

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>
20	5	12/31/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: political contributions from various White House figures. 4 pgs.
20	5	12/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lee Nunn to Strachan RE: clearing test material and mailings with Haldeman. 2 pgs.
20	5	12/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Sears to Haldeman RE: an in-depth analysis of polling figures the 1968 election. 11 pgs.
20	5	12/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	List of Republican state chairmen. 4 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>
20	5	1/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Lane Dwinell to RN RE: the New Hampshire primary. 2 pgs.
20	5	12/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: operational plans for the New Hampshire primary. Timeline of events and financial figures attached. 8 pgs.
20	5		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Chain of command of critical campaign figures. 2 pgs.
20	5	12/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From the Magruder to the Attorney General RE: the Committee for the Re-election of the President and its Campaign Strategy Group. 5 pgs.
20	5	12/27/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Rietz to the Campaign Strategy Group RE: the publication of key campaign materials targeted toward young voters. 3 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>
20	5	12/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Description of a "Re-elect the President" poster designed by Jimini Productions. Copy of poster attached. 3 pgs.
20	5	12/21/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Magruder to the Attorney General RE: the weekly meeting of the CRP. 11 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

G

Administratively Confidential

December 31, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR :

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM :

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT :

Political Matters

Finances



1) Herb Kalmbach will meet with the Attorney General in California on December 31, 1971 to discuss the status of Secretary Stans as the Nixon Finance Chairman for 1972. Kalmbach will also work with the Attorney General on a suggested list of "political powers" and very strong financial supporters for the January 27 dinner with the President in Washington. Kalmbach hopes to have these lists for your review next week.

2) The current financial situation at 1701 is 3,484 raised, 1,125 disbursed for salaries and operating expenses of 1701, leaving a balance of 2,358, primarily in checks not cash. The estimated operating expenses for 1701 for January are 415 of which 100 will be for a finance direct mail effort, and the first payment on the polling of 160. The Attorney General recently questioned Magruder and Flemming on their travel and entertainment expenses, estimated at 25 for January.

3) The direct mail finance drive, which is to begin after the President formally announces on January 12, is being assembled by Lee Nunn. His memorandum, requesting your authority to key punch 20,000 of the 500,000 names on the White House support list, is attached at Tab A. On August 17 you approved the concept of a mailing using parts of the list with the proviso: "but no mailing until we review content." Nunn represents that the Chairman of the Nixon Finance Committee, hopefully Stans, will clear the letter and mailing with you.

Recommendation:

*Let's see the letter first*

*C-Nunn  
1/3*

That Lee Nunn be granted authority to key punch 20,000 names from the White House support list.

Approve       Disapprove       Comment

*? What list - & how were names obtained.?*

Murray Chotiner

✓ You asked the Attorney General on November 16 whether it was time to make a decision about using Chotiner in the Campaign. Magruder informed me that he will be used for "ballot security" but that neither the extent of the responsibility nor amount of Chotiner's time has been settled. Mrs. Chotiner will work as a volunteer for the Campaign but "in a non-sensitive position."

John Sears

✓ He submitted an excellent analysis of the most recent Gallup poll as it relates to the 1968 race, the 1972 race, and the basic strengths of the Republican and Democratic parties. It is attached at Tab B. Sears submitted it directly to me because Pat Buchanan was unavailable, presumably working on the briefing book.

Bob Teeter

- ✓ 1) The poll results from New Hampshire and Florida, which he had planned to submit to you and the Attorney General on January 3, will not be available until the week of January 10. The delay is attributable to ORC spending too much time in the field interviewing in New Hampshire and Florida, according to Teeter. He will explain this to the Attorney General on January 4, when he hopes to have the Wisconsin poll results ready for you and the Attorney General.
- ✓ 2) The Teeter analyses of the Catholic voter, ecology issue, and Harris Domestic Issues Poll are due from Teeter to you and the Attorney General on January 7. They will be submitted directly to the Attorney General, not through Magruder.

Harry Flemming

✓ On December 29 Flemming sent you the list attached at Tab C of the fifteen Nixon State Chairmen that are final but not yet announced. As to the rest of the states, five Chairmen have already been announced; five more are "set"; ten are in the "final stages"; and sixteen are still "fluid," according to Flemming.

✓ Ann Dore, under the direction of Cliff Miller, is handling the press arrangements for the nine announcements scheduled in January.

### Magruder's Projects

1) New Hampshire. On January 3, Nixon State Chairman Lane Dwinell will file the petition for the President to enter the New Hampshire primary. He will simultaneously release the letter to the President attached at Tab D at a press conference. Magruder approved the text of the letter. On January 12, two letters from the President will formally declare his candidacy. Ray Price is drafting both the letter to Dwinell and the one to the New Hampshire Secretary of State.

Magruder submitted an operating plan and schedule chart for the New Hampshire primary, which is attached at Tab E. The Attorney General approved the general plan but cut the newspaper advertising from 50 to 25, eliminated the TV ads, and emphasized that the tenor was to be very local.

### 2) Committee Personnel

Magruder prepared the Campaign organization chart at Tab F. It is a very rough interim guide as to how the forty-three professionals are organized at the Committee. None of the staff have titles, which will be assigned by the Attorney General at a later date.

Magruder and Miller recently hired Tom Garard of Metromedia in Washington to act as News Bureau Chief for \$27,000 per year.

Miller is pushing Malek, Colson and Klein to get a replacement for Van Shumway by January 7. The prime candidate is Ken Clausen of the Washington Post, but Klein has not yet decided to offer him the Deputy Director of Communications spot.

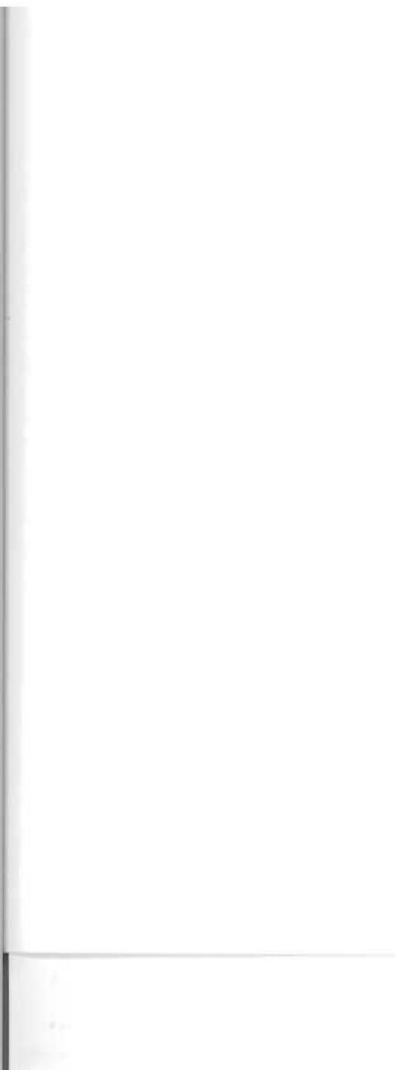
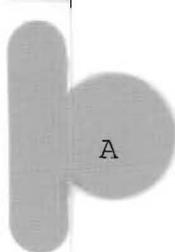
3) The Committee will receive 10% of the gross receipts for fundraising appearances by Executive Branch spokesmen and Senator Goldwater beginning immediately and 10% from appearances by Governors and Members of Congress after March 1, 1972. Spokesmen appearing in home states for local candidates will be exempt.

4) Kenney O'Donnell is reportedly establishing a special fund for the Democratic nominee.

5) Magruder is urging the Attorney General to meet with Keith Bulen, Harry Flemming, Bob Marik, and Bob Teeter to hear Bulen's description of his campaign techniques in Lugar's victory in Indianapolis.

6) The minutes from the December 30 meeting of the Middle Level Campaign Strategy Group are attached at Tab G. The subjects covered are the campaign poster and the convention.

7) Magruder's weekly report for the Attorney General is attached at Tab H.



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Tal A

MEMORANDUM

December 21, 1971

TO: MR. GORDON STRACHAN

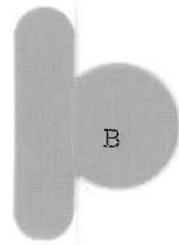
FROM: MR. LEE NUNN

Confirming our conversation, the initial use of the names will be a testing operation in early January using the signature of Frank Dale, Chairman of the Committee For The Re-election Of The President.

I understand the letter to be used for testing purposes must be cleared by "H" before the names under discussion may be used. If the testing operation produces as expected, a full mailing using all names, is projected to go out over the signature of our new Chairman, using the name of The Nixon Finance Committee. The Chairman would also clear this mailing with "H" including copy and etc. The names for testing must first be key punched, approximately 20,000, before testing can get underway. If the test is successful, the total list should be key punched and compared with other lists to eliminate duplication, prior to a full mailing.

I am outlining the mechanics involved in the hope that some immediate action can be taken.

I would suggest that the Chairman Designate be contacted immediately before the holidays for his advise and approval.



Tal R

TO: Haldeman  
FROM: Sears

December 28, 1971

I. MOST RECENT GALLOP POLL - While it is always better to be ahead than behind, the recent Gallop Poll showing RN leading all Democratic contenders continues to reflect some disturbing characteristics about the 1972 race:

A. RN Still Maintains a 43-44% Range of Popularity -- Against the top Democratic contenders (Muskie and Kennedy) RN continues to poll in the 43-44% range. This is not enough against a united Democratic party.

What the polls are reflecting is a vote of 20-21% nationally from the Republican party (approximately 85% of the Republican vote), another 12-15% composed of people who call themselves Democrats or Independants but normally vote Republican in presidential elections and another 8-12% of the electorate which voted for RN in 1968 but could be convinced to go against him under certain circumstances. The rock bottom strength of a Republican presidential candidate continues to be in the 30-35% range.

The rock bottom strength of a Democratic presidential contender running with a united party is about 40% of the vote. This is composed of the straight line Democratic vote plus

Independants who vote Democratic in presidential elections.

While the most recent poll is somewhat satisfying in that it indicates RN is holding 8-12% of the vote above his rock bottom of 30-35%, it is disturbing to note that the mere mention of Muskie or Kennedy, without either one having been actually named as the presidential candidate and without either having campaigned in an effort to attract the 8-12% in RN's vote, is still enough to render a base, Democratic showing of 41% of the vote. This strongly indicates that as far as the normally Democratic non-Southern vote is concerned, the Democrats are not divided even now. Any difficulties Muskie or Kennedy have inside the party are not affecting either's ability to pull the base Democratic vote.

If the Democrats are allowed to go to their convention, and through it, with this kind of basic strength, they will be in good shape to add an extra 7-8% from the undecideds, the northern union, and/or ethnic, Wallace vote and the soft part of RN's 44%.

Another indication of RN's situation is the Gallop figures on a Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace race. In 1968, the percentages (rounded off) were:

Nixon	44%
Humphrey	43%
Wallace	13%

The recent Gallop Poll shows the following figures:

Nixon	47%
Humphrey	37%
Wallace	12%
Undecideds	4%

This reflects a rise of 3% for Nixon, a drop of 6% for Humphrey, a drop of 1% for Wallace and 4% who claim they "don't know" any more. Obviously, most of the 4% undecideds went for Humphrey in '68 and when election day comes, most would probably go Democratic again. The additional 3% which RN receives over the '68 race melts away immediately when RN is tested against Muskie and Kennedy. This is obviously a Democratic oriented vote also. Therefore, the Humphrey race indicates that when undecideds and the surplus of RN's vote as compared with '68 are added together there is a float of 6-7% which would make it a very close race even if Humphrey were the candidate.

Those who feel that if Wallace were to drop out of the race, RN would be an easy winner, should ponder the following facts:

1. In the recent Gallop Poll both RN and Wallace declined when measured against Muskie and Kennedy as compared

to Humphrey or McGovern. The number of undecideds remains about the same, leading one to speculate that most of the decline in both RN's figures and Wallace's went directly to Muskie and Kennedy. These are soft Democratic votes which rebound automatically when Muskie or Kennedy is mentioned.

2. In 1968 close to one-third of the entire Wallace vote came from 7 northern states (Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, New York, California and Pennsylvania). Wallace got more actual votes in Ohio and California than in Mississippi or Tennessee. The vast majority of these northern, big state votes are Democrats to whom Muskie or Kennedy would have considerably more appeal than Humphrey did on grounds of religion, ethnics and economic problems.

Wallace received almost one half of his 9.9 million votes outside the South. If 75% of these were taken from the Democrats, his absence from the election in 1968 would have made a difference of approximately 3.75 million votes to the Democrats in the North. If the percentage was only three-fifths, this still would have given the Democrats 3 million additional votes, most of which would have been cast in the seven largest northern states.

B. It is important to bear in mind that the Democrats have not yet begun to fight. So far they have merely been concentrating on papering back together the northern portion of the old coalition.

Once the Democratic convention is over, they will move quickly to cut into retired people, farmers, small businessmen and lower middle class white collar workers. It is imperative that we use the time between now and next summer to solidify these groups as much as possible against the very predictable onslaught of the Democrats.

## II. MUSKIE STRATEGY AND PERSONNEL

Whether he knows it or not (I suspect he knows it) Muskie has the Democratic nomination in his control right now. He has performed in much wiser fashion over the last 8 months than would have been expected immediately after the 1970 election. He has used most of this time to establish a position a shade to the left of the middle of the road, he has given the other Democratic candidates no excuse to be mad at him (both McGovern and Jackson easily tell reporters they would have no difficulty supporting Muskie and have had no difficulty dealing with him) and he has used the time to work

on political organization and endorsements, managing in the process to get rid of such token candidates as Bayh, Proxmire, Harris, and for all practical purposes, Mills. Part of the reason for this achievement has been the politicians he has gathered around him:

John English - Experienced New York political leader who has been involved in the national scene on behalf of both Johnson and Humphrey in the past -- he is an exceptionally good organizer, and has an appreciation for delegate politics. While he has good relations with the left wing of the Democratic party, he is from the mainstream of Democratic organization politics.

Mark Schields - Approximately 36 but has worked in both Jack and Robert Kennedy campaigns. Has also worked on the Hill for Senator Proxmire. Ran Governor Gilligan's campaign in Ohio last year and was his Washington representative until taking a job with the Democratic National Committee. Good organizer and strong Democratic organization politician.

Bob Squires - Was in charge of major share of Humphrey's advertising and television programs in 1968 -- the originator of that T.V. spot on Social Security which gave us so much trouble. Not only very knowledgeable about television and

advertising but combines this with a real appreciation for political maneuver and strategy.

George Mitchell - Maine Democratic National Committee man and old friend of Muskie's. His acquaintanceship in Democratic National Committee ranks is very broad and he is highly regarded. He has little feeling for the far left of the party and favors reconstituting the old coalition.

Meanwhile, Larry O'Brien has been concentrating specifically on holding the party together and has met with some success in this regard already. The dispute over the chairman of the credentials committee showed the strength that he has in the party machinery and his success in placing Mrs. Harris in that position will keep any credentials fights under his control at least until the convention. He has put in force a sort of 11th Commandment (Thou shalt not speak ill of other Democrats) and is using the power of his position to enforce it.

With the kind of people Muskie has around him, some predictions can be made as to how he intends to run his campaign:

(1) he has undersold his chances of winning the Florida primary leaving the impression with the press that if he should win, it would show that he is even stronger than people thought but if he doesn't this will not harm his chances of being

nominated since it is a southern state in which he is not expected to be popular. In reality, Muskie is staging an all out effort in both New Hampshire and Florida hoping for impressive victories which would provide a band wagon effect through the remaining primaries. During the primary season, he will run generally against RN and say little or nothing about his opponents. He will stick to domestic issues with emphasis on what RN hasn't done rather than challenging what has been done.

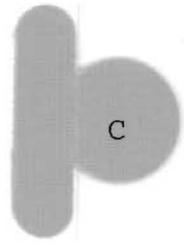
(2) Once the Convention is over, he will turn to the job of cutting away some of RN's soft support (farmers, retired people, small businessmen, etc.). He will also step up his personal attacks on RN. Three things must be borne in mind, (a) we must not allow him to wage the campaign on his issues. By the time the Democratic convention is over we must be in a position of having so thoroughly sold the accomplishments of the Administration that he will have to attack on the basis of what RN has done rather than not done, (b) he will try to get RN to react to his personal attacks so that he can get out the vote among the left wing of his party (who are presently somewhat apathetic toward him) and the younger voters. If we are too quick to react to this kind of ploy we

will be merely forming up additional votes for the Democrats, (c) extra effort will be made next year to hold down the Wallace vote in the north. The Democrats were quite surprised in 1968 to see how much damage Wallace was doing to them and were forced to rush around in September and October trying to get back votes that they had already counted as theirs. They won't let this happen again.

(3) Muskie will not attempt to run in all the states. Essentially he will wage a big state northern campaign. Some of his people are already saying as much to reporters and indicating that since they enjoy a registration advantage in California, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts, their best shot at winning is to concentrate on taking all eight of these states (216 electoral votes) and then picking up the additional 54 electoral votes from Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, Hawaii, Alaska, Nevada, New Mexico, West Virginia and Oregon (95 electoral votes). They will also wage a strong campaign in Texas but don't feel that it is essential to win there.

(4) Muskie will pick a vice president out of the

following group — Tunney, Stevenson, Jackson, McGovern, Gilligan, or Kennedy. Of these individuals I presume that it would come down to Stevenson or Jackson. If Muskie needs help with the unions to hold down the Wallace vote, feels the need to raise extra money from defense contractors and wants to protect his right flank rather than his left he will go with Jackson. If he is concerned about his left flank it will be Stevenson. If things were different he might prefer Tunney or Gilligan since both come from large states which RN carried in 1968 that are important to Muskie but both are Catholics as he is and this would harm him with the non-Catholic vote. McGovern would meet with approval on the left but could not even carry South Dakota and would add very little in the larger states. If Muskie were to run with Kennedy, the Catholic problem would be presented and there would be a natural confusion as to who was running with who.



Talc

\* New Hampshire Governor Lane Dwinell (603) 224-7411  
 N.H. Committee for the  
 Headquarters: Re-election of the President  
 New Hampshire Highway Hotel  
 Concord, New Hampshire 03301

home: 94 Bank Street (603) 448-1121  
 Lebanon, New Hampshire 03766

Wisconsin John K. MacIver  
 office: Michael, Best & Friedrich (414) 271-6560  
 626 East Wisconsin Avenue  
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin

home: 5498 North Lake Drive (414) 962-2475  
 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53217

Nebraska George Cook (402) 467-1122  
 office: Chairman and Chief Executive  
 Officer  
 Bankers Life -- Nebraska  
 Lincoln, Nebraska

home: 3070 Sheridan Blvd. (402) 423-6272  
 Lincoln, Nebraska

\* Oregon Wendall Wyatt (202) 225-2206  
 office: House of Representatives  
 Washington, D. C.

home: 1209 Huntley Place (703) 765-5421  
 Alexandria, Virginia 22307

North Carolina Charles Jonas, Jr. (704) 377-3651  
 office: Reynolds and Company  
 330 S. Tryon Street  
 Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

home: 302 Colville Road (704) 332-7018  
 Charlotte, North Carolina

Illinois Thomas Houser (Campaign Manager)  
 office: Suite 3200 (312) 329-7603  
 One First National Plaza  
 Chicago, Illinois 60670

home: 219 N. Hickory  
 Arlington Heights, Illinois (312) CL3-7395

\* Missouri Lawrence K. Roos  
 office: Supervisor, St. Louis (314) 889-2016  
 County, Missouri

home: 943 Tirrill Farms Road (314) WY3-3766  
 St. Louis County, Missouri

\*publicly announced

ADDITIONS TO STATE CHAIRMEN  
LIST

\* Maryland

office: Edward P. Thomas (301) 662-0713  
Senate of Maryland  
Carroll and Frederick County  
Annapolis, Maryland

home: 710 Wyngate Drive (301) 66 -5765  
Frederick, Maryland 21701

Utah

office: Dick Richards (801) 399-3303  
2610 Washington Boulevard  
Ogden, Utah 84401

home: 4753 Madison Avenue (801) 621-4163  
Ogden, Utah 84403

Wyoming

Mrs. Robert (Barbara) Gosman (307) 243-9166  
c/o Republican State Headquarters  
Box 241  
Casper, Wyoming 82601

home: 120 East 15th Street (307) 234-2801  
Casper, Wyoming 82601

(Bob Gosman's office phone (307) 235-5721)

Nevada

office: C. Clifton Young (Cliff) (702) 786-7600  
P. O. Box 1631  
232 Court Street  
Reno, Nevada 89501

home: 2085 Regent Street (702) 329-0587  
Reno, Nevada 89502

ADDENDUM  
STATE CHAIRMEN

MAINE

office: Ned Harding  
P. O. Box 2011 (207) 773-1775  
Portland, Maine

home: South Freeport, (207) 865-6565  
Maine

COLORADO

office: Governor John Love  
Executive Chambers (303) 534-8285  
Colorado State Capital Bldg.  
Denver, Colorado 80203

home: Executive Mansion (303) 892-2471  
400 E. 8th Avenue  
Denver, Colorado 80203

CONNECTICUT

office: Nathan G. (Gus) Agostinelli  
State Comptroller (203) 566-5565  
30 Trinity Street  
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

home: 95 Olcott Street (203) 643-8683  
Manchester, Connecticut 06040

\* NEW YORK

office: Governor Nelson Rockefeller  
Executive Chamber (518) GR4-7000 (Albany)  
Albany, New York 12224  
(212) 582-7030 (NYC)

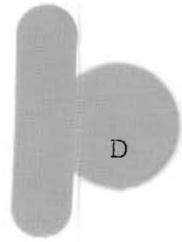
FLORIDA

\*designated

PRIMARY COORDINATOR

\*L. E. (Tommy) Thomas  
P. O. Box 490 (904) 785-5221  
Panama City, Florida  
32401

home: 2814 Canal Drive (904) 785-7834  
Panama City, Florida  
32401



D

Tab 071

Concord, New Hampshire  
January 3, 1972

President Richard Nixon  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

It is my great privilege to notify you, formally, that as chairman of the New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President, I have today filed a petition to place your name on our state's Primary Election ballot.

This action by citizens of our state, which prides itself in having the Nation's first Presidential Preference Primary Election, reflects our sincere sentiment that the nation needs your leadership as its President for another four years.

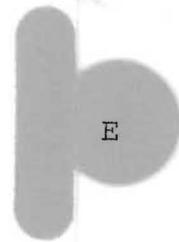
During three years as our President, you have clearly demonstrated the kind of initiative and keen insight into national and international problems and their solutions that marks your administration as truly historic. You have opened the door to a partnership of nations. You have shown the American people the path toward a national unity, a peaceful new American Revolution in its most positive sense. You have brought a new sense of dignity to our nation's highest office, and provided the inspiration to create a better world for all men for all time.

As citizens of New Hampshire and as dedicated Americans, we urge you to acknowledge our support, thus indicating your approval of our efforts and your determination to complete the task you have started -- to bring a new prosperity to this nation and restore peace in the world.

With our utmost respect,

Sincerely,

Lane Dwinell



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Operating Plan for the New Hampshire Primary

Attached (Tab A) is a schedule chart showing the proposed plan for the New Hampshire Presidential primary campaign. This plan has been developed in consultation with Harry Flemming, as well as Governor Dwinell and Allan Walker of the New Hampshire Committee. Estimated operating costs are tabulated in Tab B.

The objectives reflected in the plan are:

1. To maximize the per cent of the vote received by the President in the Republican primary.
2. To conduct the campaign in a manner so as to reflect local organization, local support and local management. The use of mass marketing techniques, such as out-of-state television stations, or the appearance of direction from Washington, will be minimized.
3. To apply the tactical concepts which have been developed over the past months, insofar as possible, to test their effectiveness in a campaign environment.
4. To establish the pattern of coordination and mutual support between the state organization and the Washington based Committee which will be necessary for success in the general campaign.

The various campaign activities have been grouped together on the chart, according to the categories in the left-hand margin.

Campaign Organization Activities reflect the building of the structure and staff of the state organization. Operations are proceeding according to the schedule.

Strategy and Management Control emphasize the need for establishing tangible objectives for the campaign and obtaining the feedback to assure that they are being met. It will be important in the primary contests to establish the best method of exercising this control in the campaign situation.

Fund-Raising activities are generally on schedule. The finance people in Washington are working with the New Hampshire Committee to advise them on the most effective techniques to meet their objectives.

Field Operations have been planned with the intent of securing a large participation by young people, as well as extensive involvement of volunteers of all ages. Current activities relate to the filing of nominating petitions. Broader campaign activities will begin in mid-January.

Brochures, Buttons, Bumper Stickers, etc. - Peter Dailey is adhering to the schedule and expects to have the materials in New Hampshire by the first week in January, ahead of the planned openings of the Concord and local campaign headquarters.

Telephone canvassing will be used to contact every Republican and Independent voter. Voter registration lists will be compiled, as shown under Field Operations. Independents will be called to determine which ones intend to vote in the Republican primary. (They can choose the primary of either party under the state law.) The registered Republicans, as well as Republican-leaning Independents, will then be grouped according to (1) those who support the President strongly, (2) those who definitely support an opposing candidate, or (3) those who are undecided. The names from the first group will be used in get-out-the-vote mail and telephone programs. The second group will be excluded from further mail or telephone follow-up. The third group will be sent letters and brochures covering the issues of particular interest. They will then receive another telephone call a week or so later to determine if they have decided to support one of the candidates. If they support the President, they will be added to the list for get-out-the-vote operations.

Direct Mail will be closely tied to the telephone campaign outlined above. The same name lists will be used for both operations. A mailing to all Republicans is contemplated for early February, to communicate the fact that a serious local campaign is being waged on the President's behalf, and asking for their support. This type of targeted communication will be particularly important if the candidate is not able to campaign in the state. The second series of mail will be to present particular issues to undecided voters, as determined by the telephone canvass. The Independent voters who are intending to vote in the Republican primary will then receive a separate mailing, because they are the group McCloskey is focusing on. A final mailing will be sent to all registered voters intending to vote in the Republican primary for the President. It will probably be in the form of a sample ballot, to facilitate the identification of the pledged delegates.

In addition, a direct mail campaign is planned for the first time voters. It will consist of three letters, spread over the six weeks prior to the election. A particular benefit of this program will be to compile a list of young voters which can be used for mail or telephone operations in the general campaign.

Newspaper Ads will be very important in the absence of a strong television campaign. The ads are scheduled to appear on a regular basis over the last three or four weeks of the campaign, in the several important daily and weekly New Hampshire papers.

Rallies and Other Speaking Engagements by key Administration spokesmen will have to compete effectively with Mr. McCloskey when the President is unable to visit the state personally. The schedule will be coordinated by Bart Porter in Washington. The New Hampshire Committee feels that the major rally scheduled for Friday, March 3, is of particular importance. In addition, the series of coffees to be held throughout the state, will feature the appearances of well-known figures as frequently as possible.

Polls - The baseline poll is currently in the field. Results should be available before the first of January. In addition, there will be telephone polls taken on a continuing basis over the final four weeks of the campaign, under the direction of Bob Teeter in Washington. Those results will be used to evaluate whether the campaign is achieving the desired level of support for the President, or whether more intensive measures will have to be taken.

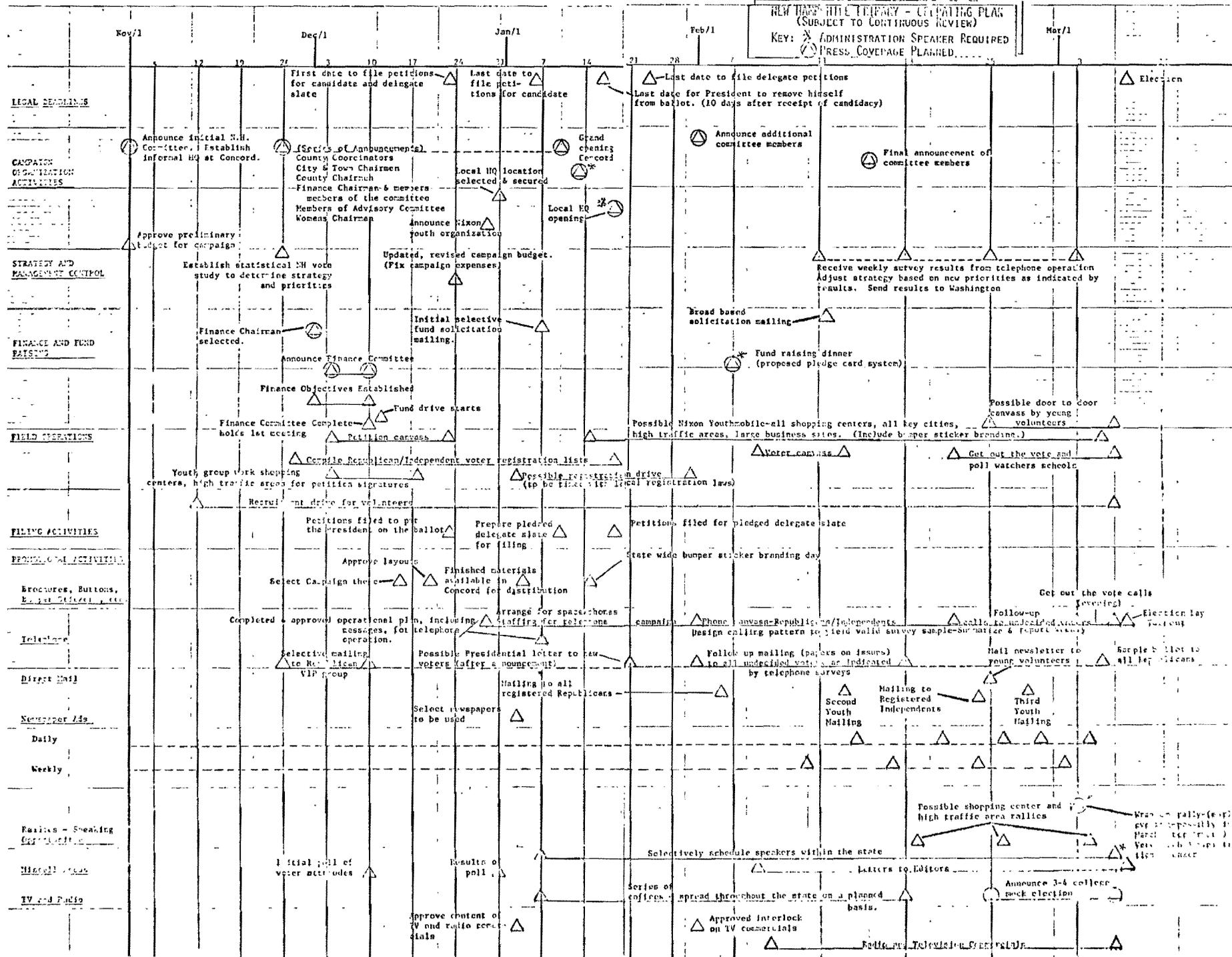
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Television and Radio will be used over the last four weeks of the campaign. Because there are only two TV channels within the state of New Hampshire, commanding only a small fraction of the viewing audience, television will not be the dominant medium. (The major stations viewed in the state originate in Boston and Portland, Maine.) Radio, however, will be used extensively, particularly during the periods of peak commuter traffic. Several local stations will be employed throughout the state.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

**NEW HAMPSHIRE TELEPHONY - OPERATING PLAN**  
 (SUBJECT TO CONTINUOUS REVIEW)  
 KEY: X ADMINISTRATION SPEAKER REQUIRED  
 O PRESS COVERAGE PLANNED



CONFIDENTIALPRELIMINARY BUDGET ESTIMATESNEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY1970 Registration

Republican	162,000	(Assume 85,000 households)
Unaffiliated	125,000	(Assume 65,000 households)
Democrat	100,000	

Campaign MaterialsTotal Cost

Bumper Stickers: 10,000 @ 10¢ each	\$ 1,000
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Buttons: 20,000 @ 5¢ each	1,000
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Brochures:	
5 major brochures @ 20,000 each = 100,000	3,000
cost: \$30.00/thousand	

Campaign Organization Activities  
and Field Operations

25,000\*

Direct Mail

85,000 Republican households x 1 mailing	
30,000 Unaffiliated households voting	
Republican (estimated) x 1 mailing	
18,000 Undecided voters (estimated) x 1 mailing	
100,000 Get-out-the-vote letters (estimated)	
<u>233,000 letters x \$150/thousand</u>	35,000

Data processing of address lists	8,000
----------------------------------	-------

Series of letters to first-time voters	16,000
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\*To be raised by New Hampshire Committee

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Telephone

Total Cost

Assume:

Calling times - 10:00 A.M. - 8:00 P.M. = 10 hrs/day  
· x 6 days per week = 60 hrs per week  
Three week campaign period = 180 calling hours

If one operator can reach 20 homes per hour,  
then each telephone can reach about 3600 homes

If 20% of the calls must be re-placed because of  
busy line or no answer, then 150,000 households  
(Republican and Unaffiliated) require 180,000 calls.

Therefore, a bank of 50 telephones is required.

Cost per telephone:

Installation	\$ 15
Intra-state WATS line	<u>250</u>
	\$265 per telephone

Total cost = 50 x \$265 = \$13,250

Paid operators: 180 hrs @ 2.00 per hr = \$360/operator  
50 x \$360 = 18,000\*

Supervisors - 5 x 180 hrs x \$3.50/hr = 3,150  
34,400

Mass Media

Newspapers 50,000  
9 dailies, 17 weeklies

Television 6,000  
4 weeks - 2 stations

Radio 14,000  
4 weeks - 14 stations

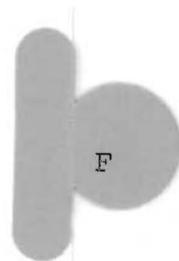
Production 30,000  
100,000

TOTAL COST OF LISTED ITEMS \$223,400

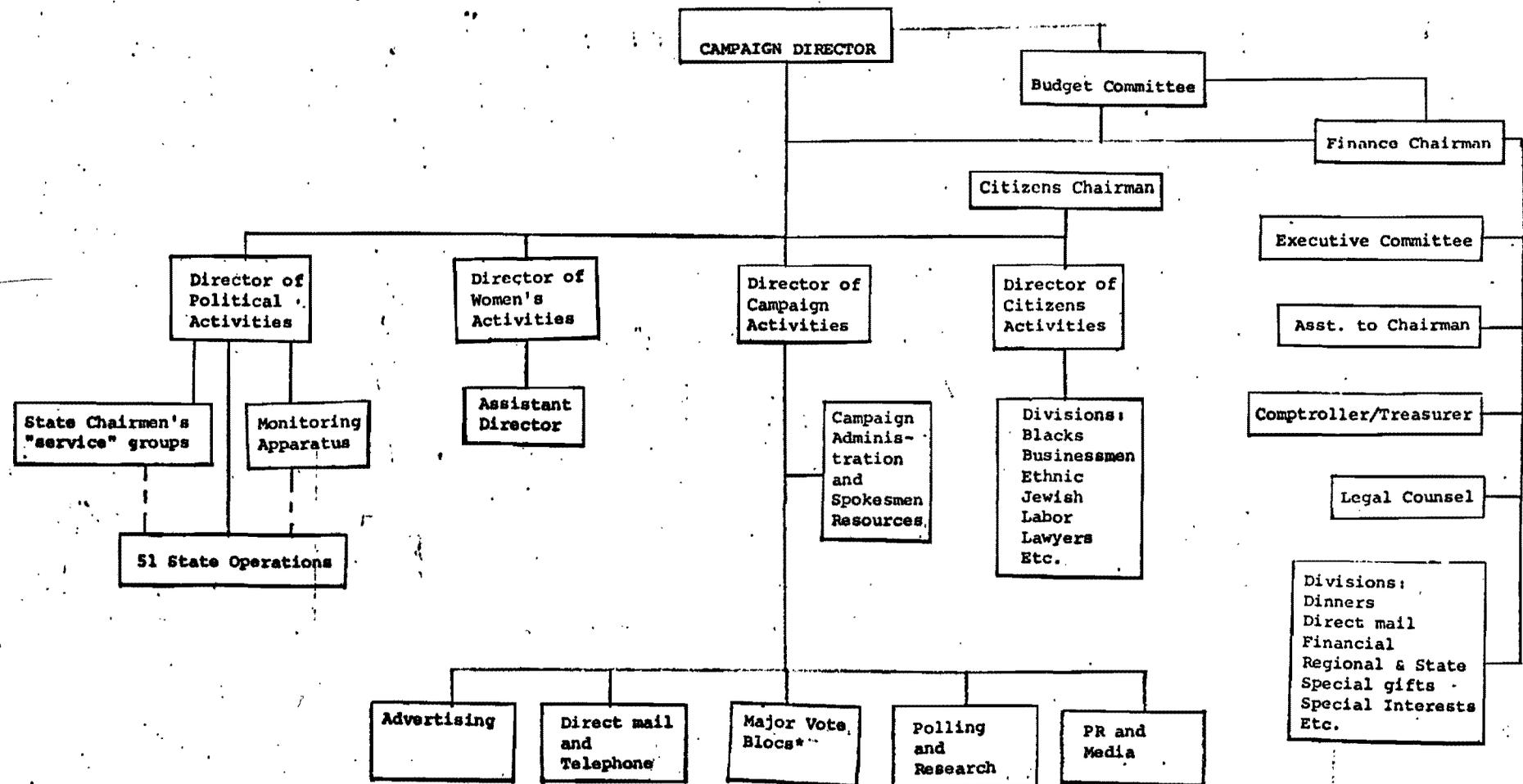
*← probably 20-30,000  
dropped  
AG*

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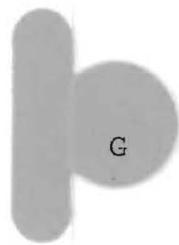
\*Volunteer telephone operators will be tested before  
paid workers are recruited.



Table



\*Includes youth, farm, elderly, transient



Tab 6

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 30, 1971

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

In its meetings of Monday, December 27th and Wednesday, December 29th, the Campaign Strategy Group focused on the youth poster program proposed by Ken Reitz, and the plans for the Republican convention.

YOUTH POSTER PROGRAM. Ken Reitz described the proposed program that he has been developing for a series of youth-oriented posters to be used throughout the campaign. His presentation is given in more detail in Tab A. Briefly, the concept is to capitalize on the popularity of posters among the young people, and to maintain continuing interest by issuing a new addition to the set each month from March through October. Each of these posters would stand alone and reflect a separate set of issues or Administration accomplishments. They would, however, all fit together to form a very large mural which could be mounted on a wall for decoration. At the center of the mural design, there would be one larger poster which would feature the President and reflect the central theme of the campaign. It would be analagous to the 1968 poster, "NIXON'S THE ONE," which showed the President supported by all of the leading figures in the Republican party.

The conclusion of the Strategy Group was that the idea was promising and should be implemented. More work is required on the design of the individual posters. The original thought was to produce the central poster first. However, it may be more appropriate to publish those on important issues first and to hold the main poster until the main theme is more fully developed later in the campaign. The final designs should be tested through focus interviews conducted by Bob Teeter. The main poster should show the President as a man who has mastered his job and is not overwhelmed by his responsibilities. It should emphasize the human aspect of the President. One photograph in the current issue of Time (Tab B) reflects the tone being sought.

It was suggested that the photo adopted as the central one for the campaign be one that can also be rendered effectively as a drawing. In that manner, posters and all forms of campaign material can carry the common theme.

THE CONVENTION. Bill Timmons outlined the plans for the convention as they are currently being proposed. The convention will take place on August 21-23. There will be five sessions during the three days with a total duration of approximately ten and one-half hours. The sessions are now scheduled as follows:

Monday, August 21st (Morning Session) - General organization: appointment of working committees (Platform, Credentials, Rules and Permanent Organization). There will also be a tribute to General Eisenhower and a presentation to Mrs. Eisenhower.

Monday, August 21st (Evening Session) - Keynote address, perhaps presented by three or four leading Republicans, each appearing for up to ten minutes. In addition there will be a 15 minute film on foreign policy achievements of the Administration. There will also be a tribute to the First Lady, including a brief film. It is hoped that she will appear before the convention at that time.

Tuesday, August 22nd (Morning Session) - Reports by Committees, including the presentation of the Platform. There will be a film dealing with the promises made in 1968 and their fulfillment during the President's Administration.

Tuesday, August 22nd (Evening Session) - Nomination of the President. He may make a brief appearance before the convention at that time.

Wednesday, August 23rd (Evening Session) - Nomination of the Vice President. Acceptance speech of the Vice President and acceptance speech of the President.

The morning sessions will start at 10:00 AM, Pacific time, or 1:00 PM Eastern time. The evening sessions will start at 5:30 PM California time or 8:30 PM Eastern time. The first half hour of the evening sessions will be taken up by opening ceremonies and introductions, so that the main business will start about 6:00 PM California time. Pete Dailey will obtain a Nielson curve showing television sets in use throughout the evening viewing time. The characteristics of the viewing population will vary throughout the evening. For example, in the early evening, the audience will tend to include a greater

proportion of older people. Later in the evening, there will be proportionally more young people. The prime viewing time across the country will probably be about 7:00 PM California time.

There will actually be three concurrent programs operating at the convention. The Official Program will be the schedule of events outlined above. The Political Program will involve questions of parliamentary procedure. For example, whether at some point to suspend the rules and nominate the President by acclamation. It will also include the scheduled activities of the leading politicians. The Media Program will include interviews with leading politicians and celebrities and activities outside the convention, such as those being planned through the youth program.

Most of the important chairmanships and other positions of responsibility in the convention will not be filled for several months; however, the Platform Chairman has been selected so that the work necessary to develop the platform positions can begin at an early date. It was suggested by the Strategy Group that in the polls that will be taken around June or July, some measurement be made of the standing of various leading Republicans in the eyes of the public. These results would be useful in making the final selections for key assignments in the convention.

It will be important this time that the delegations include a meaningful proportion of women, young people and minorities. The Nixon State Chairmen, who are now being appointed, have indicated a willingness to be responsive. Nevertheless, it is to be expected that the long-established politicians and financial backers will not want to yield their places on the delegations. In California that problem has been eased by making several financial contributors honorary delegates to the convention, thereby achieving more flexibility in the make up of the voting delegation. In the same manner, it was suggested that state office holders might be given an honorary status. It was also suggested that if some popular celebrities attended as delegates, a great deal of interest could be generated by having the media interview them on the convention floor. To achieve any realistic change from 1968 in the make-up of the state delegations, however, there will have to be strong behind-the-scenes salesmanship by someone in the Administration with political clout.

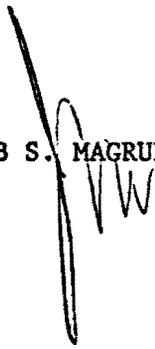
Over the past several months, separate committees have been working on the design of the badges, tickets, programs, etc., for the

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convention. Those activities will now be coordinated so that a common theme will run through all designs relating to the convention.

JEB S. MAGRUDER



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## COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

December 27, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE CAMPAIGN STRATEGY GROUP

FROM: KEN RIETZ

Materials needed for the young voters campaign will be minimal. As all of you know, the thrust of our effort is aimed at organization, not public relations or advertising. We believe involvement is the key. We can receive a substantial number of votes among the young if young people are involved in the campaign in a meaningful way.

We will, however, need several items. Currently in the discussion stage is a button (we've proposed "The President") and a recruiting brochure, flyer, or handout card. We will also need cheap issue flyers for distribution on college campuses.

The one major item we are proposing is establishing a multi-purpose newsletter. It has been designed to serve as a newsletter, campaign handout, and fold out into a wall poster.

This piece will be informative -- not newsy. As the mock-up shows, it will be titled "Young Voters" and each month will use attractive youth photographs. The inside will be issue orientated and at the same time interesting. Instead of talking about various aspects of the campaign, it will take one issue month and thoroughly discuss it. The newsletter will include, cartoons, editorial comments, interviews, etc.

We considered many different ideas on how to make young people want to read and retain this piece. Most campaign material is not studied and is thrown away. We want ours not only to be read, but sought after. We think we've found a unique way.

Posters are extremely popular. Millions of them are being sold, while two or three years ago, there was a decrease in interest. They are more popular now than ever.

Our proposal to make each newsletter fold out into an attractive and decorative Nixon wall poster. (Note sample of Lionel brochure). These posters will be designed along the same lines and by the same company as the highly successful '68 youth poster.

But, that's not where it ends. To make the campaign piece really sought after and collected, we are proposing that we publish one each month for eight months, with the first issue coming out just prior to the New Hampshire primary. Anyone collecting all eight posters and putting them all up on the same wall, would end up with a giant Nixon poster

that fit together and told the story of four years of accomplishment.

The first poster (late February) will be the central poster. It will be larger than the rest and become the main youth poster. It would be sent as a newsletter to a list of about 250,000 active young people (YR's, CR's, TAR's, Young Voters for the President etc.) who support the President. In addition, it would be available as a poster (without newsletter) for sale and distribution. It is our hope that the sale of this poster would finance the entire newsletter program and give our local organizations operating cash.

We would sell each poster to state Young Voters for the President organizations for 50 cents each. They, in turn, would sell them for one dollar each. The poster would only be available from the Young Voters for the President.

We estimate sales of the main poster at one million. This would yield over \$400,000 profit to finance the productions of the other posters/newsletters.

The cost of the main poster -- 22"x34" (folded to 8 1/2" by 11") including all artwork, creativity production, and printing (2 sides) is:

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Unit Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
500 M	11.1 ¢	@55,500.00
1 MM	9.9 ¢	99,000.00
2 MM	9.4 ¢	188,000.00

The cost on the remainder of the newsletters is:

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Unit Cost</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
500 M	6.3	@31,500
1 MM	5.4	@54,000
2 MM	4.9	@98,000

We estimate using 500,000 newsletters each month for the first four months and 1 1/2 million each month for the last four months, which would give us a total of eight million pieces. If we sold one million of the main posters, gave an additional million away, and mailed and gave away six million of the newsletter/handout, our production cost and mailing cost (one million at 4 cents each) would be less than \$500,00.

This idea is unique in American politics. It has never been done before. We believe it has the kind of appeal necessary to attract attention and retain interest.

The attached memo from Jimini productions describes the central poster comprehensive layout. By using mood, we will achieve warmth and dignity. As stated in the memo, we feel the quantities it has been our objective to express -- those of personal warmth and strength combined with great dignity -- are apparent in this layout.

The seal cannot be used, and we feel the golfing photo should be changed to a working shot. Otherwise, the colors and content are good and we would proceed.

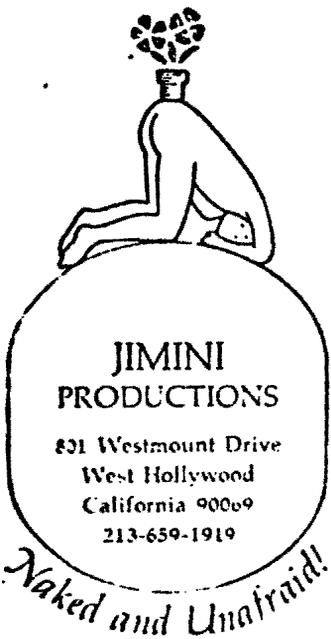
The calendar for completion of the first poster is:

- Comp approved to go to finished art - pending
- Finished art submitted by January 10.
- Finished art approved by January 14.
- Finished art to printer by January 17
- Color proofs submitted for final approval January 26.
- Begin printing January 28
- Printed posters delivered the middle of February.

To meet this timetable on the main poster, we need approval now of the initial order. We propose the printing of one million posters for no more than \$99,000. by February 15.

We also propose that 500,000 of these posters be printed on both sides and used as newsletter/handouts and that 250,000 be mailed to young people involved in the campaign. We will put the balance of the posters on sale to the states.

In addition, we propose that we be allowed to proceed on the layout and format for the subsequent poster/newsletter/handouts.



December 20, 1971

"Re-elect the President" Poster: Comprehensive Layout

This comprehensive layout provides a more specific idea of how the central poster will appear when printed.

Progressing from the pencil-sketch stage, we have added overall color, including a close approximation of the carved-wood border. The words "Re-elect the President" have been inserted in the panel above the central portrait. The words "Nixon '72," beneath the portrait, have been retained, but reduced in size and emphasis.

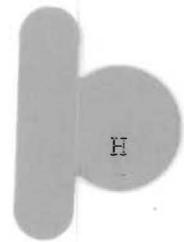
As the poster is carried to final art, the central portrait represented here will be completely re-illustrated to achieve as perfect a likeness as possible. Any of the copy elements or subordinate photographs may be changed to suit your exact needs.

We feel that all the qualities it has been our objective to express--those of personal warmth and strength combined with great dignity--are apparent in this layout. We are confident that the final poster will express these qualities in a very striking and effective manner.

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PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON OUTSIDE THE SAN CLEMENTE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE



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Tab #

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

December 21, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is our weekly report.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

✓ bcc: H. R. Haldeman

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## POLITICAL

Three state chairmen were announced this week. Governor Nelson Rockefeller announced himself in New York; coverage was excellent and well received. In Maryland a press conference was held in Baltimore which included our state chairmen, Ed Thomas, Senator J. Glenn Beall, Senator Charles McC. Mathias, and State GOP chairman Sandy Lankler. Press coverage in Maryland and across the country was very positive. In Oregon, Wendall Wyatt handled the press announcement. Senators Hatfield and Packwood both sent positive statements supporting the President's re-election. Coverage in the state and nationally was also excellent.

We will announce Larry Roos as our chairman for Missouri on Wednesday, December 22. Announcements scheduled for January will include the following states: Wisconsin, Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, Wyoming, Maine, Nevada, Connecticut, and Utah. In addition, we are ready for announcements in South Dakota, Arizona, California, South Carolina, and Florida but will hold these for various reasons.

Our chairman in Connecticut will be Nathan G. Agostinelli. Governor Thomas Meskill and the State GOP organization, headed by Brian Gaffney, will be backing up Agostonelli's efforts. Agostonelli is the first ethnic confirmed as chairman.

We now have four states announced, 14 ready for announcement, 19 in the final stages of setting up and 14 states where problems are being worked out.

## PR/MEDIA

The media coverage of the Maryland announcement was superb with good stories in The Baltimore Sun, Washington Post and Los Angeles Times as well as good local Maryland TV and radio coverage. This was particularly significant in the expression of support for the President by Senator Mathias. In Oregon, the newspapers carried the story and the TV news shows gave the press conference excellent coverage on four stations.

Ann Dore is working with Van Shumway to prepare press kits for all announcements and has attended and will attend the press conferences in each state.

The press area is now operating with continued liaison between Washington and states that have announced their chairmen, particularly New Hampshire.

## BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Last week was spent talking to others in the Administration and to state chairmen to get their thinking on eliminating areas of potential conflict between the state organizations and our operation. We have also started work on planning a motion picture film to motivate businessmen.

## JEWISH

Criticism of the United States' abstention on the vote within the United Nations General Assembly on the Egyptian resolution last week has been fairly muted. The prevailing opinion is that the United States' vote was unfortunate but would result in nothing that would be of great significance.

Discussion of the results of Mrs. Meir's trip continues with some uncertainty, but a growing feeling is being expressed that it was a successful venture. The Jerusalem Post reports that the underlying purpose of the trip was to re-emphasize the alliance between the United States and Israel as a continuing friendship and to take emphasis away from the Phantoms. This appears to set a better tone in the Jewish community and political activities will be better received at this time.

## ADVERTISING

Efforts are being concentrated on organizing and recruiting for the Task Force Agency, which will be located in New York. Office space is expected to be finalized this week.

Campaign promotional materials have been developed for use in New Hampshire, using the theme line "Re-Elect the President". Bumper stickers and buttons will be delivered January 3. A brochure for initial use is under development. Copy and layout will be submitted prior to production.

Primary states advertising will be developed in early January based on research findings due December 27.

## SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

The first weekly meeting of schedulers for surrogate candidates has been held. The purpose of this and subsequent meetings is to coordinate the activities of all surrogate candidates, and to better inform the schedulers about spokesman resources.

The schedulers and advancemen for each member of the Cabinet have been identified and interviewed. A conference for the schedulers is to be held on Tuesday, December 21, 1971, for the purpose of the describing the Spokesmen Resources Program. Speakers at that conference will include Messrs. Flemming and Magruder, who will describe the importance of the program within the context of the campaign strategy. A subsequent conference for advancemen is to be held on Saturday, January 8, 1972, for the purpose of acquainting those individuals with proven advancing techniques. Speakers at that conference will include advancemen from the White House.

Representatives of charter aircraft companies have been interviewed and asked to submit written proposals for the provision of aircraft during the campaign. In addition, we are proceeding with the compilation of data on the availability of private aircraft, which might be donated or leased (if owned by a corporation) for use during the campaign.

We have met with Governor Dwinell and Allan Walker, of the New Hampshire Committee, and George Cook, of the Nebraska Committee, for the purpose of describing the Spokesmen Resources Program. Particular attention is now being given to scheduling spokesmen in New Hampshire.

## YOUTH

New Hampshire: Fifty hardcore workers from college campuses have been recruited. Twelve college students from outside the state will spend full time in New Hampshire during January and receive college credit. More than fifty students from New York will go into the state to campaign, and we have requests from some fifty other students to enter the state for the campaign. The organizational building process will continue, and it now looks as if we will have a substantial youth effort in New Hampshire.

The volunteer effort, in cooperation with Allan Walker and Governor Dwinell, will be concentrated on:

January 21, 22, 28, 29 - voter registration drive.  
February 25, 26 - literature distribution.  
March 3, 4 - get out the vote door to door effort.

Florida: Our meetings with Tommy Thomas have been very satisfactory. He has given us office space and is assisting in setting up our voter registration activity.

Wisconsin: John MacIver and Rietz have established an initial young voters plan which will be followed up with meetings in early January.

California: Rietz has set a meeting with Gordon Luce for early January to lay out the initial youth plan.

Registration: Although the RNC still has not put its effort and resources into voter registration, Rietz has continued to set up state drives in cooperation with YR's and state party organizations.

Public Relations: The youth poster mock-up will be available for review this week.

#### WOMEN

Hauser and Steorts met with Nixon Chairman John MacIver to discuss plans for women in the '72 campaign. Mary Kay Hansen, his co-chairman, was also present. He agreed that he would have women in significant levels throughout the campaign and will have women vice-chairmen in all the municipalities. They have an excellent Volunteer Door to Door effort, which should be very effective in getting out the vote in target areas.

Tom Houser, Chairman of Illinois, has also been informed of the efforts and has appointed his co-chairman in Illinois. We met with her and Pat Hutar in Chicago. They are now making plans to recruit the necessary volunteers for the organization. The headquarters operation was discussed as well as the importance of very rigid ballot security in Illinois.

Steorts met with Larry Roos, Chairman of Missouri, and George Cook, Chairman of Nebraska, Mr. Roos is most enthusiastic about the new approach and was to meet with about 12 key women this week in St. Louis. They had originally been assigned to fund-raising, but voted unanimously to join the State Volunteer effort

for the re-election of the President. Mr. Roos feels they will be a real asset to his operation in St. Louis.

George Cook of Nebraska is very receptive of the idea of the new image of women in the campaign and wants his co-chairman to be preferably from Omaha as he resides in Lincoln. A woman of approximately 30-35 he feels would be better, as she would then attract the young vote. He is naming a State Executive Committee which will be male and female. He feels women are great fund-raisers and he plans to use some of them in this area.

Roma Spaulding, Assistant Chairman of New Hampshire, reports that she has now talked to each county chairman. Several women have been appointed as key city co-ordinators and one is being appointed as county co-ordinator.

Coffee hours are being planned in each county, city and suburb starting in January. The main purpose is to recruit volunteers. Mrs. Dwinell will hold the first coffee at her home in Lebanon and Congressman Cleveland is expected to attend. They plan to have a tape of President Nixon speaking at each of the coffees. Congressman Wyman is expected to attend a coffee in his district. Mrs. Spaulding is making an all-out effort to get young people at these coffees. There are plans for at least two coffees in each county, three in the cities, and two in the suburbs.

#### LEGAL

Gordon Liddy is now aboard and organizing the office. Contracts for polling, housing at the convention for youth and direct mail have been reviewed with changes negotiated where appropriate. Electoral reform legislation is under analysis for direction and options; business affairs, such as method of paying for telephone service has improved through negotiations. The proper form for the "in house" advertising agency is under study in light of electoral reform legislation. The "Equal Time" provisions and the "Fairness Doctrine" have been reviewed and appropriate members of the staff advised thereon. The staff is also receiving regularly interpretations of the Hatch Act as individual cases arise.

RESEARCH

L. Robert Morgan has been appointed Manager of the Direct Mail operation for the 1972 campaign. Bob will join the Committee on a leave of absence from the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation of Houston, Texas, where he has served as Southwest Regional Sales Manager since 1968.

Paul Jones will join the Re-election Committee as Executive Director of Black Voter Activities for the 1972 campaign. Mr. Jones comes to the campaign organization from the Peace Corps, where he served as Deputy Director for Thailand. Prior to that, he served as Director, Office of Civil Rights of the National Highway Safety Bureau of the Department of Transportation.

Attached are trend charts showing the most recent head-to head Harris survey results of Nixon-Muskie-Wallace and Nixon-Kennedy-Wallace.

NIXON

MUSKIE

WALLACE

UNDECIDED

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

1

3

5

7

9

11

1

3

5

7

9

11

1969

1970

1971

1972

