

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>
24	1	11/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Safire to Haldeman RE: Ted Kennedy's potential as a presidential candidate. 4 pgs.
24	1	11/16/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Safire to Haldeman RE: Ted Kennedy's potential as a presidential candidate. 4 pgs.
24	1	10/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Allen to Haldeman RE: Kennedy's connection to a New England Toyota distributorship. 1 pg.
24	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sheet of notes from White House officials suggesting campaign funding sources. 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>
24	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Sheet of notes involving various campaign topics and prominent White House figures. 1 pg.
24	1	7/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information on the campaign from McWhorter. Handwritten response added by Haldeman. 2 pgs.
24	1	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Huntsman to Finch RE: RN's request that an informative memo be sent to Mitchell. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.
24	1	4/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Harlow to Haldeman RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
24	1	4/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Harlow's transcript of a DNC meeting with O'Brien. 4 pgs.

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24	1	4/5/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	"What Democrats Say Now," summing up the state of the Democratic Party in early 1971. Potential presidential candidates are also discussed. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 18 pgs.
24	1	5/19/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: information from Dean on the Democrats. 1 pg.
24	1	5/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Mitchell RE: itineraries for O'Brien in late May. 12 pgs.
24	1	1/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Mitchell RE: information from Andy Biemiller on potential Democratic nominees for president. 2 pgs.
24	1	11/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Mitchell RE: Jackson's decision to run in the New Hampshire primary. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.

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24	1	10/4/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Dean to Strachan RE: an attached document. 1 pg.
24	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	Form letter from the Democratic National Committee attached to a letter sent to supporters of the '72 Club. 2 pgs.
24	1	9/9/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: California chairmen. 1 pg.
24	1	9/8/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: San Diego and San Francisco cancellations for a "Salute to the President" event. 1 pg.
24	1	8/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Kuchel's contributions to California Democrats. Detailed financial breakdown attached. 3 pgs.

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24	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Memorandum detailing a missed call attached to a sheet relating to an Oklahoma political rule. 1 pg.
24	1	7/26/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Finch to Haldeman RE: an attached memo. 1 pg.
24	1	7/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Victor C. Andrews to Finch RE: a speech given by Brokate at a Republican Central Committee meeting. Copy of speech attached. 3 pgs.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*X*  
*Sef. Pol. analysis*  
*Kennedy*

November 16, 1971.

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: BILL SAFIRE  
SUBJECT: Kennedy Victory Scenario

I notice some people around here actually looking forward to Kennedy as the Democratic nominee as "easiest to beat." To dispel that notion, here is a quick rundown of ways he can be expected to turn Chappaquiddick to his advantage.

Pre-Convention

1. Carrying the torch. "The torch has been passed" was a memorable quotation from JFK. Teddy will constantly harp on the brother's fallen torch theme. Not subtly, either -- "we Kennedys can't make plans" is a sledgehammer, strictly emotional, playing on the guilt feelings of many Americans, and because it is bad taste does not make it bad politics.
2. The Sudden-Maturity rationale. How do they come to grips with the failure of courage at the bridge? Answer: Each of the brothers underwent a deep sea-change at some stage of their lives. The Bay of Pigs changed JFK, enabling him to rise to greatness at the Cuban Missile Crisis; Bobby, too, underwent an enormous change from the McCarthy counsel, ruthless and coldblooded, to the warm and compassionate friend of the underprivileged he came to appear to be in 1968. Similarly, the story will go, Teddy went from the high-living, irresponsible boy pre-Chappaquiddick, to the "man of the family" after being deeply sobered by that tragedy. Kennedys traditionally overcome their pasts; the "record" has never been held against them, and to more people than we like to think, will not be this time either.

3. The loss of the job of Majority Whip will be turned around to show that he is not a member of the "Club"; that he is anti-establishment; that he follows his own star. There is romantic appeal there.

4. Purity of motives. He is the only one on the political scene who can get away with saying he is not seeking the Presidency. Everybody else is driven by ambition; he's just speaking his mind.

#### Convention

1. There is a myth that "no one is really drafted." The truth is, Adlai Stevenson was really drafted in '52. Kennedy could arrange for a draft that appears quite real -- and, in a sense, would be.

2. Apart from the Camelot partisans, there would be a strange group of supporters pushing his nomination: Democrats who think Nixon is unbeatable in 1972 and want to get Kennedy to run and get beaten, and thus be out of the way for '76. Certainly the Lindsay people feel this way. So, oddly, would some Democratic conservatives.

#### The Campaign: Making Chappaquiddick work for Kennedy.

This sounds insane, I know; the episode at the bridge is an enormous liability. But there are ways to handle it.

1. Charging "gutter politics." There will probably be people with signs that say "What about Mary Jo?" at every rally. This is dirty politics; has nothing to do with "the issues"; offends the sense of fair play of many voters. Demands will be made that Nixon disavow this sort of dirty pool. If he does not, he will be charged with being secretly behind it; if he does disavow it, he will be charged with calling it to everybody's attention by his very act of disavowal. If resentment against innuendo builds, we will be busy scotching references to Chappaquiddick by our supporters, while the other side will be blowing on the sparks. Dirty jokes about Kennedy will abound; this will offend many other people. "See how this fine man is being villified" will be their theme, and the charge will be that it is all generated in the White House.

2. At an appropriate time in the campaign, Mr. and Mrs. Kopecne will come out for Kennedy.

3. The pressure to open up the sealed verdict will be allowed to grow; then, probably in Houston, scene of the Ministers Conference where JFK "faced up" to the Catholic issue, Teddy will break his silence on Chappaquiddick. The same people who deride a "Checkers speech" as cornball will see this as a human appeal for fairness and a brave exposition of a man's soul. The tape will then be played wherever it is most useful to Teddy.

4. If the war in Vietnam is over and the economy here is in good shape, it would be to Nixon's advantage to campaign on peace and prosperity; it would be to Teddy's disadvantage to address those themes; therefore, it would be his strategy to center the campaign on his own character. This is a dangerous play of the dice, but it is at least arguable that it benefits the challenger if the campaign focuses on him and his possibilities instead of the incumbent and his successes. Of course, if there is trouble with war and the economy, he would go the other way.

5. The President can avoid television debates with any other candidate; but a public yearning for a Nixon-Kennedy rematch on television would be well-nigh irresistible. Ducking or delaying would only play up their "courage" pitch, which would directly answer that loss of courage at the bridge.

6. The polls will be far more volatile than usual, reflecting the emotional responses sure to be triggered in a campaign that plays on national guilt, past assassinations, pleas to rise above vicious innuendo, and the like. A sudden shift in polls toward the end, no more than a quirk, could be played into a bandwagon swing to overcome voter reservations with the "legitimacy" of majority opinion.

7. Great stress will be laid on the number of threats he receives, the impassioned pleas of the Secret Service to limit his campaigning to safe television appearances, and his courageous refusal to be kept away from crowds. He will motorcade Dallas. The "old" Teddy ran away from trouble; the "new" Kennedy will not run away. He will prove his courage once and for all in Dallas, on the final weekend of the campaign.

H. R. Haldeman - 4

Why do I write this memo?

I think we can beat Kennedy. But it is important that we recognize the wild and woolly nature of the campaign he could put on and stop thinking he would be the easiest candidate to beat. Also, we would do well to start thinking now about the sort of thing that could happen should he get the nomination.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 1971

SENSITIVE - EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN 

SUBJECT: EMK

Some time ago I heard from a knowledgeable friend that Kennedy has a financial interest in the Toyota distributorship for New England. The subject came up again the other day, and my friend insists that it is a fact, although a carefully submerged one.

It seems that Norton Simon and Pat Brown were in competition with the Kennedy group for the entire Mid-Atlantic region distributorship, and the Simon-Brown group won. At that time, the Mid-Atlantic region included the Boston area. The Kennedy people were alleged to be angry, and pushed hard enough on Toyota to spin off New England to them.

At one point, I am told, Kennedy himself was produced to help convince Toyota that there was an official "Washington interest" involved.

A Fitzgerald apparently runs the show for the EMK group; another fellow named Butler is also in the group. Together, I am told, there are "four or five" Kennedy guys on the board of the Boston outfit, and all have been said to be engaged in fund-raising for Kennedy.

If this can be verified, the information could be particularly significant in labor circles. At a minimum, it could be suggested that the Japanese are involved with Kennedy funding.

In August, Kennedy visited (per Caulfield) with a wealthy Japanese in Hawaii, J. Otani, who has a palatial residence there. I do not have any information on the Japanese, and do not know whether he is connected with Toyota.

In my judgement, this is worth investigating.

SENSITIVE - EYES ONLY

K - H - Bee Hills - John Fishbeck?

2-5 mil, no influ on pol

K needs contact

H - probol  
don't want \$  
- any thing  
or foolish \$  
- no paper to  
even be heard

K - Taft Schreiber says apprec; Prot to see Fisher

G → DS to call K at home this wknd

Offer 16 + after 6 mos etc; d Sloan

K - no 5 mil in & f/ds - H - no!

K ag / also, risk to great

H - indiv's can continue as indiv's;



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1971

H. R. HALDEMAN

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

Charlie McWorter -  
Information System

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Discussion with Charlie McWorter, who just returned from the Western Governor's Conference, covered the following subjects:

- 1) McWorter talked to McCall, who made the statements about Reagan just to get the headlines and thereby increase his chances of getting Hatfield's seat. McCall says he was just trying to help the President;
- 2) None of the Democratic Contenders had men working the 7 Democratic Governors and staffs at the Western Governor's Conference;
- 3) Egan told McWorter the President would have trouble carrying Alaska; Burns said the same about Hawaii;
- 4) Governor Evans of Washington hasn't decided to run for a third term. McWorter suggests that "we" decide whether we want him to run and if so, encourage him;
- 5) The President should carry Oregon though support for Jackson is strong as it is in Washington;
- 6) In Idaho and Montana the Republican parties have deteriorated badly and McWorter suggests that the President campaign entirely separate from the party. Idaho's Democratic Governor Andrus and Montana's Democratic Governor Anderson are doing well.
- 7) In New Mexico the Republican efforts are chaotic, and the President should campaign separately;
- 8) Governor Love told McWorter that the President should carry Colorado. Love was very friendly and wanted to be cooperative;

**McWORTER**

**MS**

*left get sharp*

**L.**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By *ep* NARS, Date *3-19-82*

- 9) Steve Shaddegg of Arizona had some very negative comments about the Administration's dealing with the Republican party. Shaddegg told McWorter that "Nixon can't carry Arizona," but McWorter disagrees;
- 10) McWorter will attend the Mid West Governor's Confernece in Sioux City, Iowa, beginning Sunday. McWorter will then go to the RNC meeting in Denver where he will sit in with Flemming during meetings with every Republican State Chairman.
- 11) McWorter attended Western Governor's "because Stan Hathaway asked him." McWorter attends National Governor's meetings as a "member of the Vice President's Staff."

Recommendation:

That a copy of the memornadum be sent directly to the Attorney General.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

*H*  
*improve the spelling*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT H. FINCH  
FROM: JON M. HUNTSMAN *gmh?*  
SUBJECT: Your July 20, 1971 information  
Memo

The President read with interest your memorandum of July 20, 1971 on the subject of the California Delegation, Convention and Campaign. He requested that you send the memorandum to the Attorney General, John Mitchell.

Thank you.

*Hoopes admitted mistake 7/27*

cc: ✓ H. R. Haldeman  
Alexander P. Butterfield

BRYCE N. HARLOW

1812 K STREET, N.W.  
SUITE 600  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

4/8

Bob Halldeman -

maybe this has  
value.

Confidentially given me  
by an old press friend.

Bryce

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

G.S.  
✓

April 20, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By CP NARS, Date 3-18-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: DNC Meeting, March 26, 1971

Bryce Harlow sent a transcript of the DNC meeting with O'Brien opening and comments by Harold Hughes, Neale Chaney (Washington State Chairman), Kennedy, Claude Mauberret (Louisiana Vice Chairman), Gordon St. Angelo (Indiana Chairman), Mrs. Mae Gurevich (New York Vice Chairman), Leo Fitzgerald (Illinois Treasurer), and John Burns (New York State Chairman).

Some pointed quotes are extracted below.

- O'Brien: "We are supporting:  
"A universal voter enrollment plan.  
"Data bank of voting statistics at DNC.  
"In-house radio service for Congressmen.  
"Recognition by the FCC ...  
"We are going to demand a fairness doctrine -- including action in the courts.  
"Over the last 12 months, DNC has maintained economic stability.  
"We did not incur any additional debt (they also did not pay off any of the \$9.3 million debt hanging over from 1968)
- Hughes: "1972 will be the first open party convention of the Democratic Party ...  
"Richard Nixon came to Iowa to talk to the General Assembly about Revenue Sharing. Nixon was met by 3,000 demonstrators: ...  
"The Nixon years have been cold, impersonal years with computerized efficiency.  
"A methadone treatment system, properly administered, could reduce street crime by 50% in one year.  
"Nixon has unleashed Vice President Agnew on the country. He is the most divisive man I have heard in the history of this country. The teeth are still showing.

"I believe that whoever wins the Democratic nomination, labor will support.

"Revenue sharing -- I support it.

"There has been a tremendous change in the South in the last 2 years. I would want to spend a great deal of time there, and I would try to carry the South.

Chaney: "If we had a presidential primary in Washington State, Jackson (Washington) would take 70% of the vote. Muskie would probably run 2nd.

"Some of our people think Birch Bayh is personable, but I don't know of anyone who regards him as a real contender for the Presidency. I think Chappaquiddick killed Kennedy. I count him out for 1972 ...

"John Lindsay -- there is no great groundswell for him to run as a Democrat.

"I don't believe 1972 is the year for a "liberal" 4th party.

"Organized labor is very potent in Washington State.

"Financially, we are not so good.

"(No quote -- Jackson, Muskie or Humphrey could beat Nixon in our State.

"I can't see any great upturn in the economy by 1972 -- at least not in our region.

"There is considerable interest in the Nixon domestic program.

"I was in California when they reorganized their Democratic State organization 6 weeks or so ago. Muskie obviously was the most popular candidate, but he does not have it locked up. McGovern has a certain amount of support, Humphrey hadn't started to move.

Kennedy: "No issue is more important than ending the war in SE Asia.

"2nd great issue -- restore confidence in the economy.

"3rd is reconciliation within our country.

"Quality health care -- fastest failing industry in our nation.

"Q - on Revenue Sharing. I'm opposed to unrestricted loans and grants to communities.

Mauberret:

(La.) "You can forget about the Democratic and Republican labels in our State. The struggle is between liberals and conservatives.

"I don't think George Wallace is going to run again, unless something happens in this country real bad.

"I think Muskie would be acceptable, or Humphrey. McGovern is too much on the dove side. Hughes has not impressed anybody.

"I think we have to restore the North-South balance on the ticket in 1972.

"If Nixon comes out of the war situation, he is going to be hickory to beat in 1972.

St. Angelo:

(Ind.)

"Birch Bahy is a very serious candidate.

"I think the economy will be No. 1.

"I don't think Teddy Kennedy is really out of it.

"I personally would welcome John Lindsay into our party.

"McGovern has little or no organized support in the party organization.

"Many people want to go back to Chicago for the convention, to prove to Walter Cronkite and Howard K. Smith that they can do a better job.

"We are not really a farm state anymore -- only 9% of our total population is on the farm.

Gurevich:

(N. Y.)

"The South is coming back into the fold.

"John Lindsay? Where would he get support in the Democratic Party? I do not think he would have it easy.

"A Liberal Third Party? No -- there is not enough strength there.

"The average woman is worried about:

"the narcotics...

"the 18-year-old vote; are these youngsters capable of planning my way of life?

"ecology; ...

Fitzgerald:

(Ill)

"North-South ticket?

"People don't pay too much attention to geography anymore.

"Lindsay? I doubt it very much.

Burns:

(N. Y.)

"off the record, ...

"Lindsay is being urged to switch. There is a 50-50 chance he will do it. He would get a mixed reception.

"But I can't see Lindsay winning the Democratic nomination.

"Muskie is going down. Humphrey is coming up.

"A North-South ticket balance is not necessary.

"Who would be most electable in New York?

"Kennedy ...

"Muskie ...

"Humphrey wouldn't go too well.

"But as things stand now, anyone could beat Nixon in New York, ...

"A "liberal" Fourth Party would be a serious threat to us.

"John Gardner is trying to affect the course of events, and possibly to create the nucleus of a liberal 4th party.

APR 5 - 1971

March 26, 1971

WHAT DEMOCRATS SAY NOW

3rd annual meeting of Association of Democratic State Chairmen,  
Washington, D. C., March 25-26

Lawrence F. O'Brien, National Chairman:

One year ago our party was at low ebb and in disarray. Today, the DNC is established and fully funded. An invigorated, reformed party at all levels is desperately needed.

A large segment of our population feels a sense of alienation, frustration and hopelessness. There has been a drop in registration in our party and in the opposition party.

It is important that people once again come to believe in the system, and in the parties as the most effective way of exercising the political process.

The 1968 Convention called for establishment of 2 reform commissions. The guidelines they proposed were adopted by the DNC two weeks ago. Our call for the 1972 Convention has been adopted.

We are discussing a basic restructuring of the DNC. This will be presented in depth to the 1972 convention.

"  
We are supporting:

- o " A universal voter enrollment plan.
- o ' Data bank of voting statistics at DNC.
- o In-house radio service for Congressmen.
- o Recognition by the FCC and networks to insure that the loyal opposition has a voice. We demand equity. I'm going to be more specific in the next 2 48 hours. We are going to demand a fairness doctrine -- including action in the courts.

Finances -- Over the last 12 months, DNC has maintained economic stability. Our expenditures ran around \$1.5 million. We did not incur any additional debt (they also did not pay off any of the \$9.3 million debt hanging over from 1968)

more

2 democrats

We had a recent private meeting at my apartment of potential Democratic Presidential candidates. A public announcement was made later.

We need a national Democratic Party encompassing men and women of good will in every State. This was the Democratic Party. It will be again. It is a test. It will be trying.

Our Situation today:

-- A year ago, a concept that we could unite and defeat the incumbent Administration was not valid/ Even 6 months ago, it would have had to be viewed as impossible.

-- Since the election last November, there is a new climate. We have renewed vigor.

-- Do we have the leadership and expertise to maximize our potentialities for 1972?

-- We have an unfinished agenda in the halls of Congress and in the State-houses of this land.

Our goal: return of the Democratic Party to the government of this land.

What was impossible 6 months ago is possible today -- but it is not yet probable.

Senator Harold Hughes, Iowa (nominated McCarthy in 1968)

1972 will be the first open party convention of the Democratic Party to be held in my lifetime (under reform commission rules)

Richard Nixon came to Iowa to talk to the General Assembly about Revenue Sharing. Nixon was met by 3,000 demonstrators:

- 1,500 young people against the war
- 750 hard-hat construction workers
- 750 farmers demanding parity
- 14 Iowa clergymen with letters protesting recent activities in Indochina.

more

3 democrats

The Nixon Administration is clearly in trouble with all sectors of the American people. It has become isolated from the people, and failed to deliver on its promises. There is a growing conviction that Nixon is on the slide, and that 1972 will be a Democratic year. Basically, it is on the failure to perform that this Administration will be defeated. The Nixon years have been cold, impersonal years with computerized efficiency.

Railpax -- what it has done to our region of the country is to abandon it.

SST -- would have benefited an infinitesimal number of people.

We need a 10 or 12 year program to build roadbeds all over this country, like the Interstate Highway system.

99% of the people who are sent to prison come out in less than 3 years, worse off than before.

A methadone treatment system, properly administered, could reduce street crime by 50% in one year.

We had 36 bank robberies and 1,500 gun battles in Washington, DC in one year -- it makes the Old West pale with shame,

The original Nixon promises were:

-- to end the war. We have now bombed 4 countries and invaded 2 in order to leave 1. There are real questions about the viability of Vietnamization. There will not be total disengagement from Vietnam by the Administration without action by Congress.

-- to control the economy. We have 6% unemployment with 5½ million Americans out of work. Prices are still high. There has been no success.

-- to bring us together. The only way I've seen this done was like the demonstration at the Iowa State Capital -- where peace people, farmers and hardhats united in protest.

Nixon has unleashed Vice President Agnew on the country. He is the most  
devisive man I have heard in the history of this country. The teeth are still  
showing. more

I believe the vast majority of young Americans will be voting for Democratic candidates.

Q: whether Hughes could get support of organized labor for President?

I don't know. My voting record for labor was 100% last year, I voted vs the SST. George Meany and labor supported the SST. I believe that whoever wins the Democratic nomination, labor will support.

Q: Revenue sharing

I support it. I don't know of a Governor in the country who doesn't support it and hasn't for years. When it gets down to how to do it, that is where you have a basic separation of views.

One way is for the Federal Government to begin to take over the Welfare program. For the States to believe that they are going to get massive sums without any strings attached -- they're kidding themselves.

Q: Could Hughes carry the South?

I really don't know. I don't believe we should write off any regions of the country. There has been a tremendous change in the South in the last 2 years. I would want to spend a great deal of time there, and I would try to carry the South.

Neale Chaney, Washington State Chairman, private interview, on the record:

We want to begin organizing our end of the country behind ~~the~~ Senator Jackson. He won't say he is a candidate -- but he won't say no. I hear he was the most popular candidate at the recent AFL-CIO executive committee meeting in Miami.

Labor felt strongly about the SST. The Boeing company sent out 7,000 pink slips this morning (March 25). We are going to feel it more in Seattle -- but a lot of other States will feel it too. A lot of that work would have gone to California.

Whether Jackson could be nominated may depend on what happens in the world situation. If things toughen up in the Mideast or Israel, or if Russia or Red China move into Indochina, a lot of people may say this guy is right. more

If we had a presidential primary in Washington State, Jackson would take 70% of the vote. Muskie would probably run 2nd. Third place depends on Hubert Humphrey. He is popular in our State. He carried it against Nixon in 1948. McGovern will have a certain amount of organization support, but not much popular support. Some of our people think Birch Bayh is personable, but I don't know of anyone who regards him as a real contender for the Presidency. I think Chappaquiddick killed Kennedy. I count him out for 1972 -- but I do not think he is dead politically for the long run.

Some of the mandates passed down by the reform commissions and DNC hurt us. They say the delegate selection process must be in the current year of the convention. We have precinct workers and committeemen who pay a few. They have always been delegates to the county conventions. It is hard to tell them: you file, pay a few, do the work for 1½ years, then if you don't get elected as a delegate, you're done for. They are not too happy about that. The reform commissions said there should be no automatic delegates -- ie, State chairmen, Governors, Legislative leaders etc. Then they passed a resolution making all of the new Democratic National Committee members automatic delegates.

I don't believe in this selection process. I believe that we should send 52 of our best qualified people regardless of age, sex, color or any other thing. We've always sent a fair share of women, we have encouraged 13-year-olds, and we had 2 black delegates last time.

John Lindsay -- there is no great groundswell for him to run as a Democrat. Our people are going to be polarized around Jackson, Muskie, Humphrey. McGovern might have some support. There is not much for Hughes or Bayh. Lindsay would have to take support from someone else.

I don't believe 1972 is the year for a "liberal" 4th party. We have a wide scope of people in the Democratic Party, Jackson is a domestic "liberal" but tough on international relations. McGovern is a pure dove. I don't know what a  
more

"liberal" party would have to ~~fix~~ offer. Wallace got about 7-8% of the vote in our State. Basically, he got votes from conservative ~~xxxx~~ Democrats.

Organized labor is very potent in Washington State. We do pretty well there as a party organization. Financially, we are not so good. We are about \$12,000 in debt. Some of the others say we are in good shape by comparison/ Our problem is, with a balnket primary, it dilutes party organization. Candidates tend to set up their own little party -- they are not guided by the party organiaétion, or disciplined by it.

(No quote -- Jackson, Muskie or Humphrey could beat Nixon in our State.

When people get thrown out of work, they always blame the top guy of the incumbent Administration in Washington. McGovern couldn't do it -- our people are not that liberal. I can't see any great upturn in the economy by 1972 -- at least not in our region. I heard an estimated that before the SST vote, unemployment in the Seattle area was up to 16%. Throwing another 7,000 Boeing workers out of work is going to raise that a point or two.)

Back on record: There is considerable interest in the Nixon domestic program. The Governor is for revenue sharing, but I don't seem much interest in the State legislature. I would rather see welfare taken over by the Federal Govt.

I was in California when they reorganized there Democratic State orgabiza-  
tion 6 weeks or so ago. Muskie obviously was the most popular candidate, but he does not have it locked up. McGovern has a certain amount of support, Humphrey hadn't started to move. Birch Bayh was there -- the women delegates like him, think he is attractive.

It is probably right to say that if Muskie doesn't go to the 1972 convention with 51% of the delegates, he's dead.

The primaries in 1972 are going to be more important than in the past. Whoever takes the California primary will have a lot of support.

more



Today, we are facing the two most difficult issues in the last 100 years -- the race issue and the war issue. The other time the race issue was raised, it brought about a Civil War.

Q: on SST. Kennedy -- I feel this is the termination of Federal participation in the program.

Q -- on Draft. I'm opposed to an all-volunteer army in wartime. In peace, it should be considered. As long as we are involved in SE Asia, the most equitable is the random selection system, which we do not have at the present time. I have yet to find many people who would volunteer. I ask this questions at colleges. I have found only 36 who said they would volunteer. They are mostly in vocational and trade schools. Very few from the more affluent schools and colleges. I am concerned about the makeup of an all-volunteer army. They want to offer \$3,000 bonus to volunteer into a combat division -- that is not really a volunteer. Peace Corps and Vista are volunteer programs. But in the Army, we find 24% in divisions are from minority races, and 22% of the casualties in VN.

Q - on Revenue Sharing. I'm opposed to unrestricted loans and grants to communities. Cities need great kinds of help. We need additional resources, but I'm not satisfied that revenue sharing meets the need. Maybe Federal tax credits. But some States and cities then might reduce their taxes. They might cut taxes to attract some of the industries we have left in Massachusetts down to Southern States.

Volunteer programs -- I am not satisfied with the newspaper reports on the Administration proposal. Senator Nelson and I introduced the Teacher Corps. Volunteerism is important. 85% of the young people in Massachusetts law schools want to go into legal services and public service law firms. Many in Medical schools want to go into medical service delivery systems.

more

Claude Maubert, New Orleans, Louisiana Vice Chairman, okay to quote:

No consensus whatsoever shaping up over a Presidential nominee.

You can forget about the Democratic and Republican labels in our State.

The struggle is between liberals and conservatives. People in our part of the country will vote Democratic in local elections. In the Presidential election, they will vote for a conservative.

I don't think George Wallace is going to run again, unless something happens in this country real bad. He did everything he could the last time.

The Governor used to pick the delegates. He picked people loyal to the party who could pay their way to the convention. I do not know how the selection is going to be made if we have an election of delegates. It gets expensive. Where are you going to find the people who can go and pay their own way? Before, we always had people connected with labor, industry, some Negroes, a cross section. I don't know what we will have now.

People in the South think that Birch Bayh gave them a bad deal with the Carswell nomination. He wouldn't go over well in the South. Kennedy has said he is not going to run so often. I think Muskie would be acceptable, or Humphrey. McGovern is too much on the dove side. Hughes has not impressed anybody.

I think we have to restore the North-South balance on the ticket in 1972. You couldn't come up with a Presidential candidate out of the South -- we don't have anyone there. You have got to balance the slate in more than one way if you want people in the South to vote for your ticket.

Muskie and Humphrey will have enough delegates that they won't pick Kennedy by acclamation. But the whole complexion may change in one year. I can't see a Kennedy draft now, and if he didn't have a draft, he wouldn't enter into the picture.

If Nixon comes out of the war situation, he is going to be hickory to beat in 1972.

more

10 democrats

Gordon St. Angelo, Chairman, Indiana, next senior state chm to John Bailey, okay to quote:

Birch Bayh is a very serious candidate. He is running second to Muskie at this point. He is ahead of McGovern. This is what I hear when I get out of the State. There is no question that Muskie is ahead now.

Bayh has made good strides in the last 2½ months. The California convention did the most for him. He has an organized effort going in Washington.

We don't really know today what the issues will be in 1972. I think the economy will be No. 1. Then the Nixon turtle-like withdrawal from Vietnam. He failed miserably in Laos. I don't think that withdrawal from Vietnam will remove the war as an issue. There is lack of direction and little credibility in this government in the minds of the people, Nixon is back to the image of the used car salesman of 1960.

I don't think Teddy Kennedy is really out of it.

Muskie is leading in the polls, but he is slipping. Others have been coming up. Hubert Humphrey is analyzing his options. If the opportunity affords, he will be a candidate again.

I personally would welcome John Lindsay into our party. But it is like the old saying: He is welcome in church, but we don't want him to sing lead soprano in the choir on his first Sunday there.

Delegate selection poses no problem for us. I'm surprised that they allowed 25% of the delegates to be selected at large. My hope was that there would be no "automatic" delegates. Once they break the rule, they allow others to request consideration. Now they have allowed the National Committee men and women to become automatic delegates. Why not the State chairmen and vice chairmen — they are more active in the party than the National Committee members.

It is not necessary to restore a North-South balance on the ticket, but it is  
more

important to restore an ideological base. There is no great difference today in the thinking of a majority of Democrats in the rest of the country and those in the South. I am not proposing a middle of the road candidate, but I wish we could find a common goal. We have been torn apart on the race issue. Now there is a new generation of party leadership. A candidate from the South as Vice President might be able to carry his own State, or a single state. There are some Governors who are held in high regard, such as Warren Hearnes of Missouri, and former Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina. Bear this in mind -- I am not ticket-picking for Bayhm.

McGovern has little or no organized support in the party organization. ~~He~~ There are isolated groups of people who are enthusiastic and involved for George over the war issue.

There are too many former Kennedy people in too many camps, if Kennedy intended to run. There has been some breakaway, too, of former Humphrey people.

Three Presidential prospects already have organizations in New York State. California, Pennsylvania and Texas are being worked over, too. There is only one benevolent party boss left in the big cities - Chicago. There are smaller States of influence, like our own State. You may see a bigger split.

We may have the biggest field of candidates in the history of our convention. The selections of primaries is going to be all important. The ~~primary~~ results of the primaries will be more important than ever before -- if Muskie doesn't break up by Thanksgiving of this year. Party leaders all know when they see a winner.

It will take 1,509 votes to win at the convention -- 1 over 50%. There are a lot of party leaders. Every movement has got to have party leadership, that has got to be respected and followed.

Many people want to go back to Chicago for the convention, to prove that to Walter Cronkite and Howard K. Smith that they can do a better job. That was where we lost the 1968 election. We never got out from under it.

more

Organized labor is extremely important in our State, but I would say that we have the best Democratic party organization of any state in the country.

Bayh is our first choice. Muskie is probably 2nd choice. There is little support for McGovern in Indiana.

In the 1970 Senate election, we were behind until the last 10 days. We were better organized, but underfinanced. The Republicans outspent us 6-to-1 -- which proved to me once and for all that money is not the decisive factor in an election. The GM strike helped focus attention on problems of the economy. We are not really a farm state anymore -- only 9% of our total population is on the farm.

NOTE: The presiding officer announced that 42 States were represented at the 2 two-day meeting of Democratic State Chairmen, with 38 States sending their chairman, the others vice-chairmen. It is the third annual meeting of the relatively new organization.

Mrs. Mae Gurevich, Democratic vice chairman, New York State, okay to quote:

Muskie is leading, according to the polls. There is no particular feeling yet in New York about the nominee -- they like all the men.

Averell Harriman is respected and listened to -- how much that will mean in delegate strength, I don't know.

The delegates will be elected in the primary election, some by districts and some statewide at large. Before, the at-large people were named at the State Committee meeting.

McGovern has a headquarters operating in New York City.

will have  
The women ~~h/~~ a two-day conference in Albany April 25 -- ~~thax~~ Birch Bayh will be there; the women wanted to see and hear him.

Something is happening in New York State. We are losing elections consistently. We used to win when we were disciplined. Only that way will we start winning again. more

The South is coming back into the fold. The battle between the North and South in the Democratic Party is coming to an end. I don't know whether or not we have to nominate a Southern candidate for Vice President.

John Lindsay? Where would he get support in the Democratic Party? I do not think he would have it easy. New York City is a bloody mess. I don't see how he can do it. He's got the Republicans worrying. He's got the Democrats thinking. He's got them guessing. He has made no statement of his own.

A Liberal Third Party? No -- there is not enough strength there.

McCarthy -- certain people still talk about him in New York.

I'll tell you what people are thinking about now:

-- What about the boys who are coming back from Vietnam addicted to hard drugs. We have enough addicts in the country already -- it's frightening.

-- The average woman is thinking that if prices keep going up the way they have been, she's going to be paying 65¢ for a quart of milk.

-- The man who is facing retirement and had worked to get a \$10,000 a year retirement income is wondering whether that will be enough to keep him now.

These are the things that are worrying people now.

The average woman is worried about:

-- the narcotics situation

-- the 18-year-old vote; are these youngsters capable of planning my way of life?

-- ecology; this is very important.

-- education; the costs are skyrocketing, but what are our children learning when they go to school?

-- When they go to college today, they are unhappy, unsettled. Are they getting anything: Parents are constantly worried.

The government can enact laws, but it's more than laws. You can't enact respect. Let's not blame the government for everything; the policeman, the school teacher. Parents have a responsibility, too. more

Parents are frightened today.

The war is reaching people. If it's not a son, it's a nephew or a friend. And before you know it, this 12 year old will be ready for it.

On television, you see those poor soldiers hanging onto helicopters and getting kicked off.

I find people singing a different tune now -- enough is enough. There is not a woman in America who is not affected by this. They are scared to death. They talk about it in supermarkets, and in the beauty shops.

They talk about the new drug addicts. Those boys are so frightened that is the only way they can go on.

The average taxpayer is being taxes out of his skin. If there is a need for more services, someone has got to pay. If they feel that they won't have to pay more taxes -- that the government will pay for it -- the average taxpayer is interested. That's how they feel about revenue sharing. There has got to be a better way. I say if we end the war, it will help -- but we won't get any immediate tax relief.

When you first talk about welfare, they are down on it. They think there is something that must be done to make better citizens our of the people on welfare. The only way I can imagine is to make them self-sufficient is to educate them, We have got to create a sense of dignity.

Leo Fitzgerald, treasurer of Democratic State Committee, Illinois, okay to quote:

Muskie appears to be a popular fellow. This does not reflect organization support -- just opinions I hear expressed. The fact that Muskie ran for Vice President in 1968 makes him well known, and that speech on the eve of the 1970 election was very impressive. People have remembered that.

more

Kennedy still have a following, or would have if he became a candidate. He is a very attractive person. He would draw a lot of votes in Illinois.

Humphrey is well thought of, a very capable person. Democrats think he would make a good President. Since he has become the Senator from Minnesota, we don't hear so much about him anymore for President.

We don't hear too much about McGovern.

Bayh and Hughes are from Indiana and Iowa, and are considered neighbors. They are highly thought of in different sections of Illinois that border on Indiana and Iowa.

We don't hear too much talk about Jackson.

North-South ticket? Voters don't pay too much attention to that. In 1948, Truman and Barkley lived in adjoining States. People don't pay too much attention to geography anymore.

Lindsay? I doubt it very much. I don't believe he could be nominated by the Democratic National Convention.

New Rules -- All the States are probably going to adapt rules to conform to the McGovern commission guidelines. We elect delegates in a primary in Illinois. We will have 170 delegates, 144 elected by districts, the rest in one of three ways; x, at large by in the primary, at the State Convention, or by the State committee. We elect our state officers at the convention. The Presidential primary in our state is not binding.

I don't know whether the National Convention will come back to Chicago. We will try to get it held there. The Mayor appointed a committee to try to get the convention. We have the most centrally located place for most delegates. We have a new convention hall in McCormick Place, probably the biggest convention hall in the world.

more

Nixon is vulnerable. He indicated that he was going to end the war soon after he took office. The economy is down. Inflation is higher than when he took office. The unemployment rate is higher than anytime since the early 1960's.

Revenue sharing has an interest. Mayors and Governors want it. It seems a majority in Congress are not in favor of it. They are pretty much together on a Federal takeover of welfare.

Adlai Stevenson III is a personable candidate for Vice President on a Muskie ticket. Stevenson is highly regarded in Illinois.

John J. Burns, State Chairman, New York -- off the record, or no attribution:

A lot of people are thinking about Teddy Kennedy.

Muskie has been ahead. But as Hubert Humphrey begins to move around, he is going to cut into Muskie.

There is only scattered support for Bayh and McGovern and the others.

Lindsay is being urged to switch. There is a 50-50-chance he will do it.  
He would get a mixed reception. As the Mayor of New York City, he would be the most powerful Democrat in our State. But with the general public, he is not popular at all -- he's in a dip.

He is popular around the country as a spokesman for urban areas. But I can't see Lindsay winning the Democratic nomination. He could be a factor. He would have to do well in the primaries.

Muskie is going down. Humphrey is coming up. McGovern has not caught fire. He has got a lot of liberal, issue-conscious people for him, but not much organization support.

As of now, all of our delegates are to be elected in Congressional districts. There may be an effort to switch back to 90% district delegates and 10% statewide at large.

more

17 democrats

That is, 10% selected by the State Committee.

A North-South ticket balance is not necessary. It would depend on who the Southerner is. There is no demand in our State to put a Southerner on the ticket.

Who would be most electable in New York?

Teddy Kennedy is the most popular.

Muskie is next.

Then Bayh or McGovern.

Humphrey wouldn't go too well.

But as things stand now, anyone could beat Nixon in New York, except maybe Jackson. He is identified with the right wing Democrats, hawks and labor.

McCarthy still has some following left among the left-wing IDC people, but it is a very narrow radical left. They also support McGovern and Ramsey Clark.

A "liberal" Fourth Party would be a serious threat to us. McCarthy is unpredictable. I don't think either McGovern or Lindsay would go the 4th party route. John Gardner is trying to affect the course of events, and possibly to create the nucleus of a liberal 4th party.

The shape of the Democratic organization in New York State depends on each county committee. In general, party organization is not as important as it used to be. People are influenced by events and by television. There is a polarization in our State between blacks and whites, the young and hardhats, liberals and conservatives. It is not good.

If Rockefeller ran for President on the Republican ticket, we would be in trouble. With Nixon, we should carry the State in a two-way race. The economy and the war are going to kill Nixon.

We are really a 4-party state -- with Liberals and Conservatives, in addition to Democrats and Republicans.

Some labor unions are more effective politically than others. Now the police and firemen are wanting to retire on 1/2 pay after 18 years of service. The costs would be terrific. more

18 democrats

Nixon wants to run in New York in 1972 on both the Republican and Conservative Party tickets. Rocky opposed that before; I don't know what he will do now.

To win, we have got to present an attractive candidate, dynamic and progressive, who will give the public confidence that he will correct the problems.

Can quote Burns on this:

President Nixon knows what he is doing. He is a shrewd politician. I do not think that we should take it for granted that we are going to win. It is tough to beat an incumbent President.

I do not think that any Democratic candidate is going to the 1972 Convention with 51 percent of the delegates. Some will fall by the wayside. It looks to me like there might be a number of ballots. It will boil down to two or three candidates after the first few ballots. People will switch on philosophy.

Back off the record - or no attribution:

A lot of people accept what Kennedy says, but have reservations in the back of their minds. If I do or say something, it is always interpreted in New York as coming from a Kennedy man. But Kennedy would be a great candidate in New York State. It is weren't for Chappaquiddick, he would be a shoo-in for the 1972 nomination.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date May 19, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

F Y I

Dean is trying to discover the  
dates the Democrats are considering  
in Miami and Houston.

May 17, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP NARS, Date 5-18-81

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Enclosed are copies of itineraries of Larry O'Brien for May 19, 20 and 21.

I have made arrangements to receive future itineraries.

It is suggested that these be made available to the proper people so the right questions can be asked at press conferences he will be holding.

Maybe Herb Klein's contacts can complete this. If, for any reason, that is not deemed advisable and you want me to arrange for the right questions at the right conferences, please let me know.

Unless I hear further from you, I will assume that you have the situation in hand.

P.S. I am also enclosing itineraries for Saturday, May 15, and Monday, May 17, which arrived too late to be of any real value. However, I am sending them along so that you may know where Larry has been going.

✓cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL

CHAIRMAN'S RETURN  
MIAMI SITE COMMITTEE VISIT  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1971

10:00 AM Depart Kennedy EAL # 11

12:44 PM Arrive Miami International Airport  
Mayor Jay Dermer's limousine will meet Chairman at plane ramp and drive to Press Conference location

12:45 PM Press Conference officially called  
Chairman will proceed to nearby room for news catch-up and briefing

12:55 PM Press Conference (stand up podium with flag)

1:20 PM End of press conference

1:25 PM Depart for TV taping of "Florida Forum"

1:45 PM Arrive WCKT-TV (NEC)(305-751-6692)  
Paula Flagg, Associate Producer  
Gene Strul, News Director and Executive Producer  
Panel: (Moderator) Tom Miller, News Producer, WCKT-TV  
John McDermott, Political writer, Miami Herald  
Jack Kasservitz, Chief Editorial writer, Miami News  
Wayne Fariss, Staff newscaster

2:45 PM Depart for Miami Beach Convention Hall to join Site Committee  
Telephone 305-534-7511

3:00 PM Arrive Convention Hall  
Inspect facilities and hear presentation

5:00 PM End of Convention Hall Visit

5:05 PM Depart for Fontainebleu Hotel (305-JE 8-8811)

5:15 PM Arrive Hotel - proceed to suite

7:10 PM Proceed to Reception in Fontainebleu

7:50 PM Dinner

8:50 PM End of Dinner  
Remarks

9:00 PM Return to Presidential Suite  
RON

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1971

8:30 AM Breakfast in suite

9:30 AM TOUR A - Bus tour of Miami Beach to look at hotels and travel times

11:00 AM End of Tour A

11:00 AM TOUR B - Bus tour of dormitory facilities

12:00 PM End of Tour B

(Recommend you to take Tour A if you take a tour)

3:00 PM Depart Fontainebleu for Miami International Airport

3:35 PM Arrive Airport

4:05 PM Airborne for Houston Delta #251

5:21 PM Arrive Houston

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NOTE: Nick Kostopoulos will depart Newark Tuesday, May 18 at 12 noon, arriving Miami at 2:35 PM on EAL #5, and will proceed to Fontainebleu after checking out facilities at the airport for the press conference and WCKT-TV for the television taping.

Attached itinerary was given to Nick by Treasurers office and reflects overall program for Miami and Houston site committee visits.

Mayor Jay Dermer 305-534-7511

Clifford O'Key (City Manager ) same as above

Convention Hall same as above

Hal Cohen (Director of Public Relations, Miami) same as above

Fontainebleu Hotel 305-JE 8-8811

WCKT-TV 305-751-6692

Miami Beach (continued)

Thursday, May 20

9:30 a.m. Bus tour of Miami Beach area demonstrating the general layout of the hotel facilities and travel times. For those who wish it, the bus will also go to the University of Miami to review the dormitory accommodations there.

12:30 p.m. Return to the Fontainebleau Hotel  
Conclusion of tour  
Transportation will be available to the airport for travel to Houston, Texas.

Note: We had asked Houston to seek private transportation from Miami to Houston, but they report that they are unable to provide such transportation.

Following are commercial flights available:

1:25 p.m. Depart Miami  
National Airlines Flight #37-non-stop

4:25 p.m. Arrive Houston  
-----

4:05 p.m. Depart Miami  
Delta Airlines Flight #251-non-stop

5:21 p.m. Arrive Houston  
-----

4:20 p.m. Depart Miami  
National Airlines Flight #185-non-stop

5:30 p.m. Arrive Houston

Houston, Texas

Thursday, May 20

7:00 p.m. Proceed from hotel (to be determined) to the  
(approx.) Astrodome for cocktails and dinner and a brief review of the Astro-hall

RON \_\_\_\_\_ hotel

page three

Houston (continued)

Friday, May 21

8:00 a.m. Breakfast

9:00 a.m. Total tour of Astro facilities, hotels in the vicinity of the Hall and downtown.

12:30 p.m. Luncheon

Return to the hotel. Transportation available to the airport .

CHAIRMAN'S ITINERARY  
HOUSTON, TEXAS  
THURSDAY, MAY 20 and FRIDAY, MAY 21

THURSDAY, MAY 20

5:21 PM Arrive Houston, Delta flight #251  
Proceed to Hotel (yet to be determined by Bob Strauss)  
7:00 PM Proceed from Hotel to Astrodome for cocktails and dinner and  
brief review of Astro Hall  
9:00 PM Return to Hotel  
RON

FRIDAY, MAY 21

8:00 AM Breakfast for Site Committee  
9:00 AM Total Tour of Astro facilities and hotels in the vicinity and downtown  
12:30 PM Lunch (to be determined by Bob Strauss)  
2:00 PM Return to hotel  
Transportation available to airport  
The Chairman will remain overnight enroute to Austin.  
Fay Abell will be travelling with the Chairman.  
Nick will depart Houston at 3:35 PM on Delta #910 and return to Norfolk.

CONTACT: Don Vaughan, Convention Manager, 713-748-4500

WHEELING COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT  
MAY 15, 1971

- 12:20 PM Arrive Page Airways
- 12:30 PM Airborne for Wheeling by private plane  
Manifest: Chairman Lawrence O'Brien  
Mr. Thomas Winner, Asst. to John D. Rockefeller IV  
Mr. Robert J. Burke, Treasurer, Democratic State  
Committee of West Virginia; President, Warwood Tool Co.  
Nick Kostopulos, Assistant to the Chairman
- 2:00 PM Arrive Wheeling-Ohio County, W. Va. Airport  
(Mr. Thomas W. Lewis, Airport Manager - 304-277-1166)  
Airport Reception  
Dr. Roger Haigh, Assistant Professor of Political Science and  
Mrs. Nancy G. Haigh, Lecturer in Political Science  
J. Rogers O'Neill, Director of Public Relations  
Jack Waterhouse, President of the Wheeling Area Chamber of Commerce  
Plus 2 or 3 others from the Chamber of Commerce
- 2:10 PM Depart airport by motorcade  
Car 1 - Chairman O'Brien  
Mr. Bob Burke  
Dr. and Mrs. Haigh  
Car 2 - Mr. Tom Winner  
Mr. Harry Hamm, Editor of Wheeling News Register  
J. Rogers O'Neill  
Nick Kostopulos
- 2:40 PM Arrive Wheeling College - 123 Ricci House (College switchboard  
number is 304-243-2000)  
Freshen up; refreshments and sandwiches  
Present: Chairman O'Brien  
Dr. and Mrs. Haigh  
Messrs. Burke, Winner, Kostopulos, O'Neill, Hamm
- 2:57 PM Depart for Press Conference
- 3:00 PM Press Conference, Swint Lounge, Swint Hall
- 3:30 PM End of Press Conference  
Proceed to 201 Swint Hall to meet others sitting on dais:  
Reverend Frank R. Haig, S.J., President, Wheeling College  
Bishop Joseph Hodges, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Wheeling  
Father H. E. Dunn, S.J., Vice President for Univeristy Relations,  
University of Detroit  
Dr. Thomas G. Wack, Academic Dean, Wheeling College  
Miss Katherine A. Fouts, Dean of Women, Wheeling College  
Mr. Thomas P. McCarthy, Registrar, Wheeling College  
Mr. James Doherty, Senior Class Speaker
- Mr. O'Brien will robe in President Haig's office before  
leaving for park

3:40 PM Depart for Commencement Exercises at Oglebay Park Amphitheater  
Escort provided by Ohio County Sheriff's office  
(Sheriff Ralph Lepore; 304-232-1800 or 233-1900)  
Car 1 - Chairman O'Brien  
President Haig  
Dr. and Mrs. Haigh  
Car 2 - Bishop Hodges, Father Dunn  
Car 3 - Messrs. Kostopulos, Burke, Hamm, O'Neill, Winner

Messages may be received through the Park Switchboard - 304-242-3000

3:50 PM Arrive Oglebay Park

4:00 PM Commencement begins  
Presiding over the ceremony - Dr. Thomas G. Wack

Processional into Amphitheater

4:10 Invocation

4:13 National Anthem

4:15 Presentation of Honorary Doctor of Humanities to Chairman O'Brien

4:20 Listing of graduate awards received by the class

4:25 Recognition of the two honor societies

4:30 Awarding of Medals and Honors

4:35 Awarding of Degrees

5:05 Senior Class Speaker - Mr. James Doherty

5:15 Commencement address by Chairman O'Brien

6:00 End of Commencement Address

Recessional

6:00 PM Commencement concluded

Depart Oglebay Park; escort provided by Ohio County Sheriff's Office

Proceed by automobile to Pittsburgh Airport

7:10 PM Arrive Pittsburgh Airport

7:55 PM Depart Pittsburgh, TWA #256

9:01 PM Arrive LaGuardia

CHAIRMAN'S ITINERARY  
ESSEX COUNTY VICTORY DINNER  
HONORING HARRY LERNER, CHAIRMAN, ESSEX COUNTY DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE  
MONDAY, MAY 17, 1971

6:30 PM Reception, Robert Treat Hotel, Crystal Room  
6:45 PM Chairman O'Brien departs UN Plaza for Robert Treat Hotel, Newark, N.J.  
7:15 PM Press Conference, Salons E & F, Robert Treat Hotel  
7:30 PM Proceed into Dinner, Main Ballroom, Robert Treat Hotel  
8:00 PM Introductory remarks - Harry Lerner  
8:05 PM Invocation - Rabbi Zev Segal  
Dinner served  
9:20 PM General Chairman and Toastmaster, Hon. Richard J. Hughes  
9:25 PM Prayer for Peace - Rev. Henry Cade  
9:30 PM Hon. William S. Hart, Mayor, East Orange  
9:35 PM Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Representative, 10th Dist.  
9:40 PM Hon. Joseph G. Minish, Representative, 11th Dist.  
9:45 PM Hon. Robert B. Meyner, former Governor of New Jersey  
9:50 PM Hon. Harrison A. Williams, U.S. Senator  
9:55 PM Hon. Lawrence F. O'Brien's remarks  
10:25 PM End of Chairman's remarks  
10:30 PM Benediction - Rev. Thomas J. Finnigan  
10:40 PM Depart for UN Plaza  
11:20 PM Arrive UN Plaza

N.B. Harry Lerner (O) 201-623-2512  
(R) 201-678-0705

Walt Ramsey (Sen. Williams office; handling press conference) 202-225-4744

Robert Treat Hotel 201-622-1000

GUESTS ON THE DAIS

HON. JOSEPH BENUCCI  
POSTMASTER

HON. SALVATORE BONTEMPO  
CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC STATE COMM.

HON. NICHOLAS V. CAPUTO  
ESSEX COUNTY CLERK

HON. THOMAS E. COOKE, JR  
FREEHOLDER

HON. JOHN F. CRYAN  
SHERIFF, ESSEX COUNTY

HON. LOUIS P. FALCONE  
MAYOR, WEST ORANGE

HON. NICHOLAS FRANCO  
FORMER, MAYOR, ORANGE

HON. JOSEPH A. GANNON  
EXEC. DIRECTOR, DEMOCRATIC STATE COMM.

HON. MACLYN S. GOLDMAN  
TREASURER, DINNER COMMITTEE

HON. WILLIAM S. HART  
MAYOR, EAST ORANGE

HON. PETER STEWART  
MAYOR, CALDWELL

HON. HERBERT GLADSTONE  
FREEHOLDER

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY  
EXEC. ASST. TO DEMOCRATIC STATE COMM.

HON. PHILIP KEEGAN  
FREEHOLDER

HON. JAMES P. LORDI  
ASSEMBLYMAN, ESSEX COUNTY

HON. JOSEPH P. LORDI  
PROSECUTOR, ESSEX COUNTY

HON. RITA S. McDONALD  
DEMOCRATIC VICE CHAIRLADY, ESSEX COUNTY

HON. ANDREW WAZER  
SUPER COMMERCE/DEVELOPMENT, ESSEX COUNTY

HON. RONALD OWENS  
ASSEMBLYMAN, ESSEX COUNTY MA

HON. ROBERT PEACOCK  
CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE

HON. PAUL POLICASTRO  
ASSEMBLYMAN, ESSEX COUNTY MA

HON. WALTER QUINN  
FREEHOLDER

HON. GEORGE RICHARDSON  
ASSEMBLYMAN, ESSEX COUNTY MA

HON. PHILIP ROTONDO  
FREEHOLDER

HON. HARRY STEVENSON  
MAYOR, IRVINGTON

HON. MAURICE VENERI  
PRESIDENT, INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL

HON. LOUIS FALCONE  
MAYOR, WEST ORANGE

HON. JOEL SHAIN  
MAYOR, ORANGE

HON. KENNETH SMITH  
MAYOR, BELLEVILLE

HON. RALPH DE ROSE  
CANDIDATE FOR SENATE

HON. WYNONA LIPMAN  
FREEHOLDER AND CANDIDATE FOR SENATE

HON. FRANK DODD  
CANDIDATE FOR SENATE

HON. MARTIN GREENBERG  
CANDIDATE FOR SENATE

HON. ABNEY SACLIN  
CANDIDATE FOR SENATE

HON. HARRY GLADSTONE  
CANDIDATE FOR FREEMOLDER

HON. JOSEPH VANNUZZI  
CANDIDATE FOR FREEMOLDER

HON. NICHOLAS AMATO  
CANDIDATE FOR SURREGATE

HON. FRANK ABBARO  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE, HB

HON. PETER FORRE  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE, HC

HON. DAVID CONRAD  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE, HC

HON. PETER STEWART  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE HD

HON. BIDRIDGE HAWKINS  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE, HD

HON. HARRY McENROE  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE, HE

HON. GERRARD SIMONS  
ASSEMBLY CANDIDATE, HE

CHARLES DE MARCO  
SENATE CANDIDATE FOR VACANCY

SCALAGNA  
PUBLISHER, ITALIAN TRIBUNE

January 14, 1972



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL  
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Muskie

Andy Biemiller, legislative head and chief liaison officer of the AFL-CIO with the Hill, reports that Muskie's nose was out of joint because of the refusal of the union to come out with ringing endorsements for him.

"He just doesn't turn us on," said Biemiller. "If he should become the nominee, I'm afraid it'll be a kind of routine, reflex effort on our part. In other words, not much. The old man (Meany) isn't very keen on Muskie."

Jackson

"We like Jackson but he has not really gotten any identification although he has tried."

Lindsay

"The guy who is scary in identification is Lindsay. - We have reports that in Florida, California and Wisconsin the women went for him in a big way. We can't figure what this will mean in the primaries except that women see him in an adoring way. No, not many men do the same."

"Of all the Democratic candidates, we must try to remember practically, it has been Lindsay that turns on a section of the potential vote. He sure isn't our candidate. But I don't think we ought to ignore this phenomenon. We have been getting reports on this regularly from where Lindsay goes."

Humphrey

"Old Hubert has a loyal following in the mid-West and in other places. It is not good enough, I think. He began much too

21  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

John Mitchell  
Page 2

January 14, 1972

late and there is a divided share of the vote he'd get with more going to Muskie in a kind of two-way fight. But Hubert has his loyalists. They could hurt Muskie by standing pat, not contributing or contributing very little. Hubert is certainly not going all out, you can bet, to help Muskie once he, himself, goes down."

AFL-CIO Strategy

"I have proposed that we get delegates aligned with Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, even McGovern, in the primary races. That's the only way to do it now. Then at the convention, we'd have a good-sized bloc. Such a situation could give us lots of maneuvering room and lots of clout. We may have a situation where, say, 25-30 per cent of the delegates may be the single biggest group."

Kennedy

Biemiller disagreed with a previous source. He didn't think Kennedy would do anything in '72 but sit tight. He agreed that others in the hierarchy had a conflicting view.

MMC:a

cc: H. R. Haldeman ✓

CONFIDENTIAL

7  
DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

November 2, 1971

*JS*

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By *EP* NARS, Date *1-18-82*

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Yesterday afternoon and last night, the Strategy Board of Senator Jackson met, and as a result of this meeting, the decision is for Jackson to enter the New Hampshire primary. Salter of the Jackson camp prevailed in this opinion.

Please note, like anything else, it is subject to change.

*also story in  
Post 11/3*

cc: H. R. Haldeman

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*H need  
not see  
G 10/5*

10/4/71

(Date)

TO:

George Strachan

FROM: JOHN DEAN

ACTION:

DUE DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Prepare Reply For John  
Dean's Signature

\_\_\_\_\_ Direct Reply

\_\_\_\_\_ Comments/Recommendations

\_\_\_\_\_ Please handle

Information

File

REMARKS:

# DEMOCRATIC

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20037 (202) 333-8750

ROBERT S. STRAUSS  
Treasurer

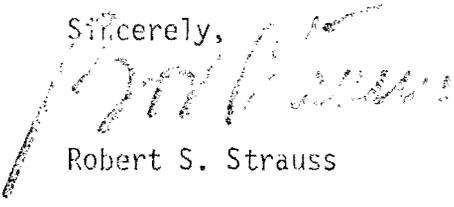
Dear Mr.

I am attaching a copy of the letter we have sent across the country in regard to our '72 Club.

I appreciate your interest and in taking the time to call us about it.

I am enclosing a response card which I hope you will return.

Sincerely,



Robert S. Strauss

Enclosures (2)

# DEMOCRATIC

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 2600 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20037 (202) 333-8750

ROBERT S. STRAUSS  
Treasurer

(Date)

Dear

In less than a year from today the eyes of the world will be focused on the Democratic Party as we meet for our 1972 Convention at Miami Beach and begin the process of selecting the next President of the United States.

Our staffing and planning is underway and we hope to have the most constructive Convention in the long and glorious history of our Party.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to join a special group -- the "72 Sponsors Club."

Each member is being asked to contribute \$72 per month for twelve months with such monthly contribution to be used to provide the basic financing for our Party activities as we move toward the Convention.

Aside from the knowledge and satisfaction of making a meaningful contribution to our Party and our nation's welfare, you, as a member of the "72 Sponsors Club", will receive special Convention reports from time to time. Also, we hope you will attend the "72 Sponsors Club" Cocktail-Bufferet at the Fontainebleau Hotel which Larry and I will host on the Sunday evening before the Convention opens to present our candidates and other distinguished members in the leadership of our Party.

Additionally, club rooms have already been set aside in the Convention Building, to be comfortably furnished, where refreshments and special services will be available for you and the other members around the clock. On the evening our nominees are finally selected we will have the first occasion to honor them at a special cocktail party for our members.

To assist in these arrangements, within the next few weeks we expect to announce a special Convention coordinator, to facilitate housing and other, always existent, convention problems.

Whether you plan to attend the Convention or not, we think you will find membership in the "72 Sponsors Club" to be interesting and exciting, as well as most worthwhile. We need your support. Indeed, we hope you will complete and return the enclosed card indicating your desire for membership in the Club.

Larry joins me in assuring you that we will continue to strive to justify your confidence and provide the kind of leadership you desire. With your support and that of many others we take pride in having managed to fulfill our commitment to bring stability and responsibility to the Democratic National Committee and develop a hard-hitting political team. With renewed confidence we look forward to the next twelve months when we gather in Florida for a great Convention.

Sincerely,

Robert S. Strauss

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 9-9-71

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Tom Evans at the RNC reports that after 5 chances at a Dinner Chairman for San Francisco that Governor Reagan will call and close the Chairmanship around Jack Hume.

Evans meets with the Attorney General tomorrow on trying to get a Chairman for San Diego.

September 8, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
CONFIDENTIAL E.O. 12958, Section 6-102  
By *CR*, *3-18-82*

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

I just received a report that San Diego and San Francisco have cancelled participation in the November 9th "Salute To The President."

While the funds to be received do not accrue directly to the President's campaign, nevertheless, public knowledge of such cancellations can reflect dangerously on the standing of the President, particularly since San Diego is the site for the 1972 National Convention.

The "excuse" for the cancellation is that the cities involved have been unable to obtain a chairman.

Perhaps, whoever is looking after California, will want to do something about this report.

*Murray*

cc: Hon. John Mitchell

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 8-13-71

TO: H.R. HANCOCK

FROM: GERALD R. HANCOCK

Dean forwarded this report on Tom Kuchel's contributions to Democrats in California. A file of this type of material is maintained in my office.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 13, 1971

For: Gordon Strachan

From: John Dean

For your information.

Thomas Kuchel

(Ex-Republican Senator from California)

Mr. Kuchel is the Washington partner of Wyman, Bautzer, Fimmel, Rothman, and Kuchel. They represent the Republic of Korea and various sugar interests in Columbia. Lobby reports show they gave campaign contributions to the following partial list.

1/28/70	Committee to elect Tunney (California)	\$ 25.
9/9/70	Committee to elect Tunney (California)	25.
10/19/70	John Tunney for Senate	1,000.
11/11/70	John Tunney Victory Dinner Committee	1,000.
5/27/70	Lawyers for Tunney	110.
		<hr/> 2,160.
8/3/70	Scott for Senate Committee (Pennsylvania)	1,000.
4/23/70	Stevenson for Senate Committee (Illinois)	1,000.
3/25/70	McGee for Senate Committee (Wyoming)	100.
2/27/70	Moss for Senate Committee (Utah)	1,000.
8/21/70	Reelect Moss Committee	50.
		<hr/> 1,050.
3/11/70	Pitchess Campaign Committee (Republican, Sheriff, Los Angeles County)	1,000.
4/20/70	Brown Campaign Committee (California) (Secretary of State)	500.
10/12/70	Edmund Brown for Secretary of State	500.
		<hr/> 1,000.
10/14/70	Alquist for Lt. Governor (California) (vs. Ed Reinecke)	250.
10/13/70	John Pastore (Rhode Island)	250.
10/22/70	Richard Hanna for Congress Committee (Calif.)	1,000.
3/30/70	Bell for Congress Committee (California)	500.
10/9/70	O'Brien Campaign Dinner	1,500.

He also gave \$1,050 to Riles in his successful bid to unseat Max Rafferty and \$1,000 to Alan Cranston for Senate 1/8/71.

Oklahoma law provides that after a vacancy occurs the the Governor must within 30 days call for a special election. The primary election cannot be held sooner than two weeks after the call; similarly the general election cannot be held sooner than two weeks after the primary.

There is no provision in Oklahoma law specifying how long after the "call" the special election must be held. The Governor is prevented from accelerating the election to prevent any meaningful campaigning. Political rather than legal considerations control the amount of delay the Governor could permit.

MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL

TO: \_\_\_\_\_ *Dean*

YOU WERE CALLED BY— *G*  YOU WERE VISITED BY—

*Mr. Meier*  
OF (Organization) \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO. CODE/EXT. \_\_\_\_\_

WILL CALL AGAIN  IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL  WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

*Have copies of applicable Okla. - if want, ~~ask~~ send messenger for them.*

RECEIVED BY <i>JM</i>	DATE <i>29</i>	TIME <i>5:35</i>
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STANDARD FORM 63  
REVISED AUGUST 1967  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6  
GPO : 1969 - 648-16-80341-1 332-380 63-108

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1971

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: ROBERT FINCH

FYI XX

COMMENT \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

JUL 22 1971

H - need  
not  
see  
G  
7/26

July 20, 1971

7/20/71  
F-41

To: Robert Finch  
From: Victor C. Andrews

**This** is a speech given by Mr. Brokate at the last  
Republican Central Committee meeting

Out of approximately sixty people present, half  
walked out. Of the remaining half, six people  
applauded at the end of the speech.

V.C.A.

JULY 19, 1971

By George W. Brokate

I WAS REPORTED BY THE LA TIMES TO BE THE LARGEST REPORTED ORANGE COUNTY CONTRIBUTOR TO THE NIXON CAMPAIGN IN 1968 WITH \$13,000.

BY HIS RECENT ACTIONS RICHARD NIXON HAS SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE JUST ANOTHER TRICKY WEATHERVANE OPPORTUNIST POLITICIAN. HE HAS SOLD OUT THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM BY PROPOSING A SOCIALIST GUARANTEED INCOME UNDER THE PHONY TITLE "FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN."

AS CONGRESSMAN JOHN SCHMITZ HAS SAID NIXON HAS "SURRENDERED TO COMMUNISM". HE HAS SOLD OUT THE HOPES FOR FREEDOM OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN ASIA BY GOING WITH HAT IN HAND TO RED CHINA, THE ATHEISTIC DICTATORSHIP WHICH HAS HELPED KILL THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS IN KOREA AND VIETNAM, AND WHICH GROWS AND SELLS DOPE TO THE YOUTH OF THE FREE WORLD.

HE HAS DONE THESE THINGS NOT FOR "PEACE", BUT TO BUY THE VOTES OF THE IGNORANT, THE WISHFUL-THINKING FUZZY MINDED AND THE RADICAL LIBERALS TO ELECT HIMSELF IN 1972. HE HAS SOLD OUT OUR AMERICAN G.I.'s KILLED BY RED CHINESE GUNS.

I HAVE HERE A COMMUNIST MORTAR SHELL SAFETY COVER FROM VIETNAM WITH A CHINESE INSCRIPTION "BEFORE LOADING, PULL TRIGGER AND TAKE OFF THE CAP". THE CLOTH TAG BEARS, IN RUSSIAN, THE SAME INSTRUCTIONS. NOTICE THE RED CHINESE AND RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS ALWAYS MANAGE TO WORK TOGETHER WHEN IT COMES TO KILLING YOUR SONS. NIXON KNOWS THIS.

HE HAS BETRAYED HIS 1968 CAMPAIGN PROMISES TO REJECT THE GUARANTEED INCOME CONCEPT, AND TO NEVER PRESIDE OVER AN AMERICAN DEFEAT IN WAR.

SEE PAGE 2

HE HAS, IN SHORT, SOLD OUT HIS AMERICAN PRINCIPLES, TO KEEP HIMSELF IN POWER, WHILE HE TRADES WITH THE ENEMIES WHO HAVE VOWED TO DESTROY OUR COUNTRY.

RICHARD NIXON IS A SNEAKY, DISGUSTING, POLITICAL OPPORTUNIST. THERE IS LITERALLY NOTHING LEFT HE WILL NOT SELL OUT TO GET ELECTED. IF AFTER THE 1972 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION HE IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT, MANY OF US WILL HAVE TO CAREFULLY RECONSIDER HOW MUCH SUPPORT WE CAN GIVE TO HIM IN GOOD CONSCIENCE. WE WILL HAVE TO WATCH HIM, AND HIS SUPPORTERS AND FLUNKIES VERY VERY CLOSELY. RIGHT NOW I AM VERY ASHAMED OF HAVING SUPPORTED RICHARD NIXON IN 1968.

I AM PROUD OF MY SUPPORT OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN SCHMITZ, WHO IS A TRUE REPUBLICAN AND HAS THE COURAGE AND LOVE OF FREEDOM WHICH RICHARD NIXON LACKS. PERHAPS THE MAIN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ONE POLITICIAN AND ANOTHER IS COURAGE. SCHMITZ HAS IT, NIXON DOES NOT, UNLESS HE DISAVOWS HIS TRIP TO RED CHINA. IN THAT EVENT I MAY RECONSIDER MY POSITION.

I WILL RETURN THE BRONZE AND WOOD PLAQUE I WAS GIVEN AS A MEMBER OF "RICHARD NIXON ASSOCIATES" IN 1968 INSCRIBED "WITH DEEP APPRECIATION" AND SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT. I DON'T WANT IT. TO ME IT IS A SYMBOL OF THE BETRAYAL OF FREEDOM AND BETRAYAL OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

FORMER DIRECTOR  
LINCOLN CLUB OF  
ORANGE COUNTY

*George W. Brokate*

GEORGE W. BROKATE  
714-833-9494  
ELECTED MEMBER ORANGE COUNTY  
REPUBLICAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

APPOINTED MEMBER REPUBLICAN  
STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CALIF.