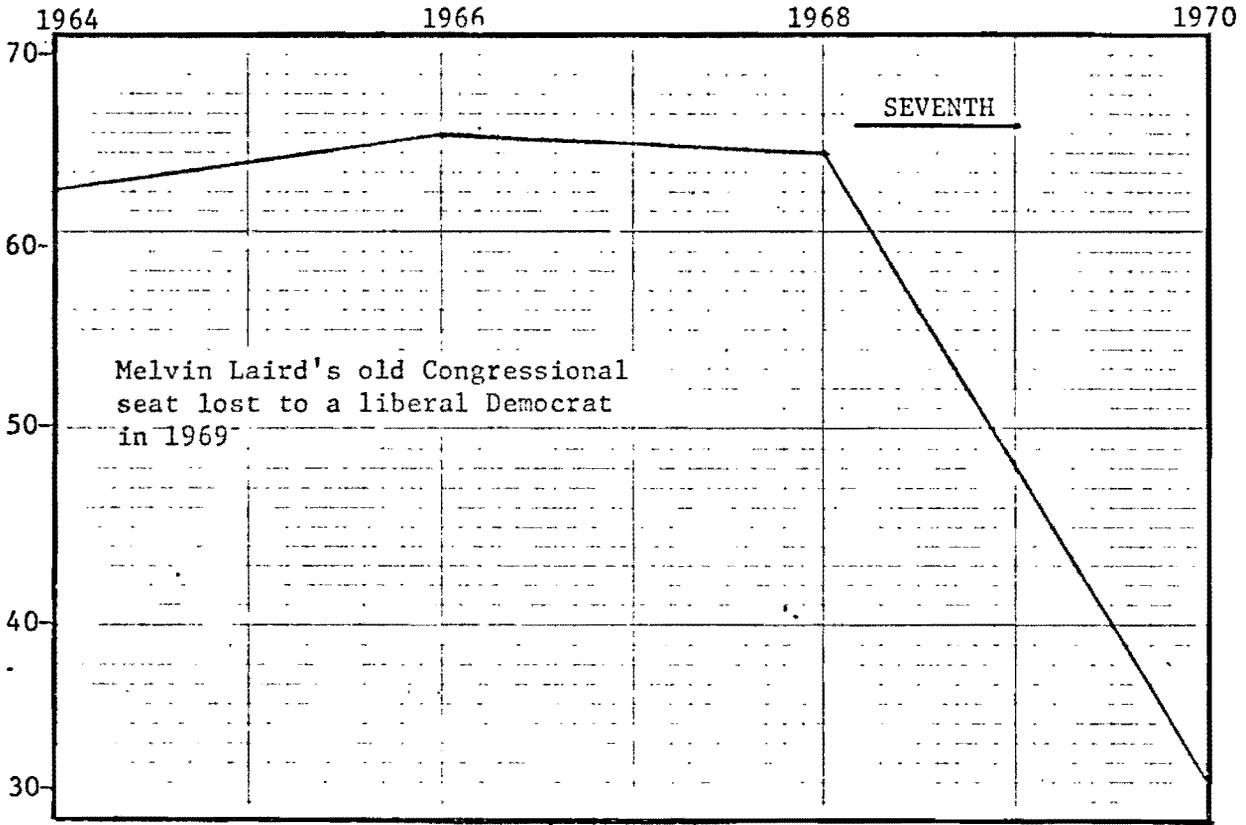
PER CENT REPUBLICAN VOTE

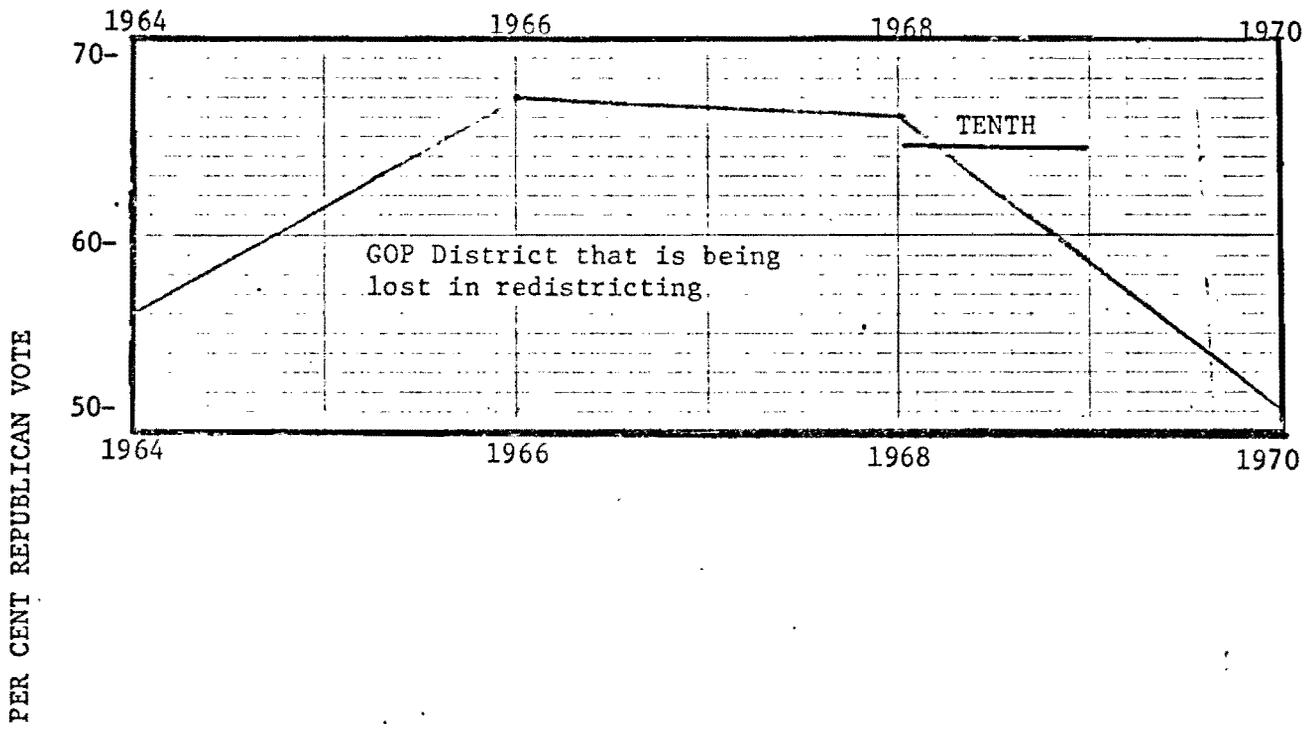




PER CENT REPUBLICAN VOTE

PER CENT REPUBLICAN VOTE





## SPECIAL SURVEY -- THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Wisconsin's Secretary of State is ultimately expected to list on the April 4 Democratic primary ballot virtually the same list of names that will appear in Florida's March 14 primary: 1) Edmund Muskie; 2) Hubert Humphrey; 3) George McGovern; 4) Eugene McCarthy; 5) George Wallace; 6) John Lindsay; 7) Scoop Jackson; 8) Vance Hartke; 9) Shirley Chisholm; 10) Sam Yorty; and 11) Wilbur Mills.

No well-structured polls have as yet been taken, but here is an analysis-cum-projection as things stand now:

Muskie's best asset is Wisconsin's Polish vote, perhaps 20-25% of the state's Democratic electorate. The candidate knows it, and on his first post-announcement visit to Wisconsin (Jan 10-11) he made a much-publicized visit to Pulaski, a small Polish American town noted for its ethnic sausages. Muskie is also lining up the key Milwaukee area Democrats, including county leader Laurence Gram. Muskie has most of Wisconsin's Democratic pols, but his April 4 vote looks in the 20-30% range.

Hubert Humphrey could be a sleeper. Many western Wisconsinites think of the Minnesota Senator as one of their own. Western Wisconsin is Scandinavian, farm, and smalltown-oriented, just like HHH. Besides, much of the western part of the state gets its media from Minnesota (Duluth or the Twin Cities). When HHH lost the 1960 Wisconsin primary, he easily carried the state's three western congressional districts. Besides this regional enthusiasm, Humphrey has just picked up important Milwaukee-area labor endorsements. Moreover, the state AFL-CIO chief, while neutral, says his heart is with Hubert. HHH's likely vote: 15-25%

Everyone admits that Gene McCarthy's vote will be just a shadow of the whopping 57% he won with in 1968. Many of his Madison-area leftists have switched to McGovern. Still, McCarthy's best 1968 ratios came in Wisconsin's multitude of small, oldworldly Belgian, German, Dutch and Swiss towns where anti-war isolationism is conservative, not radical chic. Residual support here could add up to 10-15%.

George McGovern's fabled topflight organization is less in evidence than in press coverage. His support is centered in Madison (University of Wisconsin) and among radical farm groups. 12-20% seems generous.

Don't ignore George Wallace. He got 34% in the 1964 Democratic primary vote here (40% in Milwaukee and Waukesha counties). His 1968 third-party vote included about 10-12% of the state Democratic electorate, mostly Poles. A few good Wallace "social issue" harangues could shred Muskie's Polish support. Also look for Wallace to be pumped up by GOP crossover voters. If he comes into Wisconsin, rate him 10-18%.

John V. Lindsay has a \$250,000 budget, several of the state's bright young men and the only TV charisma on the liberal side of the ballot. Local pols are nervous that he might hit the high end of an 8-15% range.

Scoop Jackson has just finished a January 12-14 tour of the state, after announcing that Richard DiPrima, Executive Director of the 1968 Humphrey-Muskie Committee will head his local campaign. Right now, Jackson is in the 6-10% range at best.

Hartke, Chisholm, Yorty and Mills will get 5% or less between them. With a dozen candidates a 23% plurality could bring home a winner--and maybe an upset winner. Unless surprise results in New Hampshire and Florida create a last-minute impetus, it is hard to see any candidate emerging with even 30%. This fragmentation is likely to keep the Democrats fatally divided at the midpoint of their March to Miami.

TO: Senator Robert P. Knowles

TAB E

FROM: Arthur Renander, Jr.

SUBJECT: 1972 WISCONSIN PRIMARY CONSIDERATIONS

A. Analysis of primary turnout:

1. The average total primary vote for both major parties from 1952 through 1968 has been 1,059,563. In 1956, the turnout dropped to its lowest figure and reached only 74.2 of the last five primary average. The 1968 primary achieved a 15.4% increase over the average and was the largest recorded turnout during the last two decades.
2. Several obvious patterns have emerged:
  - a. A large turnout such as occurred in 1952, 1960, 1964 or 1968 included circumstances when there existed a major primary contest in one party. A minor contest in the other party also developed in 1968 and 1952.
  - b. Results in 1960 and 1964 indicate that only one major contest in one party is sufficient to generate a high turnout.
3. Projections for 1972 from the previous five primaries should consider the following:
  - a. Will either party have a major primary? The answer is clearly affirmative for the Democratic party unless highly unusual circumstances generate candidate disclaimers from more than five easily identifiable Democratic hopefuls. The Republican Party may or may not generate a major primary contest, but the probabilities point to a minor contest.
  - b. Will either party have a minor contest? The Republican primary should qualify as indicated above.
  - c. Will either party have no contest? The Republican party is the only reasonable prospect for a no-contest primary.
4. Estimated turnout is premised on the theory that the greater the controversies generated by active campaigning in either/or both parties, the higher the turnout. The climate for 1972 does not closely parallel the situation in any of the last five primaries. There is no recent case where there was a

potentially minor contest involving an incumbent Republican president and a major contest among as many as six Democratic aspirants. No recent primary has included as large a field of active candidates or potential entrants, as within the Democratic Party.

5. Estimated turnout table for 1972:

a. Definition of terms

- (1) No contest - - No opposition candidate on ballot
- (2) Minor contest- No second candidate of statewide stature
- (3) Major contest- Involves two or more candidates with statewide or national stature

b. Turnout estimates for 1972

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Total</u>
(1)	No contest 400,000	No contest 500,000	900,000
(2)	No contest 375,000	Minor contest 575,000	950,000
(3)	No contest 350,000	Major contest 850,000	1,200,000
(4)	Minor contest 450,000	No contest 475,000	925,000
(5)	Minor contest 450,000	Minor contest 575,000	1,025,000
(6)	Minor contest 450,000	Major contest 850,000	1,300,000
(7)	Major contest 650,000	No contest 475,000	1,125,000
(8)	Major contest 650,000	Minor contest 550,000	1,200,000
(9)	Major contest 650,000	Major contest 750,000	1,400,000

B. Suggested Republican Strategy:

1. No major effort is necessary to stimulate a Republican turnout.
  - a. The tradition of preferential primary voting is well established in Wisconsin for both parties.
  - b. The heated Democratic primary will generate substantial interest and activity that will have some spill-over effect among Republicans who will be motivated to vote in the Republican primary.
  - c. Lastly, there is a hard core Republican primary vote that will participate in a "no-contest" primary in the range of 325,000 votes and could be projected as high as 350,000. The Nixon and Byrnes "no-contest" primary results of 1960 and 1964 support this contention as the level of Republican primary activity was very low in both years.
2. A low turnout for the Republican primary in the range of 325,000 to 350,000 would not be politically damaging even considering a Democratic primary vote as high as 850,000.
  - a. The Nixon vote in a no-contest primary in the above range would be entirely defensible as equalling his 1960 performance which was also a no-contest primary.
  - b. Furthermore, the Nixon rationale will include the fact that nearly 850,000 voters participated in the 1960 Democratic primary and Nixon carried Wisconsin by 65,000 votes. Secondly, Nixon carried Wisconsin in 1968 by a slightly narrower margin, but received 150,000 more primary votes than in 1960.
  - c. Political observers and the press will readily accept the fact that the "action" was within the Democratic primary and that the Wisconsin primary laws do not restrict primary voting to party registrants. Therefore, it can be argued publicly that many Republicans have voted in the Democratic primary.
3. The Republican strategy should recognize that the Republican threat to Nixon lies in the percentage achieved by any Republican opponent and not the turnout level.
  - a. The press and media will all focus on the percentage as this would be the figure which is readily interpreted in national media terms as the barometer of party dissatisfaction with Nixon.

b. Reporting of major primary results where there was a strong favorite and actual winner, but seriously contested, will focus on the challenger's percentage. The McCarthy percentage in the 1968 New Hampshire primary is the best example. Anti-Nixon forces surely seek maximum embarrassment via this "moral victory" approach.

4. The Republican strategy should assume opposition but treat the primary as a "no-contest" primary and seek the lowest possible opposition percentage as the success standard.

a. This can be best achieved by encouraging the highest possible participation in the Democratic primary by all those who are anti-Nixon. Considering that the strongest anti-Nixon Republicans will be tempted to vote in the Democratic primary, no efforts that make Republican primary sharply contested and therefore attractive should be encouraged.

b. It should be subtly understood by the anti-Nixon people that they are actually throwing away their vote to vote in the Republican primary when their vote may decide the Democratic presidential nominee and will in no case derail the Nixon renomination process.

c. Therefore, the Republicans should totally ignore their opposition and proceed with only the minimum essential campaign efforts that accord with a very low profile effort.

5. The Republican strategy should consider conceding a certain unattainable percentage to the opposition as an expected event.

a. For example, there is a great danger of allowing the Nixon opposition to claim victory from a 5% to 15% Republican primary vote. The Nixon strategy might indicate that 21% of the Republican primary voters supported various opponents in 1968 and surely there isn't unanimous support for his nomination but that no Democratic candidate will have the support of more than say 30% of the primary voters. The comparison of the Nixon percentage and the winning Democratic candidate's percentage will be dramatic and should be emphasized.

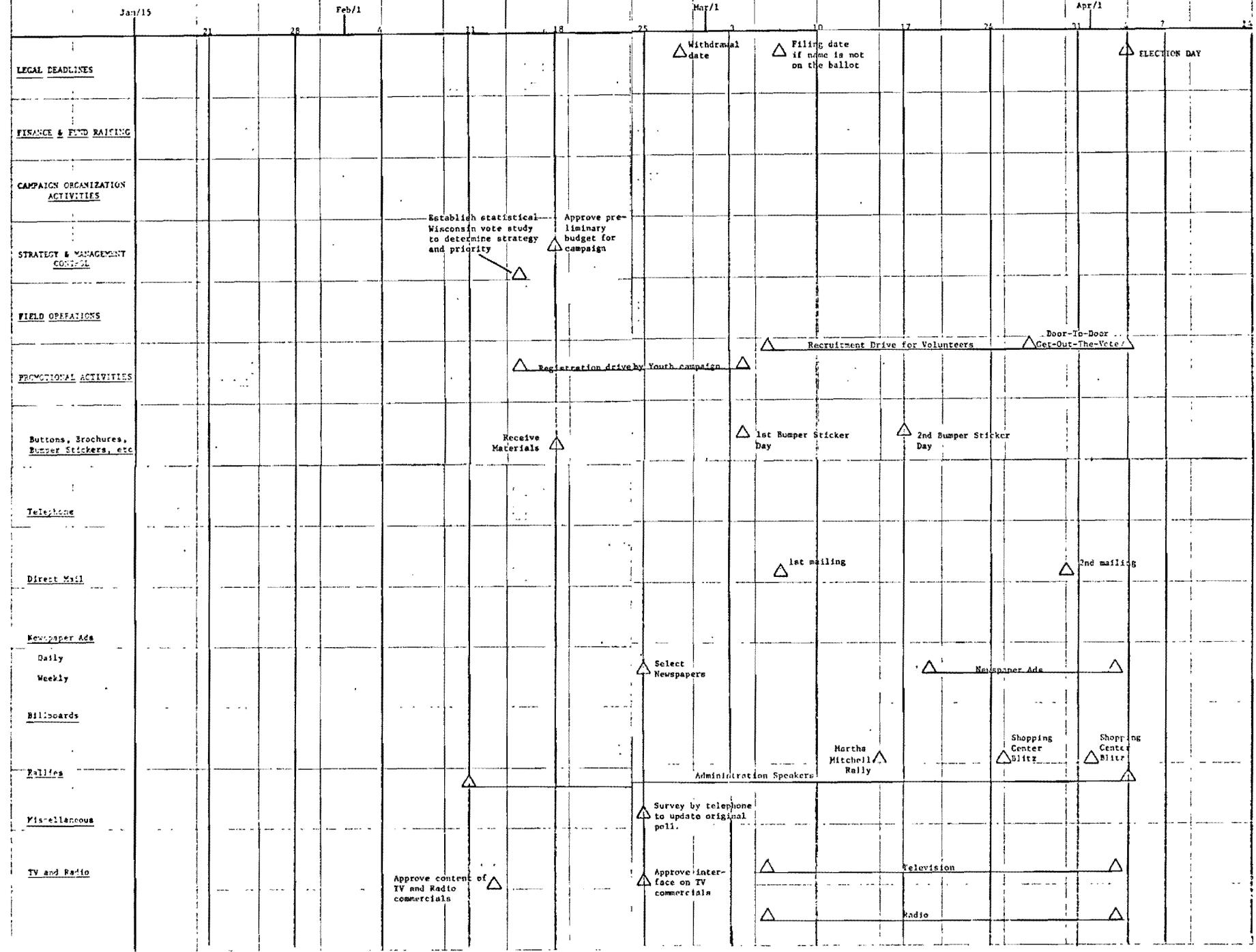
b. The Republican campaign should avoid any major effort to reach any alienated Republicans such as possibly the farmers and others. The campaign should stress rallying the still faithful rather than persuading and cajoling the alienated who represent a substantial risk if they vote. This may mean, therefore, playing to the suburbs and small towns while avoiding areas of substantial unemployment.

APPENDIX A

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY TURNOUT  
1952 - 1968

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Vote</u>	<u>Republican Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Democratic Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1952	1,018,149	776,624 Major contest	76.3	241,525 Minor contest	23.7
1956	786,497	455,832 Minor contest	58.0	330,665 No contest	42.0
1960	1,182,160	339,383 No contest	27.7	842,777 Major contest	71.3
1964	1,088,153	299,612 No contest	27.5	788,541 Major contest	72.5
1968	1,222,855	489,853 Minor contest	40.1	733,002 Major contest	59.9

PRELIMINARY WISCONSIN OPERATING PLAN



LEGAL DEADLINES

FINANCE & FUND RAISING

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES

STRATEGY & MANAGEMENT CONTROL

FIELD OPERATIONS

PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

Buttons, Brochures, Bumper Stickers, etc

Telephone

Direct Mail

Newspaper Ads

Daily

Weekly

Billboards

Rallies

Miscellaneous

TV and Radio

Jan/15

Feb/1

Mar/1

Apr/1

Withdramal date

Filing date if name is not on the ballot

ELECTION DAY

Establish statistical Wisconsin vote study to determine strategy and priority

Approve preliminary budget for campaign

Registration drive by Youth campaign

Recruitment Drive for Volunteers

Door-To-Door Get-Out-The-Vote

Receive Materials

1st Bumper Sticker Day

2nd Bumper Sticker Day

1st mailing

2nd mailing

Select Newspapers

Newspaper Ads

Martha Mitchell Rally

Administration Speakers

Shopping Center Blitz

Shopping Center Blitz

Survey by telephone to update original poll.

Approve content of TV and Radio commercials

Approve interface on TV commercials

Television

Radio

WISCONSIN PRIMARY BUDGET

<u>Direct Mail</u>	400,000 Mailings 700,000 Voter Contacts	
1st Mailing - 400,000 @ \$142.20/M (Window envelope, computer letter with attached volunteer card, BRE and brochure)	= \$ 56,880	
2nd Mailing - 400,000 @ \$125.00/M (Get-Out-The-Vote)	= 50,000	
		<hr/>
Sub Total	\$106,880	
Assume 2% volunteer response to the first mailing:		
1st Kit Mailing @ \$250.00/M	= 2,000	
Follow-up Certificates @ \$250.00/M	= 2,000	
3 Newsletters @ \$125.00/M	= <u>3,000</u>	
Total	\$113,880	
<u>Advertising</u>	\$200,000	
<u>Materials</u>		
Bumper Stickers - 25,000 @ .05¢	= 1,250	
Brochures - 25,000 @ .03¢	= 750	
Buttons - 25,000 @ .025¢	= <u>625</u>	
Total	\$ 2,625	
<u>Staffing</u>		
State Organization	\$ 20,000	
Total	\$336,505	<u>=====</u>

WISCONSIN MEDIA PLAN

=====

ALTERNATE BUDGET AND MEDIA CATEGORY SUMMARY TOTALS

	<u>PLAN A</u>	<u>PLAN B</u>	<u>PLAN C</u>	<u>PLAN D</u>	<u>PLAN E *</u>
<u>TELEVISION</u>	\$42,000	\$57,000	\$70,000	\$82,000	\$106,000
<u>NEWSPAPER</u>	\$13,000	\$22,000	\$29,000	\$46,000	\$ 64,000
<u>RADIO</u>	<u>\$22,000</u>	<u>\$33,000</u>	<u>\$44,000</u>	<u>\$52,000</u>	<u>\$ 60,000</u>
	\$77,000	\$112,000	\$143,000	\$180,000	\$230,000
Production Costs	<u>20,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>
	\$97,000	\$132,000	\$163,000	\$200,000	\$250,000

\* Details of Plan E are not presented in this report.

# McDonald Davis & Associates, Inc.

411 EAST MASON STREET, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53202 AREA CODE 414 273 2500

## Media Proposals, Wisconsin Primary Campaign

### General Statement

In 1968 the President carried Wisconsin with about 48 percent of the vote to 45 percent for Humphrey (Wallace 7%). The Wisconsin Republican Party won the governorship, held a 7 to 3 advantage in the Congressional delegation and carried both houses of the legislature. In 1970 the party lost the governorship and the state assembly, held a 5-5 split in the Congressional delegation, with both U.S. Senators being Democrats. The Attorney General is the only Republican leader in the statehouse.

Research indicates that at present the President is running five to eight percentage points behind the principal Democratic opponent. There is no gubernatorial or U.S. Senate election this year, so that all attention is focused on the presidential election. There are at present 13 Democratic Presidential candidates listed on the April 4 presidential preference primary ballot, with the likelihood that six of them will make viable campaigns, and two Republicans oppose the President on that ballot. The Democratic

Party spending agreement permits each of these candidates to spend about \$280,000 maximum in media, not including direct mail or production, in Wisconsin, and Mayor Lindsay has not signed the agreement.

Thus, not only is the President's gap behind the leading Democrat serious now, but it will be difficult to keep it from becoming worse with that many candidates shooting at him and his record for four to six weeks in February and March.

If nothing is done to support the President during the Wisconsin primary it is quite possible that the gap will widen and will be virtually impossible to close by November. Recent experience hints that strong Democratic primaries, despite intraparty strife, result in stronger November Democratic showings.

The Wisconsin primary has national implications in that it is national news. While most of the publicity will attach to the Democratic primary, a bad showing by the President, or a good showing by his Republican opponents, will have national repercussions. Further, his campaign suffers whenever the other party is able to dominate the news.

#### The Objective

The objective of the Wisconsin primary campaign should be to close the gap between the President and the leading Democrat, or at

least hold it where it is now, so that research after the primary will show the President as strong or stronger than today.

If this can be done, it will carry the added benefits of making a good showing for the party in the primary, and of dealing a serious blow to any future plans by either Republican challenger.

This is a different kind of a campaign in that the objective is not to win, for we will win anyway. It is not even to get most of the votes, because we can't do that anyway. The GOP received 39 percent of the total vote in 1968, and Mr. Nixon received 79 percent of that, against Stassen and Reagan. Getting somewhere close to that would be good enough.

This campaign must be done chiefly through media. It is too late to mount an organization effort, except through the existing Republican Party organization. The publicity campaign will take care of itself and the President will make news regardless of what we do. In media almost alone, we have the chance to make a difference.

#### Media Plans

Conventionally we think of peaking election campaigns at election day, based on a rising crescendo of activity. Thus if we were to plan a six week campaign or a four week campaign it would start four or six weeks before election day.

But this is a different campaign because election day isn't our target. What we're up against is a million to a million and a half dollars being spent against the President for four to six weeks, and with a fraction of that we want to make his presence felt and his point of view heard. We hope that, even people who vote in the Democratic primary, will keep the option open to vote Republican in November, by remembering that there is an important Republican position; and it is critical to at least neutralize the 400,000 to 500,000 voters who won't vote at all in the primary but will in November.

Thus we don't think we can let the campaign go down to the final two weeks before we answer. Our strategy instead is to find ways to build a four week campaign, by going in and out of different media, so that some message is coming through in either radio, television or print, every week, and basically the same kind of message.

We believe the opposition will spend heavily in television, because they all have identification problems in a crowded field. We look for at least \$750,000 being spent in television against us. We think perhaps all we can do in television, in major markets, is leave our calling card, in something like one-a-day prime time spots. We think we can do a better job by concentrating on newspaper and radio in many of these markets, where we will be fighting on more

even terms. As the media plan shows, we are getting the households.

We think the campaign should be statewide. We know there are some areas more Republican than others, but the media does not lend itself to that segmentation. You can't segment Milwaukee out of Milwaukee television, radio or newspaper, for instance. And while the vote is sparser in Northern Wisconsin, so the costs are lower. And our objective, once again, is to fight for the President's point of view and position with all the people.

In order to provide alternatives in choice of a budget level, we are presenting four different media approaches, at different spending levels. They cover television, radio and newspaper only, as we understand direct mail will be handled separately, as will collateral; and that outdoor and transit are not in the proposed mix.

TELEVISION 30-40

<u>MARKETS &amp; STATIONS</u>	<u>PLAN A</u> <u>(\$77,000)</u> <u>TV--\$42,000</u>	<u>PLAN B</u> <u>(\$112,000)</u> <u>TV--\$57,000</u>	<u>PLAN C</u> <u>(\$143,000)</u> <u>TV--\$70,000</u>	<u>PLAN D</u> <u>(\$180,000)</u> <u>TV--\$82,000</u>	<u>NO. OF</u> <u>HOUSE-</u> <u>HOLDS</u>	<u>% OF</u> <u>STATE</u> <u>MARKET</u>
<u>EAU CLAIRE</u> WEAU-TV				2,800	33,750	3%
<u>SUPERIOR/DULUTH</u> WDSM-TV WDIO-TV KDAL-TV				1,600 1,200 800	51,000 (Wisc.)	4%
<u>LA CROSSE</u> WKBT-TV WXOW-TV			3,400	4,500	74,640	6%
<u>WAUSAU/RHINELANDER</u> WSAU-TV (W) WAOW-TV (W) WAEO-TV (R)			4,000 2,000	4,300 2,400	99,000	8%
<u>MADISON</u> WISC-TV WKOW-TV WMIV-TV		5,000 4,300 700	5,400 4,500 800	6,800 5,800	133,000	11%
<u>GREEN BAY</u> WBAY-TV WLUK-TV WFRV-TV	5,500 3,750 3,750	6,100 4,200 4,200	6,700 4,500 4,500	7,200 4,500 4,500	243,400	21%
<u>MILWAUKEE</u> WIMJ-TV WITI-TV WISN-TV WMIV-TV	9,000 12,000 7,000 1,000	10,800 13,000 7,500 1,200	11,200 13,500 8,000 1,500	11,800 14,000 8,300 1,500	552,000	47%
	<u>\$42,000</u>	<u>\$57,000</u>	<u>\$70,000</u>	<u>\$82,000</u>		

NEWSPAPER

	<u>PLAN A</u>	<u>PLAN B</u>	<u>PLAN C</u>	<u>PLAN D</u>
MILWAUKEE JOURNAL 353,472(D);540,133(S)	2 Sun. -\$5,952 2 Daily-}\$6,336	2 Sun. -\$5,952 3 Daily-}\$9,504	2 Sun. -\$5,952 3 Daily-}\$9,504	2 Sun. -\$ 5,952 4 Daily-}\$12,672
MILWAUKEE SENTINEL 166,253	2 Daily-}	3 Daily-}	3 Daily-}	4 Daily-}
-----				
WISC. STATE JOURNAL 117,000			3 Daily-) \$3,720	4 Daily-) \$5,960
CAPITAL TIMES 117,000			3 Daily-)	4 Daily-)
-----				
GREEN BAY PRESS-GAZETTE 50M (D); 61M (S)	1 Sun.--\$763	2 Sun. -\$1,527 2 Daily-\$1,527	2 Sun. -\$1,527 2 Daily-\$1,527	3 Sun. -) 3 Daily-)\$4,584
-----				
APPLETON POST-CRESCENT 45,578		2 Sun. -\$1,488 2 Daily-\$1,488	2 Sun. -\$1,488 2 Daily-\$1,488	3 Sun. -) 3 Daily-)\$4,464
-----				
RACINE JOURNAL TIMES 70,477		1 Sun. -\$ 549	2 Sun. -\$1,096 2 Daily-)\$2,216	3 Sun. -\$ 1,547 3 Daily-)\$3,324
KENOSHA NEWS - 70,477			2 Daily-)	3 Daily-)
-----				
LA CROSSE TRIBUNE 35,498				2 Sun. -) 2 Daily-)\$2,560
-----				
SHEBOYGAN PRESS - 31,226				3 Daily-\$ 1,731
-----				
EAU CLAIRE LEADER - 32,114				3 Daily-\$ 1,833
-----				
WAUSAU, MARSHFIELD, MERRILL, WIS. RAPIDS, MARINETTE, STEVENS POINT - 67,720 (6)				1 Daily-\$ 1,825
-----				
	\$13,051	\$22,035	\$28,518	\$46,452

RADIO SPOT (60's or 30's) BUDGET APPROPRIATION BY DISTRICT (CURRENT)

		<u>PLAN A</u>	<u>PLAN B</u>	<u>PLAN C</u>	<u>PLAN D</u>
<u>DISTRICT 1</u>					
BELOIT	WBEL	\$ 300	\$ 450	\$ 600	\$ 750
	WGEZ	300	450	600	750
JANESVILLE	WCLO	500	600	700	850
KENOSHA	WLIP	500	600	700	850
RACINE	WRAC	400	500	600	750
	WRJN	300	400	400	550
		<u>\$2,300</u>	<u>\$3,000</u>	<u>\$3,600</u>	<u>\$4,500</u>
<u>DISTRICT 2</u>					
BARABOO	WBOO	\$	\$ 150	\$ 200	\$ 250
BEAVER DAM	WBEV	200	250	300	350
FT. ATKINSON	WFAW	100	200	300	300
MADISON	WIBA	250	350	450	500
	WTBQ			200	250
	WIBV	300	400	500	600
	WISM	300	450	550	650
	WMAD		200	350	450
MONROE	WEKZ	100	200	300	350
PORTAGE	WPDR			200	300
WATERTOWN	WTTN	200	300	300	350
WISC. DELLS	WWOK		100	200	350
		<u>\$1,450</u>	<u>\$2,600</u>	<u>\$3,850</u>	<u>\$4,650</u>
<u>DISTRICT 3</u>					
BLACK RIVER FALLS	WWIS	\$	\$ 150	\$ 250	\$ 300
DODGEVILLE	WDMP		150	250	300
DURAND	WRDN				150
LA CROSSE	WIZM		200	300	350
	WKTY	300	500	600	700
	WLCX	200	300	400	500
LADYSMITH	WLDY	200	300	400	450
MAUSTON	WRTL		150	250	300
PLATTEVILLE	WSWW		150	250	350
PRAIRIE DU CHIEN	WPRE	200	300	400	450
REEDSBURG	WRDB			200	300
RICHLAND CENTER	WRCO	100	200	300	350
RIVER FALLS	WEVR			200	250
SPARTA )	WCOW	200	350	450	450
TONAH )	WTMB				
VIROQUA	WISV		150	250	300
		<u>\$1,200</u>	<u>\$2,900</u>	<u>\$4,500</u>	<u>\$5,500</u>

<u>DISTRICT 4, 5, 9</u>		<u>PLAN A</u>	<u>PLAN B</u>	<u>PLAN C</u>	<u>PLAN D</u>
<b>MILWAUKEE</b>					
	WAWA				
	WEMP	\$1,100	\$1,200	\$1,400	\$1,600
	WISN	1,500	1,700	2,000	2,200
	WMIL	600	600	800	900
	WNOV				
	WOKY	900	1,100	1,400	1,550
	WRIT	900	1,100	1,300	1,500
	WTMJ	1,500	1,700	2,000	2,200
<b>WAUKESHA</b>					
	WAUK	500	500	600	700
		<u>\$7,000</u>	<u>\$7,900</u>	<u>\$9,500</u>	<u>\$10,650</u>
 <u>DISTRICT 6</u>					
<b>FOND DU LAC</b>					
	KFIZ	\$ 700	\$ 900	\$1,000	\$1,100
<b>HARTFORD</b>					
	WTKM		200	250	350
<b>JACKSON</b>					
	WYLO			250	350
<b>OSHKOSH</b>					
	WAGO	600	800	800	900
	WOSH	700	900	1,000	1,100
<b>NEENAH/MENASHA</b>					
	WNAM	300	500	600	800
<b>PLYMOUTH</b>					
	WPLK			300	400
<b>PT. WASHINGTON</b>					
	WGLB		300	450	500
<b>RIPON</b>					
	WCWC	400	500	600	700
<b>SHEBOYGAN</b>					
	WHBL	600	700	800	900
	WKTS	400	550	700	800
<b>WAUPUN</b>					
	WLKE	300	400	500	550
<b>WEST BEND</b>					
	WBKV	300	400	500	550
		<u>\$4,300</u>	<u>\$6,150</u>	<u>\$7,750</u>	<u>\$9,000</u>
 <u>DISTRICT 7</u>					
<b>ANTIGO</b>					
	WATK	\$ 200	\$ 350	\$ 500	\$ 550
<b>MARSHFIELD</b>					
	WDLB	150	300	450	450
<b>MEDFORD</b>					
	WIGM		200	300	350
<b>MERRILL</b>					
	WXMT		200	300	350
<b>NEILLSVILLE</b>					
	WCCN			200	250
<b>RHINELANDER</b>					
	WOBT	200	350	500	550
<b>SHAWANO</b>					
	WTCH		150	300	300
<b>STEVENS POINT</b>					
	WSPT	200	400	600	600
<b>TOMAHAWK</b>					
	WELF	100	250	400	400
<b>WAUPACA</b>					
	WDUX		150	300	350
<b>WAUSAU</b>					
	WRIG	300	400	500	600
	WSAU	200	400	600	700
	WXCO	200	300	400	500
<b>WIS. RAPIDS</b>					
	WFHR	100	250	400	450
		<u>\$1,900</u>	<u>\$3,700</u>	<u>\$5,750</u>	<u>\$6,400</u>

		<u>PLAN A</u>	<u>PLAN B</u>	<u>PLAN C</u>	<u>PLAN D</u>
<u>DISTRICT 8</u>					
APPLETON	WAPL	\$ 400	\$ 600	\$ 700	\$ 800
	WKAU	200	300	400	500
	WYNE	300	400	500	600
GREEN BAY	WBAY	700	900	1,100	1,200
	WDUZ	300	400	500	600
	WNFL	400	600	700	800
MANITOWOC	WCUB	300	450	550	600
	WOMT		200	300	400
MARINETTE	WMAM		200	300	300
OCONTO	WOCO			150	200
STURGEON BAY	WDOR	150	200	300	400
TWO RIVERS	WQTL	150	200	300	300
		<u>\$2,900</u>	<u>\$4,450</u>	<u>\$5,800</u>	<u>\$6,700</u>
<u>DISTRICT 10</u>					
ASHLAND	WATW	\$ 200	\$ 300	\$ 300	\$ 450
EAGLE RIVER	WERL		150	150	250
EAU CLAIRE	WAXX	100	200	200	300
	WBIZ	200	300	400	500
	WEAQ	500	600	700	800
	WOKL				150
HAYWARD	WHSM	200	200	200	300
MENOMONIE	WMNE			200	300
NEW RICHMOND	WIXK			150	250
PARK FALLS	WNBI			100	250
RICE LAKE	WJML			150	250
SUPERIOR	WAKX	150	300	350	400
	WDSM	150	300	350	400
		<u>\$1,500</u>	<u>\$2,350</u>	<u>\$3,250</u>	<u>\$4,600</u>
		\$22,000	\$33,000	\$44,000	\$52,000

Note: Radio campaign projected for four weeks utilizing alternate schedules by markets. Small markets in and out pitted as appropriate in strategy against television and newspaper schedule.

DATE

Dear Mr. Forte:

There is a time when you have to stand up and be counted. For Florida Republicans that time is now, in the Presidential Primary on March 14th.

President Richard Nixon is a bold, courageous and effective leader. He has proven himself to be the right man for these difficult times.

America needs President Nixon -- and he needs you. Please complete the attached volunteer card and send it in today. Let us show him, and America, our tremendous support.

Sincerely,

L.B. Thomas

P.S. See you at the polls on March 14th.

This is the bottom of the Florida letter. The name and address typed in would come from the computer. The name in the right-hand portion of the top card can be cut and used as a label to mail the Presidential Commitment kit to the volunteer. There would be a red and blue border around the volunteer card tying the two cards together.

TEAR HERE

---

## *Volunteer Card*

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

*I want to personally support President Nixon for re-election by participating in the campaign. Please contact me right away!*

---

*I can't personally participate in the campaign but I want to show my support with a contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.*

INSTRUCTIONS: *Please fill out this volunteer card, fold it in half and insert it in the business reply envelope and mail today.*

February 9, 1972  
2:00 PM

WISCONSIN PRIMARY SPEAKING EVENTS PRIOR TO APRIL 4, 1972

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
February 11	Eau Claire County Lincoln Day Dinner, Eau Claire	Secretary Butz
February 18	Wisconsin Committee for the Re-election of the President Businessmen's Luncheon, Milwaukee	Asst. Secretary Passer (Commerce)
February 25	Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans, Madison	Senator Goldwater
March 10, 17, 21 or 23	Event Undetermined	Secretary Volpe
March 15	Wisconsin Committee for the Re-election of the President Women's Rally, Milwaukee	Mrs. Mitchell
March 21	Consumer Affairs Conference, Milwaukee	Mrs. Knauer
March 23	Wisconsin State Republican Party "Salute to Mel Laird", Milwaukee	Secretary Laird and three Congressmen
March 27	Event Undetermined	Senator Goldwater (Invitation pending)
March 29	Madison Rotary Club Luncheon, Madison	Mr. Klein
April__	Wisconsin College Republicans Executive Committee Fund Raising Dinner, Kenosha	Shirley Temple Black (Invitation pending)
April__ .	University of Wisconsin, Marquette, Wisconsin College and Edgewood College	Mr. Finch (Invitation pending)

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008 • (202) 333-0920

MAURICE H. STANS  
CHAIRMAN

February 26, 1972

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN:

Per our discussion, Secretary Stans has reviewed the letter which Ray Price's office has recommended for use in a mailing to a test of approximately 500,000 names on the White House support list.

Secretary Stans has made some minor changes in the draft, and the final version is attached. We would appreciate it if you would get a final clearance for us on this letter and arrange to provide us with 10,000 names from the list for our initial test.

Thanks.



Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.

Attachment

On January 20, 1969, America was a troubled nation. There was division in the country, disruption on the campuses, inflation in the economy, crime in the cities, powderkegs in the ghettos, backlash in the suburbs, and two hundred coffins a week coming home from Vietnam.

As Richard Nixon took the oath of office, he inherited this bitter legacy. It required both political courage and statesmanship to move away from war and inflation, up onto the high road of peacetime prosperity. But Richard Nixon, more than any President before him, has quietly presided over major changes in policy and direction in our government, and has restored our faith in the ability of our system to solve its problems and reflect the basic integrity of the American people.

The record of the Nixon Administration is clear: There have been dramatic new initiatives in foreign affairs designed to end our involvement in the Indochina conflict and secure a lasting peace; there have been bold new economic policies to speed our progress toward a sound prosperity; there is a full agenda of domestic programs aimed at government reform to make it truly responsive to the needs of our citizens; and there is much else that remains to be done.

Progress toward achieving what the President has called the "great goals" of our society requires the cooperation and commitment of every American. The vast majority shares the President's conviction that this is a great and good nation, one which has an extraordinary capacity to set out upon a new course of action and bring together diverse elements in a creative force to improve government and our quality of life.

Where there was despair and frustration only a few years ago, there is now a growing sense of hope and faith in the traditional strengths of our institutions and in the fundamental goodwill of our countrymen. The President has made a beginning which urgently merits our support. He deserves and the Nation needs the opportunity to press for completion of his initiatives, both foreign and domestic.

In his campaign for re-election, you can demonstrate your support in a vital and meaningful way -- with your personal check. A contribution of \$15 will enroll you as a member of the Committee. But gifts <sup>checks for</sup> of \$25, or \$50, or \$100, <sup>or \$1000,</sup> and larger are also welcome! If it is significant to you, it will be significant to us, and you may be sure that every dollar will be used in the re-election of the President. With your financial assistance and that of other concerned individuals, we can mount a campaign that will take the record of this Administration

directly to the people, calmly but forcefully articulating its accomplishments, its far-reaching proposals and its confident vision of the future.

We urge you to join in this high adventure. It will be an alliance of citizens who believe that Richard Nixon has guided the Nation through an era of adversity and has brought us to the threshold of a full generation of peace with prosperity. This is our opportunity, in Lincoln's words, for us to "dare to do our duty as we understand it."

# # # #

February 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign

1. Signature day. As you know, we collected 54,000 signatures in one day (Wednesday, February 23) for the President. The drive showed we have some good people and hard workers in some unexpected areas. It also showed some weaknesses.

A. L.A. County fell on its face. There is much work to be done here. The same is true of Santa Clara and San Mateo.

B. The Marin County Central Committee Chairman, Rogers Broomhead, refused any sort of cooperation. Interesting, in light of the fact that he is an honorary delegate. Perhaps this should be reviewed.

2. Registration. Met Tuesday (February 22) with Pat Livermore and others. At this meeting it was re-affirmed that the Nixon committee will handle registration in California (except for the Cal-Plan districts). Organizing for the registration effort is now under way. As I have said before, it is essential that all funds for the registration effort be funnelled through the Nixon committee because I do not believe the State Central Committee can perform without our help.

3. State headquarters. The lease is signed. Phones are going in. Hoyt Cater, former publisher of the Burbank Daily Review and the Elgin (Ill.) Courier News, has signed on as office manager.

4. Organization.

A. Manuel Quevedo has been signed on to honcho organization in the Mexican-American area. He is a former ABC member (your appointee) and a member of your Human Relations staff.

B. Ed Sexton of the Republican National Committee will come to California to help us evaluate the GOP black leadership potential here.

C. We have also arranged for help in the senior citizens area from Bernard Van Rensselaer of the RNC who I think is the most knowledgeable person in the country on senior citizens problems and activities.

D. We have begun organizing the white ethnic area. Will have specifics to report on this in 1-2 weeks.

E. County chairmen have been appointed in San Diego, Orange, Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties. I am assured by all four regional chairmen that we will meet our March 15 deadline for picking county chairmen.

I met Friday and Saturday in Washington with the staff of the national Committee for the Re-Election of the President. They are preparing general plans in specific areas that can be adapted to California's needs. I see every evidence that they wish to cooperate but not to attempt to run a California campaign from Washington. Here is also agreement there that the state must be thoroughly organized if we are going to put on a good primary campaign as well as win the general election. In short I believe relations between the California committee and the national committee are excellent.

February 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign

1. Registration--a comprehensive plan with target dates will be worked out by next week. We have an agreement on organization with both the State Central Committee and the Washington Committee. Registration will be done under the auspices of the Central Committee, but we will control it. Our staff man is Bruce Nestande. I am confident we will have a major registration increase this spring, and we will begin registering again immediately after the primary. Ken Rietz of the Washington Committee is being helpful and cooperative.
2. Signature Day, Feb. 24--this is the day we will gather the signatures necessary to put the President's name on the ballot. Details have been worked out, and organization is about complete. We expect to have a large surplus of names, all of which will be gathered in one day. We are focusing heavily on Orange County to offset the Ashbrook influence there. Persons who perform in this endeavor will be brought immediately into the registration drive.
3. Four regional chairmen have been announced. Each now has picked a staff man and has been instructed to begin selecting county chairmen. We have our own staff man, Robert Hatch, a former Illinois State Senator, whose job it is to make sure that the counties get organized. He will be provided staff, as needed.
4. We have found a building for state headquarters. It is on Wilshire Blvd., east of Hoover. Hopefully we can be in it on or around March 1.
5. I have given a proposed executive committee list and steering committee list to Gordon. We expect to have both of these ready for you within a week.
6. We are exploring organization leadership possibilities in the black, Mexican and white ethnic areas.
7. We expect to present a preliminary budget to Mr. Firestone within the next week.

cc: John Mitchell  
Jeb Magruder  
Gordon Luce

February 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER

RE: California Campaign

1. Signature Day. All materials were distributed Friday and Saturday to Signature Day Chairmen in all major counties. Signature Day organizations are set up, and we expect no problems in getting well in excess of the 17,000 names needed to put the President's name on the ballot the first day, February 23.
2. A joint state and Los Angeles regional headquarters has been leased at the corner of Wilshire and Burlington in Los Angeles. Installation of phones and equipment begins Tuesday, and we expect to move in on or before March 6.
3. We are currently working on a budget that will carry us through the primary, June 6, but now understand that Maurice Stans wants a budget also that will carry us through the general election. Our approach is that money cannot be an excuse for losing California. Therefore, while we are counting heavily on volunteers, we are budgeting for enough staff to insure that the volunteers operate effectively both in the areas of (a) organization and (b) registration and get out the vote, where we are working with the state and county central committees. We have an understanding that state committee will be directly responsible for the "Cal-Plan districts" but that we will be responsible for all the rest of the state. We have an agreement with Los Angeles County to put our staff people in for direct help in this area.
4. I have met with Larry Goldberg of the national committee regarding Jewish Republican organization within the state, and I expect to meet with Taft Schreiber next week to discuss the matter further. I am also meeting with Negro and Mexican leaders regarding organization of these two groups.
5. We now have put together our top staff. Bruce Nestande, whose career is politics (he has run for office, worked for the governor and is excellent as an organizer), is in charge of Signature Day and our registration and get-out-the-vote program. I am convinced that it is imperative that this committee control these areas if we are to succeed.

Robert Hatch, at one time the youngest State Senator in Illinois, will head up our organization staff. He is charged with making sure that the counties are organized down to the precinct level by June 1. He and Nestande are charged with making sure that the Nixon and central committee activities are coordinated at every level.

Jack Easton, an innovative PR man from Alcoa, will head up the communications effort which we intend to take far beyond the usual press handout operation that most campaigns limit themselves to.

John Flanigan continues to be the man who rides herd on details and helps coordinate the campaign. Staff at other levels is being hired as needed.

At this point I believe we are about on schedule. We are not, Kevin Phillips to the contrary, notwithstanding, sitting around unable to function.

cc: John Mitchell  
Jeb Magruder  
Gordon Luce  
Ed Meese

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 29, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

2065, Section 8-102  
NARS, Date 8-26-81

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Status Report of the New Hampshire and Florida Primaries

Following your approval of the New Hampshire and Florida operating plans, the progress of efforts in both states has been monitored on a continuing basis. The following is a review of activity to date, and a summary of what is planned until election day.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

In general, the campaign has picked up momentum over the past few weeks and is going reasonably well. The high level of support the President has shown in the polls would be expected to erode slightly as his opponents intensify their campaigns. However, there is no indication of erosion in his basic constituency.

Administration Spokesmen

The use of Administration Spokesmen in New Hampshire has generally been on schedule. There have been 28 speaking engagements with 20 different speakers scheduled to date. Only two of these events were cancelled due to inclement weather.

The only remaining event to be held is the Appreciation Day Rally in Manchester on March 3. Art Linkletter will act as Master of Ceremonies while Governor Rockefeller delivers the main address. There will also be fourteen other speakers on hand.

Direct Mail

The Direct Mail Program began on January 28th, when 85,000 computer letters were sent out. Each letter contained a request for volunteers and funds. The mailing resulted in the recruitment of 240 volunteers and 915 contributions totalling \$6,350. This amount paid for over 40% of the cost of the first mailing.

A second mailing, which included a brochure, was sent out on February 18th to slightly less than 85,000 households. In connection with the telephone operation, 17,000 letters including the issue brochure are being sent to those who were undecided in the telephone canvass.

The final New Hampshire mailing will be sent on March 2nd. This will consist of a sample ballot for a get-out-the-vote effort.

#### Telephone

The telephone operation commenced on February 11th when volunteers began canvassing all registered Republicans from 10 headquarters. Thus far, 65,728 phone calls have been completed. The responses have been 34,490 for the President, 5,176 against the President, and 17,062 undecided. (60.8% for, 9.2% against, 30.0% undecided.)

Follow-up calls to the undecided voters will begin February 29th and will continue until March 2. At that time, the get-out-the-vote calls will be made to remind our favorable voters to go to the polls on Election Day.

#### Get-Out-The-Vote

The New Hampshire Re-election Committee, with its organization of over 300 Ward Chairmen, Township Chairmen and County Chairmen, will conduct a systematic program to contact all pro-Nixon voters in each town (as determined by the telephone canvass). They will offer baby-sitting services, rides to the polls, directions to the polls, etc.

#### Advertising

The New Hampshire Committee received its initial supply of buttons, brochures and bumper stickers in early January. They have been receiving refill orders since that time.

As approved in the media plan, newspapers and radio commercials are being used in New Hampshire. Newspaper ads began February 20 and will continue until Election Day. Likewise, radio commercials began on February 23 and will continue to Election Day.

#### Youth Activities

The Youth Campaign in New Hampshire has held a registration drive, (ringing 10,000 doorbells in one afternoon), conducted a door-to-door blitz, and supplied more than 125 volunteers for the telephone

canvass operation. Perhaps of all the youth activities, the very successful mock elections received the greatest attention from the press. The President won all we participated in.

FLORIDA

The Florida campaign is not designed to include so much organizational activity as New Hampshire. Nevertheless, the indications are that the planned activities are being carried out successfully, and that the President will do well in the election.

Administration Spokesmen

Thirty-two speaking engagements with 19 different speakers have been scheduled in Florida. All events but one occurred as planned. The one exception was cancelled due to transportation problems in Washington.

Twelve speakers will speak at thirteen engagements in the concluding days of the primary campaign. Nine of these speakers have not appeared in Florida yet during the primary.

Direct Mail

The Direct Mail program and the volunteer effort in Florida were combined in the "Presidential Commitment" Program. Between February 11 and 20, 382,000 personalized letters were sent to Florida Republicans asking them to volunteer for the President. Thus far, 1,560 Republicans have volunteered. These volunteers will be contacted immediately by our Commitment Chairman who has been in place since February 18th. The volunteer will then be given the names of ten Republican neighbors and asked to contact them and secure their commitment to vote for the President.

A get-out-the-vote telegram-letter will be sent to 90,000 households in Pinellas County on March 9.

Advertising

The only promotional activity scheduled for Florida is the use of buttons, brochures, bumper stickers and banners. All of these materials were sent to Tommy Thomas in late January.

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Youth Activities

The Youth Campaign has consisted of registration drives and participation in the Volunteer Commitment Program. They have recruited more than 1,500 volunteers for a post-primary registration in the 18 major counties.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

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COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

February 29, 1972

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E.O. 12812 6-102

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By LMH, Date 2-26-72

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Regular Meetings Within the Campaign Organization

This memorandum describes the meetings which are conducted on a regular basis to help coordinate the activities relating to the campaign.

Strategy Group (Attendees listed in Tab A) - Meets on alternate Monday evenings. This group is intended to provide political perspective to questions of general strategy. It does not concern itself with the operating details of specific programs or activities. Some representative agenda items have been:

- Review of general results of opinion polls
- Format and title of the campaign newspaper
- Review of proposed advertising themes and the completed commercials
- Recommendations on the timing of the President's announcement of his candidacy for a second term

Strategy Planning Group (Attendees listed in Tab B) - Meets on Saturdays, as required, to develop specific plans for campaigns within states and to develop specific recommendations in other problem areas which might require the combined efforts of several functional areas. This group has held two meetings which have included representatives of the Re-election Committees of Wisconsin and California.

Re-election Committee Staff Meeting (Attendees listed in Tab C) - Meets at 7:30 a.m. every Tuesday. One purpose of these meetings is to exchange information on the activities of various divisions within the committee as they relate to the overall campaign. In addition, in recent meetings, Chuck Colson and Ed Harper of the White House staff have

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described their functions as they might relate to the campaign. The meetings also provide an opportunity for setting out policy guidelines which should be known to each of the operating managers.

Joint Staff Meeting (Attendees listed in Tab D) - Meets every Tuesday at 11 a.m., and is composed of senior staff members from 1701 and the RNC. The purpose of the group is to discuss matters relating to the campaign, particularly those which bear on RNC-Committee cooperation.

Political Issues Group (Attendees listed in Tab E) - Meets every other Wednesday in Harry Dent's office. The purpose of the group is to provide a forum, predominantly composed of high level White House staff members, for the discussion of important issues relating to the campaign.

In addition to the meetings listed above, Cliff Miller or Van Shumway regularly attend Chuck Colson's 2:30 p.m. planning meetings on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at the White House.

As you know, we also strongly recommend that you attend the 8:15 a.m. daily meetings in Mr. Haldeman's office.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

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STRATEGY GROUP ATTENDEES

Harry Dent

Len Garment

Bob Marik

Dick Moore

Jeb Magruder

Cliff Miller

Bob Teeter (or Ted Garrish)

Peter Dailey (or Phil Joanou)

Pat Buchanan

Fred LaRue

Bob Finch

STRATEGY PLANNING GROUP ATTENDEES

Ken Reitz

Peter Dailey (or Phil Joanou)

Bob Marik

Jeb Magruder

Harry Flemming (or Al Kaupinen)

Bob Teeter (or Ted Garrish)

Bart Porter

Fred LaRue

Fred Malek

Pat Hutar

Cliff Miller (or Van Shumway)

Gordon Strachan

Bob Morgan (as needed)

Nancy Brataas (as needed)

Citizens Group Directors (as needed)

RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE STAFF MEETING ATTENDEES

Alex Armendaris

Murray Chotiner

Peter Dailey

Harry Flemming

Larry Goldberg

Pat Hutar

Paul Jones

Allan Kaupinen

Paul Kayser

Fred La Rue

Gordon Liddy

Frederic Malek

Bob Marik

Edward Nixon

Herbert Porter

Bob Reisner

Ken Reitz

Van Shumway

Hugh Sloan

Bob Teeter

Dan Todd

Clayton Yeutter

Rob Odle

JOINT STAFF MEETING ATTENDEES

Harry Dent

Tom Evans

Ed DeBolt

Jeb Magruder

Fred LaRue

Harry Flemming

Hugh Sloan

Lee Nunn

Rita Hauser

POLITICAL ISSUES GROUP ATTENDEES

Anne Armstrong

Robert J. Brown

Ken Cole

Charles Colson

Bob Dole

Thomas Evans

Robert Finch

Leonary Garment

Roy Goodearle

Bryce Harlow

Ed Harper

Rita Hauser

Herbert Klein

John Lehman

Clark MacGregor

Ray Price

Donald Rumsfield

William Safire

Gordon Strachan

Robert Teeter

William Timmons

Rose Mary Woods

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

February 25, 1972

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... 12065, Section 6-102

... *encl.* NARS, date *2-26-81*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached is our weekly report.

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

✓  
bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

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## ADVERTISING

The Advertising Group became fully operational on Monday, February 14, with key members at 909 Third Avenue, New York City.

Briefing sessions were held Sunday with the newly appointed agency staff. First priority will be the blending of Republican National Committee voting statistics into Media Coverage areas. Dates were established for first draft of media plans for staff review.

Direct channels to the White House Domestic Council have been established through Len Garment. This will provide more efficient communications on issues.

Planned documentary films are in the second stage: script outlines and budgeting. Media analysis and recommendations will be presented at that time.

### Advert sing: Primary States

New Hampshire:	Program began February 20 and will include radio and newspapers.
Florida:	Media cancelled.
Wisconsin:	To begin March 6.

## AGRICULTURE

Yeutter, along with Congressman Thone and seven other alumni, spent two days in Nebraska being honored at the University of Nebraska's 1972 Masters Week Celebration. He participated in a general press conference, had one major individual press interview, and made one TV and two radio tapes.

Undoubtedly every administration has weeks in which it suffers more damage from its own actions than it does from the actions of the opposition. In the agricultural area, this was one of those weeks. Just as an agreement for a small increase in meat imports was about to be finalized with Australia and New Zealand, a statement that this might occur was made at a Cost of Living Council meeting and received national press coverage. Though this is always a delicate subject with livestock producers, a low profile might have given the Administration no more than a slap on the wrist. But the high profile made it necessary that the industry respond with a flurry of blows. This it did, and everyone is now back at the negotiating table.

The other loser during the week was an executive order prohibiting the use of poisons for the control of predatory animals on federal lands. Both EPA and Interior are involved in this one, and presumably the action is expected to gain more votes from environmental-

lists and consumer advocates than it will lose from cattle and sheep producers. We hope that this was carefully analyzed, because the latter are certainly angry. The Northern Great Plains area is in an uproar, and, unfortunately, they are blaming the President as much as the agencies.

Foltz and Yeutter attended a breakfast hosted by the Secretary of Agriculture for Republican members of the House Ag Committee. Yeutter discussed briefly the Nixon agricultural campaign. The committee members were each given a chance to comment on USDA's programs. In general, they were happy, particularly with the Secretary's actions in speaking up for agriculture. They were not, however, satisfied with USDA liaison with the GOP members of the Committee.

Foltz and Yeutter visited with Senator Fannin of Arizona (a follow up to Yeutter's recent trip to that state), and Senator Gurney of Florida. Senator Gurney has lots of complaints about the Administration, but apparently this is not unusual.

#### BLACK LIAISON

Work was done relating to the up-coming National Black Political Convention. The Convention appears controlled by the Black Caucus (Democrat-oriented) and is being billed as a non-partisan meeting. It is expected that the Convention will develop an agenda aimed at a response from both parties, with demands difficult or impossible for the Republican National Convention to meet (such as quotas of Blacks as delegates), and will seek to use this approach, through widespread publicity, to deliver the bloc vote to the Democrat nominee.

We attended the national meeting of Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC - minority employment program). OIC is presently receiving approximately 80% of its budget from the Administration yet scheduled speakers who were critical of the President (Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Ralph Abernathy, SCLC; Vernon Jordan, National Urban League). We are pursuing, and are in definite need of, assuring future grants, loans, contracts and appointments to serve the Black community in a more positive manner than in the past. Examples of such funding coming back to haunt us is seen in the Model Cities, OMBE and OEO programs.

A calendar of major minority organization conferences for 1972 has been obtained and provides a possible arena for Administration spokesmen.

At the invitation of D.C. Black Republicans, we attended a Black

Republican Caucus committee meeting charged with drafting a policy statement. At the appropriate time this statement will be released to the public.

Following contact with the Nixon Illinois Committee we moved to discourage the RNC's minority specialist from a speaking engagement at a dinner in Chicago -- as it was to raise funds for one of five Black candidates for local office. The Illinois Committee felt it best to avoid choosing sides in the local race.

The National Black Real Estate Association met in Washington and we were in contact with the National President, who is Republican, regarding formation of a Citizens Committee of Realtors.

#### BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

On Tuesday, February 15, we visited Houston, Texas, and discussed in some detail our plan for action with one of the prospective Regional Chairmen of that area.

Also during the past week, we had an extensive conversation with a representative for the Chairman of Region I and the names of their various State and City Chairmen will be forwarded to us for appropriate checks very shortly. In Region IV most of the prospective State and City Chairmen have been selected and checked out. The rest are being reviewed and the organization of this Region is well under way. In Region VII, one State Chairman has been appointed and other appointments will follow soon.

#### ELDERLY

Todd devoted the major share of his efforts to preparation of the special message due March 2nd as well as D.A.C. projects and staff assignments. An additional person has been hired by D.A.C. and Byron Gold has joined Dr. Fleming, so with the exception of a new Deputy Commissioner of AOA, things are settling into place.

The one exception is within the White House itself in that Bud Evans and Vicki Keller each continue to work in an uncoordinated and therefore counterproductive way. This situation may be improving, but it is still far from satisfactory.

Todd also worked on platform input and Convention participation but nothing of substance has occurred as yet.

Todd and Mills met with several state chairmen and generally out-

lined the objectives of our division.

We also continued work on specific demographic research needs (not only for media plans, but for better concentration of field resources, as well) and a detailed guide book for field operations.

Todd worked with HEW and OMB (Gifford) to expedite clearance of Older Americans Act amendments and with Richardson and Cole on prescription drug papers.

There will be a meeting of the Cabinet Committee Thursday, February 24, to finalize:

- a) Prescription Drugs
- b) Level of funding on Nutrition Bill
- c) Integrated services program
- i) Four project manager areas
- e) Older Americans Act amendments
- f) Transfer of DOL Elderly programs to action.

#### JEWISH

Larry Goldberg spent most of the last week in California initiating political activity within the California Jewish community. The first step was a series of meetings in San Francisco and Los Angeles with people who were involved in the 1968 campaign who would serve as a nucleus for the 1972 effort. Emphasis was placed on the fact that there will be much more extensive local political campaigning than in the past and that we are trying to supplement and expand our original supporters.

The meetings in San Francisco were basically held with a small group of key Jewish Republicans and an explanation of programs was made to them. There was agreement that within sixty days, recruitment would progress to the stage where a group large enough to engage in a serious planning effort would be brought together. The planning effort should be completed by July 1 so that activity can begin early in the campaign in a well organized manner.

The Los Angeles meetings were held with a group around Taft Schreiber and Ted Cummings, and there was enthusiastic acceptance of the planned activity. This group came up with a recommendation for a man who could be their chairman in Southern California who is an outstanding Jewish leader and not publicly identified as a Republican. Based on the recommendation, an approach was made and it is hopeful that favorable response can be quickly attained. Here in Los Angeles there is a need to separate fund-raising activities

from vote-getting activities and the thrust of our efforts will be to involve new people in the voter area. There are approximately 525,000 Jews in Southern California and it is a substantial Orthodox and Conservative community which offers good potential. We have practically no contacts in the Orthodox Jewish community, and an effort is being made to establish these contacts.

Meetings were also held with members of the Jewish press and various staff members of the leading Jewish organizations in an attempt to get more information about the community and additional sources for names.

Larry Goldberg's first meeting in California was with Lyn Nofziger who was kept fully informed of contacts and results. A recommendation was made to Nofziger that an event be held in California later in the Spring for all of those who have some leadership role in the campaign in the Jewish community in California. This is necessary because many of the people from San Francisco and San Diego do not know Los Angeles people and there is also some residual bad feeling from some of those involved in 1968. This feeling is not ill will, but, more, a feeling of disappointment and lack of appreciation. This could be a very positive event for the campaign.

#### LEGAL

At the request of Dick Moore we reviewed the February 21, 1972, issue of U.S. News & World Report article entitled "Latest Rules on Campaign Spending" and researched the statement:

"...a presidential candidate may not spend in any one state more than 10 cents multiplied by the voting-age population of that state, on either the primaries or the general election."

Mr. Moore was advised that the statement was in error, and was supplied the correct information.

We reviewed further the RNC contract with Mr. Green, at the request of Mr. Shumway, to estimate damages should we terminate his employment. Mr. Magruder was advised that a conference should be arranged between Mr. Green and his attorney and Messrs. Shumway, Magruder and Liddy.

For the Finance Committee, we reviewed certain statements relating to the Internal Revenue Code in a direct mail piece. They were found to be in error and new language was drafted.

We assembled for Bob Morgan material setting forth the requirements

of the Florida Election Law as it relates to spending on Presidential preference primaries.

We conducted a complete review of all state primary statutes to determine if any action should be taken while the President is out of the country.

Phone calls were made to check recent legislation in each of the primary states. The documentation of candidacy form for the President to file for the New Mexico primary was prepared.

#### POLITICAL

Harry Flemming met with Warne Nunn, Executive Director of the Oregon Committee, to discuss his progress in organizing that state for the May 23 primary. In addition he met with the political leadership of the States of Washington and Alaska to line up our organization in both of those states.

Al Kaupinen traveled to Oklahoma and Iowa to meet with the party leadership and the potential Nixon chairmen there.

#### PR/MEDIA

Art Amolsch helped get out a letter package to 75 prominent Jewish periodicals about Nixon's concern over the "plight" of Soviet Jews. The Middle East portion of the State of the World Report was included in the package.

Amolsch wrote a 20-minute speech for Paul Jones to give at the Lincoln-Douglas Day Dinner in Atlanta, Georgia. He has drafted a letter for Senator Goldwater to send to the Republicans who have written to the White House suspending their support of President Nixon.

After attending the Pennsylvania Committee announcement on Capitol Hill with Van Shunway, Amolsch secured reports on media usage and attendance. The following stations were there and carried the announcement: KYW (Phila.), WPVI (Phila.), WIIC (Pitts.), KDKA (Pitts.), and WPI Radio (Phila.). Art wrote the press release announcing Art Linkletter's appearance at the New Hampshire rally to be held on March 3. The formation of the Iowa Committee for the Re-election of the President as well as Nixon endorsements by prominent Iowa state leaders were written up as press releases.

Van Shunway met with Arlen Specter, of Senator Scott's office, to discuss the Pennsylvania Committee announcement. He spoke with

Martin Janis about his role in the Illinois primary, discussed California politics with Bob Finch and clarified Zan Thompson's role in the California campaign.

Shumway met with Jim Gannon of the Wall Street Journal to discuss upcoming interviews that Mr. Gannon was conducting with the division heads of the Committee. Mr. Shumway also talked with Jim Fentress of Time, giving him a general run down of campaign activities.

Tom Girard spoke with Don Oberdorfer of the Washington Post and Lyle Denniston of the Washington Star about President Nixon's victory in the mock election at the New Hampshire Technical Institute. As a result, the Star printed a story of it. Girard also spoke with Roger Gittines of the Washington Monthly. Gittines is writing about newsmen who move into politics and also may interview Ken Clawson.

Frank Leonard completed The Nixon Years draft. He has discussed plans for a White House requested souvenir book of the President's remarks at a Cabinet dinner on January 20. Mr. Leonard has also completed the mechanicals for the PRESS DIRECTOR'S HANDBOOK.

Dave Allen acquired and passed on information and ideas for a possible response to Lindsay's position on various issues. He provided suggestions for responding to DNC newsletter issued on the eve of the President's departure. Analysing Kennedy's trip to Bangladesh, Dave provided information on the issue of diplomatic recognition that Kennedy will raise in his Subcommittee on Refugees.

Girard and Shumway continued working on the David Green situation. A memorandum for the Attorney General was written on this subject. Tom Girard also met with Gary Sukow and Paul Theis of the PR staff of the RNC, and Van Shumway met with Tom Evans, of RNC, and Jeb Magruder to determine how to approach the David Green situation.

#### SPANISH SPEAKING

Other than the general briefing sessions listed below the major portion of time has been spent in the preparation of a campaign plan.

Briefings were held at the Committee with various section heads.

Briefings were also held with:

Manolo Reyes - Cuban Community  
Manny Villalobos - Texas Community  
Henry Ramirez - Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People

Esualdo Vega - New York and Puerto Rican Community  
Gilberto Campa - New York and Puerto Rican Community  
Joanne Wagner - The White House - Banuelos' Project  
Silvestre Gonzales - California-Mexican American Community  
Jose Toro - Puerto Rican Community  
Lazlo Pastor - Republican National Committee-Nationalities  
Division  
William Marumoto - Staff Assistant to the President  
A. F. Rodriguez - The White House - Consultant  
Carlos Donde - The White House - Communications  
Ray Romero - Business Opportunities and Development Division  
Phillip Sanchez - Office of Economic Opportunity  
Thomas Kleppe - Small Business Administration

#### SPOKESMEN

The Spokesmen Resources Division commenced intensive preparation for the Appreciation Day rally in Manchester, New Hampshire, on March 3. Mr. and Mrs. Jack Meyers, of Beverly Hills, California, agreed to stage and produce the rally. (Mr. and Mrs. Myers were instrumental in the production of the Honor America Day ceremonies in Washington, D.C. on July 4, 1971.) In addition, various individuals have agreed to set up the audio and lighting systems, to act as political advancement and to act as on-site coordinators for the press and media. Mr. Charles Stafford has, at the request of Gov. Dwinell, agreed to act as Chairman of the Appreciation Day. We met with Mr. Stafford and advised him how to organize his committees. Mr. Stafford, Mr. and Mrs. Meyers, and our advancement are now organizing the activities and program for the day.

The preparation also commenced for the Appreciation Day rally in Miami, Florida, on March 9. We plan to meet with the suggested producer (Mr. Bill Long of Orlando) and with the proposed state co-chairmen (Steve Nostrand and Cy Young) on February 24.

A number of individuals were interviewed for the positions of assistant scheduler and Director of "Athletes for the President". The "Athletes for the President" proposal will be submitted this week.

#### WOMEN

A Speakers Bureau, presently listing wives of Cabinet and Little Cabinet members, has been formed by Pat Hutar at the suggestion of Jeb Magruder. All the Cabinet wives and other distinguished women will receive a personal call from Pat Hutar to ascertain their avail-

labiality for speaking and appearances only with no speaking and availability to travel.

The wives of the Little Cabinet members will be surveyed by Mrs. Mary Beggs whose husband is Under Secretary, Department of Transportation. Staff members Nancy Steorts and Nancy Blair, at present, will have the responsibility for scheduling speakers and all details after the initial contact by Pat Hutar.

Periodically, Anne Armstrong, Connie Armitage and Pat Hutar will meet to coordinate and communicate directly on their respective campaign efforts. The first meeting was held at the Republican National Committee where the RNC early registration drive was discussed along with activity reports from the Federation and the Re-election Committee.

Barbara Franklin and Pat Hutar met to discuss a number of subjects related to women generally in the campaign and to utilization of women appointees specifically in the campaign. Her staff is surveying the availability of women appointees for political speeches. This is a gray area even when there are no legal restraints since the nature of several agencies, departments and commissions must be taken into consideration.

A meeting was held with Obie O'Brien, South Dakota Re-election Committee Chairman. The two women he has selected as vice chairmen are well-qualified. Dode Lee and Pat Hutar have a good working relationship through serving together on the NFRW Board.

An idea for the Wisconsin Primary related to special promotion of telephone calls on a personal basis to friends was presented. The plan is for Mrs. John Mitchell to launch the program at a women's luncheon, March 15, scheduled by the Wisconsin Re-election Committee. A promotional/instructional brochure outlining the plan will be at each person's place.

Hauser had substantial press interviews with Robert Crater for feature stories in Sunday papers, February 20, throughout Ohio. She appeared on TV and held press interviews in Louisville, Kentucky on Friday, February 18.

#### VOTERS' RIGHTS (BALLOT SECURITY)

To date eleven states have named chairmen to handle Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) for their states. New additions since our last report are:

Nebraska

- Robert J. Kutlak

South Carolina - James E. Duffy

South Dakota - Steven Jorgenson

Rendel Myers of Colorado, who has been recommended as chairman for his state, has been contacted; and we are awaiting his reply as to whether he will accept this assignment.

Met with the Texas Voters' Rights chairman, Allan Rash, and the regional chairmen appointed by him on Saturday, February 18 in Austin.

The all-day meeting centered around discussion of the particular voting problems of the various regions in Texas (e.g., voter registration duplication in Dallas and alien voting in elections in border regions); and implementation of a ballot security plan through the use of well-trained poll watchers, justifiable litigation and publicity (especially, advanced publicity to forestall ballot "stealing" on election day).

The Texas group is looking to the national Committee for possible funding of this state-wide project and legal assistance to determine alien registration.

As previously mentioned, we plan to attend the meeting on Voters' Rights (Ballot Security) to be held in Albany, New York, on Saturday, February 26.

#### YOUTH

Our efforts are aimed at supplying people for the telephone program. We are furnishing all the volunteers for the Lebanon and Dover headquarters and about 1/3 of the volunteers at Concord. A minimum of 500 young people will attend the rally on March 3 and work all day on the 4th.

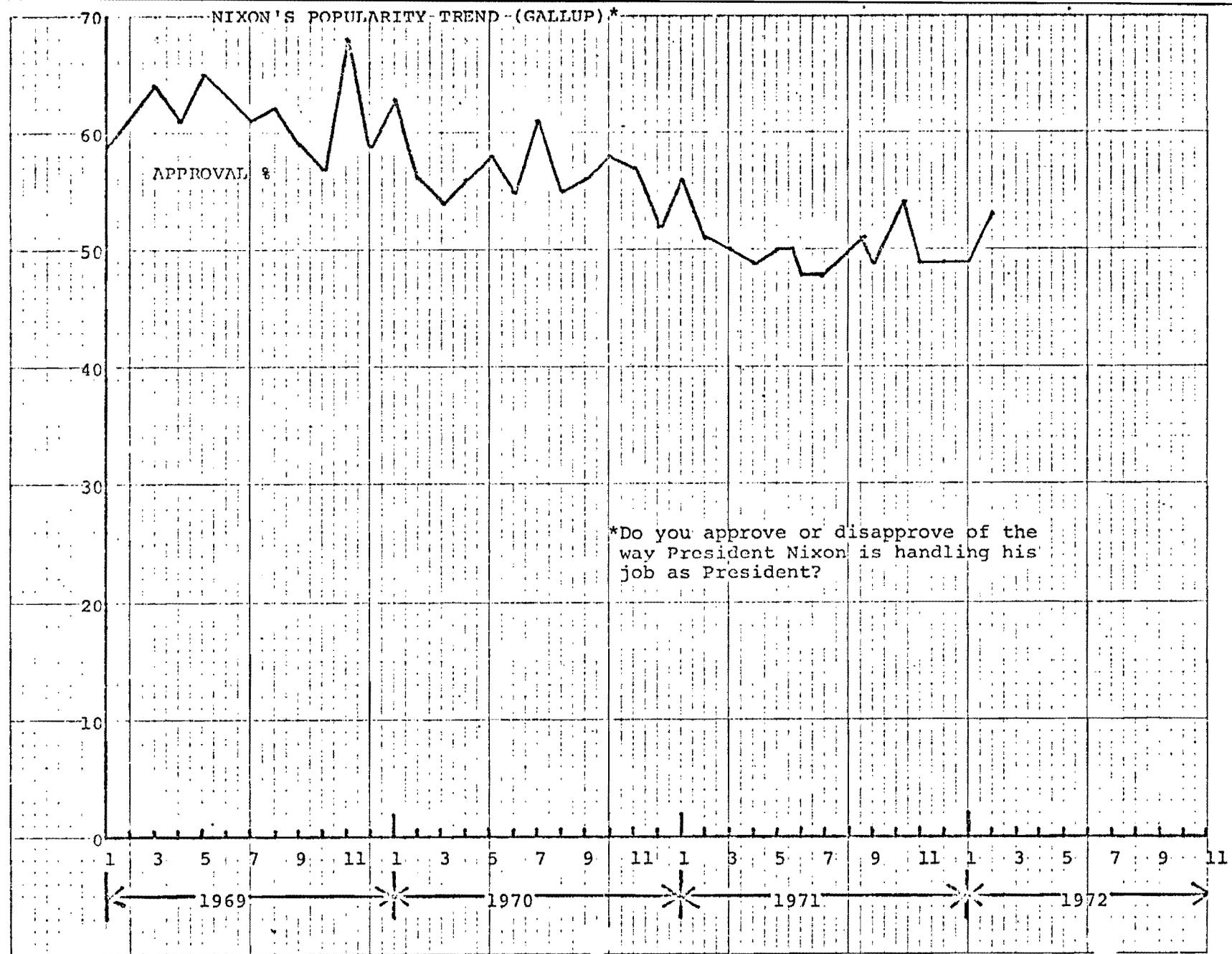
Through sources in the senior advisory boards of vocational education groups, Ken Smith has generated invitations to individuals within the Administration who can discuss the accomplishments of the Administration to vocational education conventions.

#### RESEARCH AND STRATEGY

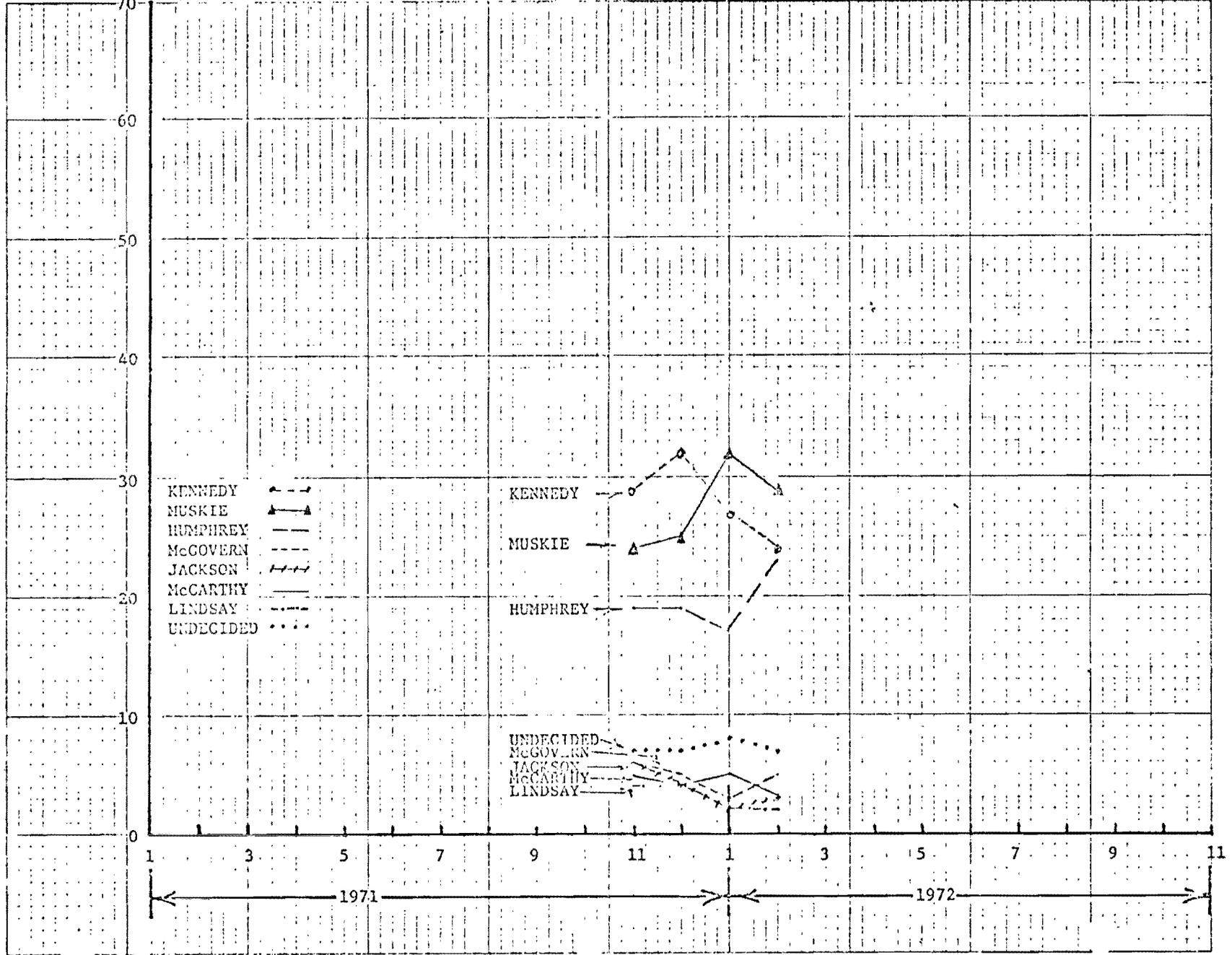
Attached are updated charts showing the trend of the President's approval rating (Callup) and the choice of party nominee among Democrats (Callup).

The objective of the first New Hampshire mailing was to create an awareness of the President's candidacy in the Primary, and to ask for the voter's support. In addition, the mailing contained a reply card through which the voter could volunteer his time.

A very low key appeal was made for funds on the same card. The attached chart shows the pattern of responses to date. Total responses represent approximately 1% of the mailing. Slightly over one-quarter of the replies were from people volunteering their time. The remainder were financial contributions. The average contribution has been about \$9.00. Total contributions are over \$5,600, representing approximately one-third of the cost of the mailing.



DEMOCRATIC VOTER CHOICE OF DEMOCRATS (GALLOP)



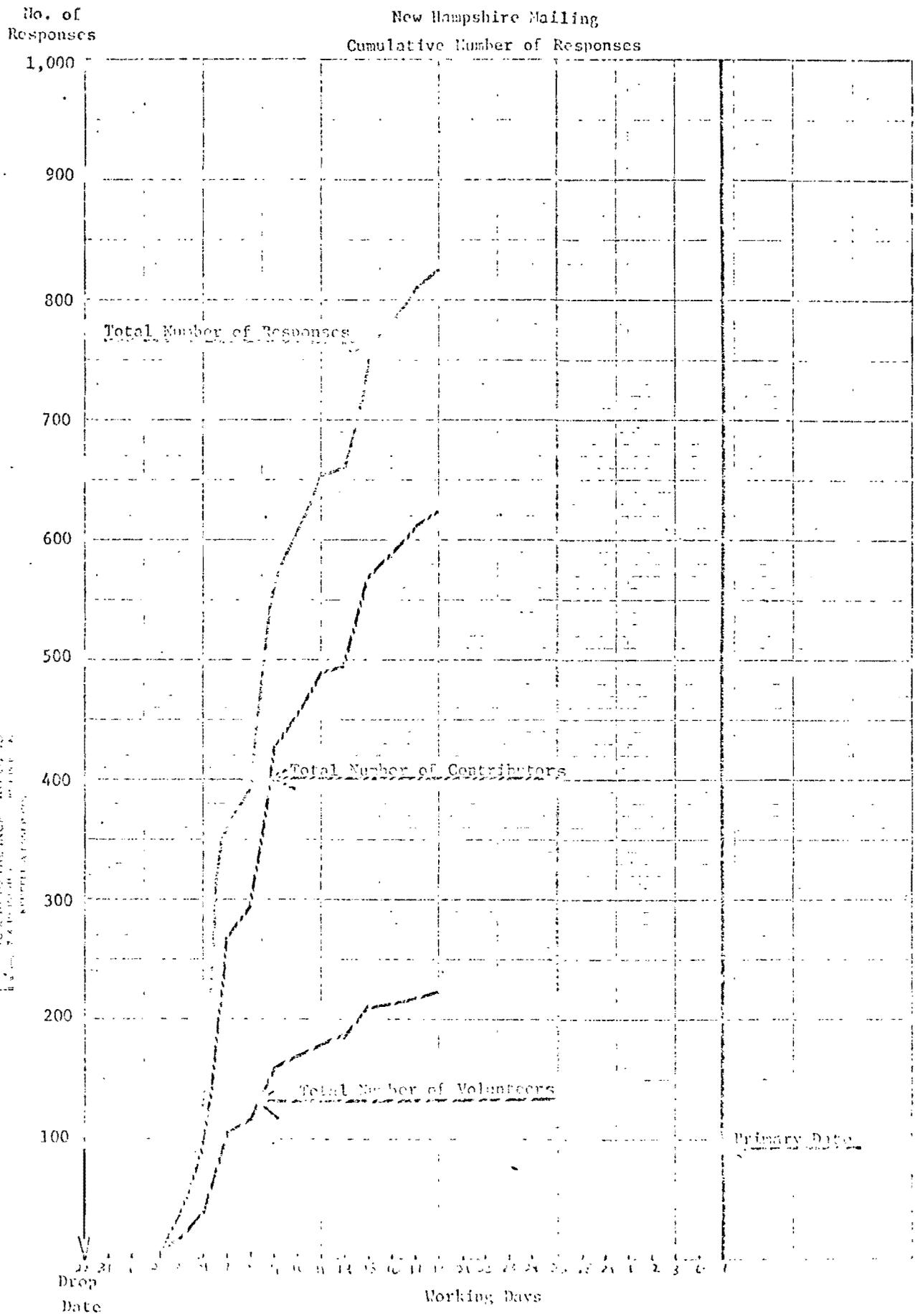


FIGURE 18.10. IN THE INCOME REPORT AT THE END OF THE PERIOD.