

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
 Contested Materials Collection
 Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
18	3	9/11/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Higby RE: the updated draft of a stump speech. Handwritten notes added by unknown parties. 1 pg.
18	3	7/13/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Keogh RE: the use of RN quotations in Congressional race speeches. 1 pg.
18	3	9/23/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Buchanan RE: a new draft of a stump speech for Congressional candidates. (Duplicates not scanned.) 1 pg.
18	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Letter	From Kevin Phillips to Mitchell RE: an announcement on welfare. Information on Congressional races in various states, as well as advice on the Young Republicans and Vice President Agnew, attached. 13 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>
18	3	8/18/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Ruwe RE: RN's plans for Cabinet Officers in the 1970 midterm elections. 3 pgs.
18	3	8/14/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Petersmeyer to Chotiner RE: the 1970 Democratic Campaign Manual. 1 pg.
18	3	8/8/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Higby to Haldeman RE: Flemming's copy of the Democratic Campaign Manual for 1970. 1 pg.
18	3	8/5/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Report	From Higby to Safire and Buchanan RE: the possible use of Leonard as a consultant. 1 pg.
18	3	7/29/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: the decision to lay off Frank Leonard. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
18	3	7/28/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Dent RE: an attached document. Handwritten response added by Dent. 1 pg.
18	3	7/24/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Buchanan and Safire to Haldeman RE: the Republican National Committee's decision to fire Frank Leonard. 1 pg.
18	3	7/28/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Higby to Dent RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
18	3	7/24/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	Copy of a memo from Buchanan and Safire to Haldeman RE: the Republican National Committee's decision to fire Frank Leonard. 1 pg.
18	3	8/4/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: the state of Senate races in Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada. 5 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>
18	3	7/25/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Mitchell RE: various campaign issues and the status of key Congressional races. 3 pgs.
18	3	7/14/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Nofziger to Haldeman RE: Democrats and the State Department. Handwritten notes added by unknown parties. 1 pg.
18	3	7/14/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: Wyoming and Minnesota in the 1970 midterm elections. 1 pg.
18	3	7/13/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Copy of a memo from Haldeman to Dent RE: Wisconsin. 1 pg.
18	3	7/14/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: a recall in a California Congressional race. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
18	3	7/9/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: a meeting with Chotiner and Dent on the midterm elections. Handwritten notes on original added by unknown. 1 pg.
18	3	7/6/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: Chotiner's possible appearance at an "off the record club." Handwritten note added by Haldeman. 1 pg.
18	3	6/19/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Copy of a letter from Charles A. McManus to Chotiner RE: Chotiner's invitation to an Off-The-Record Club meeting. 1 pg.
18	3	6/25/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Haldeman to Chotiner RE: a quotation given by Chotiner used in the "Washington Post." Blind carbon copy note to Finch included. 2 pgs.
18	3	6/18/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newspaper	Copy of a "Washington Post" article titled "Chotiner Sees '70 Gains In GOP Senate Races," written by Ken W. Clawson. 2 pgs.

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18	3	6/9/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Dent to Haldeman RE: Jim Martin's aspirations for the governorship of Alabama. Handwritten notes added by unknown parties. 1 pg.
18	3	5/13/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Copy of a memo from Dent to Haldeman RE: Lyn Nofziger and Ronald Reagan in the 1970 campaign. Handwritten note added by Haldeman on original. 1 pg.
18	3	5/8/1970	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Copy of a letter from Ronald Reagan to Dent RE: the use of Lyn Nofziger in the campaign in California. 1 pg.
18	3		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	Copy of a short note from Chotiner to Dent RE: California and Lyn Nofziger. 1 pg.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

de
9/25

L
Have you done this?
G

✓

September 11, 1970

Stump Speech

MEMORANDUM FOR :

MR. HIGBY

What's happened to the project to get a hard, tough, stump-speech done. The original one that's in here was considered not strong enough and Buchanan was supposed to be doing another draft.

The Vice President's Springfield speech, together with the suggestions for minor revisions in it that I dictated yesterday might be the basis for this, but so far I haven't seen any draft on it and we need to get something in quickly. This should be in no later than Monday for the President's approval and then dissemination immediately to the candidates.

H. R. HALDEMAN



Brown

~~7/19~~

7/24

July 13, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. KEOGH

What has happened on the project to pull out the good quotes from Nixon's speeches and use them to develop a good basic stump speech for Congressmen and Senators in the Campaign?

The theme through these should all be either elect a new Congress or elect a Conservative Congress, depending on the district, and there should be major emphasis on supporting the President.

All of the candidates will do better according to the poll information we have if they take the support the President line, than they will if they take the Republican Party line.

H. R. HALDEMAN

HRH:pm

September 23, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. BUCHANAN
FROM : L. HIGBY

Bob would like the candidates' stump speech redone. It is the feeling that the original was not strong enough and Buchanan should do another draft.

The Vice President's Springfield's speech together with suggestions for minor revisions that Bob dictated in a memorandum to Harlow (copy attached).

LH:pm
cc: Jim Keogh

KEVIN P. PHILLIPS
5115 MOORLAND LANE
BETHESDA, MARYLAND

(301)654-7128

Sunday

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Per my last letter, some further enclosures.
Please let me know any further details you might have when
you get back.

I was disgusted to hear that welfare announcement.
As you might imagine, I have a few more columns' worth of opinion
on that mess.

As before, I hope that this finds you with time
enough for golf, and that you and Mrs. Mitchell have been
enjoying your West Coast stay.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Kevin".

Re: Maine

In 1964, Senator Muskie won re-election by a vote of 253,000 to 127,000. This success was considerably swollen by a) heavy straight Democratic voting by Republicans in protest against the Goldwater candidacy, and b) the staying at home of 10-20% of the Yankee Republican electorate who couldn't bear the thought of choosing between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Under these circumstances - and despite a steady registration trend to the Democrats - Muskie is unlikely to do so well as in 1964. The enclosed xerox of a mid-August poll of Yankees in Hancock County, Maine, shows Muskie down from his 1964 lead over the GOP candidate. The reason: a combination of trending away from Muskie (mostly by persons who cast protest ballots in 1964) and heavier voting by Yankee Republicans who stayed home in 1964. This is not a big trend, but it is a factor nevertheless.

Muskie's 66% of the vote will probably slip to the 60% range because of the above trends and a lighter-than-presidential year turnout in the Catholic milltowns that fuel Maine Democratic pluralities. However there seems little doubt that Muskie will be re-elected handily.

It would not seem wise for the Administration to look like it is too interested in the Maine race. GOP candidate Bishop should be given personal ammunition against Muskie, so that when the results are totaled and Muskie wins, say, by 91,000 votes and 61% of the total, nobody is embarrassed by too much intervention but at the same time, there will be grounds to spread the word that the bloom is off Muskie's appeal.

The enclosed poll shows that the "Southern Strategy" is very unpopular among Maine's Yankee Republicans, 55% of whom think that the Administration pays too much attention to the South. The Machiasport situation and Bath shipyards contract are particularly embarrassing. If any oil free trade zones are to be announced shortly, it would be useful to do so before the election.

Another useful idea might be a "Northern New England Regional Commission" like that for Appalachia. Industrial obsolescence and redundancy is cruel in upper New England - towns with 10-20% unemployment are common - and such a move would be well-received. It would also provide a rebuttal to the "Southern Strategy" innuendo, and also help bolster 1972 prospects in the one part of New England that is winnable. Prouty and Bishop would be bolstered.

Some kind of ethnic appeal or cultural recognition should be extended to upper New England's French-Canadians; that would really be hitting the Democrats from the rear.

1970 Maine Election Questionnaire

1. For whom do you plan to vote in November's Senate election? (Circle one.)
A) Edmund Muskie (Democrat) ^{45%} B) Neil Bishop (Republican) ^{50%} Don't Know - 5%
2. For whom did you vote when Edmund Muskie last ran for the Senate in 1964? (Circle one.)
A) For Muskie ^{38%} B) For his Republican opponent ^{32%} C) Don't know/Didn't vote* ^{30%}
3. Whom did you support for President in 1968? (Circle one.)
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) ^{70%} B) Hubert Humphrey (Democrat) ^{23%}
C) George Wallace (Independent), Don't know, Didn't vote — 7%
4. Whom did you support for President in 1960? (Circle one.)
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) John F. Kennedy (Democrat)
C) Don't know/Didn't vote
5. Do you plan to vote for President Nixon in 1972? (Circle one.)
A) Yes ^{50%} B) No ^{17%} C) Don't know ^{33%}
6. Do you think that the Nixon Administration pays too much attention to the South and not enough to New England? (Circle one.)
A) Yes ^{55%} B) No ^{33%} C) Don't know ^{12%}

* Many Yankee Republicans in Maine did not vote in 1964 because of distaste for both Goldwater and Johnson

poll of 42 random-selected
Yankees, Hancock Co. (Down East) Maine
Aug 10-15.

Re: Tennessee

Analysis of the Tennessee primary vote suggests that Congressman Bill Brock is a probable victor over Albert Gore.

Tennessee can be divided politically into three parts (see enclosure). Brock will carry Republican East Tennessee by a large majority, Dixiecrat (and anti-Gore) West Tennessee by a small majority, and lose moderate Middle Tennessee, but not by enough to elect Gore.

The key to Tennessee victory is the Wallace vote. The bulk of it appears to have gone against Gore in the primary, and the state's Wallace Party leaders are vehemently anti-Gore. Social issues continue to outweigh economic issues.

Brock's major weakness is his economic conservatism. Were it not for Gore's record of unSouthernism and unpatriotism, Brock's economic record could be fatal. This can be approached from several directions.

- A) Appalachia - Brock voted against the Appalachia program which is important to East Tennessee. Tex Ritter used this issue with some effect in the primary, giving Gore some juicy anti-Brock quotes. Brock should find a way to equivocate on Appalachia, or come up with some programmatic alternative to justify his "no" vote. One idea: that the Appalachia program does not include all poor parts of Tennessee, leaving out the Tennessee River counties in the west-central part of the state, as well as other poor areas, and therefore urge a broader program that helps all needy Tennessee areas.
- B) Conservative Voting Record on Social Security, Medicare, Income Tax, etc - Brock should prepare immediately, for heavy distribution in all poor sections of the state, one page handbills explaining in simple language how he has supported Social Security, Medicare, tax reform and cheap power (TVA) and pledging even more effort in the future.

Most of Tennessee's country and western music stars were active in Tex Ritter's primary campaign. They have not yet come around to Brock (nor to Gore). For one thing, neither Brock nor Gore has supported the music industry with respect to certain copyright and other objectives they have. Inasmuch as the country music people can be of tremendous assistance with Wallace-leaning voters in the South and Border states in this campaign and that of 1972, I strongly recommend that their desires be ascertained and granted to the maximum feasible extent. This year, they could be of great assistance in Tennessee, Florida and Texas, where country and western musicians are a major campaign asset (especially to take the edge off country club types like Brock and Bush).

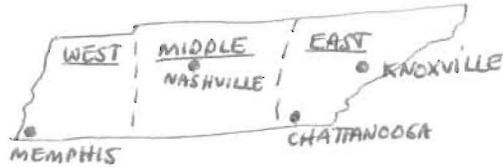
Albert Gore can be expected to campaign against Brock with a never-ending stream of folksy gibes and populist economics, but Gore's cocktail party liberalism offers a chance to rebut his folksy image. Brock's office

has already responded favorably to the suggestion that the society pages of the Washington newspapers be researched back to 1965 for a complete list of the parties attended by Gore, the menu (the Frenchier the better) and the society types and Northern liberals in attendance. This way, Gore's "common touch" can be rebutted; if Brock cannot play this sort of game well himself, then a surrogate candidate should hit at Gore's liberal society circuitry.

Key area not to bother with "unSouthern" policies - West Tennessee (see map).

A last point to make regards Tennessee GOP factionalism. The East Tennessee counties that opposed Brock in the primary are old Baker organization strongholds. Presumably they will be okay in the general election because Brock's people now feel that Baker is cooperating, but it might be useful for the message to be passed to Baker that people will be watching for the usual GOP majorities in the First Congressional district strongholds.

Finally, I would not recommend that the Vice-President go to Tennessee. Outside interference does not seem necessary, and there is the chance that Gore could stir up sympathy and/or a backlash. The Vice-President could do the job just as well by saying that he's not going to Tennessee because he thinks the people down their "can kill their own skunk themselves."

The Political Regions of Tennessee

East Tennessee is solidly Republican; Brock just needs the usual majority and should get it. In Middle and West Tennessee, much of the anti-Gore primary vote should go to Brock - many of the voters will be Wallaceites - and that should do it. The heavy Brock primary vote and anti-Gore primary vote in West Tennessee suggests that Brock will be able to forge a majority in that section, albeit a fairly small one. If so, then his East Tennessee majority can be expected to exceed Gore's Middle Tennessee majority and he will win. Needless to say, the fulcrum of anti-Gore feeling in Western Tennessee is social, racial and regional.

Past Votes and 1970 Projections by Region

	West Tennessee	Middle Tennessee	East Tennessee	State
Kuykendall (1964)	21,000 Demo. Majority	111,000 Demo. Majority	55,000 Rep. Majority	77,000 Demo.
Baker (1966)	7,000 Rep. Majority	28,000 Demo. Majority	125,000 Rep. Majority	99,000 Rep.
GOP-Crockett Primary Lead Over Gore (1970)	56,000 Combined	26,000 Combined	88,000 Combined	
Projected Brock	10-25,000 Rep. Majority *	35-50,000 Demo. Majority	75-100,000 Rep. Majority	25-90,000 Rep. M

* Unusual GOP strength in West Tennessee anticipated because of a) intensity of "Southern"-based enmity towards Gore and b) local popularity of Brock runningmate Winfield Dunn, who played major role in building GOP in West Tennessee's Shelby County (Memphis)

Re: The Vermont Senate Race

Six years ago, Winston Prouty won election to a second term by a margin of 88,000 to 76,000. This year he faces a much stronger candidate, former governor Philip Hoff, and polls indicate the election will be tight.

A comparison of Prouty's 1964 vote with Hoff's 1966 gubernatorial victory suggests that the two men will be fighting for an independent and liberal Republican electorate based in the cities and larger towns. Many of these people voted for Prouty in 1964 but Hoff in 1966. Indeed, Hoff's gains over the Democrat who ran against Prouty correlate with the vote cast in the 1966 GOP gubernatorial primary for a liberal Republican (defeated). Liberal Republican and independent votes hold the key to a Hoff or Prouty victory.

Signs of liberal Republican breakaway in the November election are already building. The incumbent lieutenant-governor, Tom Hayes, is the liberal Republican who was defeated in the 1966 primary. This year, he is again running for governor in the GOP primary and he threatens to bolt if he doesn't make it, calling incumbent Governor Davis a captive of big business. Prouty would be affected by a liberal bolt against Davis.

Prouty is running almost at 1964 levels in the small Yankee towns, a good sign (see enclosed poll). Hoff is not going to do nearly as well in these areas as he did in 1966.

But the Prouty problem will lie in the liberal Republican areas: Bennington and vicinity, Brattleboro, Rutland, areas of Burlington, Barre and some of the major towns.

To this end:

Suggestions

1. Congressman Robert Stafford, a moderate with great appeal (especially in his home area - Rutland) should be induced to campaign for Prouty, especially in the urban areas of southern Vermont.
2. Lieutenant governor Hayes, who has no financial safe harbor to shelter in after his likely defeat, should receive a talking-to about a federal job or future in order to prevent a damaging break on his part with Governor Davis (which could not help but extend to Prouty).
3. Prouty should be given any possible federal contracts or awards to make affecting Burlington or urban south Vermont.
4. The College Young Republicans should be geared up for a Prouty effort in south Vermont (where affluent intelligentsia liberalism is on the upswing) to counteract the image of Prouty as a crusty old Yankee with no youth appeal. This is one area where college campaigners could be a major boost.

5. It does not look like Vermont is going to be too hard-pressed by this winter's oil shortage, but it would be good for the President to go to New England for some fuel re-assurance conference or something in which he could a) demonstrate intense concern; b) announce some new import program; or c) announce a new way of handling the import quotas to be allowed so that the import tickets are not just bonuses to Big Oil but go where they will do the most good. An oil extravaganza (public-relationswise) oriented towards New England consumers would be a good idea now that the oil interests have been re-assured of retention of the quota system. This would also affect Maine, Mass and Conn.

6. The French Canadian vote in upper New England is taken for granted by the Democrats at a 6, 8 and 10-1 ratio. It is worth trying to break up. The Vice President could profitably add French Canadians to his list along with Chicanos and Indians; they are in little better shape throughout parts of New England. A little cultural attention and recognition would go a long way.

Speakers

I don't think out-of-state speakers serve the purpose in Vermont. The best thing for Prouty would be strong assistance from Stafford (and Aiken, of course, if he would).

Re: Vermont (Addendum)

Prouty's office people advise that they have received no financial aid from White House or national party, and that some of their contributors are holding up until Washington gives the word.

They further state that the Prouty campaign is not yet really organized, while Democrat Hoff has a tightly-knit, effective organization.

Jack Gleason is out of town but will advise re Prouty funds problem/lack of coordination.

1970 Vermont Election Questionnaire

1. For whom do you plan to vote in November's Senate election? (Circle one.)
A) Winston Prouty (Republican) ^{84%} B) Philip Hoff (Democrat) ^{13%} Don't know - 3%
2. For whom did you vote when Winston Prouty last ran for the Senate in 1964? (Circle one.)
A) For Prouty ^{84%} B) For his Democratic opponent ^{7%} C) Don't know/Didn't vote ^{9%}
3. For whom did you vote when Philip Hoff last ran for Governor in 1966? (Circle one.)
A) For Hoff ^{26%} B) For his Republican opponent ^{61%} C) Didn't vote ^{13%}
4. Whom did you support for President in 1968? (Circle one.)
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) ^{87%} B) Hubert Humphrey (Democrat) ^{10%}
C) George Wallace (Independent), Don't know - Didn't Vote - 3%
5. Whom did you support for President in 1960? (Circle one.)
A) Richard Nixon (Republican) B) John F. Kennedy (Democrat)
C) Don't know/Didn't vote
6. Do you plan to vote for President Nixon in 1972? (Circle one.)
A) Yes ^{71%} B) No ^{10%} C) Don't know ^{19%}
7. Do you think that the Nixon Administration pays too much attention to the South and not enough to New England? (Circle one.)
A) Yes ^{19%} B) No ^{65%} C) Don't know ^{16%}

mid-August poll of Yankee voters (non-Yankees excluded)
in Orange County, Vt., the state's
banner GOP county

(Sample - 34 random-selected
Yankee voters, all Orange County towns)

To: JNM

Re: North Dakota, New Mexico, Utah
Senate races; youth effort therein

I strongly believe in the enclosed project outlined by Morton Blackwell (Executive Director of the College Young Republicans) to mobilize local, home-state student manpower in these three races where a few thousand votes could make the difference.

Morton tells me that the President had a long conversation a month or so ago with Rob Pollack, President of the College YRs, in which he said that he wants the college YRs to get into the Senate races. These would be the most productive.

According to Morton, topflight references for this type of effort can be had from Louie and Lee Nunn, Bob Hitt (RNC) and Charlton Lyons, among others.

The YRs are already starting their operation in New Mexico and they have worked out tentative arrangements with Burton's people in Utah, but they need guarantees that the money to pay organizers will be available - and they need to know as soon as possible so that the organizers can be sent in.

The total cost would be about \$20,000, and in my opinion worth more than a quarter of a million dollars worth of Harry Treleaven commercials. At present, they just don't have the money - and that is why White House intervention is necessary.

If this can be approved, it would be useful to have one of Haldeman's people tell Blackwell as soon as possible.

As I said, I think that Blackwell is a very capable individual and knows what he is doing.

Re: Young Republican Campaign Effort

With the enthusiastic cooperation of the New Mexico and Utah candidate's organizations, Morton Blackwell of the national YR's is already out in the two states laying the groundwork for a substantial youth effort on behalf of Burton and Carter.

The operation can be extended quickly to North Dakota as per the previously submitted blueprint, but they will need guarantees of financing before the necessary commitments can be undertaken.

Re: Agnew Scheduling

Apart from any local organizational vicissitudes, the following is a general suggestion of chilly ideological climates viz a foray by the Vice-President.

Probably unproductive: Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Minnesota, Hawaii, Rhode Island

Dubious: Connecticut, New York, Michigan, Oregon, Washington

In general, Agnew should be used in places where the Administration is trying to tap a Southern-type or blue-collar Democratic trend to the GOP. Thus the ruling out of the first seven.

Specific states where Agnew would help Senate candidates are Indiana (to counter Roudebush's increasing irritation of conservatives); Texas (to bolster Bush's rightist appeal); Illinois (to bolster Smith among Chicago area law and order ethnics); Maryland (to bolster Beall in Baltimore area, especially Baltimore County); California and Florida; and conceivably New Jersey if he can be zeroed in on the Catholic industrial/backlash areas.

Agnew would seem useful, but for less specific reasons, in the Rocky Mountain states, North Dakota and Alaska - ~~useful~~ more for publicity purposes/media coverage of local campaign.

He would be useful in Missouri if Danforth looks like he has a prayer; Ohio is questionable, depending on Taft's feelings; and Delaware would not be negatively affected.

Pol

August 18, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. RUWE

In a meeting yesterday afternoon the President outlined some of his thoughts regarding the planning for Cabinet Officers political activity.

He felt that each visit of a Cabinet Officer to a given area should include the following basic events:

1. Arrive in time to do a backgrounder with the major papers and television stations in the area. This would be with editors, publishers, news directors and general managers.
2. Determine the best statewide or area-wide television talk show and arrange to get on it for hopefully a half-hour interview. The basic rule here should always be that the interview, if it is taped, must be taped to the full length that is to be played on the air and not any more. In other words, don't give a station the opportunity to edit the tape.
3. There should always be a press conference with television coverage. This would be in contrast to the backgrounder mentioned in item one above, which would be off-the-record while the press conference would, of course, be on-the-record.
4. The least important item on the whole schedule would be the public event - a dinner, rally, or whatever, and it should not be televised.

5. After the main event there should be always a private party for the twenty or thirty top finance people and it is extremely important that this always be done.
6. If a candidate has the money to utilize it, the Cabinet Officer should do a TV film spot for him and time should be allowed in his schedule for this.

In addition to the above we should look of course, as we always have, for color stuff on a non-political basis that fits with the Cabinet Officer's particular personal or administrative strengths.

Also a meeting should be held for a Cabinet Officer to brief all of the Congressional candidates in the area. In other words, the appearance will probably be in behalf of a Senator but all of the available Congressional candidates should be brought in and given some play also.

Needless to say, in all of the above events the candidates should accompany the Cabinet Officer.

The need for advancement to get a full set of briefing material from the National Committee and the Campaign Committees was emphasized.

It is also very important to provide each of the speakers with a one-minute text of the best thing for him to say about the candidate so that we keep hammering one line.

You should look for group meetings in hotels, conventions, etc., where the Cabinet Officer can drop by very briefly to greet the people and get the mileage out of that.

Mr. Ruwe

- 3 -

August 18, 1980

There should always be a coffee or something of that sort for the campaign workers, preferably the next morning. This would include precinct workers, the YR's, the women, etc.

In all Cabinet Officer appearances, we must insist that the candidate bring in his defeated primary opponent, if there is one, so that we can use this visit to build party unity.

H. R. HALDEMAN

cc: Mr. Finch

bcc: distribution:

Harlow - 3
Klein
Chapin
Dent
Chotiner
Dick Howard
Magruder

HRH:cg

August 14, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CHOTINER
FROM: Gregg Petersmeyer

Mr. Haldeman asked that I forward the attached Democratic Campaign Manual for 1970 to you. It was obtained through surreptitious means by Harry Flemming.

Bob thought you might want to review it and pass on any pertinent information to appropriate members of the White House staff or to our friends on the outside.

Thank you.

GP:cg

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: L. HIGBY 

Through surreptitious means Harry Flemming has been able to come across a copy of the Democratic Campaign Manual for 1970. I would recommend that you forward copies of it to Dent and Chotiner for appropriate perusal. Perhaps you might also like to have the rest of the political group to take a look at it.

Anyway here it is.

August 5, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : BILL SAFIRE
 PAT BUCHANAN

FROM : L. HIGBY

Bob reviewed your memorandum on Frank Leonard and forwarded it for comment to Harry Dent. Apparently the planned removal of Leonard has gone ahead and it was Dent's feeling that there wasn't really too much we could do about this.

Bob suggested the two of you might wish to consider talking directly to Morton or Allison and see if they would be amenable to keeping Leonard as a consultant, probably at a reduced salary.

This is not meant to be construed as an endorsement of Leonard, but merely a suggestion of how the problem might be solved.

LH:pm

cc: Harry Dent

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1970

*Bud / Sophie -
Tell to Morton
can cancel up
paying so much*

TO: Bob Haldeman
FROM: Harry Dent *HSD*

Rogers Morton and Jim Allison have let Frank Leonard go as the editor of The Republican and Monday and they have replaced him with a young man from the Congressional Campaign Committee staff. He is the man who has been putting out Bob Wilson's weekly newsletter. His name is John Lofton.

Some of our people at the White House have been particularly concerned about Leonard and Leonard has called me himself. He wants to make sure that you and the President know this has occurred.

Morton is doing this in furtherance of the economy program ordered by the White House. Leonard was getting approximately \$30,000 per year for what they considered to be two days worth of work per week commuting back and forth to New York. They think they can do the same good job with a man at a lesser salary and more hours available to do other chores.

Under the circumstances, I think there is nothing we can do but let Morton do his thing as he sees fit since he has been ordered to make the cut backs.

He is also releasing Clarence Townes, head of the Minorities Division.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. DENT
FROM : L. HIGBY *L*

The attached was sent to Bob by Buchanan and Safire. Bob has not seen it but I would imagine that you would want to look into this.

Attachment

*To Higby -
I have sent Bob
a memo on this. It
crossed in the mail.
DSD
(attached
G)*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: Pat Buchanan/Bill Safire

The National Committee is firing Frank Leonard who has been putting out "The Republican" and "Monday" ostensibly for "economy" reasons -- but they are hiring someone to replace him. This seems to us grossly unjustified in view of the job Frank has done and the cooperation he has always given us, and the record of loyalty the fellow has.

He was a Rockefeller man in 1964, who joined us early in the primary season, worked untold hours putting out the Nixon Nominator and Nixon Elector and whose work has always been appreciated and applauded by the President. Again, he is always willing to run anything we asked; more than that, has repeatedly called to ask us what the President would like to see in "Monday." This shabby treatment at the hands of the committee hardly seems warranted in view of the guy's record; he is not the first old-line supporter to wonder if working for the President is as rewarding as working for his opponents.

8/7

July 28, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. DENT
FROM : L. HIGBY

The attached was sent to Bob by Buchanan and Safire.
Bob has not seen it but I would imagine that you
would want to look into this.

Attachment

Attachment - Memo re: Leonard situation at National
Committee

bc: *LH* Mr. Buchanan
Mr. Safire

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO BE MADE TO BE
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By BZ NARS, Date 2-23-72

August 4, 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

After completing my trip to Wyoming, Utah and Nevada, I am convinced that a radical change must be made in providing "assistance" to key Senatorial campaigns.

If, after reading this memorandum, you believe a meeting with the President is in order -- please let me know.

These conclusions have been reached by me:

- 1) Some of our campaigns have "consultants" instead of managers.
- 2) The consultants operate on a part-time basis since they are spread so thin with too many campaigns.
- 3) The consultants are very fine advertising and public relations men, but they demonstrate they are not political knowledgists (I have just coined a new word).
- 4) They come up with clever ideas and designs that would be good for selling soap but not for winning campaigns which require "down-to-earth" fundamentals.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By BG NARS, Date 7-23-82

2

To substantiate the foregoing, here are examples:

- a) The billboard in Wyoming has a big "Wold" in fat letters so that the inside of the lettering is made up of a lot of pictures that no one can see or understand.
- b) The board doesn't say that Wold is running for U. S. Senator. For all we know, maybe he is running for re-election as Congressman at Large.
- c) The board has a little picture of Wold in the upper right hand corner that John Wold himself describes as looking like a postage stamp for mailing a letter. Wold and I discussed the board and it wasn't necessary to sell him on the idea that it should be changed. The new board should be up shortly. The point is, of course, that billboards should not have to be changed because of wrong design. It should be right in the first instance.
- d) The literature and matchbooks refer to Wold as "Wyoming's man in Washington." I wonder what GOP Senator Cliff Hansen is going to say when he sees that. I'm sure he must be under the impression that he is one of Wyoming's men in Washington. They only had a small quantity of matchbooks and they will be picked up and not used, except for lighting the fireplace in Wold's home.
- e) The Utah billboard says "Now Burton." Knowing some of the attacks that are being made on Burton, the question arises -- what tone of voice is used when you say "now Burton"? I think they got the idea from the President's 1968 campaign, "This Time Nixon." However, there was an entirely different situation in that campaign. We were trying to get across the idea that the people should vote for Nixon regardless of what they did on previous occasions.
- f) The Burton board doesn't tell what he is running for. When I asked Brad Hays why they didn't have U. S. Senator on the board, he said "everyone knows he is running for the Senate." I replied "if everyone knows it, why spend the money putting up billboards?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By BJ NARS, Date 7-23-82

3

I had a photographer take a picture of one of the Burton billboards. Attached is a copy. When driving on the highway between Salt Lake City and Ogden, I actually had the driver stop the car so I could read what was on the board. I am sure the average motorist would never do that. There is something in the lower left hand corner, but I defy anyone to be able to read it; it is so small. At first, I thought it was the disclaimer but, believe it or not, it represents some words telling why Burton should be elected. I never was able to figure out what the white stuff was in the lower right hand corner. In any event, on my recommendation, the board will be changed.

The new board will be an outline of some mountains with the statement "A Man to Match our Mountains" and will say elect Burton U. S. Senator. I hope the art work doesn't detract from the sales pitch.

- g) The local Utah people resent being shunted aside by what they regard as outside managers. I recommended to Brad that a Utah man be named as the manager, particularly since Brad will be in and out of the State. Someone should have the title who is local and who will be available at all times. They like Brad and want him there full-time, but his other commitments prevent it.
- h) The Utah literature for Burton is printed in Missouri. That is the home office of the advertising company that is handling the campaign. On my recommendation, Brad says this will be changed and they will use a Utah printing firm.
- i) The Nevada billboard is good in that it says "Raggio should be elected U. S. Senator." However, some artistic soul made the R into some type of monstrosity that I defy anyone to identify as an R. The name looks like aggio. Bill Raggio is an exceptionally attractive candidate and looks like a U. S. Senator should look but, lo and behold, no picture on the billboard.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By Bj NARS, Date 2-23-82

4

I am sending under separate cover a report of my conversations with various people in the three States. Incidentally, Nevada is one of Harry Dent's States and I went there with his advance knowledge and agreement, since I was going to be in the general area.

RECOMMENDATION

At the risk of offending the National Committee, the Senatorial Committee and the House Campaign Committee, the following recommendations are made:

1. A national citizens committee should be organized for the '72 campaign to handle assistance for the races in which we will take a particular interest. If time permits, it may not be too late to do it for the '70 campaign.
2. A national citizens committee would make funds available for key races but, instead of giving the money to the professional managers to spend as they see fit, the items will be contracted for by the national citizens committee to make certain they are used to the fullest advantage.
3. A real school should be conducted to train campaign managers with political know-how in the States involved so it will not be necessary, except in rare instances, to import someone from out of state on a part-time basis.

These campaign managers can be obtained from the junior executive rosters of companies willing to release their people for campaign service. They will be taken off the payroll of their employers and put on the payroll of the campaign for the duration, so there will be no legal violation. These young executives, in addition to being brainy, will be selected because of common sense and political savviness.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12865, Section 6-102
By BJ NARS, Date 2-23-82

5

I cannot emphasize too strongly that this report be given prompt and affirmative action.

I am not discouraged at our prospects but, after seeing what I did, I think it important that we take a personal look at all of the other States involved in our key race portfolio.

Billboard examples are used chiefly because if they don't understand outdoor advertising in a political campaign -- do we have a right to assume they understand the other elements of a campaign that we should entrust the expenditure of large sums of money to them?

They were most gracious in taking constructive suggestions from me. The point is -- we shouldn't have to make suggestions -- they should know what to do in the first place.

I am not sending copies of this memorandum to other "members of the committee", but will await your decision on the next step to be taken.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
EYES ONLY

July 25, 1970

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR : JOHN MITCHELL

Following up our phone conversation, I'll try to outline some thoughts regarding the directions that would be helpful for Kevin Phillips to take in his analysis of the political situation in the key states for this fall.

We are primarily interested, of course, in the Senate races and that should be the first thing he directs himself to.

At this point the states of prime importance for analysis would be New Jersey, New Mexico, Nevada, North Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, plus two states where incumbents have a tough re-election battle - Alaska and Vermont.

The second group would be Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. We also should take a look at the special situations in Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Montana.

At the present time at least, it would not seem to be terribly productive to devote much effort to Arizona, California, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington, or West Virginia.

As each state is analyzed the factors of particular interest would include the following:

- An appraisal of the Republican chances of winning.
- A review of the key issues in general of principle concern to the voters in the state.
- Analysis of our strong points in view of the issues in that state.
- An analysis of our weak points in view of those issues.

-An analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of our candidate vs. his opponent.

-Recommendations as to specific strategy for winning the election in that state and specific tactics from now through election time to carry out that strategy.

-Recommendations as to especially effective speakers to send to the state from the ranks of the high levels of the Administration, including the President, Vice President, Cabinet Officers, sub-Cabinet officers, etc.

-Any recommendations as to speakers that should not be sent in.

-Any specific actions that might be taken by the Administration to be of particular help in the state between now and election time.

-Any others factors felt pertinent.

Another area of concern once the Senate is won will be the winning of state legislatures so that we can control reapportionment. The general feeling now is that this is more important than the specific campaigns this fall for the House of Representatives. It is felt that the House elections will go basically "with the swing" and that other than a few special circumstances, no major effort should be extended there. For the long run, the control of state legislatures will have far greater effect, especially in the '72 elections where we have a more realistic chance of making major gains or gaining control of the House. In this light, an appraisal of the Governorship campaigns would be helpful since the Governors will have veto power over reapportionment. Also in several states the Governorships may be important because of the potential appointment of Senators in the not too distant future.

Finally, any preliminary thoughts or recommendations regarding the campaigns for the House of Representatives would, of course, be very valuable.

In a slightly different direction, we would like to have Kevin's appraisal, analysis, and comments regarding the most recent poll we've taken. Unfortunately there's some statistical problems in it that will require re-work before it's worth his wasting time on it. I'll send it to you as soon as it's available.

H.R. HALDEMAN

MEMORANDUM

Macomber

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1970

*600 invited
400 came*

*YR - 8 units
5R 3D
2R came*

*50 invited
16 came
16R 22D 12?
3R 5D 8?*

*from PR's list:
invited 24 assembly - all under 40
18D 6 Repub
5 Sens 3R 1D 13 invited
? from Secto.
none came
Mayors 13 invited - 8 came
2R 6?*

TO: H. R. Haldeman

FROM: Lyn Nofziger *LN*

You can't tell me the State Department is on our side. They are having a two-day briefing for "young political leaders." Six are attending from California. Five are Democrats.

1. John Burton -- farthest left among assembly Democrats.
2. Larry Townsend -- a marginal district and this will help him.
3. Ken Cory -- marginal and a Cal plan district. This will help him.
4. Bob Moretti -- safe.
5. Walt Karabian -- could be beaten. This will help him.

The invitation was signed by Secretary Rogers which adds to their prestige.

As you know, one or two seats will make the difference as to which party redistricts the state next year.

R. Bill Campbell - cons. - sure dist.

Rogers - will meet — there for Bob. Grove

*Orig sched May - Pub. Aff. Bur w/ orgs. - Am Comm. Y.P. leader
head of org had draft dwdy probs - Repub New head Rep - remained
the org. got lists by writing each Gov list 40 under - also Mayors
& YR + 40. Got two lists from PR - Geo Steffes + Lydie Ford
San Rafael*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Polg
file



July 14, 1970

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12865, Section 6-102
By *BJ* NARS, Date *7-23-82*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: Bob Haldeman
FROM: Harry Dent *HSD*

With regard to your inquiry as to why Wisconsin isn't on the money list, this is because Wisconsin at this point has not been rated as a possible winning state. If we had gotten Astronaut Lovell or Governor Knowles to run, then this would have been rated a priority state. We have a good candidate in John Erickson, but this is not considered a race that can be won in view of the strength of Senator Proxmire and the fact that while our candidate is good he is not the best.

However, the evaluation might be changed.

We did not list Minnesota for any money either because the polls show Clark MacGregor is too far behind at this point, even though he is a good friend and supporter.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FU
7/15

July 13, 1970

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By BJ NARS, Date 7-23-82

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. DENT

Why isn't Wisconsin on the money list?


H. R. HALDEMAN

MEMORANDUM

*Political
July*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



July 14, 1970

FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

The McColl/Rousselot recall has been called off according to John McColl.

The Registrar of Voters found another 550 ballots and counted them on July the 2nd. It gave McColl an additional minus of 70. They stopped recounting when the minus figure hit 122 votes.

John Rousselot is the GOP nominee in the 24th Congressional District of California.

Desruay

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

July 9, 1970

By *BJ* NARS, Date *2-23-82*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OR
I concur - +
have no informed
Klein + Zeigler,
H

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: Donald Rumsfeld

SUBJECT: Chotiner, Dent and the Press

It is my understanding that during our meetings with Harry Dent and Murray Chotiner, on 7/7/70, we agreed as follows:

1. It is not helpful to the President to have news stories, whether press or TV, emanating from the White House during the present period.
2. There are practically no instances when it would be desirable for either Dent or Chotiner to talk to the press or TV people.
3. It is desirable for campaign and political stories to be handled essentially by the appropriate Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committee people responsible and/or the Republican National Committee.
4. If it becomes desirable to put out a White House political and/or campaign story, someone such as Klein, Finch, or *Rumsfeld* ~~Haldeman~~ can undertake that responsibility.
5. Dent and Chotiner should refer press inquiries to Wilson, Tower, Morton, Allison, or Klein.
6. If at any time Dent or Chotiner feel that they must talk to the press, it ~~should~~ must be cleared through Ron Zeigler's office.
7. Chotiner probably should do no speeches; Dent's speech schedule should fit his special capabilities, and be approved by Haldeman.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R.

July 6, 1970

EYES ONLY

FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Prior to the "flak" concerning the Washington Post story about me when I did pinch hit for Herb Klein at a meeting of the Graham Sterling group, I accepted an invitation to appear at a meeting of the "off the record club." This was checked with Bill Timmons before accepting, since I understood he works with this group.

Attached is a copy of a letter of confirmation which arrived at the office.

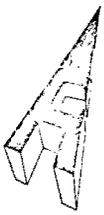
Which is the lesser of two evils? Should I attend and take the risk that an off the record comment may appear in the press, or should I cancel with the attendant risk that some-one may write that I have been "muzzled"?

covered in mtg

I assure you I have no personal desire to attend and am leaving it to your good judgment as to which course to follow.

Murray

EYES ONLY



Americans for Constitutional Action
20 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001
202-737-0937

June 19, 1970

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Hollywood, California
HON. CHARLES E. WHITTAKER
Kansas City, Missouri
LOYD WRIGHT, ESQ.
Los Angeles, California

Honorable Murray M. Chotiner
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Chotiner:

This will confirm my invitation on behalf of the Off-The-Record Club to be our guest on July 14, 1970 at Costin's Restaurant, National Press Building, 14th & F Streets, Washington, D. C. and your acceptance.

As you will recall, Bill Timmons discussed this matter with you and I had established a date at your convenience with your secretary, Miss Barbara Higgins.

Cocktails are served from 6:30 P.M. until 7:30 P.M., then dinner. The general format for that evening is that either Mr. Lewis Helm or Mr. William Timmons will introduce you to the members of the club. You will be asked to make a brief statement relative to your responsibilities to the President and areas of activity. This should not last more than several minutes. The floor is then open to questions and answers from the press, strictly off the record. The reporters then have the prerogative to follow up with our guests the following day or some time thereafter on anything which might be of interest to him.

Our most recent guests, just this week, were Congressmen Bill Brock, Clark MacGregor and John Wold, Republican Senatorial candidates and Albert Watson, Gubernatorial candidate from South Carolina. Others have been John Ehrlichman, Dean Burch, Senator John Tower, Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Senator George Murphy, Past Chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee as well as many other Republican Senators and Congressmen.

Looking forward to your joining us that evening, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. McManus
President

P.S. Incidentally, it was a pleasure meeting you at Vice President Agnew's dinner at the Republican Candidates Conference last week.

CAM:dd

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By B.J. NARS, Date 7-22-83

2

EYES ONLY/CONFIDENTIAL

June 25, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. CHOTINER interviews either on or off the record. All of them all had a chance to sit down and assess the position we would ourselves in and determine what our unified

I think we have a monumental problem arising from the Washington Post story of June 18 in which you are quoted by Ken Clawson in covering the whole range of operational plans for our political approach to this fall.

The National Committee and the Campaign Committee and numerous Senators and other individuals are really burned up about this public discussion of the details of our campaign plans and some of your rather frank estimates on the key races. As you know, we had a clearly established understanding which was enunciated in a memo Harry wrote on April 21 that our efforts would be very low silhouette, that we would not give our information on key states or races, that we would handle our internal staff operations as internal staff operations, and that our roles are strictly those of liaison and coordination, that the President is his own political advisor.

get Bob Finch - Somehow we've got to handle this situation

The net result of all of this is simply to make people on our side mad, make our problems of dealing with them infinitely more difficult and complex and unnecessarily reveal our hand to the opposition.

In any event, any publication of this sort should only be undertaken as a result of a predetermined strategy rather than as a unilateral interview.

It's my personal view, also, that this story badly undercuts Harry Dent as have a number of other stories resulting from interviews you have given in that the point is always made with great significance that you are in charge of 31 states and Harry's only in charge of 19.

As you know better than any of the rest of us, the opposition delights in building up any division within our ranks that they feel they can exploit and anything we do to give them this opportunity is to say the least counter-productive.

As the President has frequently said, all of us in the internal White House staff greatly decrease our value and effectiveness by becoming unilateral spokesmen in that we then become lightning rods for the attack ourselves

rather than retaining control of the strategy as to where the attack is focused.

In any event, please don't schedule any more interviews either on or off the record until we've all had a chance to sit down and assess the position we now find ourselves in and determine what our unified strategy would be.

H. R. HALDEMAN

HRH:pm

bc: Bob Finch - Somehow we've got to handle this situation with Murray and the political group. Your thoughts will be greatly appreciated.

Chotiner Sees '70 Gains In GOP Senate Races

By Ken W. Clawson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Bill Goldstein looked wearily around the room as his fellow House Republican candidates relaxed after three full days of instruction on how to get elected in November.

Over the din of talk and clinking glasses, Goldstein confided that personally, he didn't stand a chance in his own race against four-term Democrat William Fitts Ryan.

"In the 20th district of New York, it's Ryan all the way," Goldstein said.

But he thought the 1970 version of the GOP congressional candidates' conference was successful, because most of those attending were running for office for the first time. And if the realities of Goldstein's own situation were less than encouraging, they were unknown or unappreciated by most other candidates.

After all, they had already seen President Nixon, were about to see Vice President Agnew, and had pressed the flesh of GOP stalwarts seen previously only in newspapers or on television.

In-depth briefings on campaign issues and techniques by key Republican strategists also had the desired effect of stimulating most candidates.

The event was part of the Republican congressional Committee's effort to gain control of the House.

The committee has set a goal of \$4.3 million to help hold onto the present 189 Republican House seats,



MURRAY M. CHOTINER
... optimistic on elections

while a separate fund-raising unit is seeking another \$1 million to help win the 30 House seats the GOP needs for control.

A party spokesman said yesterday that despite adequate financing, the fight for control of the House will be uphill. "Realistically, there is a good chance for Republicans to gain seats," he said. "The question is how many."

Traditionally, the party controlling the White House loses congressional seats in the off-year election. Earlier this year, GOP campaign chairman Bob Wilson (R-Calif.) talked more about getting a running start for 1972 when he predicted that redistricting after the 1970 census would produce a Republican House.

A big factor in the political mix for Republicans is what role President Nixon will play in the autumn campaign. It has been variously reported that Mr. Nixon will put the White House into the thick of the congressional races or that he will maintain an aloofness based on the tradition that open presidential intervention in Senate and House races is mighty risky.

A hint on what the President may do came in a private interview with Murray M. Chotiner, a longtime adviser to Mr. Nixon who is now in charge of political liaison with Republicans in 31 states.

"When the President has a chance to say a good word about a candidate, he will," said Chotiner. He did not rule out appearances by Mr. Nixon on behalf of GOP candidates, but he emphasized that the White House won't try to dictate to state political leaders.

He said it was not the policy of the President to speak at fund-raising affairs, a duty handled with skill by Vice President Agnew.

Chotiner's own role at the White House seems greater than it was six months ago when he joined Harry Dent as a special counsel to the President. He revealed that he and Dent have divided political liaison duties by states, with Dent handling the South border states, Colorado, Nevada and New Jersey. Chotiner has the rest.

Chotiner Sees GOP Senate Gains in '70

CAMPAIGN, From E1

His own advice to GOP candidates is that they "would do well to campaign on the basis that President Nixon is entitled to a Republican Congress." He said that Mr. Nixon's troop withdrawal program for Vietnam will be a political plus, just as the Cambodia incursion will prove a help to the GOP—"The President was right. Troops will be out by the end of the month and it's been a military victory."

A Chotiner political axiom for autumn is that "the general public is fed up with disorders on and off the campuses." He said a candidate should not run strictly against disorders, "but one who says they should be tolerated wouldn't be in tune" with the voters. Another "definite political plus" for the GOP, in Chotiner's view, is Vice President Agnew. "He expresses what people are thinking."

He indicated that the primary election victory of George Wallace in Alabama would not be a major blow to Mr. Nixon in 1972.

"Wallace's close win in Alabama and the manner in which his campaign was conducted hurt him outside the South. And the bloom of a third party effort wears off when a person makes a try and nothing really happens as a result of the effort."

Asked what would happen if Wallace again ran for the presidency and threw the race into the House, Chotiner said that President Nixon "wouldn't make a deal with Wallace under any circumstances. The Republican

campaign won't be waged on the basis that Wallace would be successful."

Chotiner had finger-tip appraisals for Republican Senate races. He refused to predict the party would gain the seven seats it needs to control the Senate, and then he rattled off appraisals of contests in 18 states.

These include Republican challenges and seats that are currently held by the GOP. The arithmetic of the campaign favors the Republicans—of the 35 Senate seats up for election this year, 25 are now in Democratic hands.

Chotiner's rundown on key Senate races:

Alaska—Sen. Ted Stevens is "all right" in the Sept. 25 primary against Fred F. Singer and also against the winner of the Joe P. Josephson-Wendal P. Kay Democratic primary.

California—Sen. George Murphy "will win" the contest with Democratic Rep. John V. Tunney.

Connecticut—"Fine chance here. It makes no difference whether (Sen. Thomas) Dodd runs or not. The Democratic Party is badly split." Since that appraisal, Dodd decided not to run as a Democrat. Four other Democrats are vying for the nomination at the state party convention June 26-27; five Republicans, Rep. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Abner Siball, Palmer McGee, John Lupton and Edwin D. Etherington are seeking the nomination at the GOP convention June 19-20.

Florida—Rejected Supreme Court nominee G.

Harrold Carswell is opposing Rep. William Cramer for the Republican Senate nomination in the Sept. 8 primary. The winner will oppose one of four Democratic candidates, including former Florida Gov. Farris Bryant. Chotiner said "I don't care if Carswell or Cramer wins—we have an excellent chance" to win the general election.

Indiana—Expect Richard L. Roudebush to be nominated by GOP state convention June 18, and "he should win" against incumbent Sen. Vance Hartke. "After all, we're entitled to one of those slots." Indiana's other senator is Birch Bayh (D).

Michigan—"No opinion this early" in race between Mrs. Lenore Romney and Sen. Philip A. Hart (D). "Mrs. Romney faces an uphill fight but she will surprise many people." She is expected to win easily in the GOP primary Aug. 4 against Robert Huber.

New Mexico—Anderson Carter (R) has a "good chance" to unseat incumbent Sen. Joseph Montoya (D).

New Jersey—Nelson G. Gross (R) has a "good chance" to defeat incumbent Sen. Harrison A. Williams (D).

North Dakota—"This is the sleeper race" that will pit Republican Tom Kleppe probably against incumbent Sen. Quenton Burdick, who faces opposition in the Sept. 1 Democratic primary with George Longmire. "Burdick has a race on his hands from a fellow who didn't

want to run (Kleppe) but who now is catching fire."

Ohio—An "excellent chance" that Republican Rep. Robert Taft Jr. will defeat Howard Metzenbaum for the seat of retiring Sen. Stephen M. Young.

Tennessee—Expect incumbent Sen. Albert Gore to be defeated in a four-way Democratic primary Aug. 6. Chotiner said he thinks there would be a "repeat of the Texas situation" where Sen. Ralph Yarborough lost earlier in his party primary. On the Republican side, Rep. Bill Brock is opposed by Western singer Tex Ritter and James Boles in the primary.

Texas—Rep. George Bush (R) will defeat Democrat Lloyd Bentsen because "liberal Democrats would rather lose the election than control of their party."

Vermont—Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R) "will win" over Democratic challenger Phillip H. Hoff in the general election.

Utah—Expect Lawrence Burton to capture the Republican primary Sept. 8, and have a "good chance" to defeat incumbent Sen. Frank Moss (D).

Wyoming—Rep. John Wold (R) is expected to oppose incumbent Sen. Gale McGee (D) but Chotiner would only say, "Sen. McGee has supported the administration on some key issues."

New York—Incumbent Sen. Charles E. Goodell, a thorn in the side of the administration on foreign policy and social issues, will face the winner of the June 23 Democratic primary. Chotiner said he told New York

Republicans to be wary of opposing Goodell. The message, he said, "was that the day of organization in the Senate is important enough to offset his votes for the rest of the year."

Massachusetts—Sen. Edward M. Kennedy is unopposed for the Democratic nomination. Josiah Spaulding and John J. McCarthy are vying for the Republican nomination Sept. 15, with Bernard Bane running as an independent.

Chotiner characterized McCarthy as a "potent candidate with a good name." When asked to discuss McCarthy's background and qualifications, Chotiner said, "I don't know enough about him to discuss him."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 9, 1970

L
Check
Blount
on this

EYES ONLY

TO: Bob Haldeman

FROM: Harry Dent /v

Jim Martin, former Alabama Congressman and gubernatorial candidate against Lurleen Wallace, is very anxious to take on Wallace in the general election. The State Chairman, the Postmaster General, and the three GOP Congressmen all say no. Morton likes the idea. I am against fielding a candidate because he would probably do worse than Brewer for the following reasons:

- 1) Wallace would have the effect of being the incumbent now.
- 2) The November election hits right after full school desegregation in September.

I think Wallace would probably score a bigger victory, and this time against the President's candidate.

Morton and Martin believe that an outside evaluation should be made to determine whether there is any chance such an effort could succeed. Allison will check with the Brewer people and some others later this week in private conversations. I will be in Alabama for a fund raiser Friday and will get a feel for the situation without becoming involved.

- 1) Need to Turn out the Black vote.
- 2) Political match of major negroes.
- 3) Brewer out for now.
Even Martin feels prob be a political match.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By BG NARS, Date 7-23-82

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Henry

I agree - go ahead on this basis. H.

EYES ONLY

May 13, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

Attached is a letter from Governor Reagan requesting that Lyn Nofziger be used as coordinator under Murray for the California elections this year. I passed this letter on to Murray and he sent the attached note back to me indicating that he does not want Lyn's help in California. Earlier he had told me he would accede to a request from the Governor.

I think it is important that Lyn be used in this capacity but in a rather relaxed manner. Governor Reagan has made very clear to me his feelings regarding Murray, and the same goes for the people around him. We need to play a little game here and let Murray do whatever he wants to do because he will be in charge of California, but yet let Lyn deal directly with the Governor and pass information back and forth to Murray. In other words, if Murray has to do something that may not be in Reagan's interest then he can go ahead and do it anyway, very privately.

It is important, however, that the Governor feel that he has political contact directly through Lyn. I will be glad to make it clear to Lyn that he is to play a game to a certain degree because while he still likes the Governor very much, I do know his first loyalty is here.

HSD

Harry S. Dent

EYES ONLY

cc - *Clinton* 5/12
Nofziger

RONALD REAGAN
GOVERNOR

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO 95814



May 8, 1970

Mr. Harry Dent
Deputy Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harry:

I understand that the White House is appointing an internal political coordinator for each state during this election year. You may have your own plans in this regard, but I would certainly recommend Lyn Nofziger to keep an eye on California. He knows the state thoroughly and, as you know, served well in my administration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ron".

RONALD REAGAN
Governor

cc: Tom C. Reed
E. M. Gillenwaters

Harry -

I am watching
Calif myself.

dyn has plenty to
do now.

Mervey