

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>
26	1	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	A report provided by The Citizens for the Re-Election of the President entitled, "Planning for the Re-Election of the President." RE: A comprehensive planning effort to develop the necessary strategy, organization, and operating procedures. 22 pgs.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note titled, "J8M Projects." 1 pg.
26	1	7/2/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Horton to Jeb Magruder. RE: The attached copies of the booklet, "Planning for the Re-Election of the President." Also, included is a quote from "Jesus Christ Superstar." 2 pgs.
26	1	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Horton to Gordon Strachan. RE: The attached note to Jeb Magruder that will summarize the planning activities for the campaign. 1 pg.

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26	1	6/25/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Bill Horton to Jeb Magruder. RE: An attachment that explains the plan to combine the voting block studies with the Citizens Committee plan. 1 pg.
26	1	6/1/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects. 2 pgs.
26	1	6/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Bob Marik to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: The summary of techniques needed as a decision is reached on simulation for 1972. 3 pgs.
26	1	6/15/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder's Projects, and the Attorney General's pressing of Magruder to take action with his Task Forces. 2 pgs.
26	1	6/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Bob Marik to Jeb Magruder. RE: The simulation for 1972, and the need to utilize the techniques that were a success for Kennedy in 1960. 3 pgs.

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26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten noted dated 6/23. 1 pg.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 6/14. 4 pgs.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 6/9. 4 pgs.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten notes dated 6/4. 4 pgs.
26	1	6/30/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Larry Higby to Bruce Kehrli and Gordon Strachan. RE: The need for an upcoming meeting to discuss what projects will be implemented in California. 1 pg.

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26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Indecipherable handwritten note. 1 pg.
26	1	6/28/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: Mrs. Vincent Lombardi. 1 pg.
26	1	6/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Jeb Magruder. RE: The task force meetings. 1 pg.
26	1	6/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Magruder. RE: Concerned Californians Against Nixon. 1 pg.
26	1	5/20/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Personal	Memo	From Murray Chotiner to John N. Mitchell. RE: Message that reads, "I received the enclosure from a "friend." It was addressed to me at my law office from San Francisco, indicating that someone is current on my whereabouts." 1 pg.

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26	1	4/12/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Catherine DeWitt Marshall to The President. RE: The problem with President Nixon's waning popularity, and a list of reasons as to why Nixon should retire from office. 2 pgs.
26	1	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder Meeting with the Attorney General-June 23. 2 pgs.
26	1	6/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: Republican National Committee Budget. 2 pgs.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A Functional Chart detailing the Executive Committee and the Administration and Organization of the RNC. 1 pg.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A chart detailing the Administrative and Organizational positions of the RNC. 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>
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A chart detailing the positions under the Administration of the Deputy Chairman. 1 pg.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A report detailing the Administration, giving the definition, responsibilities, and functions. 1 pg.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A chart detailing the list of positions under the Deputy Chairman Communicators. 1 pg.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A report listing several key positions in the RNC in charge of getting out the vote. Such positions include: Direct Mailing, Publications, and an Advisory Board. 1 pg.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Other Document	A chart detailing the positions under the Deputy Chairman, Research & Pol. Organization. 1 pg.

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26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Report	A report on the Political Division of the RNC, and a detailed examination on the political programs designed to reelect President Nixon in the upcoming '72 election. 4 pgs.
26	1	6/10/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Barry Mountain to Tom Evans. RE: Concerns about the operations at the RNC, and the current financial situation. Attached are financial reports and cash balances from the Republican Party Headquarters. 13 pgs.
26	1	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Haldeman. RE: Magruder Meeting with the Attorney General-June 23. 2 pgs.
26	1	6/22/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Charles Colson to Pat Buchanan. RE: Message that reads: "In connection with your activities in tracking prospective Democratic candidates, the attached should be carefully preserved as HHH's last gasp." 1 pg.
26	1	5/17/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert Marik to Jeb Magruder. RE: Marginal Congressional Districts, along with attached lists as of 1970. 3 pgs.

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26	1	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to the Attorney General. RE: An enclosed memorandum from Rob Odle which details how offers of assistance are being handled. 1 pg.
26	1	6/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Offers of Assistance, and the need to acknowledge those wishing to support the President in his bid for reelection. 3 pgs.
26	1	6/23/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: The need for at "1971 Brochure" to send to those who write to the President and the RNC offering their assistance. Attached is a xerox copy of Nixon. 2 pgs.
26	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	A newsletter from the Citizens for the Re-Election of the President detailing ways that voters can help secure a successful reelection for President Nixon. 4 pgs.
26	1	6/14/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to The Attorney General. RE: An enclosed memo detailing how offers of assistance are to be handled. 1 pg.

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26	1	6/7/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Domestic Policy	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Offers of Assistance. 3 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** H. R. Haldeman  
**Box Number:** 305

**Folder:** [4 Campaign-July 5, July 16, 1971] [Folder 3]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
1	Return Private/Political "Planning for the Re-election of the President," 7-2-71
2	Return Private/Political notes, "JSM Projects," n.d.
3	Return Private/Political [Tabs m-n] Memo, Magruder to AG, 6-14-71
4	Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to the A.G., 6-14-71

**CONFIDENTIAL**

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

12065, Section 6-102

DP NARS, Date 2-23-82

# **PLANNING FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**

**Citizens for the  
Re-Election of  
the President**

**July 2, 1971**

Copy 4....

PLANNING FOR THE  
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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## INTRODUCTION TO PLANNING

### FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The Citizens for the Re-Election of the President has initiated a comprehensive planning effort involving fifteen task forces to develop the strategy, organization, and operating procedures necessary for the President's re-nomination and re-election. While some activities are already being implemented, the emphasis now is on planning, and if this planning is carried out as projected, the following major steps will have been completed by the end of November:

- Plans for field organizations in primary States developed and some in operation
- Individuals and procedures to monitor State conventions determined
- Convention site selected and announced; liaison with RNC pre-convention committees operating; procedures for liaison with convention committees devised
- Detailed operating plans and budgets for polling, computer voter analyses, and research developed and approved
- Procedures for tracking Republican and Democratic contenders devised and operating
- Plans for the speakers bureau completed
- Advertising and campaign media organization determined and initially staffed; communications strategies and budget for primaries (and preliminarily for general election) developed and approved
- Studies of major voter groups completed; Citizens Committee organization and budget developed and approved

This booklet outlines the various planning activities other than fund-raising. Attached are planning charts which depict the timing of the major events, decisions and activities pertaining to the planning effort. The booklet's purpose is to provide the Campaign Director with an overview of the planning effort so he can:

- Review the projected timing of major decisions and planning steps to prepare for various pre-convention activities and the campaign
- Identify any planning activities contrary to his desires and direct appropriate changes
- Monitor progress of the planning effort

As a guide to the planning charts this introductory note covers:

- Timing of re-election planning
- Organization and explanation of planning exhibits
- Further work required

#### TIMING OF RE-ELECTION PLANNING

The planning must be completed and certain decisions made by November to provide sufficient lead time to establish the operating phase of the campaign for the primaries starting in February. The filing deadline for the highly symbolic New Hampshire primary is February 3. Even if the President decides against placing his name on the New Hampshire primary ballot, his name will be on the Florida primary ballot unless he signs an affidavit that he intends not to be a candidate. The filing deadline for the Florida primary is February 10.

Since the lead time needed to establish the primary organization and support is estimated to be two to three months, the Campaign Director should be making decisions pertaining to the primaries in October and November. Because strategies and procedures for the campaign should be tested in the primaries, preliminary plans for the general campaign should be completed in November so they can be implemented on a trial basis in the primaries.

#### ORGANIZATION AND EXPLANATION OF PLANNING EXHIBITS

To make the large amount of information manageable, the planning activities are depicted in chart form rather than in a narrative description. These charts show (1) the timing of events critical to the President's re-election, e. g., primaries, State conventions, Republican Convention and election, and (2) the major decisions to be made and principal planning

activities to be undertaken over the next five months to make these events turn out favorably for the President.

There are two aspects to the planning exhibits. First, there is a summary chart depicting the timing of major events and principal planning activities (Tab A). A table showing the primary and State convention dates (Tab B) supports this summary.

Secondly, there are charts showing the principal planning activities in more detail. Closely paralleling the planning task forces, these cover:

- Primaries and Field Organizations (Tab C)
- Republican Convention (Tab D)
- Polling, Computers and Research (Tab E)
- Tracking Republican and Democratic Contenders (Tab F)
- Advertising and Campaign Media (Tab G)
- Voting Groups and Citizens Committees (Tab H)

There are seven separate studies on voting groups (e. g. , women, Blacks, elderly, and farmers). Although each study must be tailored to the group's characteristics, they all have the same mission and will follow similar steps. Consequently, these seven studies have been combined into one chart. Also, planning for the Citizens Committee is included in this chart because of its close relationship with the voting group studies.

The last tab (Tab I) contains a key to the symbols showing the timing projected for major events, planning activities and decisions. The decision points indicated are the estimated final dates by which a decision should be made for effective implementation. Naturally, the Campaign Director could make the decision earlier if desirable.

#### FURTHER WORK REQUIRED

Although the re-election planning effort is well conceived and initiated, there is an area which deserves further attention. Re-election planning should be more closely coordinated with the State of the Union

and Budget to ensure that the Republican platform and major campaign themes complement these Presidential documents. Liaison between the Citizens staff and Domestic Council staff has already been established to coordinate on key issues in target States. This mandate should be broadened to carry out the following three steps: (1) identify major issues for 1972 and develop proposed campaign positions and planks for platform, (2) determine which of the proposed positions and planks should be reflected in the State of the Union and Budget, and (3) work with appropriate officials to incorporate these positions into the State of the Union and Budget. While these steps are indicated on the summary chart, a detailed plan has not yet been developed to carry them out. A paper will be drafted describing how this coordination should be conducted.

July 2, 1971

SUMMARY OF RE-ELECTION PLANNING ACTIVITIESMajor Events

1. RNC meetings
2. 1971 State and local elections
3. State of the Union and Budget
4. Presidential Preference Primaries (See Tab B)
  - Filing deadlines
  - Election dates
5. State conventions (see Tab B)
6. Democratic Convention
7. Republican Convention
8. General Election

Principal Planning Activities

1. Primaries and field organizations (see Tab C)
  - Perform political evaluations of states
  - Establish field organizations for primaries
  - Organize to monitor state conventions
  - Establish field organizations for campaign
2. Republican Convention (see Tab D)
  - Select site
  - Liaison with RNC pre-convention committee (principally arrangements and rules)
  - Liaison with convention committees (principally resolutions and rules)
3. Polling, Computers and Research (see Tab E)
  - Test and refine target voter approach
  - Establish general research and candidate tracking capability
  - Define polling needs; plan and establish capabilities
  - Define computer needs; plan and establish capabilities

SUMMARY OF RE-ELECTION PLANNING ACTIVITIES

- Test research, polling and computer capabilities during primaries and revise as appropriate for campaign
- 4. Tracking Republican and Democratic contenders (see Tab F)
  - Make interim responsibility assignments; start collecting and analyzing data
  - Establish organization and procedures for primaries and refine for campaign
- 5. Spokesmen Resources (see Tab F)
  - Develop recommendations on scope, speakers, and procedures
  - Implement approved programs and monitor effectiveness, revising as needed for the campaign
- 6. Advertising and Campaign Media (see Tab G)
  - Build communications organization
  - Develop and implement communications plans for primaries
  - Develop master plan for campaign
- 7. Voting Groups and Citizens Committees (see Tab H)
  - Develop strategies for maximizing vote of major voting groups for the President
  - Develop organization and budget for overall Citizens Committee effort and the major subunits
  - Establish Citizens Committees
  - Monitor effectiveness of Citizens Committees; revise as needed for campaign
- 8. Coordination with State of the Union and Budget
  - Identify major issues for 1972; develop proposed Administration positions and planks for platform
  - Determine which of the proposed positions should be reflected in the SOTU and Budget
  - Work with appropriate officials to incorporate these positions into SOTU and Budget

ESTIMATED DATES FOR STATE DELEGATE SELECTION

<u>State</u>	<u>Presidential Preference Primaries</u>		<u>State Convention Date</u>	<u>Delegates to GOP Convention</u>	<u>1972 Electoral Votes</u>
	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Election Date</u>			
Alabama			May or June	17	9
Alaska			May	12	3
Arizona			April	18	6
Arkansas			Late June and early July	18	6
California	April 7	June 6		96	45
Colorado			July 15	20	7
Connecticut			Between June 1 and July 15	22	8
Delaware			May or July	12	3
District of Columbia	March 18	May 2		9	3
Florida*	February 10	March 14		40	17

\* President must sign affidavit that he intends not to run for re-election to be excluded from primary ballot

ESTIMATED DATES FOR STATE DELEGATE SELECTION

(2.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Presidential Preference Primaries</u>		<u>State Convention Date</u>	<u>Delegates to GOP Convention</u>	<u>1972 Electoral Votes</u>
	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Election Date</u>			
Georgia			Early May	24	12
Hawaii			May or June	14	4
Idaho			Mid-June	14	4
Illinois**	January 3	March 21	April 6	58	26
Indiana**	March 23	May 2	June 23	32	13
Iowa			May 6	22	8
Kansas			April	20	7
Kentucky			April	24	9
Louisiana			Spring	20	10
Maine			Early May	8	4
Maryland*	March 24	May 16		26	10
<u>Massachusetts</u>	February 29	April 25		34	14

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\*\* These States have both Presidential preference primaries and conventions

ESTIMATED DATES FOR STATE DELEGATE SELECTION

(3.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Presidential Preference Primaries</u>		<u>State Convention Date</u>	<u>Delegates to GOP Convention</u>	<u>1972 Electoral Votes</u>
	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Election Date</u>			
Michigan			At least 60 days prior to nation- al convention	48	21
Minnesota			June 23-25	26	10
Mississippi			Late May or early June	13	7
Missouri			Mid-June	30	12
Montana			June 4-5	14	4
Nebraska*	March 10	May 9		16	5
Nevada			At least 30 days prior to national convention	12	3
New Hampshire	February 3	March 7		14	4

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ESTIMATED DATES FOR STATE DELEGATE SELECTION

(4.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Presidential Preference Primaries</u>		<u>State Convention Date</u>	<u>Delegates to GOP Convention</u>	<u>1972 Electoral Votes</u>
	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Election Date</u>			
New Jersey	April 29	June 6		40	17
New Mexico**	April 7	June 6	After June 6	14	4
New York			Late June and early July	88	41
North Carolina*	March 7	May 2		32	13
North Dakota			Prior to July 15	12	3
Ohio	February 2	May 2		56	25
Oklahoma			May	22	8
Oregon*	March 14	May 23		18	6
Pennsylvania	February 15	April 25		60	27
Rhode Island	January 31	April 11		8	4

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\*\* These States have both Presidential preference primaries and conventions

ESTIMATED DATES FOR STATE DELEGATE SELECTION

(5.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Presidential Preference Primaries</u>		<u>State Convention Date</u>	<u>Delegates to GOP Convention</u>	<u>1972 Electoral Votes</u>
	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Election Date</u>			
South Carolina			March	22	8
South Dakota	April 22	June 6		14	4
Tennessee* **	March 9	May 4	May	26	10
Texas			Mid-June	52	26
Utah			Mid-July	14	4
Vermont			3rd week in May	12	3
Virginia			May	30	12
Washington			May	24	9
West Virginia	February 5	May 9		18	6

\* President must sign affidavit that he intends not to run for re-election to be excluded from primary ballot

\*\* These States have both Presidential preference primaries and conventions

ESTIMATED DATES FOR STATE DELEGATE SELECTION

(6.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Presidential Preference Primaries</u>		<u>State Convention Date</u>	<u>Delegates to GOP Convention</u> ***	<u>1972 Electoral Votes</u>
	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Election Date</u>			
Wisconsin*	January 31	April 4		28	11
Wyoming			May 12	12	3

July 1971

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\* President must sign affidavit that he intends not to run for re-election to be excluded from primary ballot

\*\*\* Three Territories also have delegates: Guam - 3; Puerto Rico - 5; and the Virgin Islands - 3

PRIMARIES AND FIELD ORGANIZATIONS

JUL

1. Perform in-depth review of states including (a) RN popularity by major voting segment, (b) votes by segment needed to win, (c) strength of GOP State organization, (d) political power bases
2. Identify and analyze political risks and benefits of RN's options in primaries
3. Decision on RN's posture in primaries: whether name on ballot and degree of effort
4. Develop primary strategies and suggested field organization for affidavit states plus Illinois and Ohio; establish field organizations after CD approval
5. Develop primary strategies and suggested field organizations for remainder of primary states; establish field organizations after CD approval
6. Identify candidates to monitor state conventions; CD selects; monitor convention planning and outcome
7. Track support for RN of delegates selected
8. Take action to win over wavering delegates
9. Develop suggested field organization for large non-primary states; establish after CD approval
10. Develop suggested field organization for small non-primary states; establish after CD approval

REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONSite Selection

1. Complete visits to and analyze pros and cons of sites under consideration
2. Decide President's preferred site; inform Dole
3. RNC site committee meets to formally choose site
4. RNC meeting ratifies site

Operations and Format

1. Develop recommendations and decide on preferred composition of RNC pre-convention committees; inform Dole
2. Dole announces membership of RNC pre-convention committees: arrangements, rules, call, contest
3. Develop suggestions on rules and arrangements (especially length of convention and sessions, program planning, entertainment and media liaison); after CD review, communicate to committees
4. Maintain liaison with RNC pre-convention committees during their deliberations; develop detailed plan for arrangements
5. Evaluate and approve general and detailed recommendations of arrangements committee
6. Evaluate and approve recommendations of rules committee
7. Develop recommendations and decide on preferred convention officials; inform Dole, work with primaries task force to ensure tentative candidates are selected as delegates; CD makes final decision; Dole informed
8. Dole announces convention officials and membership of convention committees: credentials, resolutions, rules and organization
9. RNC pre-convention committees finalize recommendations
10. Develop suggested platform; after approval, work with appropriate Resolutions Committee members to have adopted
11. Convention Committees meet

POLLING, COMPUTERS AND RESEARCHGeneral Research

1. Conduct Delaware test
2. Evaluate (a) usefulness of Delaware voting record and census data analyses and (b) effectiveness of target voter approach tests
3. Finalize formats and procedures for analyzing voting records and census data; CD approves formats
4. Perform analyses combining census data with voting patterns for
  - Primary and target states
  - Remainder of states
5. Develop recommendations for issue response/attack procedures, organization and personnel; CD approves
6. Develop recommendation on planning resources devoted to testing and refining target voter approach; CD decides
7. Develop specific proposals for telephone and mail to target voters: (1) techniques, organization, and key personnel (2) vendors, and (3) costs
8. Review progress on Delaware test and development of target voter proposal; evaluate benefits and costs of testing target voter approach in 1971 state elections; CD decides; if yes, conduct test and evaluate results
9. Based upon above steps, CD decides (a) whether to utilize target voter approach in various primaries and amount budgeted, (b) funds devoted to target voter approach in campaign and amount by state, (c) telephone and direct mail vendors, and (d) research organization and key personnel
10. Develop recommendation on funding simulation demonstration; CD decides; if yes, develop model and evaluate results
11. Develop recommendation on funding full scale simulation model; CD decides; if yes, develop model

Polling

1. Recommendation on assignment of overall responsibility; CD decides
2. Conduct comprehensive national poll

(continued) (2)

JUL

POLLING, COMPUTERS AND RESEARCH

3. Develop candidates for and decide upon polling consultant
4. Define polling needs for primaries, target states, target voter approach, and general campaign; determine alternative methods, vendors and costs for filling needs; CD decides; implement plans

Computer Capability

1. Define hardware and software needs for: (1) high or low application of target voter approach and (2) extensive or limited census and voting record analyses; develop alternative ways to fulfill needs and estimate costs
2. CD decides how to procure needed computer hardware and software capability; implement decision

Monitoring Effectiveness

1. Monitor effectiveness and refine in primaries
  - Voting record and census data analyses
  - Issue response capability
  - Target voter approach
  - Polling usefulness
  - Computer capability
  - All vendors
2. Make changes as warranted for campaign

TRACKING REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CONTENDERS

1. Develop recommendation on responsibility and interim organization; CD approves
2. Track contenders; store and analyze pertinent information; support research and advertising activities; and brief decision-makers as warranted on contenders' probable strategies
3. Develop recommended organization, key personnel, budget and procedures for primaries and campaign; establish after CD approval
4. Test organization and procedures in primaries; revise where weaknesses are apparent, reviewing changes with CD if warranted

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

1. Develop information on potential spokesmen and possible logistical support
2. Develop recommendations on (a) scope of spokesmen operation, (b) speakers and their likely target groups, (c) advancing support, (d) logistical arrangements, and (e) procedures, organization and budget; CD reviews and approves
3. Identify candidates for director of operation; CD decides
4. Initiate and carry out operations in accordance with decision in step 2 and changes in step 5
5. Monitor effectiveness during primaries; make changes as warranted

Campaign Organization

1. Develop recommendation on utilization of in-house advertising group versus agencies; CD decides
2. Develop candidates for Advertising Director and other key positions; CD decides; these positions are filled
3. CD decides upon membership of and establishes communications strategy committee
4. Establish advertising capability:
  - If in-house, build staff
    - 40%
    - 60%
    - 100%
  - If outside, select agencies

Communications Strategy

1. Building upon polling and research activities, develop preliminary primary and general election plan; themes, media mix and budget; advertising, direct mail and telephone vendors; by communications strategy committee and CD
2. Translate themes into specific production plans and formats; develop detailed media plan for primaries; after approval by strategy committee and CD, monitor production
3. Evaluate effectiveness of communications program in primaries
4. Building upon primary experience and polling, research and tracking activities, develop master plan for general election
  - Specific production plans and formats
  - Opposition strategies for major Democratic contenders
  - Time phased media plan and budget for all types of advertising, direct mail and telephone, broken down geographically as close to votes as possible
  - Advertising, direct mail and telephone vendors
5. Pre-test all commercials and direct mail for influence on voting behavior
6. Strategy committee and CD review and approve master plan
7. Monitor production
8. Monitor implementation of master plan; incorporate changes as warranted by campaign developments

VOTING GROUPS AND CITIZENS COMMITTEESVoting Groups

Voting groups to be studied are the following:

- Middle America, ethnic and labor
  - Women
  - Elderly
  - Blacks
  - Farmers
  - 18-21-year-olds
  - Mexican American and Puerto Ricans
1. Identify and communicate to proper authorities opportunities to gain support through White House and Departmental actions.
  2. Develop position paper on group's (a) electoral importance, (b) past voting pattern, and (c) attitudes toward Administration and issues of particular interest
  3. Utilizing comprehensive national poll, determine current attitude toward RN and opinions on issues
  4. Evaluate effectiveness of Delaware tests with groups
  5. Coordinating closely with Citizens Committee task force, develop and analyze costs and benefits of alternative strategies: (a) presentation of issues and methods of communication, (b) effort by state, (c) organization and key personnel, and (d) budget; CD decides
  6. Identify group representatives to be possible delegates and notify primary task force
  7. Identify and solicit assistance of influential group media, organizations and individuals

Citizens Committee

1. Review activities and effectiveness of previous Citizens Committees
2. Identify additional voter groups for possible Citizens Committee organization; develop recommendation on strategy, organization, key personnel and budget; CD approves

VOTING GROUPS AND CITIZENS COMMITTEES

3. Drawing from step 2 and voter group task forces, develop recommendation on overall Citizens Committee organization and budget; CD decides
4. Analyze group voting patterns in 1971 elections and adjust strategies as appropriate
5. Integrate appropriate voting group task force organizations and activities into Citizens Committee
6. Establish Citizens Committees in primary states and implement approved strategies
7. Public announcement of national and primary State Citizens Committees
8. Monitor effectiveness of citizens groups; revise strategies and procedures as needed
9. Establish and publicly announce Citizens Committees in non-primary states
10. Implement approved strategies for all states

KEY TO PLANNING EXHIBITS

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
CD	Campaign Director
	Major re-election planning decision
	Tentative re-election planning decision
	Task force or campaign action
	State of the Union and Budget submitted
	Primaries and State conventions
	Republican Convention
	General Election

# JSM Projects

Place of Women

New Voter Regis

LR

Target voter - Del Test

Brochure

Work Elec's

Young Voters For Nixon

Women for Nixon

Mrs. V. Lombardi

Adverts

Dem Contents

Off's of Asis

Farm Vote

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING  
E.O. 12958, Section 1-102  
By EP, date 3-23-82

TO: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: BILL HORTON

Attached are five copies of the booklet, Planning for the Re-Election of the President. The bill for my consulting services will be forwarded separately.

As discussed, I anticipate you will distribute four copies as follows: (1) the Attorney General, (2) H. R. Haldeman, (3) Jeb Magruder, and (4) Gordon Strachan. I have included a fifth copy so that the appropriate detailed planning charts can be given to the project managers. They should know the target dates for which they will be held accountable. These charts are more accurate and less cumbersome than the previous, more detailed drafts.

Incidentally, I wanted to include the attached scholarly quotation in the introduction to reinforce the philosophical validity of planning. Unfortunately, it was mislaid and not included.

Hope the booklets meet your needs.

Attachments

*Bill*

Copy: Gordon Strachan ✓

JESUS: Don't you mind about the future, don't you try  
to think ahead  
Save tomorrow for tomorrow, think about today instead

. . .

JUDAS: Everytime I look at you I don't understand  
Why you let the things you did get so out of hand  
You'd have managed better if you'd had it planned--

(Jesus Christ Superstar)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12958, SYSTEM G-102  
By EP, Date 2-23-82

TO: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: BILL HORTON

The attached note to Jeb will bring you up to date on my project to summarize the planning activities for the campaign. Please call if you have any questions.

Attachment

Bill

Bill → JSM 6/28  
→ Citizens not yet  
Friday for sure!

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FO  
7/2

June 25, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: BILL HORTON

TO BE AN  
...KING  
... 6-102  
... 3-23-82

The attached should give you a rough idea of the planning document I plan for the AG and HRH.

In the final product I tentatively plan to combine the voting block studies with the Citizens Committee plan. However, I have not yet received plans for the Citizens Committee and Middle America Labor and Ethnic Vote task forces. Consequently, this section is not included in the attached draft.

From this stage, I would suggest the following steps:

- You review the draft and give me your impressions Monday.
- I will review the various task force charts with Harry Flemming and the project managers to correct any errors or misconceptions on my part.
- Odle tells me he will have the Citizens plan Monday--for sure. I will then develop the Citizens Committee and voting block section.
- After final review with you, I will put it into final, preferably with the charts on 11" x 17" paper and packaged in a booklet with tabs.

Incidentally, although I tried to ensure the plans were not patently unreasonable, because of the number and my time limitations I did not go into any real depth on any of them. Consequently, I reserve the right to continue to change them. In spite of some grumbling, I believe the planning has been a productive exercise. We have spotted some overlooked items of reasonable importance and clarified some of the major inter-dependencies between task forces. I hope the AG and HRH find it useful. I also hope they will view it as a tentative timetable which they should change if they deem desirable.

I'll call Monday.

Bill

June 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: Magruder's Projects

The Attorney General is finally pressing Jeb Magruder for action by his Task Forces. Magruder is responding and discussion this morning disclosed the following:

- 1) Magruder will draft the recommendation on Advertising by Friday. He reports that he discussed the subject with you and the Attorney General and is confident that all necessary background work has been completed;
- 2) The Youth Task Force, of which Counsellor Finch is Chairman, has not moved towards its recommendation stage as quickly as hoped. To solve this problem T. Harding Jones from Finch's staff and Tom Bell from Senator Brock's staff will work entirely on youth questions for the next ten days. Bart Porter, the Youth project manager, will submit the recommendation to the Attorney General by June 25;
- 3) Two week recommendation completion deadlines have also been placed on the Farm vote, (Whitaker), Middle America, Ethnic and Labor (Colson), Primaries and Field Organizations (Fleming), the Convention (Timmons), Spokesman Resources (Rumsfeld), and Democratic and Republican Contenders (Buchanan);
- 4) Three week recommendation completion deadlines have been placed also on the Citizens activities (Magruder), the Black and Elderly Vote (Garment), and the Women's Vote (Kaiser);
- 5) The Attorney General asked Magruder to review the RNC cash flow, payroll, and organization chart. He will receive these materials from Tom Evans on June 18. The question will then be whether the Citizens should help fund the RNC. Apparently there has been no discussion of what source of Citizens funds will go to the RNC.

- 6) The question of whether we should proceed with Simulation will be considered on June 24. Dr. Derge and John Lindstrom, the IBM simulation man from California, will make a presentation to Flanigan (as Chairman of the Polling, Computers, and Research Task Force), Magruder, Martin Anderson, Ed DeBolt (NSC), Lence Terrance (Census), and possibly Robert Finch. Flanigan will prepare a recommendation for you and the Attorney General. The question will be whether to proceed with the \$35,000 pilot project.

At Magruder's request, Bob Marik prepared a summary of the Kennedy simulation system of 1960. A copy of the memorandum is attached with interesting sections marked.

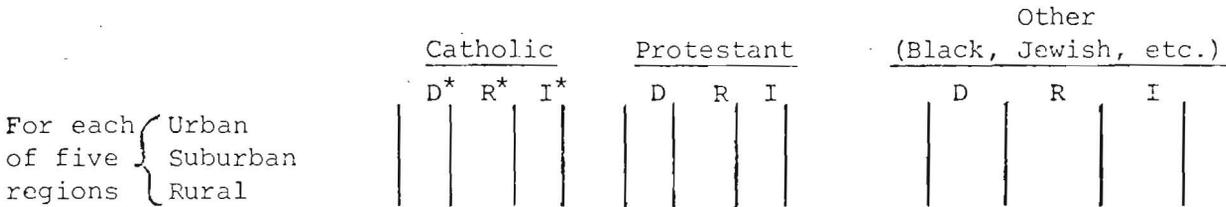
GS:elr

June 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: BOB MARIK *BM*  
SUBJECT: SIMULATION

As we approach a decision on simulation for 1972, I thought it might be helpful to summarize the techniques used by Pool and associates for Kennedy in 1960. <sup>1</sup>

At the outset, the voters are categorized into a matrix, or groupings, according to demographics and past voting behavior. For example,



(\*Democrat, Republican, Independent)                      Figure 1

The matrix in Figure 1 establishes 135 categories: 3 ethnic/religious categories x 3 political affiliations x 3 demographic patterns x 5 geographic regions.

For each voter category, attitudes on a wide range of issues are determined from past public opinion polls. For example, in the limited matrix of Figure 1, Northeastern urban Catholic Republicans may favor a hard line toward Moscow by 55% to 30%, with 15% undecided. That may have been determined from the results of fifteen different but related questions on several different polls carried out over the past few years. Basic attitudes do not seem to change drastically over time unless some polarizing event has occurred which puts the issue into new perspective.

The behavior of the voting population for a given campaign is determined by an analysis of cross-pressures on voters. That is, the ambivalent voter is defined as the one whose normal voting loyalties are in conflict with the perceived issues or candidate images of the particular campaign. It is the behavior of this voter who decides the outcome.

<sup>1</sup>Ithiel de Sola Pool, Robert P. Abelson and Samuel Popkin, Candidates, Issues and Strategies: A Computer Simulation of the 1960 and 1964 Presidential Elections. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1965)

For example, in 1960, assuming that the religious issue was second to party affiliation in determining the vote, a Catholic Democrat had no trouble deciding which candidate to support. A Catholic Republican, on the other hand, felt some cross-pressures and would have been expected to break his traditional voting pattern in some proportion of cases. On the other hand, if a Protestant Democrat had run, instead of JFK, entirely different groups would have become the voters under cross-pressure.

It is possible, by the use of the high-speed capabilities of the computer, to estimate by calculation what the election outcome would be under a certain set of assumptions concerning the sensitive issues. The interesting capability of simulation, according to the 1960 experience, is that it can project reasonably well what the ambivalent voter will do, based on past patterns of attitude and behavior. Head-to-head polls early in the campaign merely measure this voter at various stages of indecision, and therefore only converge upon the eventual outcome as the election nears. They do not project, and do not claim to do so. Neither do they indicate the number of voters under cross-pressures.

In 1960, the simulation "synthesized" individual states by assigning appropriate proportions of various voter categories from regional samples. This was done because there were not enough individuals polled in any one state to yield a sample of adequate size for statistical reliability. Thus, it was assumed that an upper-income Jewish urban Democrat in Boston was statistically similar in attitude and voter behavior to his counterpart in New York City, Philadelphia, Buffalo, etc. That assumption was good enough to allow the simulation model to predict electoral vote outcome about as accurately as it predicted total national popular vote, which was close enough to be useful.

In 1960, the simulation model told Kennedy that the religious issue would not hurt him; that the pro-JFK effect in the close industrial states would more than offset the anti-JFK effect in the Bible Belt and Deep South, where the Democrats frequently had a large margin to begin with. That turned out to be the case. Post-election analysis suggests that the net effect of the religious issue was to give Nixon 1.5 million added votes, but to give Kennedy 10 additional electoral votes.

Another interesting application, done after the election, showed a very different result if the campaign had centered on foreign policy rather than religion. Polls showed that the voters had substantially higher confidence in Nixon than in Kennedy for the conduct of foreign affairs. If Nixon had advocated a tough line toward Moscow, and if Kennedy had advocated a more conciliatory, negotiation-oriented approach (which was essentially the case with Quemoy-Matsu), and if foreign policy had become the dominant issue, the simulation showed Nixon receiving 54% of the popular vote, and winning every state outside of the South.

In 1964, the Democrats did not use the simulation group, but the group ran an election prediction on their own. On the basis of three key issues: civil rights, nuclear responsibility and social welfare, they predicted the LBJ landslide quite well, both nationally and state-by-state.

Application to the 1972 Republican Campaign

I feel strongly that simulation deserves very careful evaluation in our 1972 planning because it can serve so well to re-enforce the techniques we are contemplating for targeting the ambivalent voter. Simulation can be effective at two levels: at the top-level Strategy Committee as one measure of the sensitivity of given issues, and at the operating-level research and field effort to more sharply determine who the target voter is, and on what issues he should be approached. The sophistication of simulation is far greater for the latter purpose than anything we now have, and it might be justifiable on that basis alone - greater dollar effectiveness of target communications. It should be remembered that the value of simulation is not to predict electoral votes, but to suggest what changes might occur and who becomes the ambivalent voter, if given issues become dominant. It can be an effective instrument contributing to action decisions during the campaign.

We currently are thinking in terms of defining the ambivalent voter in terms of past ticket-splitters, or other manifestations of voting behavior. In 1960, however, Republican Catholics probably broke ranks for the first time in any number. In 1964, Republican elderly voters probably become ambivalent for the first time on the conflict between their party's candidate and social security. A data bank that can give us this second-order capability to determine target voters on the basis of issues that actually do become dominant in the campaign would be invaluable. Today, the 1972 issues and the Democratic candidate are not known, so we must design in a maximum of flexibility.

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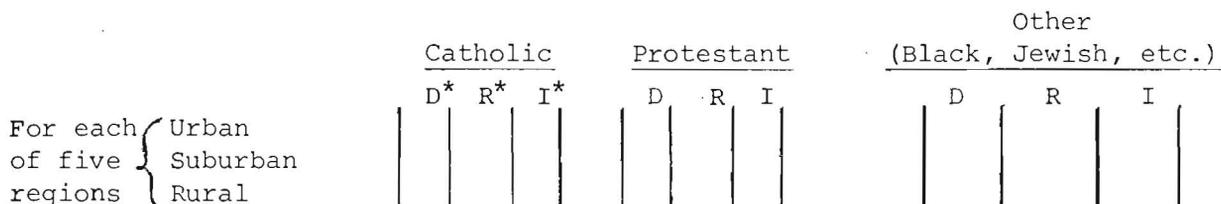
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JSM, L. 8a 6/23

Brochure

advertising memo

RNC Finances

Petersmeyer

Simulation - distrib of Mark memo?  
Flan proposal for decision

New staff at Cit's - jg 1

H. memo of 6/17 re Regis of 18-21 yr old

Odle - Flemming State Status report for A Gcc H.  
- Primary Recommendation memo

Horton's Pert Chart

# JSM Citizens Meeting

9a 6/14

## Status of 17 TF's

- ① All members contacted?
- ② Schedule?

PERT Quirt - Horton - 3p today end of wk

Fundraising Brochure - Odle: RNC (Hofton)  
draft, sent back  
Petersmeyer

Youth TF

Mark Conventions

Status of CSI - when De Marco, Hoffmann  
this week | Put Luermore - K's end of wk; if  
accept to Reagan, Monagan, Luermore;  
- Computers | they will assign it to Cets in  
Elkin |  
Research | exch for Wiley - 60,000 → CSI.

6/14

T. Harding Jones - RF said to work full time for HLP; Grassmuck disagrees

Advertising - J & M handle not HLP; HLP draft, w/ J & M to do

### HLP

- 15-20 yr old - T. Harf to be contacted by HLP 2 Weeks

- Spokesman - when posit paper, need 2 wks Keeney to move  
Dick Cheney - Reeve/Howard

- Colson - middle am/Ethics

- Farm Vote - 2 wks Harding + Whitaker  
Harlow re Spitzer - offered job, location open.

- JSM → Martha + Paul Keyes; she didn't see aim + problem sat; he will get back w/ a plan for a show this Fall

### Odle

- ▷ Primaries + Field Org - Odle passes Flemming
- \* - No need for TF, to be cleared w/ AG  
Based on AG pol mtg.
- Jy 1 - need full time man

Convention - Timmons - Capin

- H + AG decision paper

① fy 23 - Site Comm / RNC

- End of this week, decision paper  
to Good - will have list of indiv's  
to be apptd by Hole for the  
pre-Convention Commis

- Decision list

② Early this week

③ Del + Org - OO -

Advertising Memo - this week by JSM

Older → Fleming status Report → AG, cc H.

Youth - 2 wk Deadline - Tom Bell

Review | ① Youth Regis | 1  
| ② Organization | 1  
| ③ Condensation  
| ④ Brock's Advisory Comm

Foust - Star article re Martha/Tulsa

4<sup>th</sup> Man to be added by fy 1; cleared  
thru Malek - H.

Tom Bell - paid by Brock - thru ag 1

Spitzer - offered job at Citizens

JSM - Fri - RNC Payroll; Org Chart;  
Discuss w/ A G. Cash Flow  
w/ Cts money to fund

6/9

CSI - JSM + De Marco in Dallas  
Dean not to go

Schollander - see mon. 6/28  
- Jan 1972 - possible being called on board

Flan - Berge Meeting - 6/8      Polling  
done FU Marik 130      Task Force  
Marik will have revised plan  
to G

OMB - H assigned Malek to personally  
handle it

Horton  
3P - JSM  
done - JSM charged by AG to see  
that OMB pol response  
- JSM to see Malek 1<sup>st</sup>

Marik + De Bolt - Voter Analysis to  
develop input for OMB?

Issue Poll - we are not doing well on any  
eventually Marik will have it.

JSM cleared w/H use of Malek people

Petersmeyer - Youth report beginning Jc 20  
L-FU L → H → AG re hiring Petersmeyer

Youth TF - Finch; insist on one man.  
Need one man responsible  
Porter not senior enuf.

Will get 500,000 out working  
for us via Brock

Organization not program.

AG agrees w/H - memo on Youth.

Ken Riets - 3rd man in A, T + R

Brock head of Youth Advisory grp

Tom Bell - Brock's Youth organizer

L to do Jeff Bell - spe writer at WH for 8 mos.

Memo Mike Dively - Mich St Leges.

\*→ Problem - if elec → Move to Organizational  
if traction → Finch / Chapin

Wasting time w/ Youth on public appeals  
until War over - some th. as Blacko,  
just enuf to show some concern.

- Hold JSM responsible by \_\_\_\_\_ to get Youth Vote  
in meantime

- Schollander out front w/ Riets  
pulling strings via Brock memo

- Poll youth after Benham brings  
material thru.

- Need to get location of our youth

H not big on Tully Plesser.  
Fred Dutton's new book - Pat.

Why does Del. plan need to go in w/ Poll Plan  
G → JSM - part of large ambivalent  
malek voter program.

Direct conn of Census Bur info w/  
RNC Voter Analysis and Polling on Is.

Approved  
Je S  
by JSM  
Addit Staff at Cts - AG approved adding 1.  
H - agree use Malek on Recruiting  
AG - work thru malek shop  
② Comptroller - no on Hough -  
combine Office Manager/Recruiter/  
Interview People - now Odle, change  
to Bill Zool or John Clark or  
Fleming does pol routine + just  
signs checks, but seek 2<sup>nd</sup> man (Bob Spitzer)  
No one fu/w H w/o H approval + only  
pay what now receiving  
unless "extenuating circumstances."

G → Do FU w/ H re memo on Staff Mtg  
done clear w/ staff - Spitzer example  
- a tal paper?

Mon 9 AM - G → JSM mtg to review all TFs.

G → Merrill on Simulation; Derge's  
argue → Flan; a TF to & simulation.

Evans / Noff / Mountain → AG re \$ problem  
at RNC - cash flow prob bec/  
balloon budget under Morton.  
- Salary structure way up.

G → H  
re this  
project

AG → JSM to get charts + payroll  
to get proposal to fund part RNC

G Film → Chris Perry at RNC;  
States Report  
Charles Roll - interview

AG - JSM - 4 Dents |  
Regional Ann -

Cit Comm to mesh w/ RNC Reg Ann.

Dick Richards - fine if WH wants to  
hire; but not into the Camp.  
JSM → Dent.

→

JSM, L

Bob Spitzer - E. to offer job at Citizens  
 Cit has no need now  
 Not plugged into  
 Bryce Harlow

G → memo H for 8<sup>15</sup> Staff Mtg,  
 re clear everything w/AG

Petersmeyer - H will go to AG

PERT Chart - Bill Horton now  
 working almost full time  
 - do more expanded type  
 - Horton spending inordinant of time

Porter - Martha called JSM 10 times  
 Mrs. M is a "founding members"  
 of Comm - basis of 12,000 letters

JSM - not a p.r. problem.

Not enough time for Porter

Brochure for 300 letters per week  
 re what can do for Cit Comm

- not yet final

- H will see + clear.

G at pol mtg - H must raise w/AG  
 Only Dent + Rummy fr/WH.

G-  
 FU

Q FU  
→ Merrill  
Youth - Benham pulling all available  
Youth info  
- moving, forget Finch  
3 wks - detailed plan.  
Brook

---

Letter +  
Memo → AG  
fwd to L.  
6/5  
Schollander - letter fr/ JSM  
K w/ Lewis + Clark  
To meet AG  
meet L, DC, H. etc.  
M - Not on WHS beef/bent credibility  
L - if need " to get him  
- if interested an arrange  
to be Youth Arm -  
- 20 Olym Comis but what  
about

---

G  
FU  
23 Primary Sys - probal  
recom Intel @ full comp  
6 ballot  
- G review Dean's revision  
of 80 Good Primary Analysis

---

Compass Sys Inc - L not interested  
Biggest prob - Cole - of manag  
Convention - Timmons excel job  
17 Tas Forces -

Mid am - "0"

Whit/Farm - 1 wk

Advertising - proposal 1 wk  
in house

Computer / Pol -

Bern Werten - Bue + Maulk,

- new proposal; RNC

doing good job

- Bue should run as  
sub unit

- public stuff summarized

G - send in summaries

Covert - Cal - 3 indivs

- directed by JSM? - contact

at camp + at WH

Pro's here at WH

~~A weekly mtg?~~ - JSM - cancelled

- L, JSM, G - 1a wk.

~~add Dean~~

- →

Early next wk mtg AG/H - 4 way

Biggest prob - more operational work  
than can handle

RNC - pro's w/ \$  
- Receipts dont match large  
large budget

over: - Mountain  
deal; - Nof - 35 | De Bolt -  
never - Evans - 60 | Herman -  
had under Bliss

① Research - De Bolt - Voter Indentif

② Comm'n's - Lyn Nof -

Bob Tuttle - Col - bus  
pr of Nof runs activities

③ St Party Orgs - formerly  
Richards - now Evans

Evans - ① doing a chart on the  
RNC sit ← at AG request

② finan breakdown

- Showing costs

ex - film; AG said BS  
on paying 1/2 until complete  
descrip of fin. needs.

RNC will blow Sloan out of water

Elinor Williams at RNC → will  
kill Sloan as she did w/ Gleason.

- Com Cause will subpoena Sloan

G → L re Flan prod.

G-FU  
Dean  
com  
crit

Leads: Sofire, Dent, Buchanan, CAC

FU  
7/2

June 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BRUCE KEHRLI  
GORDON STRACHAN ✓

FROM:

LARRY HIGBY

I would like to sit down sometime this afternoon, or whenever is convenient for you, and find out what major projects we will be taking out to California.

It is my understanding, for example, that we will have a report on the Magruder system and that Bruce has some materials on Staff operation, Administration salaries, etc., that should be ready. We should also figure out how we are going to work the follow up system while Bob is in California.

I think now would be a good time to check all of this out.

G.S. - LET'S GET TOGETHER  
BEFORE WE GO UP - ANNUL

2:30  
B

- Malik
- ① Simul <sup>add</sup>
  - mon - ② Dem Contender <sub>will</sub>
  - mon - ③ Blacks
  - ④ Elderly <sub>will not make</sub>  
Tues.

LH:lm

Cover-What Part chart done  
by Bill Horton

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

lv  
7/5  
memo  
needed  
by tab

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

June 28, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Mrs. Vincent Lombardi

Mrs. Lombardi has volunteered to assist in the re-election of the President. She is going to visit our office next week to discuss where she might be most helpful.

It would seem appropriate that we add her to the original group of eight members of the Citizens Committee and have a short public announcement to that effect.

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

  
JEB S. MAGRUDER

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

H -  
need  
not see  
6/6/71

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0720

June 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
SUBJECT: TASK FORCE MEETINGS

CONVENTION

A meeting of the strategy task force was held last week. Seven of the ten persons invited were able to attend. Some recommendations from this meeting are outlined in my June 22 memo to you. Others will be reported on after they are finalized at a second meeting which Bill Timmons and I hope to schedule within the next seven days.

CITIZENS

I am presently talking with various members of the group, plus those who were active in previous Citizens Committee groups, and plan to have the group meet sometime next week. Hopefully, Tom W. Evans will be able to join us.

PRIMARIES & FIELD ORGANIZATION

Since the Attorney General's group, on which you, Lee Nunn, and Harry Flemming sit, has really taken the place of this task force, I think it would be a mistake to call this one together. The two groups almost completely duplicate each other, except for Dean Burch, Bob Finch, Bob Kunzig, and Howard Russell who were to be on the task force but are not in the Attorney General's group. The latter group is a better one and I think it should function as the task force in this area.

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
(202) 333-0320

June 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
SUBJECT: CONCERNED CALIFORNIANS AGAINST NIXON

Pursuant to the Attorney General's request, we have carefully checked out this group and have found that it is a paper organization with no support of any consequence. The "president" of the organization, Catherine Marshall, is not known to any California political leaders and she is not even listed in the telephone book.

The address on the letterhead is not an office, but an apartment in a residential district. The apartment is leased to a Pamela Kuskey, who is a San Francisco secretary, and evidentially she and Marshall operate out of it.

The organization and its "president" was checked out exhaustively with the California right wing, ranging from the responsible moderate conservatives to the real nut groups. No one has ever heard of the group or Marshall.

Thus, I believe we are safe in assuming that the group is of little or no consequence. All it seems to have done is to write a nasty letter to the President with copies to Murray Chotiner and a few other people in Washington.

*Acc:* Mr. Gordon Strachan - this is sent to you because a copy of Murray Chotiner's original memo on this subject to the Attorney General was sent to Mr. Haldeman. Rob

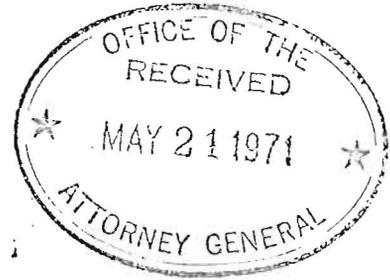
To  
Jeff M.  
Can you check  
out their Kook

May 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER



I received the enclosure from a "friend." It was addressed to me at my law office from San Francisco, indicating that someone is current on my whereabouts.

If you do not have anyone checking on this outfit, I can arrange it to determine who are the people actually behind the group.

*Murray*

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

Concerned  
Californians  
Against  
Nixon

2301 PACIFIC AVENUE, SUITE 6  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
*Apr*  
*Ron Smith*  
*4/15*  
*987-1022*  
*John Reed*  
*Skip Watts*  
*Put Livermore*

Dear Murray,

April 12, 1971

*Sorry to discover that your friend has no principles -*

*Not in phone book*

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

Dear Mr. Nixon:

Public opinion polls show your popularity to be waning. We submit that this is not due to your conduct of the Vietnam war-- although there are probably a great many people who are disheartened by this no-win war--but because of your politically unnecessary "turn to the left", which is evidenced by your "keynesian" deficit budget, welfare expansion, national health insurance proposal, and other welfarist actions.

Enclosed are a few samples of the first in a series of election materials which will soon be widely distributed in California to help insure that this state's electoral votes do not go to you in 1972. While this may indeed result in the election of a Democrat president (barring the emergence of a conservative Republican candidate), we feel that the long range good of the two-party system in general, and the Republican party in particular, will be well served by your retirement from office for the following reasons:

1) A clearly conservative majority of Democrats and Republicans elected you in 1968 on the basis of your clearly conservative election platform. You have betrayed this majority with the result that conservatives of both parties will be reluctant to vote for real Republicans in the future.

2) The presence of a Republican neo-socialist in the White House is having a paralyzing effect upon many conservatives such as Barry Goldwater and others who would ordinarily oppose in principle welfarist schemes such as yours, had they been proposed by a Democrat. You, as a fellow Republican, have preempted their commitment to principle by appealing to "party loyalty".

3) The fact that you have cloaked your liberal/socialist proposals in conservative rhetoric clearly indicates that you yourself recognize that the majority of the electorate is in fact conservative. This therefore indicates that your turn to

the left is not based upon "pragmatic" political expediency, but instead on a self-serving desire to earn for yourself a niche in the history books as a "social reformer" in the tradition of FDR. This desire will have to be satisfied at your own expense, not at that of the taxpayers.

Once the Republican Party is reaffirmed as the logical political vehicle for conservatives the two-party system of the United States will once again become meaningful. To this end we are committed to the removal of Richard M. Nixon from the presidency.

Very truly yours,

*[Handwritten signature]*

*found his no principles*

Dear Mr. Nixon:

Public opinion polls show your popularity to be waning. We submit that this is not due to your conduct of the Vietnam war-- although there are probably a great many people who are disheartened by this no-win war--but because of your politically unnecessary "turn to the left", which is evidenced by your "keynesian" deficit budget, welfare expansion, national health insurance proposal, and other welfarist actions.

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Once the Republican Party is reaffirmed as the logical political vehicle for conservatives the two-party system of the United States will once again become meaningful. To this end we are committed to the removal of Richard M. Nixon from the presidency.

Very truly yours,

*Catherine DeWitt Marshall*

Catherine DeWitt Marshall  
President

CDM:es

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G  
SUBJECT: Magruder Meeting with  
the Attorney General -  
June 23

Today Magruder discussed the following subjects with the Attorney General:

1. RNC Budget Problems:

Pursuant to the Attorney General's request, Magruder examined the RNC cash flow, payroll, and organization chart. Magruder's report, which the Attorney General reviewed quickly, is attached. To summarize:

- a) The RNC will have a deficit of \$2,000,000 by December, 1971; this results from \$1,000,000 less income and \$1,000,000 more in expenses;
- b) The RNC asserts that \$900,000 is solely for the support for the re-election of the President. This is an overstatement;
- c) The RNC is asking Citizens for \$1,000,000. The other \$1,000,000 of the deficit will be raised by the RNC. Magruder offers several options assuming the decision is made to assume \$1,000,000 of the RNC deficit. The options include: Have Kalmbach, Nunn and Sloan re-direct their efforts to acquire \$1,000,000; Citizens assume financial responsibility for some of the functions that may be related to the re-election of the President; fund the RNC with Citizens funds on hand; or cut back RNC programs to fit the budget.

The options involving the fundraisers or funds on hand will result in formidable difficulties, including the possibility of resignation by Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan.

2. Ken Rietz

Senator Brock urged the Attorney General to hire Ken Rietz to be Executive Director of Young Voters for Nixon. Rietz

will sever all relationships with Treleaven, Allison and Rietz and begin working at Citizens on July 1st at a total salary of \$36,000. Brock argued that Rietz should receive \$48,000, and the Attorney General finally approved \$28,000 from the Citizens budget and \$8,000 from a discretionary account (see below #3).

3. The Attorney General has authorized a "limited discretionary account" for Magruder. Only Hank Buchanan, who is not yet doing the accounting work, will know of the account at Citizens.

The amount of the account as well as Rietz's salary might be an appropriate subject to raise in the general finance review session to be held next week with the Attorney General and Herb Kalmbach.

4. The Attorney General reacted very favorably to the polling plan prepared by Higby and Magruder. The Attorney General believes the polling structure suggested will be an excellent solution to the current confusion. He would like to meet with you and Flanigan next week to review the system.

5. Apparently, a personality clash is developing between Lee Nunn and Tom Evans. This has been aggravated by the recent interest in RNC financial problems. The Attorney General is concerned but has not decided upon a solution.

GS:lm

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004  
(202) 333-0920

June 22, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE BUDGET

As you requested, I have obtained information from the Republican National Committee on their budget problems.

At Tab A is a functional organizational chart and description of their activities for the RNC. They have asked not to do a regular organizational chart because many of their duties overlap. They have 156 full time employees with a total payroll of \$1,992,000. At Tab B is the payroll by job classification. At Tab C is the report that they have already given you relating to their budget problems.

Some clarification should be made of statements contained in their presentation. They indicate that over \$900,000 is solely for support for the re-election of the President. I think this is an overstatement. Actually, much of that activity is part of the RNC's charter and would continue as an activity for any incumbent President. It is true that most of this activity could be beneficial to the re-election of the President, but to say that it is solely for this purpose is simply not correct.

They have indicated a repayment on their debt totalling approximately \$1,200,000. This debt was incurred in the 1968 and 1970 campaigns. It is my understanding that at the end of the campaigns there were sufficient funds to pay these debts but the funds were used for operating purposes at the RNC rather than for the debt repayment.

Based on their cash flow, they will have an estimated \$2,400,000 deficit by December, and an actual budget deficit of approximately \$2,000,000 by that time. As their analysis shows, they will be \$1,000,000 under their proposed budget in income and \$1,000,000 over in expenditures.

CONFIDENTIAL

They are asking the Citizens Committee to contribute approximately \$1,000,000 and they feel they can raise the other \$1,000,000 so they can balance their budget.

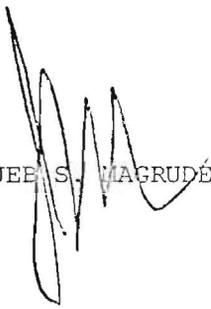
The problem the RNC faces is that after the 1968 campaign they expanded the services and the staff and have continued on this expanded pattern since that time. Unfortunately, even if we felt it was important to cut spending at the RNC through payroll reductions and other means, I doubt if we could come up with substantial savings as they have already made a strenuous effort to reduce their operating expenses and have cutback on various projects i.e., heritage group activities, publication of the Republican Magazine, and other activities of this kind. If they do not receive increased income they will be forced to cut in areas that could adversely affect the re-election of the President and would force us to spend probably greater sums to develop these same activities. This is particularly true in their voter analysis area.

If we are to assume \$1,000,000 of their deficit, there are several possible ways to accomplish this goal.

1. Have our fund raising people raise the \$1,000,000 for the RNC and have the money paid directly to the RNC. John Dean feels this would be the safest legally.
2. Assume payment of certain bills (particularly those related to re-election efforts) from the RNC which, in effect, would then reduce their budget and increase our requirements.
3. Fund the National Committee directly from our funds. This would be very difficult to do legally and could create considerable public relations problems because the President is not yet the nominee of the Party.
4. Simply determine which programs actually do benefit the re-election of the President and take over the responsibility for them here at the Committee.

The question that this situation basically raises is the precedent it will set from now until election day. By assuming responsibility for part of their fund raising activities for this year it will then be logical for us to assume responsibility for part of their fund raising next year.

JEE S. MAGRUDER



FUNCTIONAL CHART RNC

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

B. Dole            Chairman  
A. Armstrong    Co-Chairman  
T. Evans          Co-Chairman

FINANCE COMMITTEE

J. Milbank, Chairman  
P. Wilson, Co-Chairman  
B. Odell, Director

ADMINISTRATION & ORGANIZATION

T. EVANS, CO-CHAIRMAN

COMMUNICATIONS

L. Nofziger, Deputy Chairman

RESEARCH & POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

E. DeBolt, Deputy Chairman

ADMINISTRATION

B. Mountain, Deputy Chairman

CONVENTION

J. Good, Director

R.G.A.

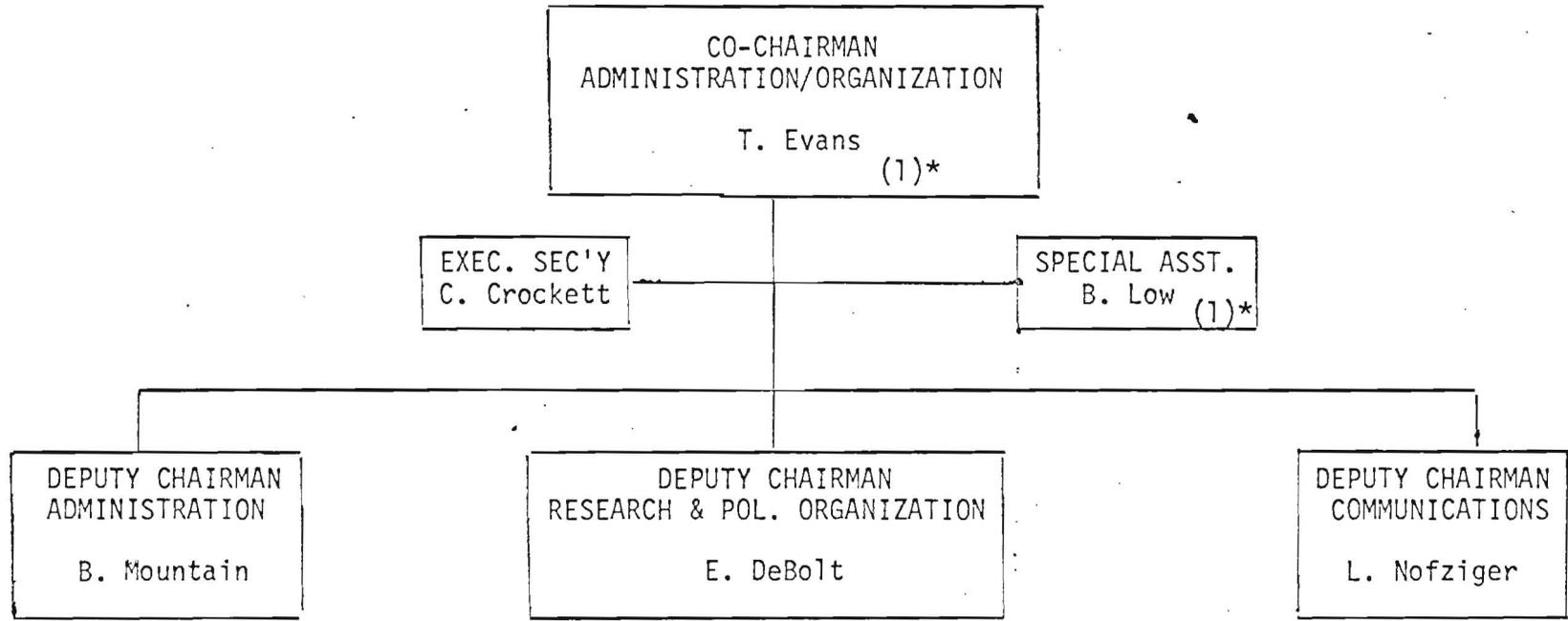
J. Galbraith, Director

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES &

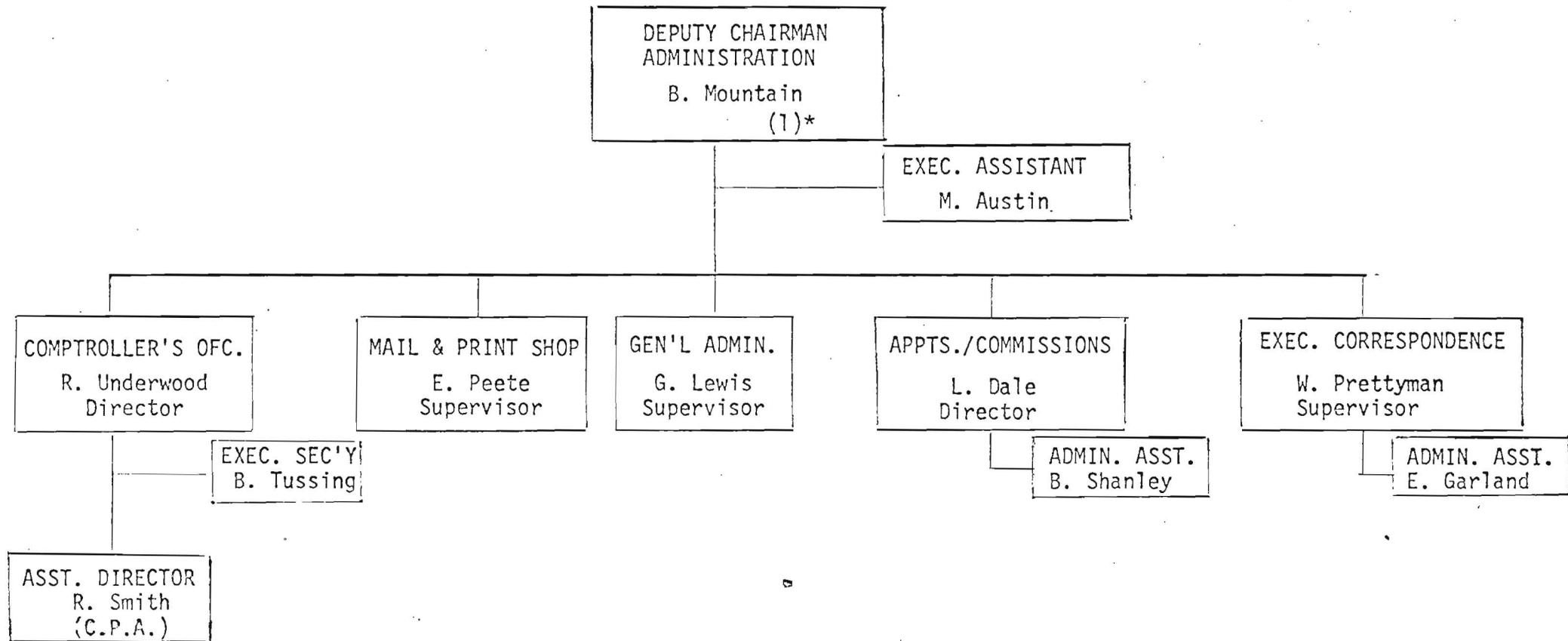
SPECIAL PROGRAMS

A. ARMSTRONG, CO-CHAIRMAN

N.F.R.W., Y.R., C.R.



\* STAFF SUPPORT



\*STAFF SUPPORT:

5

16

3

4

3

## ADMINISTRATION

The Administration section exists primarily to support other divisions and is charged with the responsibility of providing coordination, control, and operational efficiency within the Committee. It also supervises all sundry tasks not logically a part of other divisions.

The division consists of the following functional areas:

1. Comptrollers Office - This office handles all the financial records at the Committee and receives and processes all the Committees contributions and vendors invoices. This office is presently developing a new accounting system for the 1972 campaign.

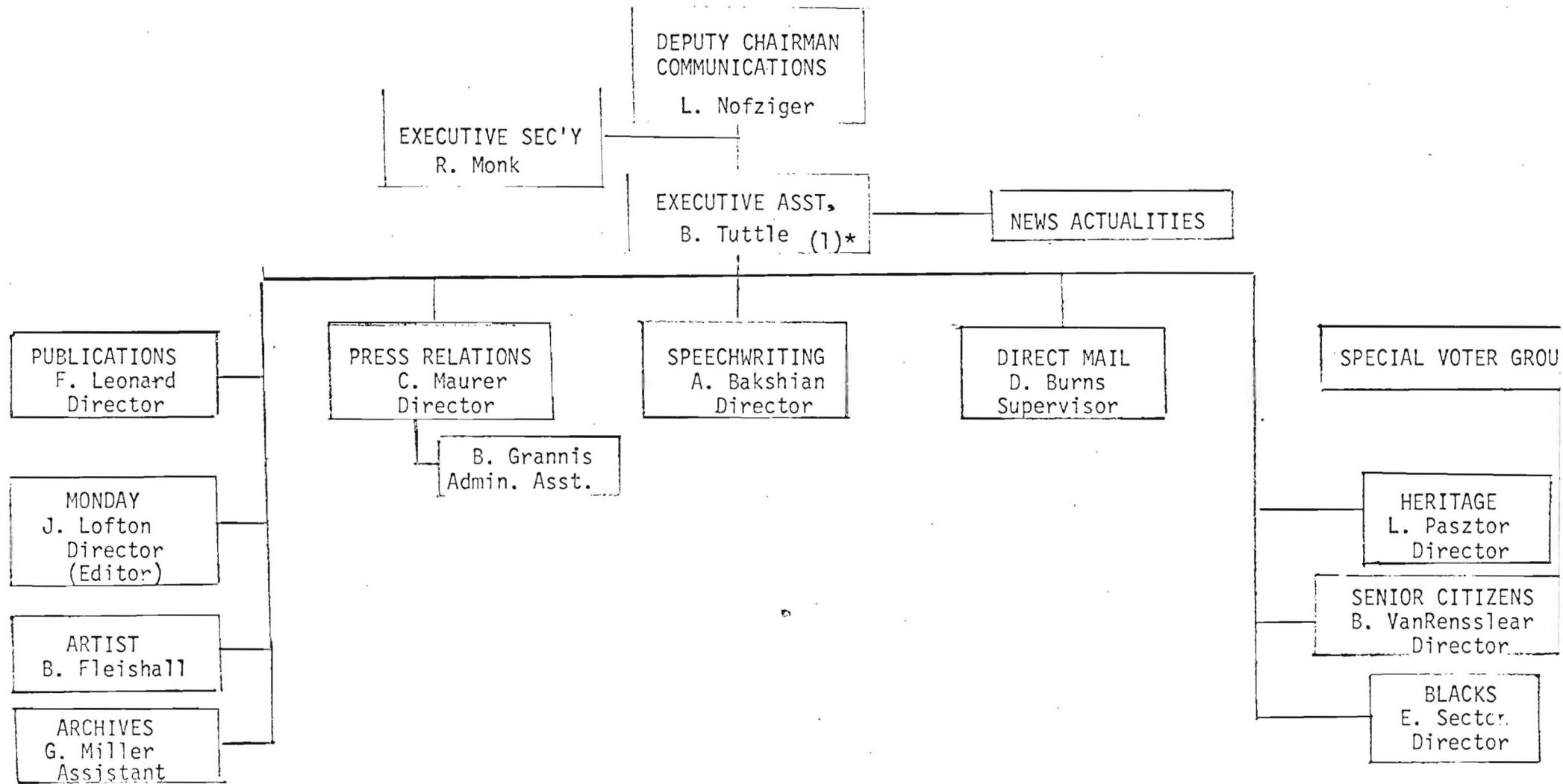
2. Print Shop and Mail Room - This operation is a multi-purpose printing facility with a variety of capabilities. This area also processes all intra-Committee, incoming and outgoing mail.

\*3. Appointments and Commissions - This office has established an effective system of locating and rewarding deserving party members as well as Independents and Democrats loyal to the President.

4. The Executive Correspondence section is a sophisticated approach to handling larger volumes of mail. As conceived it will be capable of efficiently handling approximately 2,500 letters per week.

5. General Administration - This area carries on the various day to day housekeeping functions at the Committee. The following areas are included: reception, volunteers, building maintenance, telephone operations and personnel.

\* For budget and organizational purposes, Appointments and Commissions Department is a function of Administration. For practical reasons, the director reports to Co-Chairman Evans.



\*STAFF SUPPORT:

3

1

1

2

3

2

1

## COMMUNICATIONS DIVISION

The Communications Division is charged with the responsibility of dispensing information and its services have been divided into six categories: direct mailing, publications, advisory board, press relations, speech writing and radio and television actualities.

### DIRECT MAILING

1. Builds and maintains the mailing lists of the Communications Division of the White House and the mailing lists of the Republican National Committee.
2. Carries through and makes sure mailings prescribed by the White House and the Republican National Committee are completed.

### PUBLICATIONS

1. MONDAY--a weekly publication sent to 45,000 people whose purpose is to keep the press informed of our positions relative to potential Democratic Presidential hopefuls as well as to inform party leaders and activists on up-to-date information regarding Presidential-oriented issues.
2. 1st MONDAY--to be sent monthly to those who contribute <sup>715</sup>~~500~~ or more, this publication is geared to Presidential issues. Publication begins in July.
3. IMPACT MATERIAL--designed to educate the voter on specific issues within the President's province.
4. YOUTH-ORIENTED MATERIALS--designed to inform youth of the President's concern and efforts in the areas of interest to them.
5. ARCHIVES--designed to inventory and store campaign materials.

### ADVISORY BOARD

The duties of the Advisory Board include the following:

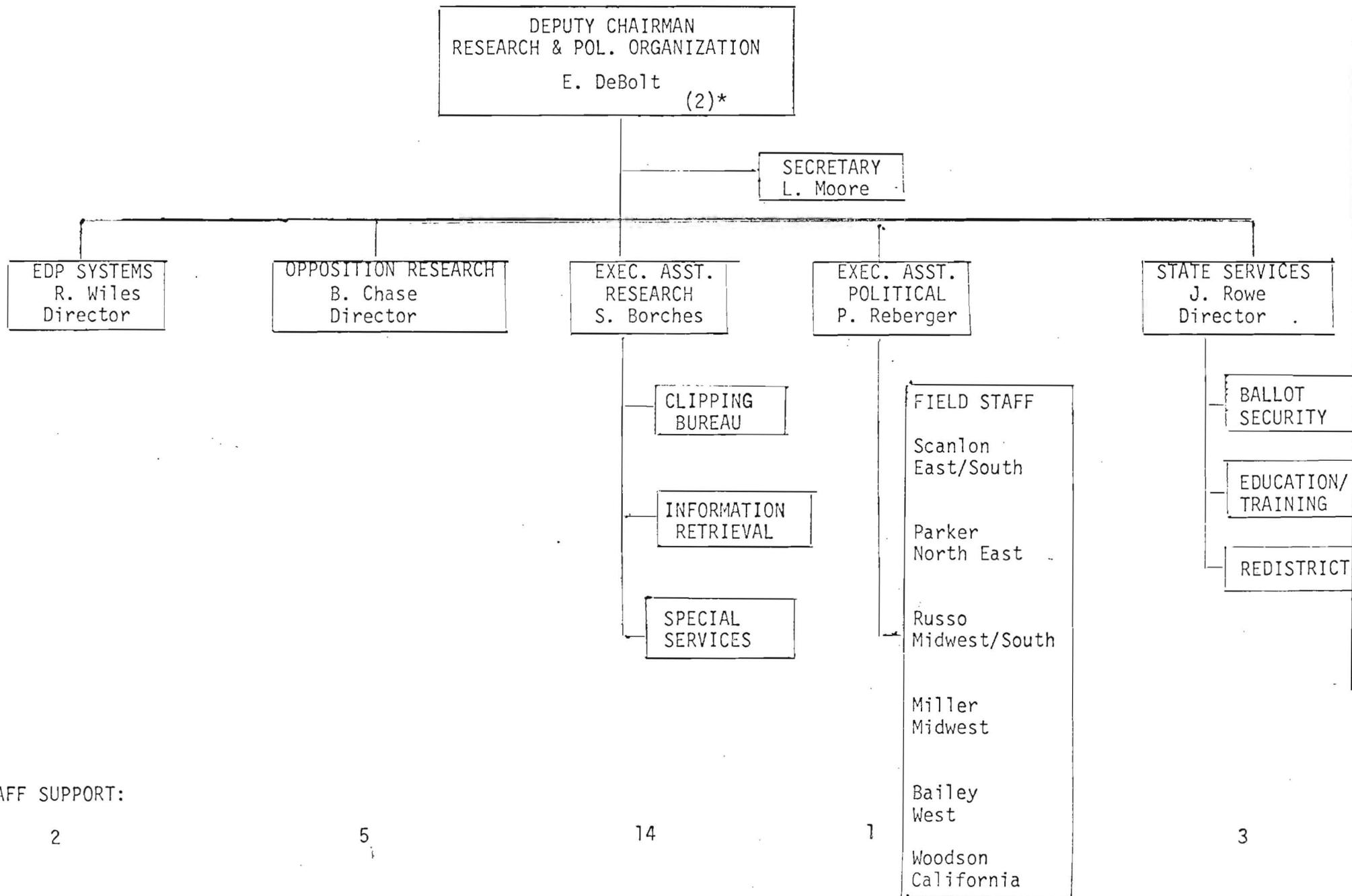
1. To develop new programs to bring members of American ethnic and minority groups and senior citizens into the Republican party.
2. To advise Chairman Dole on the interests and problems of American ethnics, senior citizens, blacks, agriculture and labor.
3. To provide recognition for these special groups in the form of patronage recommendations.
4. To provide a listening post through which the White House and the RNC can obtain information on these special groups.

### PRESS RELATIONS

### SPEECH WRITING

### RADIO AND TELEVISION ACTUALITIES

The preparation of radio and television actualities is designed to circumvent the networks and deliver directly to local television and radio stations pro-Administration news on pertinent issues.



\* STAFF SUPPORT:

2

5

14

1

3

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The objective of the Political Division of the Republican National Committee is to improve the relative status of the Republican Party in national politics so as to insure the reelection of the President and the election of more Republicans at all levels. The RNC's political programs examine, develop and utilize the latest political techniques on which political decision-makers can base their actions.

Field Operations - The field staff currently operates to bring our Party organizations the expertise and talent available from all RNC functions including but not limited to the 10-year MISSION 70's party development program, fundraising assistance, management and administrative techniques and liaison with Federal Government operations.

BALLOT SECURITY - Activities are underway to expand this program developed in the 1968 election. It will include providing the states with model elections laws, identifying probable vote fraud areas, developing and improving techniques to combat vote fraud and working closely with party leaders to develop effective programs.

REDISTRICTING AND ELECTION DATA ACQUISITION - The RNC thoroughly researched and then published a unique compilation of information concerning the legal aspects of congressional and legislative redistricting by state legislatures, which is now being used extensively as a result of the reapportionment required by the 1970 census. As the various states carry out reapportionment the RNC is providing, in addition to this legal advice, technical assistance and liaison with the Census Bureau. As a result of the above work, the RNC has acquired election and Census files which will be an integral part of the '72 presidential election statistical analysis.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING - The Political Division is managing eight campaign management seminars to be held across the United States in the summer and fall of 1971. The seminars are designed to educate and motivate present and potential Party leaders and workers with a view toward the '72 elections. In 1971 there will be 4 regional Republican conferences in which the RNC will assist in conducting. Also the RNC will conduct a professional staff conference to bring the latest professional political techniques to the various staff members of the state organizations.

VOTER IDENTIFICATION PROGRAM (VIP) - A majority of the above-mentioned activities are directly related to the VIP Program, which is the comprehensive plan being developed to utilize vote history data, socio-economic data and past and current public opinion survey data to identify key areas in which target campaign resources for the '72 presidential election. When developed, this program will provide Republican political decision-makers with one of the most advanced and comprehensive tools ever developed for resource allocation for the campaign.

## RESEARCH

The issue development area has been involved in the production of a series of reports on Administration accomplishments, programs and initiatives. Reports have been issued on the economy, revenue sharing, health, government reorganization, welfare reform, the cancer cure program, etc. In addition, a series of background reports for speech use were prepared on foreign affairs, the first two on Vietnam and the Middle East.

The unit maintains current files on all public opinion polls issued by public polling concerns. A weekly "poll report" is issued on all politically relevant polls of the preceding week and a special monthly report is issued to state party organizations.

The unit maintains working files on election data, election laws and demographic material.

The backbone of the issue research unit is the microfilm retrieval system. The unit received 100 daily newspapers and periodicals and prepares them for input into the retrieval system. This section distributes news clips of politically relevant information to RNC and White House personnel daily.

The retrieval system contains about 150,000 documents on the Nixon Administration along with major files on public opinion, black newspapers and the National Democratic party.

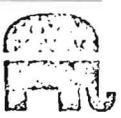
The Research library is a good current political reference source with microfilm files back to 1960.

The opposition section of the division gathers and synthesizes factual information on national Democratic figures. The staff

has the capacity to document the positions and statements of leading Democrats on all major issues. The microfilm system contains almost 100,000 documents on Democrats.

The Data Processing section of the Political/Research Division assists in the maintenance of Committee operations currently using the computer and provides technical guidance for the development of new uses of the computer. Principally, it is involved in the gathering, assimilation and analysis of a wide variety of political information in computer form. This includes computer tape files containing ten years of election results, 1970 Census population and housing information and a large number of names of individuals and organizations throughout the nation. Plans are being made to gather, record and relate a considerable amount of survey data to the election, Census and individual information already on computer tapes.

<u>POSITIONS</u>	<u>YEARLY MINIMUM</u>	<u>YEARLY MAXIMUM</u>
Co-Chairman and Deputy Chairman	\$ 30,000	\$ 40,000
Division Director & Special Assistant	18,000	28,000
Assistant Director & Exec. Assistant	14,000	25,000
Admin. Assistant	10,000	18,000
Executive Secretary & Supervisor	9,000	15,000
Secretary Level II and III	7,000	9,000
Machine Operator & Technical Clerk	5,000	8,500
Secretary Level I & Clerk	4,000	7,000



Republican  
National  
Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL

June 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO:

TOM EVANS

FROM:

BARRY MOUNTAIN 

As a result of our meeting on Monday, several questions were raised concerning operations here at the National Committee and additional information was requested concerning our current and projected financial situation.

In accordance with these requests I have attached the following information:

- 1) An explanation of the increase in Administrative costs and of the decrease in operating costs;
- 2) A cash projection analysis listing monthly expenditures and projected revenue for the months of June through December, 1971; and,
- 3) A current monthly expenditure analysis.

I have also attached information sheets showing the functional structure of the RNC, the RNC operating costs for 1971, the total RNC budget responsibilities for 1971 and the projected expenditures of the RNC aimed solely at re-electing the President.

In summation, I would like to emphasize several items discussed on Monday.

First, the RNC is operating on a pre-campaign schedule. We have initiated and assumed responsibility for several major programs directly affecting the re-election efforts of the President. These programs are individually listed on the attached chart and total approximately \$980,000.

Secondly, steps have been taken to cut expenditures within the RNC operating budget. The total number of employees has decreased since January 15 when the present RNC Administration took office. A freeze has been levied against all salary increases for employees making over \$10,000 and only a few minimal increases have been granted to employees under this level. Operating overhead has been

June 10, 1971

reduced to the bare minimum. A system of priorities has been established and programs not considered priority have been indefinitely deferred. The White House has also given us full cooperation by setting priorities and guidelines in order to control spending.

However, even with these savings which have and will continue to be realized, the RNC is in serious financial difficulty. The need to repay the 1968 and 1970 campaign debts, totaling \$1,200,000, will absorb revenue which otherwise could have been directed to RNC programs and operating costs. Furthermore, revenues for 1971 are falling short of the projected level and at the current rate will not meet the \$5.9 million level mark set in December, 1970.

I would like to add that we have had full cooperation from Bob Odell and the Finance Committee in preparing these reports and although they admittedly say that their revenue projections are conservative, the figures listed present an objective picture of our current situation.

In conclusion it is essential that we receive early financial relief in order that we may continue our present program which is budgeted and operational at \$998,000 over the original mid-December figure of \$3,011,000. The additional pre-campaign figure of \$998,000 relates to programs developed and already implemented by the three Deputy Chairmen with your approval and endorsement as well as that of Chairman Dole and Co-Chairman Armstrong. Finance Chairman Milbank and his staff have been made fully aware of all developments since the inception of the budget review in late February, 1971.

cc: Chairman Dole  
Co-Chairman Armstrong  
Chairman Milbank

kg/BH

ADMINISTRATION DIVISION BUDGET INCREASE OF \$183,000

A) Three new departments have been included in the Administration Budget for 1971. These are 1) the Patronage Department which has been established to expedite a system of merit and reward for loyal Republicans and for Independents and Democrats loyal to the President. This office works closely with the White House in locating deserving individuals and presently consists of a Director and three staff members; 2) the Secretarial Pool which will consist of 4 secretaries with superior skills whose purpose will be to backstop the secretarial needs and demands for the Executive, Political and Advisory Board departments. This staff will reduce the number of personal secretaries assigned to each of the above areas; and 3) a Correspondence Section which will not only facilitate present correspondence demands of 600 plus letters a week, but also provide the capacity for handling greater demands during the campaign. \$ 80,000

B) Salaries and the payroll burden have been increased due to the reclassification of accounts rather than from additional personnel. In previous years, the Division's director and his immediate staff were charged against the Executive Division. This year, however, they were classified under their proper heading.

There are, in fact, two less employees in the Division than there were in January, 1971 and the entire Division covers seven areas - General Administration (reception, maintenance, and the Deputy Chairman's office); the Comptroller's office, Mail and Printing, Telephone Operations, Purchasing and Supply, Patronage and the Secretarial Pool. \$ 50,000

C) The Professional Services budget was increased to provide professional assistance in modifying our accounting system in preparation for the 1972 campaign. This budget category was also increased to meet the additional security requirements created by the location of our new building. \$ 35,000

D) The remaining increase was caused by increases in a number of sundry areas such as telephones, office supplies, xerox equipment, printing, etc. It should be noted that a large portion of this should be charged to other divisions, but for practical accounting purposes is absorbed by Administration. \$ 18,000

OPERATING COST DECREASE OF \$234,000

- A) In 1970 the cost for modifying and redesigning plans for the Eisenhower Center, along with decorating and furnishing costs, was substantial. However, although much of the work is still uncompleted and was originally scheduled for 1971, we have limited such improvements to essential minimums and still satisfied immediate needs.
- B) The RNC airplane was sold realizing a major cost savings.
- C) Reductions have been made in travel and entertainment expense.
- D) A thorough study was made of printing and duplicating costs which resulted in a new system of metering. These changes will save the RNC over \$2,500 per month.

Total estimated savings \$234,000

REPUBLICAN PARTY HEADQUARTERS

CASH PROJECTION

	<u>Beginning Cash Balance</u>	<u>Estimated Revenue</u>	<u>Projected Expenditures</u>	<u>Projected Cash Balance</u>
JUNE	\$ 502,227	\$ 300,000	\$ 272,922*	\$ 529,305
JULY	529,305	110,000	290,522*	348,783
AUGUST	348,783	140,000	272,922*	215,861
SEPTEMBER	215,861	780,000	964,511* 212,500**	[181,150]
OCTOBER	[181,150]	75,000	680,236* 212,500**	[998,886]
NOVEMBER	[998,886]	25,000	631,836* 212,500**	[1,818,222]
DECEMBER	[1,818,222]	25,000	477,829* 212,500**	[2,483,551]
TOTAL		<u>\$ 1,455,000</u>	<u>\$ 4,440,778</u>	<u>\$ [2,483,551] +</u>
Total Excluding Debt Payments***		<u>1,455,000</u>	<u>\$ 3,590,778</u>	<u>\$ [1,633,551]</u>

\* RNC, RNFC & Auxiliary Operations

\*\* Projected payments on campaign deficit

\*\*\* Campaign deficit is presently \$850,000

NOTE: Because of the present shortage of cash, we are deferring all bills not requiring immediate payment. The expenditure increases for September, October and November, therefore, reflect our intention to liquidate the accumulation of these deferred obligations.

+ Variance will not exceed plus or minus 7% of \$ 2,483,551

ESTIMATED REVENUE

	<u>JANUARY 1 - MAY 31</u>	<u>JUNE 1 - DECEMBER 31</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
RN ASSOCIATES, ETC.	\$ 737,086	\$ 385,000	\$ 1,122,086
SUSTAINING	2,206,794	1,070,000	3,276,794
MARCH DINNER	420,321	-0-	420,321
TOTAL	<u>\$ 3,364,201</u>	<u>\$ 1,455,000<sup>6</sup></u>	<u>\$ 4,819,201*</u>

\* Actual revenue budgeted for 1971 is \$5,807,345

REPUBLICAN PARTY HEADQUARTERS

Uncommitted Cash Balance

May 28, 1970 - 1971

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Increase/ (Decrease)</u>
<u>REVENUE</u>			
Uncommitted Cash January 1	\$ 648,529	\$ (354,781)	\$ (1,003,310)
Contributions	3,814,873	3,364,201	(450,672)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Cash Available	\$4,463,402	\$3,009,420	\$ (1,453,982)
<u>EXPENDITURES</u>			
Expenditures 1/1 - 5/28	\$ 3,106,536	\$ 2,848,406*	\$ (258,130)
Uncommitted Cash Available May 28	<u>\$ 1,356,866</u>	<u>\$ 161,014</u>	<u>\$ (1,195,852)</u>

SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS JANUARY 1 - MAY 28\*\*

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Increase/ (Decrease)</u>
RN Associates	\$ 1,202,712	\$ 585,313	\$ (617,399)
Sustaining	1,787,515	2,206,794	419,279
Campaign Programs	95,686	89,876	(5,810)
March Dinner	562,004	420,321	(141,683)
Speakers Commissions	157,412	32,151	(125,261)
State Payments	3,486	-0-	(3,486)
Special Projects/Miscellaneous	6,058	29,746	23,688
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	<u>\$ 3,814,873</u>	<u>\$ 3,364,201</u>	<u>\$ (450,672)</u>

\* includes debt repayment of \$350,000

\*\* Source from May 28 receipts & expenditure sheet

ANALYSIS OF PROJECTED CASH DEFICIT

December 31, 1971

		<u>Amount</u>
<u>Reductions in Revenue</u>		
Revenue budgeted for 1971	\$5,807,345	
Revised Revenue Estimate for 1971	<u>4,819,201</u>	
Total Reduction in Revenue		\$988,144
<u>Budget Increase</u>		
<u>Revised Budget</u>		
RNC	\$4,009,522	
White House	500,000	
Campaign Debt	1,200,000	
RNFC	<u>1,159,315</u>	
		6,868,837
Original Budget	<u>5,870,345</u>	
Total Budget Increase		998,492
<u>Cash Deficit January 1, 1971</u>		
Negative Balance Uncommitted Cash January 1, 1971		354,781
<u>Unbudgeted Items</u>		
Citizens' Committee	52,000	
Film - President's Accomplishments	<u>100,000</u>	
		152,000
Projection Difference		<u>( 9,866)</u>
		\$2,483,551

REPUBLICAN PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Current Months Operation

June 1971

Salaries		\$166,000
Rent		18,237
Telephone		14,000
Postage		43,000
White House Support		8,500
Airlines		4,000
Retirement		715
Employee Benefits		5,700
Professional Fees		7,770
Miscellaneous		<u>5,000</u>
		272,922
<u>Deferrable Costs</u>		
RNC Other Costs		123,182
RNC Support * No Debt Retirement		31,200
RNFC Program Costs		<u>68,800</u>
	Total	496,104
Debt Retirement		<u>120,400</u>
		<u>616,504</u>

	<u>Monthly Costs Not Including Debt Retirement</u>	<u>Monthly Costs Including Debt Retirement</u>
June	\$496,104	\$616,504
July	519,929*	640,329*
August	528,929	649,329
September	741,329*	861,729*
October	450,829	571,229
November	375,829	496,229
December	<u>477,829</u>	<u>607,429</u>
Total	\$3,590,778	\$4,440,778

\* Includes Payments Due on File

	<u>Without Debt Retirement</u>	<u>With Debt Retirement</u>
Average Expenditures Per Month	\$512,968	\$634,397

TOTAL RNC BUDGET RESPONSIBILITIES

	<u>1970</u>		<u>1971</u>	
	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>% of total</u>
RNC Operations	\$ 3,565,408	48.0%	\$ 3,687,825	53.6%
Debt Reduction	387,965	5.2%	1,200,000	17.5%
RNFC	1,827,732	24.6%	1,159,315	16.9%
Auxiliary Support	395,773	5.4%	321,697	4.7%
Direct White House Support	1,242,065	16.8%	500,000	7.3%
TOTAL	<u>\$ 7,418,948</u>	100%	<u>\$ 6,868,837</u>	100%

PROJECTS AIMED SOLELY AT  
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

	<u>BUDGET</u>
FIELD OPERATIONS	\$ 143,404
ACQUISITION OF BASE FILES	275,000
FILM - PRESIDENT'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS	100,000
POLLS & SURVEYS	140,000
R & D OF COMPUTER SOFTWARE	40,000
CITIZENS' COMMITTEE	52,000
EXPANSION OF ISSUE RESEARCH CAPACITY	35,000
OPPOSITION RESEARCH - FIELD FORCE	30,000
TV & RADIO	93,000
OFFENSIVE SCHEDULING	<u>75,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$ 983,404</u>

RNC OPERATIONS

	1970		1971	
	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
EXECUTIVE	\$ 661,131	18%	\$ 587,485	16%
POLITICAL	841,867	23%	792,669	21%
COMMUNICATIONS	598,855	17%	683,125	19%
RESEARCH	303,660	9%	520,871	14%
ADMINISTRATION	452,974	13%	<sup>n</sup> 636,141	17%
OPERATING COSTS	701,911	20%	467,534	13%
TOTAL	<u>\$ 3,560,400</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>\$ 3,687,825</u>	<u>100%</u>

FUNCTIONAL CHART RNC

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

B. Dole            Chairman  
A. Armstrong    Co-Chairman  
T. Evans          Co-Chairman

FINANCE COMMITTEE

J. Milbank, Chairman  
P. Wilson, Co-Chairman  
B. Odell, Director

ADMINISTRATION & ORGANIZATION

T. EVANS, CO-CHAIRMAN

COMMUNICATIONS

L. Nofziger, Deputy Chairman

RESEARCH & POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

E. DeBolt, Deputy Chairman

ADMINISTRATION

B. Mountain, Deputy Chairman

CONVENTION

J. Good, Director

R.G.A.

J. Galbraith, Director

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES &  
SPECIAL PROGRAMS

A. ARMSTRONG, CO-CHAIRMAN

N.F.R.W., Y.R., C.R.

June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Magruder Meeting with  
the Attorney General -  
June 23

Today Magruder discussed the following subjects with the Attorney General:

1. RNC Budget Problems:

Pursuant to the Attorney General's request, Magruder examined the RNC cash flow, payroll, and organization chart. Magruder's report, which the Attorney General reviewed quickly, is attached. To summarize:

- a) The RNC will have a deficit of \$2,000,000 by December, 1971; this results from \$1,000,000 less income and \$1,000,000 more in expenses;
- b) The RNC asserts that \$900,000 is solely for the support for the re-election of the President. This is an overstatement;
- c) The RNC is asking Citizens for \$1,000,000. The other \$1,000,000 of the deficit will be raised by the RNC. Magruder offers several options assuming the decision is made to assume \$1,000,000 of the RNC deficit. The options include: Have Kalmbach, Nunn and Sloan re-direct their efforts to acquire \$1,000,000; Citizens assume financial responsibility for some of the functions that may be related to the re-election of the President; fund the RNC with Citizens funds on hand; or cut back RNC programs to fit the budget.

The options involving the fundraisers or funds on hand will result in formidable difficulties, including the possibility of resignation by Lee Nunn and Hugh Sloan.

2. Ken Rietz

Senator Brock urged the Attorney General to hire Ken Rietz to be Executive Director of Young Voters for Nixon. Rietz

will sever all relationships with Treleaven, Allison and Rietz and begin working at Citizens on July 1st at a total salary of \$36,000. Brock argued that Rietz should receive \$48,000, and the Attorney General finally approved \$28,000 from the Citizens budget and \$8,000 from a discretionary account (see below #3).

3. The Attorney General has authorized a "limited discretionary account" for Magruder. Only Hank Buchanan, who is not yet doing the accounting work, will know of the account at Citizens.

The amount of the account as well as Rietz's salary might be an appropriate subject to raise in the general budget review session.

4. The Attorney General reacted favorably to the polling plan prepared by Higby and signed by Magruder. The Attorney General would like to meet with you and Flanigan next week to review the polling structure.

5. Apparently, a personality clash is developing between Lee Nunn and Tom Evans. This has been aggravated by the recent interest in RNC financial problems. The Attorney General is concerned but has not decided upon a solution.

GS:lm

FU  
7/2

FU 6/30  
~~Gordon~~

June 22, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON

In connection with your activities in tracking prospective Democratic candidates, the attached should be carefully preserved and treasured as HHH's last gasp.

*What's happening on this  
a lot more.*

*Z.*

*G → JSM 6/28 - update  
ready Wed*

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

May 17, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR

MR. JEB MAGRUDER

FROM:

ROBERT MARIK

SUBJECT:

MARGINAL CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Attached is a listing of marginal Republican Congressional districts as of the 1970 elections. A marginal district is defined as one in which the plurality of the winner over the loser or the next runner-up is ten percent or less (i.e., 55-45 or closer).

For your information, a listing of marginal Democratic districts has also been attached.

1970 CONGRESSIONAL VOTE STATISTICS

Marginal Republican Districts  
(30 Districts)

(1970 General Election returns compiled to conform to all Congressional Districts as constituted for the 1970 elections.)

<u>DISTRICT and</u> <u>INCUMBENT</u>	<u>RE PUB.</u>	<u>DEMO.</u>	<u>VOTE CAST</u>			<u>VOTE PERCENTAGES</u>			
			<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PLURALITY</u>	<u>RE PUB.</u>	<u>DEMO.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>PLURALITY</u>
California 6th William S. Mailliard *	96,393	84,255	--	180,648	12,138	53.4	46.6	--	6.7
California 38th Victor V. Veysey	87,479	85,684	2,481	175,644	1,795	49.8	48.8	1.4	1.0
Colorado 1st James D. McKeivitt	84,643	74,444	5,257	164,344	10,199	51.5	45.3	3.2	6.2
Connecticut 2nd Robert H. Steele	92,846	81,492	--	174,338	11,354	53.3	46.7	--	6.5
Delaware A.L. Pierre DuPont IV	86,125	71,429	2,759	160,313	14,696	53.7	44.6	1.7	9.2
Florida 10th J. Herbert Burke *	81,170	68,847	--	150,017	12,323	54.1	45.9	--	8.2
Indiana 2nd Earl F. Landgrebe *	79,163	77,959	--	157,122	1,204	50.4	49.6	--	.8
Indiana 8th Roger H. Zion*	93,088	83,911	--	176,999	9,177	52.6	47.4	--	5.2
Indiana 10th David W. Dennis*	81,439	78,871	--	160,310	2,568	50.8	49.2	--	1.6
Iowa 1st Fred Schwengel*	60,270	59,505	1,168	120,943	765	49.8	49.2	1.0	.6
Iowa 4th John Kyl*	59,396	49,369	--	108,765	10,027	54.6	45.4	--	9.2
Kansas 3rd Larry Winn *	74,603	64,344	1,820	140,767	10,259	53.0	45.7	1.3	7.3
Massachusetts 12th Hastings Keith *	100,432	98,910	7	199,349	1,522	50.4	49.6	--	.8
Minnesota 3rd Bill Frenzel	110,921	108,141	--	219,062	2,780	50.6	49.4	--	1.3

\*Re-elected incumbent

Marginal Republican Districts \* (cont'd.)

<u>DISTRICT and</u> <u>INCUMBENT</u>	<u>REPUB.</u>	<u>DEMO.</u>	<u>VOTE CAST</u>		<u>VOTE PERCENTAGES</u>				
			<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PLURALITY</u>	<u>REPUB.</u>	<u>DEMO.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>PLURALITY</u>
Minnesota 6th John M. Zwach*	88,753	81,004	1,625	171,382	7,749	51.8	47.3	.9	4.5
Montana 1st Richard G. Shoup	64,388	63,175	--	127,563	1,213	50.5	49.5	--	1.0
Nebraska 2nd John Y. McCollister	69,671	64,520	96	134,287	5,151	51.9	48.0	.1	3.8
New Jersey 2nd Charles W. Sandman*	69,392	64,882	--	134,274	4,510	51.7	48.3	--	3.4
New Jersey 6th Edwin B. Forsythe	88,051	72,347	3,742	164,140	15,704	53.6	44.1	2.3	9.6
New York 5th Norman F. Lent	93,824	84,738	5,342	183,904	9,086	51.0	46.1	2.9	4.9
New York 25th Peter A. Peyser	76,611	66,688	36,947	180,246	9,923	42.5	37.0	20.5	5.5
New York 39th Jack F. Kemp	96,989	90,949	--	187,938	6,040	51.6	48.4	--	3.2
Ohio 24th Walter E. Powell	63,344	55,455	4,179	122,978	7,889	51.5	45.1	3.4	6.4
Pennsylvania 19th George A. Goodling*	71,497	58,399	2,704	132,600	13,098	53.9	44.0	2.0	9.9
South Carolina 2nd Floyd Spence	43,093	42,005	486	90,584	6,088	53.1	46.4	.5	6.7
Tennessee 3rd Lamar Baker	61,527	54,662	3,813	120,002	6,865	51.3	45.6	3.2	5.7
Utah 2nd Sherman Lloyd *	97,549	87,000	2,094	186,643	10,549	52.3	46.6	1.1	5.7
Virginia 10th Joel T. Broynhill*	67,468	56,255	--	123,723	11,213	54.5	45.5	--	9.1
Wisconsin 9th Glenn Davis *	84,732	78,123	2	162,857	6,609	52.0	48.0	--	4.1
Wisconsin 10th Alvin E. O'Konski*	66,014	62,991	700	129,705	3,023	50.9	48.6	.5	2.3

\*Re-elected incumbent

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

June 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum to me from Rob Odle which details how we are handling offers of assistance.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

✓cc: Gordon Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

June 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
SUBJECT: OFFERS OF ASSISTANCE

As you know, many letters and offers of assistance are being received at the White House, the Republican National Committee, and here. Steps have been taken to insure that all letters supporting the President, offers of assistance in the campaign, and resumes of persons wishing to join the central office staff or work in the field are promptly acknowledged by return mail and a good record kept of the names and addresses of those writing in so that at the appropriate time later this year all the names of potential supporters can be easily placed in a computer for direct mail purposes. Also, we are making certain that the various resumes are properly catalogued so that if we need a particular person on the staff here, or in the field, we can find that person in our file of applications.

Letters of support which are addressed to the President or to the White House are answered by the White House Correspondence Section and transmitted to Mrs. Anne Higgins who catalogues them by either interest or background. Some of the categories into which these letters are catalogued are: women, youth, doctors, lawyers, veterans, insurance men, farmers, clergymen, etc. Names and addresses are carefully typed on 3 x 5 cards, placed in the proper category and then filed by state and by category. This process was begun on January 1, 1971 so as to have a current list by the time the campaign gets in high gear. Approximately 100,000 letters of support have been placed in this card file to date and they continue to come in at a rate of 700 per week. Anne Higgins worked in the 1968 campaign and is exactly the right person to be doing this job since she knows the purpose for which it is being done.

Those letters of support which specifically offer assistance in the 1972 campaign, or which are sent by higher level people, are referred to Harry Dent's office where they are answered with personalized letters from Harr

and forwarded to us. These names and addresses are also retained, of course, in Mrs. Higgin's card file.

Another current source of names to be used in future mailings is the President's 40,000-name Christmas card list which is also maintained on 3 x 5 cards and includes VIPs, GOP establishment types, and 1968 campaign workers. It is post office corrected, contains zip codes, and is completely up to date. Of course, most of these people are our supporters and we will gain very few additional votes by mailing anything to them during the campaign. But such a list would be helpful for financial solicitations.

At the Republican National Committee, fewer than a hundred letters per month offering support and assistance are received. These letters are all acknowledged, and filed by category. Ed De Bolt and Tom Evans are presently looking at ways in which to improve the cataloguing of these letters, but feel that the relatively small number of incoming letters does not justify any major effort much beyond what they are presently doing. Letters which specifically offer assistance to the President in his 1972 campaign, or come from higher level people, are answered by Chairman Dole and forwarded to us, just as Harry Dent's responses are forwarded to us.

There are also some other lists which would be available from the White House, but I doubt that they would be as significantly helpful as the Anne Higgin's card file. These would include the names of the 600,000 people who wrote into the President supporting the Cambodian incursion, and the names of those who have been entertained at White House social functions. The Cambodian list, now on tape, would probably be too old to be useful during the 1972 campaign, and the social lists, like the Christmas card list, include people who are already friends of the Administration. Nevertheless, these lists can be easily incorporated into a large direct mail program if desirable.

I believe that the White House, the Republican National Committee, and this office are all receiving and acting upon offers of assistance in such a way that they can easily and very quickly be retrieved, key punched, and placed in a computer for direct mail programs.

My next step is to discuss with Bob Marik the ways in which we should take this information and place it in a computer and what time frame we should be thinking of. I do not see this as an urgent problem, because I would not think we would initiate any direct mail programs until after the first of the year, except possibly in the area of financial solicitations.

I have not discussed in this memo the literally hundreds of other special interest mailing lists which we put together during the past

two years in the Klein office. These lists are already in the computer and are ready to be used in the campaign at a moment's notice.

cc: Mr. Robert H. Marik

CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

SUITE 272  
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 333-0920

June 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
SUBJECT: 1971 BROCHURE

As you know, a need has developed for a brochure which can be used during 1971, beginning immediately, to send to those who write in to us and the RNC (see memo on "Offers of Assistance") asking what they can do now to help re-elect the President.

This dummy has been designed to respond to that need. It will be enclosed in envelopes with the letters which answer offers of assistance, and other appropriate distribution of it can also be made. It will get those in the field who want to help motivated in the proper direction without involving a great commitment of time on the part of our staff here.

A word as to pictures: they can be, of course, changed. But on the front we wanted a very recent informal shot, and because it is a campaign brochure, we wanted the pictures to reflect the text, i.e., campaign shots.

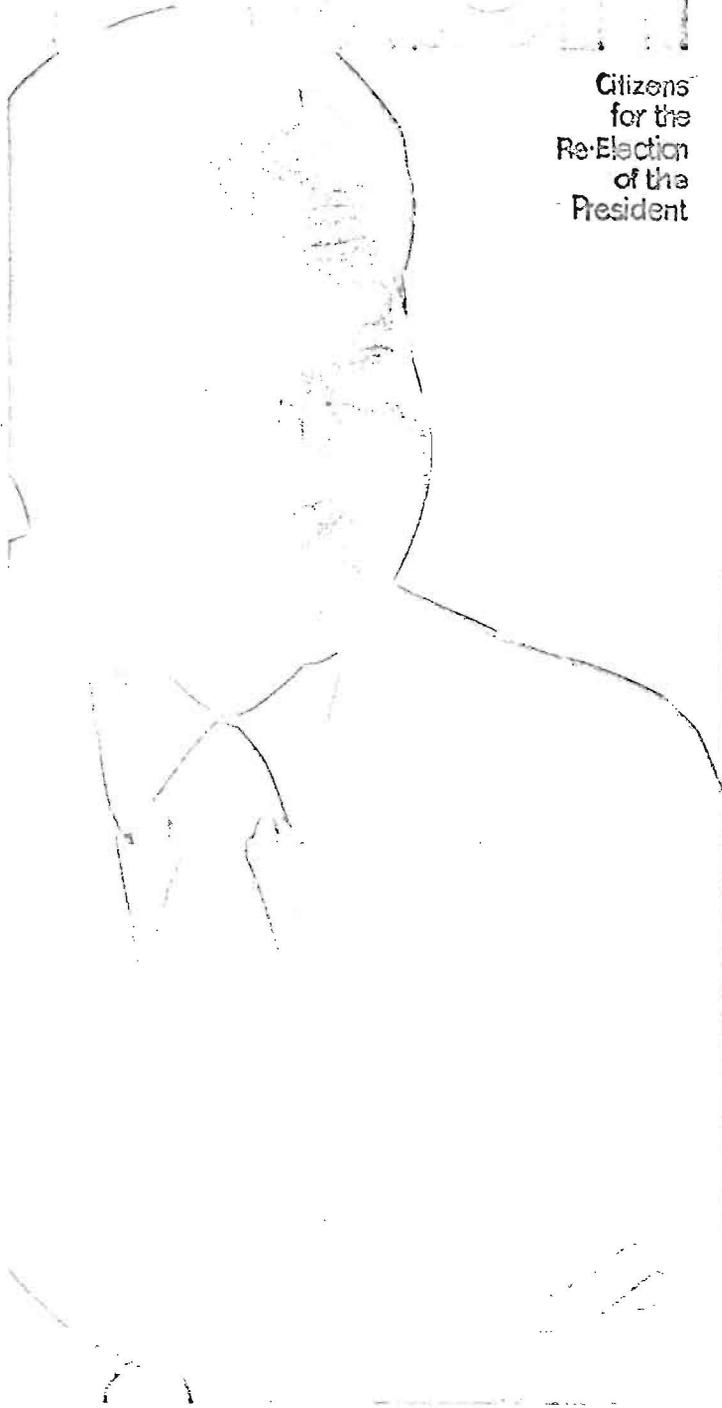
The words on the cover are purposely bland -- we wanted to avoid any title which might catch on as a slogan before we decided on an official campaign slogan. Hence, we avoided such slogans as "President Nixon for President," "Join the Nixon Team," or some such thing.

This is about the fourth version -- and looks good to me.

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan -- what you have here is a xerox of the dummy. When Jeb brings the original of the dummy and the photos back from his meeting with the Attorney General, I'll get them to you pronto. Rob.

# Nixon

Citizens  
for the  
Re-Election  
of the  
President



**CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT** has been formed as an independent focal point for all Americans who want to keep President Nixon in the White House for a second term. We believe the nation needs eight uninterrupted years of his leadership—time in which to assure passage of his great and innovative programs.

In 1968, the Nixon campaign organization won recognition as one of the most effective national operations in modern politics. The men and women who served on The Nixon All Stars—as our team was called by the press—participated in one of the most important events in the history of our time.

Now, we are reactivating that fine team—starting with a small headquarters in Washington. This pamphlet will advise our old campaigners and potential recruits what **CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT** is all about.

In plain language, it tells how to get on the bandwagon for a sweeping re-election victory for President Nixon in 1972!

Welcome aboard!

National Chairman

### **Building the 1972 Nixon Team.**

As in 1968, the Nixon campaign organization will be built from the precinct level upward.

At this developmental stage, we have no organizational chart. Our headquarters in Washington is not a campaign center, as such. Our initial job is to coordinate the evolving Nixon campaign organizations in cities, counties, states, and regions around the country and to make plans for all the aspects of a successful Presidential campaign. There is no "preference" list of local and regional managers and directors. These positions will be slotted later on, based on the professionalism and performance of individual workers. **CITIZENS** invites the participation of Democrats and Independents as well as Republicans. Our objective is the re-election of President Nixon and our plans exclude no individual nor any group dedicated to that resolve.

### **Professionalism & Performance.**

The distinguishing mark of the political "pro" is the ability to make things happen, regardless of his or her job in the overall organization. Those who move up fast are those who burn up the track doing the job at hand. In a professional organization there is no such thing as a non-essential assignment. Budgets are too slim and good people are too scarce to waste either of them running after rainbows.

The job of a professional team is to win. There are no runner-up prizes in a political campaign.

To win, we must and will have the best people at every level of operation. Our precinct leaders will be chosen from the best neighborhood organizers, our city and county teams will be comprised of the best precinct workers. The best of these will make up our state and regional leadership groups, and our national staff will be assembled from the leadership ranks at all levels. But, at any level, the most important job in the whole national campaign is the one **YOU** are doing to make things happen **TODAY**.

## Where to Start?

The quickest way to make something happen is to pick up the phone and start calling your friends. A Nixon neighborhood club doesn't need a charter, nor dues, nor even an official roster. Just people who want to help keep President Nixon in the White House.

If you already are a member of a local political organization, so much the better. Get in the vanguard of the President Nixon for President movement. The better organized your group is in the early stages, the more smoothly and effectively it will mesh with the national operation as we begin to pick up steam. Your local Republican organization can help you get started. Touch base with it.

## Be Informed— Communicate.

President Nixon has established a tremendous record of accomplishment. Faced with a hostile Congress, he has wound down the war, drastically reduced troops in Vietnam, reformed the draft, fought inflation, moved to help states and localities, battled welfare abuses, restructured the staggering federal bureaucracy, stabilized the economy, and has taken steps to control crime.

In foreign affairs, he has eased world tensions and embarked on the era of negotiations which he had promised in his 1968 campaign.

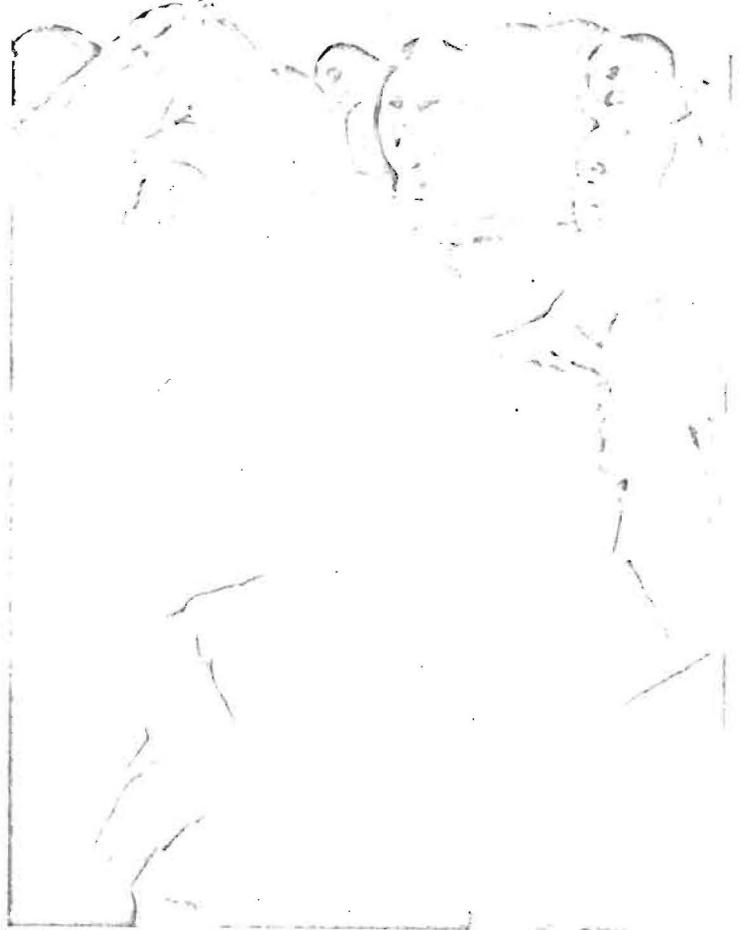
Under President Nixon tempers have cooled and our nation as a whole has stopped to look and think about the state of our national and international environment. For the first time in history, *the environment* has been made a national priority and the *quality* of American life a driving Presidential commitment.

## Where to Get Detailed Information on the Issues.

The best source is the Republican party organizations in your own locality. They have access to quantity reprints of materials published by the Republican National Committee in Washington and the Republican Committee of your own state.

These groups include the Federation of Republican Women, Young Republicans, College Republicans, Republican State Committee representatives, and local Republican Clubs.

All of their materials are published with reprint permission. That means you are free to have them reprinted in your local newspapers or in pamphlets for your own local distribution.



## Pulling it Together.

The hackneyed stereotype of the hand-shaking politician is strictly for the comic pages. Professional politics requires people who use their own special skills to the best advantage in reaching the overall objective.

There's a job for everybody who wants to work—and every job is essential to your group's success. Your immediate task is to track down the people who would like to get involved, get them committed and *get them signed up*. Later on, you'll need typists, mail clerks, messengers, bell pushers, mimeo operators, writers, artists, baby sitters, entertainers, phone callers, leaflet distributors.

In setting up your neighborhood group, keep in mind the basic functions it will perform during the various stages of the campaign. In

varying degrees, that will include fund raising, publicity and promotion, special activities (fairs, dances, suppers, block parties, etc.), political education (informing voters on the issues), administrative details and organizational management.

In recruiting your team, don't worry about finding people who "know" politics. Your best bet is the person who *knows what he or she is doing*.

Organize your team as you would any community action group. Better yet—organize it like a business. Because that's what it is—the *most important business of the nation in 1972*.

If you need professional help—again, contact your local and state Republican organizations. That's *their* business, too.



### Joining Forces.

A successful citizens political movement has to expand, gather strength, and push out further. In microcosm, your neighborhood group will embody all of the elements of the national CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT organization at full operational effectiveness.

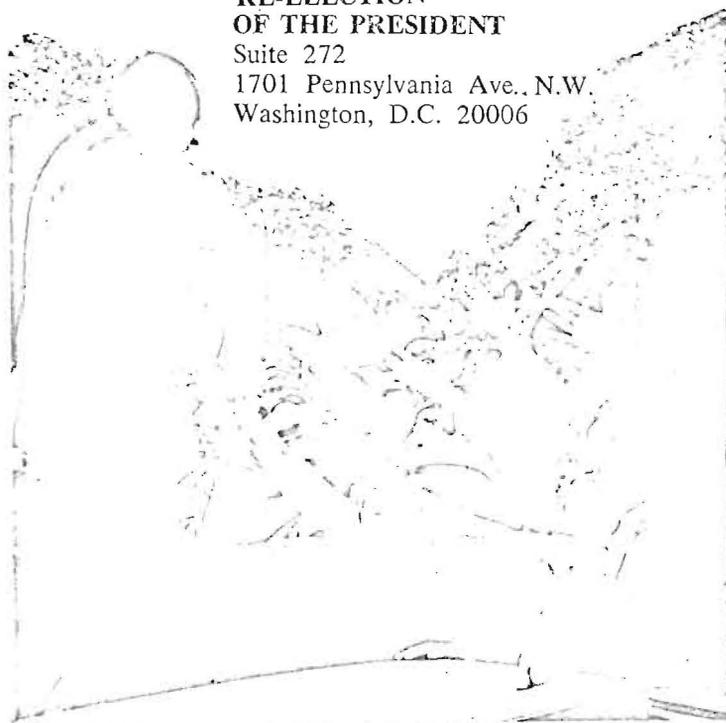
Your neighborhood may be a city block or a whole community. But once your team is intact, it will gain strength and be more effective by joining forces with other neighborhood groups. It requires tact, and it requires a basic understanding of the fact that in any political endeavor the more people you have working together, the better your opportunity to succeed.

The result, when everybody pulls together, is called WINNING.

And that's what CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT is all about.

**CITIZENS FOR THE  
RE-ELECTION  
OF THE PRESIDENT**

Suite 272  
1701 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006



CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

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June 14, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Enclosed is a copy of a memorandum to me from Rob Odle which details how we are handling offers of assistance.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Enclosure

✓ bcc: Gordon Strachan

CONFIDENTIAL

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June 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.  
SUBJECT: OFFERS OF ASSISTANCE

As you know, many letters and offers of assistance are being received at the White House, the Republican National Committee, and here. Steps have been taken to insure that all letters supporting the President, offers of assistance in the campaign, and resumes of persons wishing to join the central office staff or work in the field are promptly acknowledged by return mail and a good record kept of the names and addresses of those writing in so that at the appropriate time later this year all the names of potential supporters can be easily placed in a computer for direct mail purposes. Also, we are making certain that the various resumes are properly catalogued so that if we need a particular person on the staff here, or in the field, we can find that person in our file of applications.

Letters of support which are addressed to the President or to the White House are answered by the White House Correspondence Section and transmitted to Mrs. Anne Higgins who catalogues them by either interest or background. Some of the categories into which these letters are catalogued are: women, youth, doctors, lawyers, veterans, insurance men, farmers, clergymen, etc. Names and addresses are carefully typed on 3 x 5 cards, placed in the proper category and then filed by state and by category. This process was begun on January 1, 1971 so as to have a current list by the time the campaign gets in high gear. Approximately 100,000 letters of support have been placed in this card file to date and they continue to come in at a rate of 700 per week. Anne Higgins worked in the 1968 campaign and is exactly the right person to be doing this job since she knows the purpose for which it is being done.

Those letters of support which specifically offer assistance in the 1972 campaign, or which are sent by higher level people, are referred to Harry Dent's office where they are answered with personalized letters from Harry

and forwarded to us. These names and addresses are also retained, of course, in Mrs. Higgin's card file.

Another current source of names to be used in future mailings is the President's 40,000-name Christmas card list which is also maintained on 3 x 5 cards and includes VIPs, GOP establishment types, and 1968 campaign workers. It is post office corrected, contains zip codes, and is completely up to date. Of course, most of these people are our supporters and we will gain very few additional votes by mailing anything to them during the campaign. But such a list would be helpful for financial solicitations.

At the Republican National Committee, fewer than a hundred letters per month offering support and assistance are received. These letters are all acknowledged, and filed by category. Ed De Bolt and Tom Evans are presently looking at ways in which to improve the cataloguing of these letters, but feel that the relatively small number of incoming letters does not justify any major effort much beyond what they are presently doing. Letters which specifically offer assistance to the President in his 1972 campaign, or come from higher level people, are answered by Chairman Dole and forwarded to us, just as Harry Dent's responses are forwarded to us.

There are also some other lists which would be available from the White House, but I doubt that they would be as significantly helpful as the Anne Higgin's card file. These would include the names of the 600,000 people who wrote into the President supporting the Cambodian incursion, and the names of those who have been entertained at White House social functions. The Cambodian list, now on tape, would probably be too old to be useful during the 1972 campaign, and the social lists, like the Christmas card list, include people who are already friends of the Administration. Nevertheless, these lists can be easily incorporated into a large direct mail program if desirable.

I believe that the White House, the Republican National Committee, and this office are all receiving and acting upon offers of assistance in such a way that they can easily and very quickly be retrieved, key punched, and placed in a computer for direct mail programs.

My next step is to discuss with Bob Marik the ways in which we should take this information and place it in a computer and what time frame we should be thinking of. I do not see this as an urgent problem, because I would not think we would initiate any direct mail programs until after the first of the year, except possibly in the area of financial solicitations.

I have not discussed in this memo the literally hundreds of other special interest mailing lists which we put together during the past

two years in the Klein office. These lists are already in the computer and are ready to be used in the campaign at a moment's notice.

cc: Mr. Robert H. Marik