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## Presidential Materials Review Board
### Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** H. R. Haldeman  
**Box Number:** 308  
**Folder:** 14 Campaign-Jan. 1-18, 1972 Part II [Folder 2]

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RNC Convention

Bill Timmons and John a security
Dean conducted another survey of
San Diego last week. The primary
They obtained
& Dean
the support requested, and

Timmons has run into
Senator Scott has informed
difficulty with
Bill Timmons that he will
not "clear" John Rhodes for
Platform Chairman until his
(Senator Scott's) role is known.
Timmons believes he can convince
Scott to become floor leader for
Nixon. The AG doubts Timmons
can do it, but has given Timmons
the negotiating authority to try.
Timmons will proceed unless he
receives contrary instructions from
you.

Timmons is also wondering
asking whether you have any
objection to permitting part of the
California delegation, including
Gov. Reagan, to take some of
the extra rooms in the Sheraton,
in San Diego will be the F. A. "headquarters
hotel. The F. A. agrees that the
ladies' delegation should receive
this special treatment.
Recommendation
That both Timmons be informed that you are to receive this information but not for action. Timmons should receive instructions from the AG, not from you.

A — D — C —
will damage the P in Calif; that Evans plans to make several communications staff changes in connection with Nofziger's departure (Maack has been advised; you have a talking paper for the AG).
Restricted document has been removed. See document entry number / on Document Withdrawal Record (GSA Form 7279) or NARS Withdrawal Sheet (GSA Form 7122), located in the front of this folder, for a description of the item and an explanation for its removal.
ITEM REMOVED FROM THIS FILE FOLDER

Restricted document has been removed. See document entry number _2_ on Document Withdrawal Record (GSA Form 7279) or NARS Withdrawal Sheet (GSA Form 7122), located in the front of this folder, for a description of the item and an explanation for its removal.
6. Evans will begin meeting regularly with Fred LaRue, Jeb Magruder, Harry Flemming, Bob Marik and others to assure the involvement of the RNC.
Macruder's Projects

1. Schedule Matters: Macruder asked the AG whether Secretary Connally should be scheduled into non-political functions in primary and key states. The AG responded yes but "at his (Connally's) discretion."

Ernie Menen, the RNC scheduler, will move to 1701 around Feb 1, at his current salary of $31,500.

Bill Thompson will seek to have Congressmen sign...
petitions supporting Orr P to
undercut the 36 Congressmen
Ashbrook and McDowell.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Demonstrating Congressional Support for the President's Candidacy

Bill Timmons has asked for our guidance on whether it would be advisable, as a means for building support for the President's candidacy, to ask members of the House and Senate to sign petitions endorsing the President's entry into the New Hampshire Primary.

The advantages of such action would certainly lie in undercutting the candidacy of Congressmen Ashbrook and McCluskey. If you approve, we will work with Bill to generate the petitions.

Approve_______ Disapprove_______ Comment_____________________

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

January 10, 1972

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

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

The scheduling of surrogates for the President is well under way. To date, this office has been scheduling members of the Cabinet and other Administration officials. We think that now is the time to augment this operation to include Senators, Congressmen, and Governors.

As you know, Ernie Minor has been scheduling these people from the Republican National Committee, and doing a good job. We would like your approval to have Ernie transfer from the RNC to 1701 in order to centralize the entire scheduling operation for the duration of the campaign.

RECOMMENDATION:

That Ernie Minor be allowed to move his scheduling operation to 1701, reporting to Bart Porter. He would be placed on the payroll effective February 1, 1972. His actual move would be made as soon as space is available, probably around February 10th. His salary would be the same as that which he is receiving at the RNC: $31,800.

APPROVE_________ DISAPPROVE_________ COMMENTS_________

HERBERT L. PORTER
January 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Secretary John B. Connally

We would appreciate receiving your opinion on the guidelines which should be followed in scheduling Secretary Connally.

Secretary Connally is scheduled to appear at non-political functions during the course of the next sixty days in Denver, Richmond, Pittsburgh, Austin, Houston, New York and Chicago. We have not referred to the Secretary any invitations to appear at political functions.

Attached is a memorandum regarding an invitation for Secretary Connally to appear at a non-political function in New Hampshire prior to March 7, 1972.

QUESTION:

Should we attempt to schedule Secretary Connally into non-political functions in key and primary states (including New Hampshire) to benefit from media exposure?

Approve _______  Disapprove _______  Comments _______

At his discretion

QUESTION:

Should we attempt to schedule Secretary Connally into political functions in any states?

Approve _______  Disapprove _______  Comments _______

JEB S. MAGRUDER

JSM:JCH:pm
cc: /JSM working  JCH
     JSM chron
     JSM subject
January 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: Jeb Magruder

SUBJECT: Pending Invitation in New Hampshire

Secretary Connally has pending an invitation from New Hampshire's newspaper editors and the New England Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism society. The suggested date is February 17, but it probably could be shifted. The Secretary has not acted on the invitation.

If he accepts will it fit in, in any way, with any of your plans?

C. E. Brumley
Special Assistant to the Secretary
(Public Affairs)
Don Todd has been hired to supervise the Committee's program for the older voters. Todd served as Arthur Flemming assistant for the U.S. Corp on Aging. Todd recommended to the AG that John Martin be removed as head of the Administration on Aging and replaced with a performance oriented individual reporting directly to Sec'y Richardson. No decision has been reached. Todd/Flemming and Jamie Mc hane
of Wilson's staff are charged with overall responsibility for the older voter.
January 11, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: DAN TODD

SUBJECT: ARTHUR FLEMMING

While Arthur Flemming will be devoting his full time to aging matters for the balance of this year, his efforts will be split into two main endeavors: His continuation as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging and his position as Special Consultant to the President for Aging. These dual roles, though heavily integrated, have quite different objectives and requirements as outlined below:

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE CHAIRMAN

The President, the Congress, and Conference leadership have continually referred to the WHCoA as part of a 3-year process with 1972 being designated as the "Post-Conference year of action". This goes somewhat beyond the legal authority of the Conference which will expire on June 30th.

In keeping with the specifics of the Joint Resolution a final report must be presented to the Secretary within 120 days and development of a legislative package implementing such parts of the report as may be desirable 90 days thereafter. Going beyond these statutory requirements, however, is the President's direction that a Post-Conference Board be established to follow up and report on the Conference's impact and the necessity to continue some of the efforts associated specifically with the Conference itself (ex. the establishment of a National Steering Committee of Volunteer Organizations designed to provide services to allow the elderly to remain in their own homes or other places of residence; the personal pledges of the Delegates themselves to work on behalf of the elderly in various ways during 1972).

To allow for these activities, Dr. Flemming will seek an extension of the Conference Authority to 12/31/72 through appropriate channels.

His position as Chairman has lead to numerous speaking engagements. It is his intention (and ours) to maximize his appearances in the field as he enjoys strong credibility with this group and can take advantage of many forums not open to others.

Dr. Flemming also anticipates conducting at least two follow-up meetings in each of the ten Federal regions which will involve Federal, state
and local public persons as well as Conference Delegates, National Organization representatives and such other private parties as may wish to participate. In addition, there will be at least two meetings of the Post-Conference Board.

To staff these efforts, a reduced but continuing roster of those previously associated with the Conference will be maintained in the Pennsylvania Building.

SPECIAL CONSULTANT TO THE PRESIDENT (See Attached Statement.)

Dr. Flemming envisages two main thrusts to this position: the internal or effort associated with the Cabinet Committee and an external or "ombudsman" function. He will have two special assistants to provide staff support, one assigned to the Cabinet Committee, the other to handle the external demands.

The Cabinet Committee, in addition to having done a great deal of pre-Conference evaluation, will have the lead responsibility for considering the recommendations of the Conference and seeing that appropriate action is taken. Jamie McLane will continue to have overall program responsibility but he has not had a full-time technical staff man available to him heretofor. One of Dr. Flemming's men will fill this needed slot.

The "ombudsman" will devote his time to the present structure and operation of the Federal government. A significant portion of the correspondence received deals with oversights, omissions, or bureaucratic snafus. It is Dr. Flemming's intention that a) each of these be answered personally, and b) to the extent possible, the idea or complaint be thoroughly investigated.

This person would also keep a constant check around government to ensure that existing authorities and resources are used effectively on behalf of the elderly and that nothing is taken away from them.

Dr. Flemming will also participate in a government-wide communications effort to coordinate all press releases, Departmental initiatives and public speaking engagements to ensure that, where there is any involvement or potential impact on the elderly, they are given visibility. It is my present understanding that McLane will have responsibility within The White House for this also, in close cooperation with 1701.
This administration's commitment to forging a new national policy of respect for, and service to, older Americans is significantly forwarded today by the appointment of Dr. Arthur S. Flemming as my Special Consultant on Aging. I am delighted to be gaining the services of this distinguished public servant, who was an able Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Eisenhower, who has been a leader in American education for many years, and whose energetic direction as Chairman contributed so much to the success of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging.

I am determined, as I said in my address to that Conference last month, that the voice of older Americans will be heard in the White House when matters that affect the interests of older Americans are being discussed. No one in the United States today is better qualified to raise that voice, forcefully, and persuasively, than Arthur Flemming. He will advise me on the whole range of concerns relating to older persons: he will pursue aggressively, as my representative, the goals of better implementation and tighter coordination of all Federal activities in the field of aging; he will continue as a member of our Cabinet-level Domestic Council Committee on Aging; and he will also continue as Chairman of the White House Conference on Aging during the crucial post-conference year -- the year of action. His responsibilities in this area will include appointing and heading up the activities of a post-conference board to act as agent for the delegates in following up their proposals.

In the early days of the administration I asked John B. Martin, Commissioner of the Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to take on the additional responsibilities of a new post as Special Assistant to the President on Aging. His very effective service in that post has not only meant better representation for older citizens at the highest level of government; it has also revealed that the dimensions of the job to be done are such that another good man is needed. Now, with Arthur Flemming's arrival as John Martin's teammate, "senior power" doubles its forces at the White House. Better Federal assistance to the aging should be the result.
MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB MAGRUDER

FROM: DAN TODD

SUBJECT: DHEW/AGING

As we discussed, there are four highly interrelated elements in the successful operation of the campaign effort vs. Older Americans: Arthur Flemming's operation; 1701; The Cabinet Committee and The White House; DHEW.

This memo deals with HEW's role as implementator of the course laid out by the Department in consultation with the other three. In many ways, HEW's effectiveness in delivery of services and discharging its position of leadership are the most important elements, as only they can provide the factual record of progress and achievement that provides credibility for the rest of us.

BACKGROUND

The Administration on Aging is looked to by this constituency as the agency from which all Federal action should emanate. AOA has suffered to date from both lack of effective leadership and submersion within the Department's operating structure. Administration opponents have articulately and effectively criticized us on both points.

DHEW and AOA will play the lead role in analyzing, making recommendations to the President, and implementing decisions emanating from The White House Conference, both because of subject matter and program content and because Elliot Richardson also serves as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Aging.

Additional visibility is provided by the fact that the Older Americans Act expires this spring and its renewal will be the subject of much partisan debate and a Presidential message.

There are also two Task Forces (one under Richardson and Flemming and one created by Senator Church) which have studied the location, function and operation of AOA and have submitted tentative findings to their respective convenors.
PROBLEMS

I. Lack of a single contact point within the Office of the Secretary for all Aging matters.
   a) Because of the horizontal nature of aging programs, intra-departmental coordination and discipline are essential if effective results are to be forthcoming. This function cannot be performed by AOA in its capacity as a line agency. Also, the conflicts between the various different Administrations and Agencies of the Department are such as to require the power, prestige and influence of the Office of the Secretary if common ground is to be found.
   b) Because of HEW's leadership position v. the Cabinet Committee and because there is a great deal of inter-departmental activity, lack of a sole source in OS reduces substantially the effectiveness of the Committee as regards the decision-making process on policy initiatives and follow-up on those decisions.

II. Absence of effective articulate leadership in the Administration on Aging.
   a) AOA has received a supplemental appropriation for FY 72 and the President committed himself to a substantial expansion of their appropriation for FY 73. As of the present moment, no satisfactorily detailed plans have been presented regarding the allocation and expenditure of these funds.
   b) The Older Americans Act expires this spring. There has been substantial activity in both houses of Congress and both Church and Brademas have bills in on the subject. In spite of the fact that the Administration is in a position to design its own program and in effect co-opt the opposition, no plan for doing so exists.
   c) Because the constituency considers AOA as "their" agency, it is essential that AOA step out in an innovative way -- philosophically and programatically. At the present time, momentum lies with Arthur Flemming. He is popular and effective but since he has no line or program authority, he cannot make things happen. As the gap between his exhortations and AOA's performance widens, the President's credibility suffers.
d) As we get further into the year, the Commissioner will be faced with numerous appearances on the Hill in addition to public speaking engagements. These events will be widely covered in the Specialty press and it is essential that we maximize our impact. While technically qualified, I do not believe the incumbent Commissioner emanates the aura of leadership necessary if we are to maintain or broaden the favorable position we enjoy with this constituency.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the Secretary be urged to identify and install in his immediate office a person who would have overall and full-time responsibility for the Department's efforts in this area as well as handling legislative matters and monitoring Cabinet Committee activities. This action should be taken immediately.

2. That John Martin be removed as head of AOA and replaced by a strong performance-oriented person who is capable of both public and private leadership of the agency. This should be accomplished rapidly and no later than February 1, 1972. Martin could be retained in his capacity as Special Assistant to the President and/or as a "Special Assistant" to the Secretary if it is felt such a continuation is necessary.

TIME-CRITICAL EVENTS

Attached.
### Legislation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislation</th>
<th>Committee with Action</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H. R. 1</td>
<td>Senate Finance Committee (Long)</td>
<td>Action by March.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension Legislation</td>
<td>House Committee on Education and Labor (Dent)</td>
<td>Hearings late spring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senate Labor and Public Welfare (Williams)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition for the Elderly (S. 1163)</td>
<td>House Committee on Education &amp; Labor (Perkins)</td>
<td>Passed Senate 89-0 in December; action in Feb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive Services for Elderly (H. R. 12017) (Amendments to Older Americans Act)</td>
<td>House Committee on Education and Labor (Brademas)</td>
<td>68 co-sponsors; hearings in early Feb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senate Labor and Public Welfare (Eagleton)</td>
<td>Affects HEW, DOT, HUD, CSC, ACTION.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint House-Senate Committee on Aging Resolution</td>
<td>Quie</td>
<td>Action in January.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced interstate transportation fares for elderly</td>
<td>House Interstate Commerce Committee</td>
<td>Action in February.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission on Mental Health of Elderly (Muskie)</td>
<td>Senate Labor and Public Welfare (Kennedy)</td>
<td>Action in spring.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### AGING EVENTS - 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **State of the Union**

- **Budget Message**

- **Special Message on Aging (OAA Amendments)**

- **White House Conference on Aging Report to Secretary of HEW and President**

- **Secretary of HEW submit to President and Congress Legislative and Administrative Actions to Implement Conference Recommendations**

- **Republican Party Platform**
Polling. The finance firm, Finance Committee, contracted with Market Opinion Research as master with the other pollsters as subsidiaries. The contracts Gordon histed, as counsel to the Committee, approved the contracts.

The results from N.H. and Wise may be received from Tellier on Jan 24. To solve the problem of delay in speed.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: POLLING CONTRACTS

Attached are three contracts between the Finance Committee and three polling companies. The contract with Market Opinion Research Company is the master; the others subsidiary.

Gordon Liddy has been over these and made the substantive changes he deemed necessary prior to their being typed in final. Gordon noted that he was not aboard while drafting was being done and that, while the language could be more artful, in the interests of time he concerned himself with substance only and he is satisfied with that.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

bcc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
AGREEMENT

Agreement made as of the 28 day of December, 1971 between Market Opinion Research Company, a Michigan Corporation having its principle offices at 327 John R., Detroit, Michigan (hereafter referred to as MORC) and the Finance Committee for the Re-election of President Nixon, a voluntary association organized and existing in the District of Columbia, having its principle offices at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue (hereafter referred to as the Committee).

WITNESSETH:

In consideration of the terms, conditions and covenants hereof the parties hereby agree as follows:

1. Conduct of Public Opinion Surveys

MORC agrees to conduct such public opinion (personal interview or telephone) surveys (hereafter referred to as "surveys") as may be requested by the Committee during the 1971-72 United States Presidential campaign.

(a) An initial group of statewide surveys (initial group of surveys) shall be conducted by MORC in accordance with the list of states, the sample specifications and the schedule listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Primary Over-Sample</th>
<th>Field Start</th>
<th>Preliminary Report</th>
<th>Complete Report</th>
<th>Rate Per Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>12/10/71</td>
<td>1/03/72</td>
<td>1/14/72</td>
<td>$21.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
<td>22.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>800</td>
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<td>22.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
<td>23.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the states designated "primary over sample", Republican primary voters will be over-sampled so as to yield a minimum sample of 300 Republican primary voters. Preliminary reports shall consist of complete tabulations (a computer print-out) of all of the questions and the final report shall consist of all tabulations of the data, any additional tabulations which were made (at the reasonable request of the Committee) and an interpretive analysis for each of the surveys (in a format approved by the Committee) and a set of punched data cards covering all of the data.

(b) Surveys subsequent to the initial group of surveys (subsequent surveys), as described previously in this paragraph 1, shall be conducted by MORC only upon written request from the Committee, provided, however, that MORC shall have received at least seven days prior written notice of any personal interview survey requested and at least two days prior written notice of any telephone survey requested and provided further that the parties shall have agreed in writing to the fees for the surveys as set forth in paragraph 2 and the other details of the surveys as set forth in paragraph 1 (c).

(c) MORC shall submit the questionnaire to be utilized in connection with each survey to the Committee for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. MORC will not proceed with any survey until it receives written notice of the Committee's approval of the questionnaire. With respect to the initial survey, the Committee acknowledges that the questionnaire and the population sample to be surveyed are acceptable to it. The specific details of subsequent surveys as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require; provided, however, that in the event the parties cannot agree, it is understood the Committee shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of any survey, the wording of the questions on the
questionnaire (so long as the questions are in accordance with generally accepted opinion surveying practice) and the population type to be sampled, while MORC shall have final authority to determine the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. MORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire.

2. Fees and Payment

The fee to MORC for the initial group of general election surveys including the interpretive report thereof shall be $105,800.00, $52,900.00 payable on execution of this agreement or prior to the date for commencement of interviewing and the balance of $52,900.00 shall be due and immediately payable to MORC upon delivery by it of the interpretive report. The fee for the over-samples in primary states will be at the same per interview rates as the general election surveys as set forth in #1a, and shall be in addition to the above fee for the general election surveys. The fee for the over-sample shall be due and payable with the final payment for the general election survey. The fees for subsequent surveys are subject to subsequent agreement of the parties. It is, however, understood that if the agreed upon fee for any survey is $10,000.00 or less, the entire fee shall be paid in full prior to the commencement of interviews and if the agreed upon fee is $10,000.00 or more, an initial payment of the greater of $10,000.00 or 50 percent of the total fee shall be paid prior to the commencement of interviews with the balance due and immediately payable upon delivery of the interpretive report.

3. Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information

The interpretive reports of surveys and the punched data cards for the Committee shall become the property of the Committee when delivered to
it by MORC. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of MORC. MORC agrees to retain such items for at least five years and to give the Committee reasonable access thereto. MORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising, public relations, publication, academic research, or as part of projects for other clients, the information obtained in any survey for the Committee or, included in any interpretive report without the written consent of the Committee before November 1, 1977, provided, however, that if the results of any survey or the contents of any interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by the Committee, MORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the size of the sample, the times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the name of the sponsor of the study. The Committee agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of any survey or the contents of any interpretive report that the Committee or the person acting for or on behalf of it will first notify MORC in writing and also state in the release, speech or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by MORC. Furthermore, in the event of such release MORC may make public the population from which the sample was taken, the size of the sample, the times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of the questions asked and the name of the sponsor of the survey. The Committee also agrees that at all times both during the term of this Agreement and thereafter it will hold in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of MORC and that it will not disclose or make known such knowledge or information
4. Non-Competition

MORC agrees not to perform services of any nature whatsoever for any other candidate for the Presidency of the United States during the 1972 presidential campaign, without the express prior written consent of the Committee.

5. Cancellation of Surveys

The Committee may cancel any survey requested by it (other than the initial surveys) on written notice to MORC prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event notice of cancellation is received by MORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the Committee with respect to said survey shall be returned to the Committee. In the event that the cancellation of a survey is made less than seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, MORC shall be entitled to retain 10 percent of the total fee for the survey (or if such amount is not paid, the Committee shall be liable therefor) as liquidated damages, the parties expressly agreeing that MORC'S costs of preparing for any such survey are not capable of precise measurement.

6. Exclusion of Warranties

MORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of all surveys conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, MORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct
any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of MORC.

7. Miscellaneous

(a) The Officers of the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of President Nixon are:

Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., Chairman
Jane M. Dannenhauer, Secretary/Treasurer

(b) All notices given pursuant to or in connection with this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or by mail to the recipient addressed as follows:

If to the Committee
Committee for the Re-Election of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 272
Washington, D.C.
Attn: Jeb S. Magruder

If to MORC
Market Opinion Research Company
327 John R Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226
Attn: Frederick P. Currier or Robert M. Teeter
Attn: Jeb S. Magruder

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties hereto as to public opinion surveys (but not as to consulting services, if any, in connection with such surveys or other surveys) and supercedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it", and "its" shall include the pronouns "he" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with Michigan law.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement shall be held illegal, invalid, or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT NIXON

By __________________________

Its Chairman

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH COMPANY

By __________________________

Its President
AGREEMENT

Agreement made as of the 28 day of December, 1971 between Decision Making Information Company a California Corporation having its principle offices at 672 S. Lafayette, Park Place, Suite 35, Los Angeles, California 90057 (hereafter referred to as DMI) and the Finance Committee for the Re-election of President Nixon, a voluntary association organized and existing in the District of Columbia, having its principle offices at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue (hereafter referred to as the Committee).

WITNESSETH:

In consideration of the terms, conditions and covenants hereof the parties hereby agree as follows:

1. Conduct of Public Opinion Surveys

DMI agrees to conduct such public opinion (personal interview or telephone) surveys (hereafter referred to as "surveys") as may be requested by the Committee and required by it during the 1971-72 United States Presidential campaign.

(a) An initial group of statewide surveys (initial group of surveys) shall be conducted by DMI in accordance with the list of states, the sample specifications and the schedule listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Over-Sample</th>
<th>Primary Start</th>
<th>Field Start</th>
<th>Preliminary Report</th>
<th>Complete Report</th>
<th>Rate Per Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/24/72</td>
<td></td>
<td>$19.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>12/10/71</td>
<td>1/03/72</td>
<td>1/14/72</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the state designated "primary over sample", Republican primary voters will be over-sampled so as to yield a minimum sample of 300 Republican primary voters. Preliminary reports shall consist of complete tabulations (a computer print-out) of all of the questions and the final report shall consist of all tabulations of the data, any additional tabulations which were made (at the reasonable request of the Committee) and an interpretive analysis for each of the surveys (in a format approved by the Committee) and a set of punched data cards covering all of the data.

(b) Surveys subsequent to the initial group of surveys (subsequent surveys), as described previously in this paragraph 1, shall be conducted by DMI only upon written request from the Committee, provided, however, that DMI shall have received at least seven days prior written notice of any personal interview survey requested and at least two days prior written notice of any telephone survey requested and provided further that the parties shall have agreed in writing to the fees for the surveys as set forth in paragraph 2 and the other details of the surveys as set forth in paragraph 1 (c).

(c) DMI shall submit the questionnaire to be utilized in connection with each survey to the Committee for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. DMI will not proceed with any survey until it receives written notice of the Committee's approval of the questionnaire. With respect to the initial survey, the Committee acknowledges that the questionnaire and the population sample to be surveyed are acceptable to it. The specific details of subsequent surveys as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require; provided, however, that in the event the parties cannot agree, it is understood the Committee shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of any survey, the wording of the questions on the
questionnaire (so long as the questions are in accordance with generally accepted opinion surveying practice) and the population type to be sampled, while DMI shall have final authority to determine the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. DMI shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire.

2. Fees and Payment

The fee to DMI for the initial group of general election surveys including the interpretive report thereof shall be $87,540.00, $43,770.00 payable on execution of this agreement or prior to the date for commencement of interviewing and the balance of $43,770.00 shall be due and immediately payable to DMI upon delivery by it of the interpretive report. The fee for the over-samples in primary states will be at the same per interview rates as the general election surveys as set forth in #1a, and shall be in addition to the above fee for the general election surveys. The fee for the over-sample shall be due and payable with the final payment for the general election survey. The fees for subsequent surveys are subject to subsequent agreement of the parties. It is, however, understood that if the agreed upon fee for any survey is $10,000.00 or less, the entire fee shall be paid in full prior to the commencement of interviews and if the agreed upon fee is $10,000.00 or more, an initial payment of the greater of $10,000.00 or 50 percent of the total fee shall be paid prior to the commencement of interviews with the balance due and immediately payable upon delivery of the interpretive report.

3. Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information

The interpretive reports of surveys and the punched data cards for the Committee shall become the property of the Committee when delivered to
it by DMI. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of DMI. DMI agrees to retain such items for at least five years and to give the Committee reasonable access thereto. DMI agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising, public relations, publication, academic research, or as part of projects for other clients, the information obtained in any survey for the Committee or included in any interpretive report without the written consent of the Committee before November 1, 1977, provided, however, that if the results of any survey or the contents of any interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by the Committee, DMI may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the size of the sample, the times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the name of the sponsor of the study. The Committee agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of any survey or the contents of any interpretive report that the Committee or the person acting for or on behalf of it will first notify DMI in writing and also state in the release, speech or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by DMI. Furthermore, in the event of such release DMI may make public the population from which the sample was taken, the size of the sample, the times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of the questions asked and the name of the sponsor of the survey. The Committee also agrees that at all times both during the term of this Agreement and thereafter it will hold in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of DMI and that it will not disclose or make known such knowledge or information
to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of DMI except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by DMI.

4. **Non-Competition**

DMI agrees not to perform services of any nature whatsoever for any other candidate for the Presidency of the United States during the 1972 presidential campaign, without the express prior written consent of the Committee.

5. **Cancellation of Surveys**

The Committee may cancel any survey requested by it (other than the initial surveys) on written notice to DMI prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event notice of cancellation is received by DMI seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the Committee with respect to said survey shall be returned to the Committee. In the event that the cancellation of a survey is made less than seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, DMI shall be entitled to retain 10 percent of the total fee for the survey (or if such amount is not paid, the Committee shall be liable therefor) as liquidated damages, the parties expressly agreeing that DMI's costs of preparing for any such survey are not capable of precise measurement.

6. **Exclusion of Warranties**

DMI agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of all surveys conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, DMI shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct
any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of DMI.

7. Miscellaneous

(a) The Officers of the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of President Nixon are:

Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., Chairman
Jane M. Dannenhauer, Secretary/Treasurer

(b) All notices given pursuant to or in connection with this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or by mail to the recipient addressed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If to the Committee</th>
<th>If to DMI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Committee for the Re-Election of the President</td>
<td>Decision Making Information Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.</td>
<td>672 S. Lafayette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suite 272</td>
<td>Park Place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>Los Angeles, California 90057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attn: Jeb S. Magruder</td>
<td>Attn: Vincent P. Barrabba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert M. Teeter</td>
<td>Attn: Richard Wirthlin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties hereto as to public opinion surveys (but not as to consulting services, if any, in connection with such surveys or other surveys) and supercedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it", and "its" shall include the pronouns "he" and "them" and the singular include the plural, and vice versa.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with California law.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement shall be held illegal, invalid, or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT NIXON

BY

Its Chairman

DESIGN MARKETING INFORMATION COMPANY

BY

Its
AGREEMENT

Agreement made as of the 27 day of December, 1971 between Opinion Research Corporation, a Delaware Corporation having its principle offices at North Harrison Street, Princeton, New Jersey (hereafter referred to as ORC) and the Finance Committee for the Re-election of President Nixon, a voluntary association organized and existing in the District of Columbia, having its principle offices at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue (hereafter referred to as the Committee).

WITNESSETH:

In consideration of the terms, conditions and covenants hereof the parties hereby agree as follows:

1. Conduct of Public Opinion Surveys

ORC agrees to conduct such public opinion (personal interview or telephone) surveys (hereafter referred to as "surveys") as may be requested by the Committee during the 1971-72 United States Presidential campaign.

(a) An initial group of statewide surveys (initial groups of surveys) shall be conducted by ORC in accordance with the list of states, the sample specifications and the schedule listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Primary Over-sample</th>
<th>Field Start</th>
<th>Preliminary Report</th>
<th>Complete Report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>12/10/71</td>
<td>1/03/72</td>
<td>1/14/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>12/10/71</td>
<td>1/03/72</td>
<td>1/14/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
<td>1/07/72</td>
<td>2/10/72</td>
<td>2/25/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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In the states designated "primary over sample", Republican primary voters will be over-sampled so as to yield a minimum sample of 300 Republican primary voters. Preliminary reports shall consist of complete tabulations (a computer print-out) of all of the questions and the final report shall consist of all tabulations of the data, any additional tabulations which were made (at the reasonable request of the Committee) and an interpretive analysis for each of the surveys (in a format approved by the Committee) and a set of punched data cards covering all of the data.

(b) Surveys subsequent to the initial group of surveys (subsequent surveys), as described previously in this paragraph 1, shall be conducted by ORC only upon written request from the Committee, provided, however, that ORC shall have received at least seven days prior written notice of any personal interview survey requested and at least two days prior written notice of any telephone survey requested and provided further that the parties shall have agreed in writing to the fees for the surveys as set forth in paragraph 2 and the other details of the surveys as set forth in paragraph 1 (c).

(c) ORC shall submit the questionnaire to be utilized in connection with each survey to the Committee for approval prior to the commencement of interviews. ORC will not proceed with any survey until it receives written notice of the Committee's approval of the questionnaire. With respect to the initial survey, the Committee acknowledges that the questionnaire and the population sample to be surveyed are acceptable to it. The specific details of subsequent surveys as to timing, questionnaire content, and population sample to be surveyed shall be mutually agreed upon by the parties as circumstances may require; provided, however, that in the event the parties cannot agree, it is understood the Committee shall have final authority to determine the subject matter content of any survey, the wording of the questions on the
questionnaire (so long as the questions are in accordance with generally accepted opinion surveying practice) and the population type to be sampled, while ORC shall have final authority to determine the specific individuals within the given population type to be sampled. ORC shall not be obligated to ask questions of persons interviewed in addition to those included on the approved questionnaire or to provide data or interpretations with respect to topics or types of issues not covered by the questionnaire.

2. Fees and Payment

The fee to ORC for the initial group of general election surveys including the interpretive report thereof shall be $114,700.00, $57,350.00 payable on execution of this agreement or prior to the date for commencement of interviewing and the balance of $57,350.00 shall be due and immediately payable to ORC upon delivery by it of the interpretive report. The fee for the over-samples in primary states will be $6,600.00 in Florida, $4,700.00 in New Hampshire and shall be in addition to the above fee for the general election surveys. The fee for the over-sample shall be due and payable with the final payment for the general election survey. The fees for subsequent surveys are subject to subsequent agreement of the parties. It is, however, understood that if the agreed upon fee for any survey is $10,000.00 or less, the entire fee shall be paid in full prior to the commencement of interviews and if the agreed upon fee is $10,000.00 or more, an initial payment of the greater of $10,000.00 or 50 percent of the total fee shall be paid prior to the commencement of interviews with the balance due and immediately payable upon delivery of the interpretive report.

3. Ownership of Surveys and Disclosure of Information

The Interpretive reports of surveys and the punched data cards for the Committee shall become the property of the Committee when delivered to
it by ORC. The survey questionnaires and replies and all related data, materials and information shall remain the property of ORC. ORC agrees to retain such items for at least five years and to give the Committee reasonable access thereto. ORC agrees not to divulge or use for any purpose, including but not limited to advertising, public relations, publication, academic research, or as part of projects for other clients, the information obtained in any survey for the Committee or included in any interpretive report without the written consent of the Committee before November 1, 1977, provided, however, that if the results of any survey or the contents of any interpretive report are directly or indirectly made public by the Committee, ORC may make public the following information: the population from which the sample was taken, the size of the sample, the times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of questions asked and the name of the sponsor of the study. The Committee agrees that if it or anyone else acting for it or on its behalf wishes to release in whole or in part to the public by press release, speech or otherwise the data or results of any survey or the contents or any interpretive report that the Committee or the person acting for or on behalf of it will first notify ORC in writing and also state in the release, speech or otherwise that the survey or interpretive report, as the case may be, was done by ORC. Furthermore, in the event of such release ORC may make public the population from which the sample was taken, the size of the sample, the times when the interviews were conducted, the exact wording of the questions asked and the name of the sponsor of the survey. The Committee also agrees that at all times both during the term of this Agreement and thereafter that it will hold in confidence all knowledge or information as to the processes, methods and techniques of ORC and that it will not disclose or make known such knowledge or information
to any other person, firm, corporation or organization including but not limited to competitors of ORC except when specifically authorized to do so in writing by ORC.

4. Non-Competition

ORC agrees not to perform services of any nature whatsoever for any other candidate for the Presidency of the United States during the 1972 presidential campaign, without the express prior written consent of the Committee.

5. Cancellation of Surveys

The Committee may cancel any survey requested by it (other than the initial surveys) on written notice to ORC prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing. In the event notice of cancellation is received by ORC seven days or more prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, any deposits or payments made by the Committee with respect to said survey shall be returned to the Committee. In the event that the cancellation of a survey is made less than seven days prior to the scheduled starting date of interviewing, ORC shall be entitled to retain 10 percent of the total fee for the survey (or if such amount is not paid, the Committee shall be liable therefor) as liquidated damages, the parties expressly agreeing that ORC's costs of preparing for any such survey are not capable of precise measurement.

6. Exclusion of Warranties

ORC agrees to utilize its best efforts to insure the accuracy of all surveys conducted by it pursuant to this Agreement. However, it is specifically understood and agreed that nothing in this Agreement, or any survey or interpretive report shall be considered as either a prediction or guarantee of the results of any election or the outcome of any event and any representations or warranties, express or implied, to that effect are hereby excluded. In addition, ORC shall not be responsible or liable for any failure by it to conduct
any survey or render any interpretive report if such failure results from labor disturbances, fires, floods, wars, riots, civil disturbances and other similar or dissimilar events beyond the control of ORC.

7. Miscellaneous

(a) The Officers of the Finance Committee for the Re-Election of President Nixon are:

Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., Chairman
Jane M. Dannenhauer, Secretary/Treasurer

(b) All notices given pursuant to or in connection with this Agreement shall be deemed given when delivered in person or by mail to the recipient addressed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If to the Committee</th>
<th>If to ORC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Committee for the Re-Election of the President</td>
<td>Opinion Research Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.</td>
<td>North Harrison Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suite 272</td>
<td>Princeton, New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>Attn: Thomas W. Benham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attn: Jeb S. Magruder</td>
<td>Harry W. O'Neall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert M. Teeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) This Agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties hereto as to public opinion surveys (but not as to consulting services, if any, in connection with such surveys or other surveys) and supercedes any and all prior agreements written or verbal and may be amended only by written instrument signed by both parties.

(d) The pronouns "it", and "its" shall include the pronouns "he" and "them" and the singular shall include the plural, and vice versa.

(e) This Agreement shall be binding on the respective administrators, executors, heirs, successors or assigns of the parties.

(f) This Agreement shall be construed in accordance with New Jersey law.

(g) If any one or more of the provisions of this Agreement shall be held illegal, invalid, or unenforceable, the balance of the Agreement shall remain in full force and effect.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have caused this Agreement to be duly executed as of the date first written above.

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF PRESIDENT NIXON

By ______________________________ __

Its__________________________

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

By______________________________

Its__________________________
5) Security. Magruder has recommended, and the AG is considering, substantially improving the security at 1701 by adding more security guards and anti-tapping devices.

6) News Summary. You decided on Dec 45 that Magruder should not receive a copy of the news summary. This severely restricts his ability to respond to inquiries from the AG and the WH. The Magruder also suggests that the AG receive a copy of the news...
The fact that Senator Polo and Mr. Nolziger receive copies of the news summary. There will be no problem of other Cabinet officers not receiving the summary because the AG will leave the Cabinet to run the campaign.

- Approve the AG and Magruder to receive copies of the news summary.

- Disapprove neither no copies of the news summary to 1701.

- Re-raise if AG when AG moves to campaign.
to buttress his argument that AGs should receive copies.
Opposition material. Through various sources, Mrs. Brook's plan for a movement on youth, family, and YAF's conflict on Mrs. Brook's plans for newspaper. The first mailing of Mrs. Brook's fund, minutes of Mrs. Brook's domestic issues meeting, and mailing, have been received. These materials are attached at Tab X.
The White House Staff-Campaign Manager is very concerned about these suggestions that the campaign has "raided" the WH staff. He requests that you read the memos at Tol - WH lists each person from the WH who is at the Comm. & the reason for the change.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

It has been requested that no one from this Committee approach anyone currently employed at the White House about the possibility of moving from the White House to a staff position here. This would apply to professional as well as secretarial members of the White House staff, and even to people on the White House staff who have expressed an interest in leaving regardless of whether they get a job here or who have initiated conversation with someone here about the possibility of their moving here. Should an exception to this policy seem necessary, please check with me or Jeb Magruder.

Thank you.
January 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN
FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Recently I had a call from Nora Vandersonomen, who used to be Dana Mead's secretary at the White House, asking about employment here. I told her I could not interview her because we had no vacancies, when in fact we did have secretarial openings — but as you know, we do not interview secretaries at the White House who wish to come here. When she said she was leaving the White House no matter what, I called Dana Mead to verify this, and when he told me this was the case, I did talk with and subsequently hired her. As the attached letter from Dana states, when I first interviewed her she definitely had severed her employment with the White House, and was looking elsewhere. Therefore, she was not covered by our rule. Confidentially, her departure was caused by the fact that Dana was being moved into an office near Ed Morgan, and there was a problem between Morgan and Nora.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
January 10, 1972

Dear Rob:

As I indicated to you on the phone, my secretary, Nora Vandersommen, will be leaving the White House shortly and will be available if you desire to hire her.

I want to assure you that she is a competent and trusted employee, but she has decided definitely to leave the White House. In light of this, she will not accept employment in the Executive Office and is available to you or other government agencies outside the White House.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Dana Mead

Mr. Robert Odle
Committee for the Reelection
of the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.
Interest Group Reports. You have seen the reports on Ethnic, Spanish-speaking, Blue Collar, and Middle America prepared by Magruder's Task Forces. The AG did not want to go through the such long report and detailed tabs according to Magruder. Therefore, a summary with essential decisions has been prepared, but this has not been reviewed by the AG. A copy is attached at Tab...
The operating plan for the Florida campaign was submitted to the AG on Jan 15. He accepted it approved the plan (attached at Tab 1) but limited the expenditure to hold the telephone plan and limit the mailing until the results of the polls are received from Bob Teeter.
(1) New Hampshire. On Jan 15 the AG authorized Maguire to proceed with a 15,000 telephone operation in N. H. that will attempt to reach every registered Republican telephone in the state. This plan dovetails with the direct mail effort.

(2) Maguire's weekly report for the AG is attached at Tab~.
January 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is our weekly report.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

cc: H. R. Haldeman
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

We are awaiting the Chairman's approval for our proposed program in order to move forward. We expect that this will occur this week.

LEGAL

Additional advice was given on the application of the Hatch Act; a uniform agreement for speaker requests handled by the Committee was reviewed, modified and approved; articles of association for the Business and Industry Committee for the Re-election of the President were drafted and sent to Paul Kayser; research on the practical effort of the federal election reform bill continued.

WOMEN

Roma Spaulding, Assistant Chairman and Director of Volunteers for the Re-election of the President in New Hampshire, held a leadership meeting of her key people December 29 at the Committee headquarters in Concord, New Hampshire, at which time she presented the volunteer programs to them.

Recruitment of volunteers is of prime importance now in New Hampshire and coffees are being scheduled throughout the state to maximize the recruitment efforts. Each of the key women has scheduled a coffee and they will be held from January 9 through February 18. Key Administration speakers will be invited to attend one of the coffees when they are in New Hampshire.

At present there are no plans for the usual big luncheon-type activities as Mrs. Spaulding feels their time is better spent in recruitment at smaller functions.

Hal Byrd of South Carolina was most receptive to the integrated concept and feels the Southern women are ready for this change. He has a woman already in mind for his co-chairman. He also is appointing a steering committee which will be comprised of many key women in the state.

Preliminary plans are being made for publicity in the women's vote area and we are working closely with Ann Dore to make the releases as effective as possible.
The attention of the Spokesmen Resources division was directed toward the organization of a program of appearances in New Hampshire prior to March 7. The program was developed in coordination with Governor Dwinell and Mr. Walker, of the New Hampshire Committee, and with the cooperation of the various groups represented in this office. Attached to this memo is a chronological summary of these appearances.

Our attention was also directed toward scheduling appearances at the various Lincoln Day Dinners in February and an intensive program of official and political appearances by Secretary Butz throughout the Midwest. It is hoped that in February Secretary Butz will visit North Dakota, Nebraska, Minnesota, Iowa, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Missouri, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Virginia and South Carolina. We also undertook to coordinate scheduling of other political appearances throughout the country.

A training seminar is scheduled to be held on Saturday, January 8, 1972, for the individuals who will be acting as advance men for Members of the Cabinet. During the course of the week, we developed the schedule for the seminar and prepared the Advance Manual. It is expected that forty people will attend the seminar.

We continued our series of interviews and conferences with the chairmen of the state campaign committees, representatives of charter airlines, and campaign support personnel.

Joe Horacek, our celebrities coordinator in Los Angeles, is in the process of contacting approximately 150 celebrities to ask for their support of the President in the coming campaign. Horacek thinks he should be able to start producing celebrities and athletes who will actively support the President by January 10.

A strategy meeting was held Thursday, December 30, 1971, for the purpose of discussing the procedure to be followed in meeting the campaign expenses incurred by the First Family, Vice President, and speakers scheduled by the Spokesmen Resources office. In attendance was the Spokesmen Resources staff, Rob Odle, and Bob Reisner.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 13</td>
<td>Headquarters Grand Opening New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President, Concord</td>
<td>Sec. Morton (Invitation pending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 25</td>
<td>Business and Industry Association of New Hampshire Dinner, Concord</td>
<td>Mr. Flanagan (Invitation pending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 29</td>
<td>New Hampshire State Bar Association, Concord</td>
<td>Sec. Richardson</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 4</td>
<td>New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Fund-Raising Dinner, Concord</td>
<td>Sec. Morton</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 8</td>
<td>New Hampshire Clean Waters Association, Laconia</td>
<td>Mr. Ruckelshaus</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 8</td>
<td>Joint Session of New Hampshire Legislature</td>
<td>Mr. Ruckelshaus</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 9</td>
<td>North Conway &amp; Conway Rotary Clubs Ladies Night Dinner, North Conway</td>
<td>Sen. Brock</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 12</td>
<td>Rockingham County Republican Dinner Dance, Pelham</td>
<td>Sec. Richardson (Invitation pending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 12</td>
<td>Coos County Republican Party Lincoln Day Dinner, Berlin</td>
<td>Sec. Richardson (Invitation pending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 12</td>
<td>Amherst Lincoln Day Dinner, Amherst, N.H.</td>
<td>Sec. Romney</td>
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<td>February 18</td>
<td>University of New Hampshire Annual Alumni Class Conclave, Durham</td>
<td>Mr. Bumsfeld</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 19</td>
<td>East Rockingham County Republican Party Dinner, Exeter</td>
<td>Sen. Baker &amp; an athlete (Invitations pending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 22 or 23</td>
<td>Nashua Chamber of Commerce Annual Dinner, Nashua</td>
<td>Sen. Scott (Invitation pending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 24</td>
<td>New Hampshire Council on World Affairs Evening Forum on U.S. Foreign Affairs, Manchester</td>
<td>Mr. Droge (Invitation pending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 27</td>
<td>St. Anselms College Student Body, Manchester</td>
<td>Sen. Brock (Invitation pending)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 28,</td>
<td>University of New Hampshire Student Body, Durham</td>
<td>Sen. Brooke (Invitation pending)</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1, 2</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 3</td>
<td>New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President Rally, Manchester</td>
<td>Two spokesmen and a celebrity (Planning stage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Date:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plymouth State College Student Body</td>
<td>Sen. Percy (Invitation pending)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**YOUTH**

**Voter Registration**

Pennsylvania -- In a canvass registration effort in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the Northeast Young Republican Club contacted 31,200 people in a 13 ward area. Of those people who were willing to answer the survey questions 50.7 supported the President, 30.4 did not and 18.9 were undecided. These results are very encouraging when it is noted that Hubert Humphrey carried each of these wards in 1968 with percentages ranging from 53% to 78%. Of those persons who said that they supported the President only about 10% (1,188) were not registered and most of these were young people. The Northeast Young Republican Club is following up on these people to see that they register and vote.

Tennessee -- Registration drives were conducted in 5 Knoxville area high schools which had a 65% or better Nixon percentage in 1968. Of the 500 eighteen year olds who were registered, approximately 60% considered themselves Republicans. Of the remaining
40%, a large number considered themselves independents. The drive received some very favorable publicity, noting the Republican Party's interest in registering young people.

California -- 128 precincts were canvassed in the San Diego area in the months of November and December, and 934 Republicans were registered.

The failure to register large numbers of people in California points up the problem in asking people whether or not they are Republicans rather than whether or not they support the President. In all other states we are basing our initial canvass on Presidential support, but we have been unable to convince the California GOP to change their canvass techniques.

In addition, it emphasizes the need to involve volunteers in a voter registration effort rather than doing it with paid people as they are in California. We have used volunteers everywhere else with satisfactory results.

Florida -- More than 25,000 were canvassed and approximately 18,000 people answered the questionnaire in the Orange County area of Florida. Of these 18,000, 78% or 13,040 answered the survey questions. Of those who answered the questions, 75% supported the President and 25% did not. Of the 9,780 who did support the President almost 1/3 (2,836) were not registered to vote. A follow-up committee is now in operation to see that these supporters are registered.

NOTE: These results are especially encouraging when it is noted that Orange County registration favors the Democratic Party 2 to 1.

Young Republicans

At our urging the Young Republicans have launched a voter registration drive in the key states. They have hired a fieldman to work under the direction of Rietz in setting up drives.

Other

We recommended that Mrs. Julie Eisenhower attend the inauguration of Republican Jodie Smith, the nation's youngest mayor at age 19. He defeated an incumbent Democrat in the small village of Ayeshire, Iowa (pop: 300). When Julie was unable to go we recommended that a representative be sent, either Jamie McLane of the White House Staff or a Congressional representative. McLane could not go. We then suggested to Senator Miller he attend, but the Senator was on vacation. In the end, a residential telegram was dispatched.
under our direction and a proposal for a Presidential phone call to Smith forwarded to the President by Chuck Colson. The President called Jody Smith Monday morning at 11:30.

PR/MEDIA

In depth meetings with Cliff Miller and Van Shumway have been held on the aims and services of the PR/Media operation. Tom Girard has joined the staff as News Director and has become integrated into the department.

He has been talking with various people at the Committee and the White House about a press monitoring apparatus in the states, and he has some fairly good ideas about what should be done and hopes to have some solid recommendations in a week. He has also been fielding press calls and sitting in with Jeb Magruder on several interviews. Last week he wrote the reaction statements on Ashbrook for Governor Dwinell and Governor Peterson.

We prepared (with others) the scenario for the New Hampshire filing and worked with the Nebraska Chairman on the press release for their announcement as well as general PR guidance for their press conference.

We met with Bart Porter regarding the role of PR/Media operation in the speakers area and have established some preliminary guidelines for this co-ordination to include media placement of surrogates by our operation. We will give a presentation to the advance team at a day's briefing next week.

We have met with Nancy Steorts to discuss in depth our service to her women's group for media coverage in women's announcements. We have set strategy and timing including a regional push for getting good coverage of several women chairmen announcements, possibilities of feature stories in magazines and newspapers (Sunday supplements, etc.) aimed for early summer.

We have discussed the role of Rita Hauser as spokeswoman and our ability to program her nationally, and also the role of Barbara Franklin as an adjunct to the campaign.

We are continuing to work with Al Kaupinen to set up additional state announcements.
We have learned from Don Oberdorfer about the Washington Post's internal setup for political coverage next year. The inside political editor on their desk is Mary Lou Beatty. Five reporters will comprise the main outside force: Oberdorfer (with special responsibility for President Nixon), Dave Broder, George Lardner, Bill Chapman, and Haynes Johnson. Oberdorfer did not say what specific duties the others have, but he did say they may cross over and do stories in each other's areas. He did not mention Ken Clason's function, but we expect to see him in this area also.

Don also mentioned that he is doing another year-end piece on the President in mid-January. He will be in touch with us on that.

**POLITICAL**

We have scheduled announcements for our chairmen in Nebraska on Thursday, January 6; and in Illinois on Monday, January 10. This will bring the number to seven publicly announced chairmen.

Additional announcements are scheduled in January for Wisconsin, Colorado, Maine, Nevada, Connecticut, and Utah. We are ready for announcements in Arizona, California, South Dakota, South Carolina, and Florida, but are holding these for various reasons.

By January 10 we will have announced chairmen in 7 states, 12 are ready for announcement and 18 are in the final stages of setting up; there are 14 states where we are working out problems.

**ADVERTISING**

Campaign materials were shipped to New Hampshire on January 3.

A local agency, George Dawson Associates, will be appointed for placement of media in New Hampshire after the official announcement has been made.

Interviews with key New York agency personnel are continuing.
The most significant event in our area during the last week was the series of press stories commencing with the information that the United States had agreed to sell F4 Phantom Jets to the Israelis and the reactions to this story by the Administration and the Israelis. Initial comment is that the commitment made by the United States is positive and although unknown in detail to the public, it is satisfactory to the Israelis.

In addition, these stories give a much higher level of public acceptance to what had only been a vague feeling during the preceding weeks that the Phantoms were indeed to be delivered. Politically, this must be counted as a substantial plus on the most important issue for the Jewish community.

RESEARCH AND STRATEGY

Attached is the update of the Gallup Poll on Democratic voters choices which was begun in November of 1971.
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December 27, 1971

Honorable Richard M. Nixon
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to the Florida law concerning the March 14 presidential preference primary, this office has established a press clipping file which indicates that you are a possible candidate for the presidential nomination. Enclosed you will find a copy of a memorandum from Mrs. Dorothy Glisson, the Director of our Division of Elections. This memorandum covers the requirements of Florida law in the areas of filing reports on receiving or spending of any monies or things of value during the presidential preference primary in March of 1972.

As a candidate for president (also for vice president), you do not have to file contribution reports for monies you receive directly. However, Florida law requires that persons, groups or committees receiving these items or spending monies in your behalf must file the required documents with our Division of Elections. I would suggest that you pass this information along to your Florida organization so that they may be aware of the legal requirements in this area. They should also contact the Division of Elections to obtain the proper reporting forms.

As an additional precaution, we are releasing copies of this memorandum to the press so that it may receive full publicity in order to alert campaign personnel of their responsibilities under the law.

If you have any questions please contact me at any time.

Cordially,

Richard (Dick) Stone

RDS:vct

cc: Presidential Candidate Selection Committee
January 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

Attached is updated list on New Hampshire.
We will continue to forward these schedules to you as additional changes occur.

Attachment
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<td>Sec. Volpe</td>
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<tr>
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New Hampshire Speaking Events Prior to March 7, 1972

The following is a chronological summary of the speaking events in New Hampshire prior to March 7, 1972, which have been scheduled by our Spokesmen Resources Program. Harry Flemming approved the selection of speakers before the invitations were issued.

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In each case, the speaker will be exposed to maximum media coverage while on the site of the event.

JEB S. MAGRUDER
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Date: Jan. 12, '72

TO: H.R. Haldeman

FROM: Gordon Strachan

You asked for the schedule for the surrogate candidate operation in New Hampshire.

Magruder delivered the attached memorandum to the Attorney General yesterday.

Volpe opens the program tomorrow.

This effort is being coordinated fully with the Carson office.
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: New Hampshire Speaking Events
        Prior to March 7, 1972

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JEB S. MCCORDER
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-Bob Finch will speak at the San Fernando Valley Law School Commencement (originally a request for the President).
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached is our weekly report.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

cc: H. R. Haldeman
ADVERTISING

Interviews are being conducted this week in New York for key Task Force Agency Personnel (Creative, Media, Finance, and Promotion.)

Bumper stickers and buttons are in production for January 3 delivery to New Hampshire. Copy and layout for primary brochures is being developed.

A decision on a possible documentarian has been delayed until objectives for films have been thoroughly developed and agreed upon.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

This was a week of consolidation. There have been discussions of the plan of action proposed to Donald Kendall. He will be in Washington the week of January 3 to review the plan further and then we shall start our operation.

JEWISH

A survey of the Anglo-Jewish and Israeli press indicates a growing awareness of the efforts of the Israeli government to mend and improve relationships with the United States. There is only negligible discussion of the Phantoms or other arms and the Jerusalem Post reports that "discussions with Washington on the resumption of the flow of supersonic warplanes would from now on be conducted through diplomatic channels, rather than from the public rostrum." This continues to improve the atmosphere for political activities and we can now begin to build a positive series of programs to gain support.

LEGAL

A contract with the United States International University, San Diego, California, for housing of Young Voters for the Re-Election of the President was negotiated with University counsel and agreement was reached. A contract for polling services was reviewed, changed, and approved in final form.

Research on new election reform laws continues.
The possible use of the Presidential seal in campaign advertising was researched, and as a result of that research, disapproved.

SPOKESMEN RESOURCES

On Tuesday, December 21 a conference was held at the White House for the purpose of acquainting the schedulers of the members of the Cabinet and of the other members of the Executive Branch of the general campaign strategy. They were addressed by Messrs. Flemming, Magruder, Porter anderge on (1) the political organization, (2) the functional organization, (3) the Spokesmen Resources Program, and (4) the scheduling and tour management procedures.

On Wednesday, December 22 a second conference was held for the purpose of acquainting the agency heads of the general campaign strategy. The Vice President presided. Jeb Magruder and Harry Flemming made presentations emphasizing the need for the agency heads to take as many speaking engagements as possible, and in the course of these engagements, to obtain as much media exposure as possible. There was a thorough discussion of the Spokesmen Resources Program.

During the course of the week, we continued to meet with representatives of charter aircraft concerns as part of our overall effort to organize a transportation network for 1972. Within the next week, we propose to compile the information and proposals submitted to us and prepare an appropriate recommendation.

We also continued our series of meetings with various Nixon State Chairmen for the purpose of acquainting them with the role of the Spokesmen Resources Program. Our principal attention was focused on the program for New Hampshire. We are now working on the schedules for ten events in that State.

POLITICAL

Larry Roos, the St. Louis County Executive, was announced as our chairman for Missouri on Wednesday, December 22. In addition to Missouri, we have now publicly announced chairmen in New Hampshire, Maryland, New York, and Oregon.
Announcements are scheduled in January for Wisconsin, Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, Wyoming, Maine, Nevada, Connecticut and Utah. In addition, we are ready for announcements in Arizona, California, South Dakota, South Carolina, and Florida, but we are holding these for various reasons.

We now have announced our chairmen in 5 states, 14 are ready for announcements, 18 in the final stages of setting up and there are 14 states where problems are being worked out.

PR/MEDIA

Ann Dore attended the announcement of the Missouri Committee for the Re-Election of the President in St. Louis on Wednesday, December 22. Statements from Senator Robert Dole and local Republican leaders were included in the announcement. The announcement was covered by 4 TV stations, the Globe-Democrat and Kansas City Star.

Preliminary work with Al Kaupinen on future announcements was done including a plan for the month of January. A strong effort to continue to update the Q and A for the Chairman and to direct the press releases to various areas of the President's achievements is being made.

Reports on previous announcements, including press coverage, were prepared and distributed. A continuing effort to keep in close communication with announced states is underway. This will be beneficial as they announce, now, their committee personnel.

Preliminary work on the New Hampshire filing was begun. We are servicing requests from New Hampshire for a series of statements for local GOP dignitaries to release endorsing the President and a strategy for the New Hampshire Chairman and press secretary to visit all the media in the state in mid-January is being discussed.

An in-house clipping service is in the early stages but has been started with local papers, New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and the weekly news magazines. Emphasis here will be on candidates and campaigns.
Tom Girard, who has covered the White House for Metromedia since September of 1969 has begun as Director of our News Bureau. Girard, 26, holds a M.S. in Journalism from Northwestern University.

WOMEN

Steorts and Hauser met with State Senator Ed' Thomas, Nixon Chairman of Maryland, to discuss organizational plans in Maryland as they relate to the integrated concept of women in top positions throughout the campaign.

Again, Senator Thomas was most receptive to the role women will play in this election and will do his best to bring some new faces to politics in Maryland. He seems very cognizant of the power struggle among women who have been in politics a long time in Maryland. Hopefully, he will be successful in appointing some new people who will play an important role in the re-election activities in Maryland.

Roma Spaulding, key women in New Hampshire, reports that she is holding a meeting of all key women in the state on December 29 at Concord, New Hampshire. She will introduce the volunteer program to them.

The manual, "Volunteers for the Re-election of the President," is now in its final stage. Included in it are guidelines to the State Director of Volunteers on how to recruit volunteers, set up a campaign headquarters, plan political social events, do door to door canvassing, etc. A copy of this report will be sent to each Nixon State Chairman and Co-Chairman. Additional copies will be available to the State Co-Chairman for distribution to other key people as they are appointed.

/ YOUTH \

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RESEARCH

Rick Fore has joined the Research staff as Bob Marik's assistant. Rick has had campaign experience as a special assistant at the RNC, a campaign coordinator in Illinois for Congressman Crane, a campaign assistant to Congressman Cramer in Florida, and a former consultant with Hal Short & Associates.

Attached are two polls indicating the opinion trends of the country's college students conducted by Campus Opinion Poll.
YOUTH POPULARITY POLL (CAMPUS OPINION POLL)*

*HOW WOULD YOU RATE MR. NIXON'S HANDLING OF HIS JOB AS PRESIDENT? (APPROVAL=VERY GOOD + GOOD)
January 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: PAT BUCHANAN
FROM: H.R. HALDEMAN

The President raised the question yesterday as to what's happening on the "Bomb Muskie Crew". He feels that all our speakers, including Goldwater and especially the Vice President, should be steadily attacking Muskie now, hitting him on every point that he scores.

There is nothing to be gained in fighting the press from this point on, but we should be attacking Muskie hard. We should leave Humphrey and Kennedy alone for now.

HRH:pm
cc: Chuck Colson
January 12, 1972

Memorandum

To: Herb Klein

From: Charlie Haldeman

Re: 1972 Campaign

In thinking about various arguments which can be advanced on behalf of the reelection of President Nixon, assuming that in a close election all positive arguments will be needed, it occurred to me that we have a possible advantage in picking up the arguments advanced by many political scientists and others who favor a single, 6-year term of President. In other words, these people assume that the political requirements of getting reelected present considerations which adversely affect the single-minded pursuit of the public interest which would presumably motivate a President who could not seek reelection.

Whatever the likelihood may be of bringing about such a fundamental change in the selection of President, it is clear that a second term for President Nixon would, theoretically, permit him to concentrate exclusively on the public interest since he could not be a candidate for a third term. This type of argument should certainly be persuasive with those who have written in support of a single 6-year term and those persons can be easily identified. In addition, however, there will be many people writing about the 1972 campaign and trying to sound thoughtful and relatively free from partisanship. These types of people should also be urged by whatever means seems most appropriate to take into account the fact that President Nixon in his first term of office has demonstrated an ability to provide dramatic and effective leadership on key issues; that his task was made even more difficult because of the need for a reelection campaign in 1972, and the difficulties he faced with a Democrat-controlled Congress; and that the likelihood would be that a second Nixon Administration would permit the President an even greater freedom to offer the kind of leadership which the country needed.

cc: H. R. Haldeman
    Ray Price
Mr. Robert H. Reno  
95 North Main Street  
Concord, New Hampshire 03301  

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of January 3 concerning the campaign suggestions you had made last November. While I understand the spirit in which you raised those suggestions last year, I was simply not in a position to answer questions about a campaign before we had an announced candidate.

While I cannot speak for the President, as the Chairman of the New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President, I can state the Committee's position. Permit me to address the 7 points you raised one by one.

1. Debates – I must refer you to the President's statements on CBS television on January 2 and in his January 4 letter to me. In both those instances, the President stated quite clearly that the responsibilities of the Presidency, particularly in 1972 when events of major importance to the future are occurring, preclude his participation in public, partisan activities before the Republican National Convention. This, of course, means that he will be unable to campaign in New Hampshire in any way.

2. Billboards – I am in total agreement with your suggestion not to use billboard advertising during the New Hampshire campaign. From the outset it has been our intention not to use billboards in New Hampshire.

3. Television advertising – I found the importance you attach to television advertising somewhat surprising. Perhaps our philosophies on how best to approach the people of New Hampshire are at variance. Television advertising will not be a major part of our campaign. We plan to seek support in New Hampshire on a people-to-people basis.

4. Disclosure – I can assure you that the New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President will comply fully with the letter and spirit of all laws relating to disclosure of campaign contributions.
5. Candidacy announcements - As you know, the President has announced his intention to seek renomination.

6-7. Compliance with the law and party by laws - I can assure you that the committee which I head will comply fully with all the laws of New Hampshire and with the By Laws of the Republican State Committee as I am fully confident you will do.

As we are both convinced, I am sure, that the interests of the country will be best served by continued Republican administration, perhaps we could agree at this point that whomever the Republican Party should nominate in August for the Presidency, you and I will give him our unqualified support.

I will be most pleased to receive your agreement to this point at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Dwinell

Mr. Robert E. Whalen
Republican State Committee
Room No. 313
N.H.

Mrs. Dulinell & Whalen:

I think it would be worthwhile if the three of us could sit down together at the earliest opportunity, with the hope that we might reach agreement on certain aspects of the 1972 Presidential primary and thereby establish new standards for both this state and the nation.

On behalf of Congressman Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., I suggest the following:

1. A debate of the issues by President Nixon and Mr. McCloskey, on Sunday, February 27, 1972. It is probable that the major television networks would cooperate in this, and it would give the 1972 New Hampshire a unique opportunity to judge the merits of the candidates' positions.

2. Agreement that neither President Nixon nor Mr. McCloskey will advertise during the campaign. This would be consistent with the efforts both candidates have made to encourage those who are interested in preventing any further desecration of the New Hampshire landscape.

3. Agreement that neither candidate will use television advertisements of less than five minutes duration.

4. Agreement that both candidates will disclose the names and addresses of all contributors to their New Hampshire campaigns and funds raised by New Hampshire committees supporting their candidacies, and amounts of contributions.

5. Agreement that each candidate should declare his candidacy for New Hampshire by January 1, 1972, to assure that each will have an equal amount of free radio and television time.
6. Agreement that both candidates will comply with both the letter and the spirit of RSA 57:5 and 6 and RSA 56:28 and will not encourage or condone the filing of a declaration of candidacy by anyone who declares himself to be favorable to a designated candidate when he is not in fact favorable to that candidate.

7. Agreement that all concerned will comply with both the letter and the spirit of the By Laws of the Republican State Committee.

By reaching agreement on these principles, we can restore a considerable amount of integrity and dignity to the electoral process and establish a precedent which may well be emulated across the nation, both Republicans and Democrats.

I will be grateful for an early response.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Reno, State Chairman

The Honorable Lane Dwinell
New Hampshire 03766

Dear Lane:

On November 29, 1971, I wrote to you and Bob Whalen with some suggestions about certain aspects of the 1972 Presidential Primary. Several days later, I talked with you on the phone, and later that same day, I talked with Bob Whalen. He indicated that he thought these matters were primarily ones for you and me to discuss.

I take it from our telephone conversation that you have little interest in any of the suggestions I made. The press has been after me for some time about some of the points - particularly disclosure of campaign contributions and a possible debate between President Nixon and Congressman McGovern. I have held them off, with non-committal answers on those things, wanting to give you a full opportunity to respond to my letter. I feel that I will not be able to hold them off much longer and will have to respond to their inquiries sometime in the near future.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Robert H. Reno
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: TELEPHONE OPERATION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

A major facet of our strategy for the New Hampshire Primary Campaign will be a comprehensive telephone canvass designed to reach every registered Republican in the state. It will be closely coordinated with the direct mail effort to maximize the overall impact on the voter. The operational plan which follows has been reviewed in detail and approved by Governor Dwinell and Allan Walker in New Hampshire.

The telephone lists will be developed from the address list already in hand and being processed for direct mail. Volunteers are now looking up the telephone numbers for each Republican household.

The purpose of the telephone canvass will be to assure that each GOP household is contacted personally by the New Hampshire Committee for the Re-election of the President. The voter will be asked if his vote can be counted upon on March 7. The responses will be separated into three major categories: Those supporting the President, those opposed (grouped according to support of Ashbrook or McCloskey) and those undecided. The supporters will be next contacted during the Get-Out-The-Vote operation. The unfavorables will not be contacted again. The undecided voters will be asked if information could be sent to them on a specific issue to better explain the President's accomplishments. If so, a personalized, computer letter will be sent, along with the appropriate issue brochure. A follow-up telephone call will be made to assure that the brochure was received, and to determine if they now support the President. If so, they will be included in the Get-Out-The-Vote list.

The data handling operation to accomplish this activity will utilize separate name cards for each household. They can be physically sorted according to the results of the telephone call. For the follow-up mailing to undecided
voters, the cards will be processed by computer to generate the personalized letter.

Operational Plans. We have identified a woman in New Hampshire, Mrs. Marie Baker, who is well-qualified to manage the telephone operation. She handled a similar project for the Nixon primary campaign in 1968. Both Governor Dunneil and Allan Walker recommend her highly, and our people have been impressed in their meetings with her.

If the proposed program is approved, Marie will be willing to serve without pay, but with expenses covered. She is prepared to start recruiting volunteers, securing headquarters, and hiring supervisors as needed. She will attend the coffees which Mrs. Roma Spaulding is conducting around the state to seek volunteers.

After estimating the probable number of calls to be made, number of recalls necessary, and the availability of volunteers, the best distribution of telephone "boiler rooms" throughout the state was found to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headquarters</th>
<th>Regular Telephones</th>
<th>WATS lines</th>
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<td>Dover</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>Nashua</td>
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<td>Littleton</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
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Budget.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Rental 1-1/2 months</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>525 *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concord</td>
<td>750 *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nashua</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Littleton</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keene</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong>:</td>
<td><strong>$2,325.00</strong></td>
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* Already committed for, regardless of phone operation.
Supervisory Personnel

$3.50 per hour
10 hours per day
$35.00
6 Supervisors
$210.00
31 days
$6510.00

Telephone Costs

50 (regular phones) x $25 (cost per phone) = $1250
8 (WATS lines) x $300 (cost per phone) = 2400

$3650.00

Expenses

Petty cash fund for headquarters $1500
Marie Baker 500

$2000.00

TOTAL BUDGET FOR TELEPHONE OPERATION ----- $14,485.00 (does not include $6500 deposit which is refundable)

Recommendation.

That you approve the operating plans for the New Hampshire telephone operation, including the budget of $14,485.00.

Approve X Disapprove Comment

JEB S. MAGRUDER
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Alex Armendaris — Candidate for Spanish-Speaking Director

Attached is a resume on Alex Armendaris, along with a brief think piece Alex put together for our discussion and review.

Alex is currently a Consultant at OEO, engaged in reviewing OEO programs directed at urban and rural Spanish-Speaking communities in the United States. Prior to this, he has been quite active in several political campaigns.

He has held interviews with Bart Porter, Bill Marumoto (White House staff), Bob Finch, Fred Malek, Chuck Colson, and me. All reports are extremely positive and Alex appears to be our man. We strongly recommend that he be brought on as our Spanish-Speaking director.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you agree to see Alex Armendaris as soon as your schedule permits.

APPROVE _______ DISAPPROVE _______ COMMENTS _______

JEB S. MAGRUDER

January 11, 1972
ALEX ARMENDARIS

HOME ADDRESS:  210 Wakewa  
South Bend, Indiana  46617  
219 232 6804

PERSONAL:  
Born April 25, 1930  Chicago, Illinois  
Height 5'9"  Weight 160 lbs.  Health good  
Married

EDUCATION:  
St. Phillips High School, Chicago, 1944-46  
Chicago Technical College, Chicago, 1948-50  
Bryant Stratton Business College,  
Chicago, 1954-55

MILITARY:  
U.S. Navy Communications Specialist, 1950-54

LANGUAGE:  
Spanish

BUSINESS EXPERIENCE:  
Remington Rand, 1950-66 (with Naval leave)  
Positions:  Assistant Manager, Chicago office;  
Manager, Madison, Wisconsin, office;  
Manager, South Bend, Indiana, office  
Achievements:  Each move represented a  
promotion to a more extensive territory.

Wheelabrator Corporation, Mishawaka, Indiana  
1966-68  
Position:  Assistant Corporate Public  
Relations -- Environmental and Pollution  
Control Information Director and Industrial  
Market Analyst;  Industrial Market Research  
Achievements:  initiated and successfully  
completed marketing studies;  developed  
environmental-information program which  
informed corporate executives of various  
legislative and corporate positions on  
environmental pollution

Al Bagley and Associates, South Bend,  
Indiana, 1968-70  
Position:  Account executive in charge of  
marketing and management division  
Achievements:  Promoted to Vice President  
of company
Campaign Management Services, Inc.,
1970 - May 1971
Position: Originator of the company, a
Management Consultant firm
Achievements: see attached

President's National Advisory Council
on Minority Business Enterprises,
Washington, D.C., June 1971 - August 1971
Position: Consultant
Achievements: successfully completed an
intensive study of Spanish-speaking
communities in the United States with
regard to their response to various
federal agencies engaged in minority
telephone activities. The program
operated from the perspective of testing
government sensitivity to Spanish-
speaking minorities by engaging in a study
which included in-depth visits to seventeen
(17) major cities' government-subsidized
delivery systems in order to analyze
problems, failures, and successes of the
various minority enterprises. Counseling
and advising the Council in order that it
become more responsive to such communities
was required.

Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C.
September 1971 - present
Position: Consultant
Achievements: currently engaged in reviewing
OEO programs directed at urban and rural
Spanish-speaking communities of the
United States in order to analyze their
effectiveness and make appropriate
recommendations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CLIENT</th>
<th>CAPACITY</th>
<th>OFFICE &amp; TYPE OF ELECTION</th>
<th>ELECTED</th>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Jack Nevis</td>
<td>Campaign Manager</td>
<td>Congressional Race, District of Columbia</td>
<td>NO</td>
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<td>1970</td>
<td>Jack F. Kemp</td>
<td>Campaign Manager and Consultant</td>
<td>39th Congressional District New York; General</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>South Bend Model City Program</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Organization of Program for City of South Bend</td>
<td>In operation</td>
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<td>1969</td>
<td>Donald Lukens</td>
<td>Campaign Manager and Consultant</td>
<td>Governor of Ohio Direct Primary</td>
<td>NO</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Rep. City Councilmen</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Councilmanic Redistricting, City of South Bend</td>
<td>Plan adopted</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Nixon for President Committee</td>
<td>Indiana Political Liaison</td>
<td>President; General</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>R. J. Andrae</td>
<td>Campaign Manager and Consultant</td>
<td>St. Joseph County Auditor; Primary</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>D. M. Barrett</td>
<td>Campaign Manager</td>
<td>3rd Congressional District, Indiana; Primary</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Will Erwin</td>
<td>Consultant and Director 3rd Congressional District EDP System</td>
<td>3rd Congressional District, Indiana, General</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>St. Joseph County, Ind. candidates</td>
<td>Campaign Director</td>
<td>All Rep. Offices; General Republican control</td>
<td>continued</td>
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<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>CLIENT</td>
<td>CAPACITY</td>
<td>OFFICE &amp; TYPE OF ELECTION</td>
<td>Elected</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Lloyd M. Allgn</td>
<td>Campaign Manager</td>
<td>Mayor of South Bend; General</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Elmer Sokol</td>
<td>Campaign Manager and Consultant</td>
<td>Sheriff, St. Joseph County, Indiana; General</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Robert Ehlers</td>
<td>Campaign Manager</td>
<td>3rd Congressional District, Indiana, General</td>
<td>NO</td>
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</table>
ALEX APHEROARIS
Political offices held

Director, South Bend Young Republicans, 1960
Executive Vice President, South Bend Young Republicans, 1961
Third District Chairman, Indiana Young Republican Federation, 1962
Executive Director, Indiana Young Republican Federation, 1963
Chairman, Indiana Young Republican Federation, 1964-66
de facto Member Republican State Central Committee, 1964-66
Vice Chairman, National Federation of Young Republicans, 1965-67
Chosen Young Republican of the Year in South Bend, 1962-63
SPANISH SPEAKING FOR NIXON

Alex Armanandis - December 17, 1971

A special campaign effort directed to Spanish Speaking voters in the
coming election can prove to be very profitable for the Nixon campaign.
It is my opinion, however, that it will take careful planning, starting
immediately.

The basic premise held by some, that Nixon can win the Spanish Speaking
vote, is pure folly, if that means that even a slight majority of the
Spanish Speaking vote will be on the Republican side. It is, however,
possible to make a significant gain for Nixon on the Spanish Speaking
vote which is normally counted on by Democrats. To accomplish the
breakthrough, we must adopt a plan designed to take the right message
to the right place.

An analysis of available data should be adequate preparation to design
a campaign plan on how to appeal to the Spanish Speaking vote.

The Spanish Speaking population can be narrowed down to a specific group
that is most likely to vote for Richard Nixon. Specially designed ap-
peals would be carried out by public officials, prominent citizens and
others supporting Richard Nixon. Those carrying the appeals to the voters
would be carefully chosen for receptiveness. All major speeches in be-
half of or supporting the President, appealing to Spanish Speaking voters,
would be cleared for sensitivity and effect to the group being addressed.
Areas of "responsive groups" would be identified well in advance to in-
sure planned appearances.

In short, we would be conducting the best possible campaign by communi-
cating specially designed messages to selected audiences, who we feel
are prepared to receive these messages.

A study that I have proposed to OEO, "Study of Value Structure Among
Several Spanish-American Cultural Subgroups", will yield valuable infor-
mation to make federal anti-poverty programs more effective in meeting
the needs of the Spanish-speaking poor. Beyond providing information
for anti-poverty administrators, however, the results of this study can
be of immense value to help us design a campaign strategy capable of
capturing the Spanish Speaking vote in 1972.
Generally speaking, there are two types of survey research: one measures the superficial or surface attitudes, the other attempts to probe and identify the "value structure" of an individual. In the context of this project, the difference between these two types of survey research is most crucial.

Survey research to capture surface attitudes will be unreliable in terms of predicting the voting behavior next November, which is too far removed in time. Moreover, that type of survey would tend to yield unreliable information, since the questions are usually phrased in terms of simplified "either-or" hypothetical propositions which tend to influence the outcome of the survey.

The survey I have recommended is designed to probe deeper and identify the "value structure", thus producing results which more accurately reflect Spanish Speaking persons' longer lasting opinions and orientations. This survey data will be extremely valuable to us because it will more effectively indicate voter behavior next November.

The "Spanish Speaking Survey" that I have proposed is not a political survey. It is a survey designed to identify the "value structure" of the Spanish Speaking American. The information gathered in the survey will be of vital importance to the campaign because it will allow us to identify those issues with which the Spanish Speaking voter identifies. Hence, we can zero in on the themes which occupy the Spanish Speaking voter's mind. Then, we can phrase arguments in a manner which will strike a sympathetic chord in the voter and influence the behavior of the voter where it counts: at the polls.

Briefly stated, the approach would be as follows. The survey would seek to discover deep-rooted and enduring values in each subgroup (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.) of the Spanish Speaking. Once these values are identified, a campaign strategy can be constructed in which we would direct the thrust of the campaign (in selected Spanish Speaking communities) toward identifying with the same value structure as those in that area. Thus, the first part of our approach is two-phased: first to identify the values and second to communicate effectively President Nixon's values or at least his articulated position as being the same as the target vote.

The effective impact of value-based messages is enhanced by presenting images, policies, and programs related to the basic action-oriented community desires and by couching these messages in the vocabulary and favorite phrases of the target group. The personal value information generated from this survey will come complete with the detailed language in which the target group actually voiced its own value orientations.
In concert with this overall approach, it is my intention to systematically locate and identify the priority areas within our appeals should be made. With the use of the 1970 census data, and with the electoral objectives in mind, we can develop a profile of key Spanish Speaking areas with the proper formula. In this way, we can concentrate this special campaign effort on those areas where a slight shift in voting patterns can affect the outcome of the election.

By working from an identified value structure and special campaign appeals specifically designed to the desires, expectations, and hopes of the selected Spanish-American groups of interest, this plan will succeed.
MEMORANDUM FOR:  JOHN MITCHELL
                  H. R. HALEMEN
FROM:  MURRAY CHOTINER

You probably have seen this; in case you haven't -- it may cast some light on the activities of the "Manhattan Conspiracy."

Ron Docksai is National Chairman of Young Americans for Freedom.

Enclosure
TO: NATIONAL BOARD
FROM: WAYNE J. THORBURN

December 6, 1971

Just as a covering note, I would like to remind all of you of the headline on Ron's report, which reads: CONFIDENTIAL.

Of all material which we send you, such as the financial statement, and is labelled confidential...the following report is at the top of the list. It must remain truly confidential meaning that you should have second thoughts before discussing it with your wife, girl friend, boy friend (Mary and Louise, that is!), or closest political confidant.

Of course, the word on Ashbrook will soon make the press should he decide to run. What should never go beyond you is Ron's analysis of our meeting in New York and especially the comments and observations of the various participants.

It is always risky to put such material on paper, as we all know, but we thought that the Board needs to know what is transpiring in the political arena.

Your comments and suggestions to Ron will be greatly appreciated.
December 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

To: National Board and National Staff
From: Ron Docksai
Re: New Hampshire and Politics, 1971

Wayne and I, as YAF's representatives to the Manhattan Conspiracy, have been sharing in the planning of events over the past few days at such a rate that we have not been given an opportunity to brief you on what Movement Conservatives are planning with regard to the 1972 Presidential campaign. In fact, with the exception of sporadic phone calling, I have not even had a formal discussion with the Policy Committee over the enclosed matters. Therefore, please read the enclosed carefully. I will present the total picture, incidentally. I must have a response from all of you.

As you recall, last July 27th, a statement was signed in Manhattan suspending support for President Nixon. It was hoped at that time that forceful, internal pressure by so-called Administration conservatives, prostrate before the President with the suspension statement in their teeth, could plead the President back to a G.O.P. policy course - the one outlined in the '68 platform. However, various indications (see below) led our original group to conclude that the President is, at best, taking conservatives for granted or, at worst, is beyond the point of approach, that conservative influence in the administration is vestigial and continuing to fossilize.

At the October meeting of the National Board, you and I shared deliberations and venomous resolutions over what could be done. Our longrange goals, however, remained inconclusive pending the meeting of the Manhattan Conspiracy. Well, last week Wayne and I attended that meeting (November 30, in New York City). I think it is important that I give you a concise analysis of the meeting before going further:

Of the fifteen attendees, the individuals who formerly were more apologetic for many of President Nixon's ventures in vacillation are now "fed up." (For your information, since someone evidently leaked this to the Washington Post, the attendees included: William Rusher, Jerry Jenkins, Jeff Bell of CO, Wayne, myself, Neal Freeman, James Bovay, Allan Ryskind, Thomas Winter, J. Daniel Hubeny, Bill Buckley, Fred Meyer, Stan Evans and two individuals who remain incognito.) Two reports which were presented to the meeting have special relevance here. One was by Allan Ryskind, editor of Moment Events, who had had a meeting with a very high administration official.
After many hours of discussion with Allan presenting demands to this administration spokesman, demands we drew up previously as an absolute minimum requirement for conservative support of Nixon in 1972, we received the following assurances:

1) The Family Assistance Plan, if not pushed in Congress before the 1972 elections, will definitely be pushed personally by the President during his second term. It will remain the same plan previously drawn up by Noyes. As to the many conservatives were hearing that the FAP would be shelved; it cannot be shelved. "The start off plans and initial allocations are already in the budget, and nothing can be done to take them out." (sic)

2) No promise or even "an encouraging word" about Vice President Agnew's status on the ticket.

3) No assurance that the administration would support the Veto by individual state governors (e.g., Reagan) of O.E.O. programming in their respective states.

4) Concerning discussion over future Supreme Court nominations, assuming for example that William O. Douglas or one of the other Court Liberals resigns during the second Nixon term as is expected; The administration's idea of a 'strict constructionist' (their term), William Rogers.

5) Concerning the Federal Reserve Board: the President agrees with his "economic" advisors that the solution is one of expanding our money supply. Meanwhile, no effort (effort, mind you) will be made to cut the budget in Fiscal 1972.

6) The administration will be in favor of a continuation of the Cuban Embargo, "at this time." (Shades of Nixon & China).

However, there will be no mention of it in the State of the World address, the President's manifesto on foreign policy.

6) Other foreign policy initiatives by the administration are "still in formulation."

In short, conservatives have no assurances from the White House on any domestic or foreign issue, not even the hint of promises which the administration could then, as is the tradition, break next year. Dr. Kissinger, after many long communications with him, has assured us that nothing can be assured. At most, the levels of our present strategic balance can be maintained at 1970 levels in the future. No effort will be made to raise our capabilities to near

--- over ---
Soviet levels by appealing to Congress for, it is feared, the President may be politically defeated on the issue and thus harm his relations with that august body. It is now clear that the policy of American defensive strength will not be the policy of the Nixon administration: Everything seems to be hankered on a clever balance-of-power rivalry between Red China and the Soviet Union. (Not only is the risk one of mammoth proportions, but even Dr. Kissinger is beginning to realize - and is implying such to Bill Buckley - that the politics by the players of Geneva is more sophisticated than that played by the participants of Carlsbad.) Finally, the administration will not pursue any new experimental items (e.g., F-111) for fear it would jeopardize SALT, not to mention the sales of UNESCO postage stamps.

After hearing this fascististic report, we then heard James Earl Harring (who, by the way, I have good reason to know is definitely not an agent of John Mitchell) give us his indepth report:

In capsule, Harring noted the following: 1) If Nixon is re-elected in 1972, the chances of a Republican winning in 1976 will be minimal. (Harring, along with many other experienced political analysts, is convinced that Nixon's second term will be worse than the first in the sense that his policies will be less-Republican, that the spirit in the Republican party will wane and divide even more dramatically than it did after the 1956 term of Eisenhower.)

2) Conservatives have a tendency to over-estimate the competence and capabilities of Nixon's advisors.

If a Conservative should oppose Nixon in the following primaries, this is the run-down (i.e., a median between optimistic and pessimistic accounts):

NEW HAMPSHIRE: 10 - 27% (maybe more) - Conservative/Nixon, remain less - 10% (max.) - McEachin
INDIANA: 15 - 35% - Conservative / ditto
10% - McEachin
WISCONSIN: 10 - 20% - Conservative / ditto
CALIFORNIA: 15 - 30% - Conservative / ditto
FLORIDA: 10 - 30% - Conservative / ditto
ILLINOIS: 10-15% - Conservative/ ditto
NEBRASKA: 15-25% - Conservative/ ditto
OREGON: 8 - 20% - Conservative/ ditto

Harring noted that the variable factor (i.e., why a conservative would get a low of 2% or a high of 35%, maybe more in any primary) depends on conventional possibilities: if Goldwater and Tabor stump the states for Nixon, campaigning against the conservative; the activity of Bill Buckley, campaigning for the conservative; how many workers we recruit, etc.

- over -
After a suggestion by one of the attendees, asking if it would not be best if conservatives simply did nothing in 1972, neither work for or against Nixon and, thus, not have to risk heavy losses in the primaries; Harkins noted the following. Grassroots Republicans, especially in states like California, Illinois and others are de-spirited. If there is no physical means of registering their disapproval of the President, if there is no alternative open for at least a protest vote, these people will simply give up their political involvement. (I added, by the way, that I think conservative strength, young and old, will dissipate to a new low if we remain passive.)

The following options were considered and evaluated:
Running candidates in the primaries and/or in the general election under the banner of a '1972 Party' (Bill Buckley's idea for a title, denoting that we do not desire a permanent third party but operate under the temporary assumption that there is not now a second one.)
It is evident that Nixon will not be beaten at the Republican Convention, especially with Governor Reagan committed to him, unless Nixon did so poorly in the primaries that an excuse could be provided for Reagan's direct opposition.

An article by William Rusher, to be printed shortly in NE, was distributed to all the attendees, presenting his own reasons why, because of what has been said and because of longrange considerations, Nixon must be beaten in 1972. (I share Rusher's viewpoint, although it is not a universal one at this point. Unfortunately, space here will not allow a full treatment. I will mail you the article once I receive it. Also, we will discuss this further at the Board meeting.) "Better for conservatives to be battling Democrats than to be rolled over and gassed to eternal rest by Republicans." Also, consider this: A Democratic victory in 1972 would leave a Republican Party which, in 1976, would be headed by (1) Jim Buckley.

As for formal support of a Democrat? The suggestion by Harkins, Buckley, etc. was no. Discussions were held with Jackson and Yofty. Both insist that formal endorsements and active support by real conservatives would be the kiss of death for either. Both are given little chance of the nomination, especially Yofty. (Practical Politics, speaking!) Neither could be ideologically identified with us, even though their respective administrations would probably be better than Nixon's - all things considered.

Thus, the final conclusion of the group:

- over -
Run in primaries with the open option, later to be decided, to also run in the general election! Thus, conservatives could have a vehicle for expression. (In any event, Bill Buckley refuses to be a candidate. We coaxed; we threatened; we pleaded! The best we could get out of him was typical: "You elect me, and I'll serve." However, Buckley is pessimistic about Nixon. Thus, if Nixon does not improve "a hell of a lot" by September, Buckley will hold a press conference at which he will say he is not voting for Tricky and will actively campaign to instruct other Americans that they do likewise. This does not mean Americans should stoop to Wallace or the Democrat. People could write-in their next door neighbors or vote for the conservative candidate, should we have one.)

After much discussion, Congressman John Ashbrook was proposed as the candidate in New Hampshire with a minimum budget of $100,000. A committee was formed to represent the Manhattan Conspiracy in asking Ashbrook to run, consisting of Russer, Winter and Docksai. The three of us had lunch with the Congressman last Weds., in Washington. Pending Bill Buckley's commitment to actively support Ashbrook in New Hampshire, the Congressman will probably make the run. I should know in three or four days.

I will be sending you other, shorter reports of developments. In the meantime, since Ashbrook has not yet given us a definite answer, I would appreciate receiving mailed responses from you as to the wisdom of his running, how much you as a board member will do, etc. (I have already contacted key YAF leaders in New England for a full logistics report; Danny Roe and Ron Pearson, along with Jim Altham, will be very busy people if we go full speed on this.) Please mail your comments to my New York address.
January 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Office Security

Now that the President is an announced candidate, and we have offices on five floors of this building, it is felt we should step up our security measures to include the following. These proposals have been discussed with our security advisor, Jack Caulfield, and Gordon Liddy, and all will strongly recommend their approval.

1. We presently have a guard who patrols the various suites from 4:00 p.m. until midnight five days a week. He checks the office for unauthorized visitors, confidential papers which might be left out, unlocked desks, etc. His salary is $7,500. We propose that this guard force be increased so that we have 24 hour a day, seven day a week protection, and so that these suites would be constantly under guard. Such protection will involve the use of four men on a full time basis, and one man on a part time basis, and would cost about $30,000 for the duration of the campaign, an increase of $22,500 over what we are paying for protection now. It is recommended that we go to this full time protection effective immediately.

Approve ________ Disapprove ________ Comment __________

2. It is recommended that we lease a radio receiver which, from one location within this building, has the ability to monitor all radio signals on a 24 hour basis which might be transmitted as a result of "bugs" or telephone taps. The usual leasing rate for such a receiver is $600 per month — but we will be able to lease one for $195 per month.

Approve ________ Disapprove ________ Comment __________
3. It is recommended that our security advisor, James McCord, the former director of physical security for the CIA, be brought to our staff full time so that he would be able to devote all his time to supervision of the guard force here as well as other security measures. In addition, he would regularly inspect your Watergate apartment. We are currently paying him $7,500 per year as a consultant, and propose to bring him to our payroll at $20,000 per year. His salary at the CIA was $32,000. Liddy and Caulfield join me in recommending that this be done, and agree that $20,000 is a proper salary. McCord's resume is attached.

Approve ________ Disapprove ________ Comment ________

Attachment

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

cc: Mr. Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
January 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

The attached memorandum from Peter Dailey was sent to the following list of people.

Cliff Miller
Bob Teeter
Harry Dent
Ken Rietz
Chuck Colson
Leonard Garment
Frank Shakespeare
Dick Moore
Dwight Chapin
Bill Safire
Ray Price
Pat Buchanan

In order to focus the development of future film making, it was felt that comments on style, length, usage, and scheduling would be helpful during the early planning stage.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
MEMORANDUM TO:

FROM: PETER H. DAVIS

SUBJECT: Documentary Films -- Convention and Campaign

January 6, 1972

It is vitally important that the objectives and use of films be agreed upon in advance, prior to making a major financial commitment. As of now, there are diverse thoughts as to what type and how many films are needed.

The need for documentary type film during the convention is generally agreed upon. The use of a film documentary during the campaign period is still under discussion. You could help us clarify our thinking by giving us your thoughts on the subject as to style, length, usage, and scheduling of such a film.

Some points for your consideration:

1. **Length**
   - Half-hour vs. hour: is an hour the proper length, or too long? Are two half-hours better than one one-hour?

2. **Subject Matter**
   - A film on foreign policy only? A review of the first three years in office, including both domestic and foreign policy? How should issues and/or accomplishments be weighted, i.e., the war, the economy, drugs, crime, busing, taxes, etc? Should the film concentrate on personal qualities of the President? If so, which? A documentary is historical in its perspective. Will the campaign in the final stages, need more weight on the current aspects of the Administration?
3. **Style**

The President, as the incumbent, will have large television exposure in general news coverage. In the 1968 campaign that exposure was controlled to a great degree by the campaign committee. How is a dichotomy avoided between the controlled documentary and general TV coverage.

4. **Usage and Scheduling**

When should the film be used? In your opinion, when should the film(s) be scheduled for greatest impact?

For the convention, these films have been planned:

1. Foreign Policy
2. The First Lady
3. Presidential Promises Kept

While the use is somewhat different, should the films (except The First Lady) be handled differently in style or thrust than the major documentary, if one is to be made.

Do you agree with this subject matter? If not, what do you believe the convention films should be.

Please consider the questions raised as guidelines only. We will appreciate any comments you wish to make.

It would be most helpful if your reply could be in our hands by January 15.

cc: Attorney General
   Jeb Magruder
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attached for your information are some Manchester Union Leader clippings which have been sent to us by the Committee in New Hampshire.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment
The Justice Department, instead of investigating the confession made by Partin, ignored it because his statement was not signed or sworn to. This is true. But the point is that the statement was given and that Partin gave it before witnesses. Furthermore, Partin has never repudiated the statement. Under the circumstances, wouldn't it be reasonable and proper for the Department of Justice immediately to call for an investigation into this statement by Edward Grady Partin?

Instead, the Justice Department has refused to investigate the Partin statement and has brought every delaying action to play in the Chattanooga court, where for six months Judge Wilson has been sitting on a motion by Mr. Hoffa's attorneys for an investigation of the Partin statement and its bearing on Mr. Hoffa's original conviction.

The Justice Department, for some strange reason, apparently doesn't want to adopt the proper solution to what went on in the Hoffa case. It seems that the Nixon administration has absolutely no conscience or sense of decency when it comes to telling the truth about Hoffa's ordeal.

Not only this newspaper and the friends of Jimmy Hoffa throughout the country, but also every American with a good conscience, is interested in that very important matter of the integrity of the United States Department of Justice. And they demand that the Department of Justice at last tell the truth about the Hoffa case. Until the department DOES tell the truth on this, this newspaper and the friends of James Riddle Hoffa and many other citizens who are interested in the integrity of the judicial system of the United States intend to keep after the department until — at long last — the truth DOES come out.

William Loeb, Publisher
The Unjust Justice Department

The U.S. Department of Justice, through its denial that there was jury-tampering by federal agents during former Teamsters Union President James R. Hoffa's 1964 Chattanooga trial—as described in reporter Arthur Egan's revealing article in Monday's editions—indicates that it is still unwilling to come to grips with the truth. Why the Nixon administration and the Justice Department under Attorney General John Mitchell, the President's soon-to-be campaign manager, insist on covering up what went on in the Justice Department under Bobby Kennedy is very difficult to understand.

Why does the Nixon-Mitchell Justice Department continue to hide and protect the evil things done under an earlier administration for whose actions it can hardly be considered responsible? By continuing to conceal the facts, the President and Mr. Mitchell are, in a real sense, guilty of counseling American and highly improper conduct.

Surely, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Nixon must realize that what Mr. Egan writes about the horrors of the Hoffa case is NOT just the personal opinion of Mr. Egan or of this newspaper. Surely, the Nixon-

ATTY. GEN., MITCHELL

(Continued from Page One)

Mitchell administration must be aware of what former Chief Justice Earl Warren has said of the situation:

"I cannot agree that what happened in this case is in keeping with the standards of our federal system."

The former Chief Justice made this statement after careful examination of the Hoffa case and the activities that went on therein.

Another shocking aspect of the Hoffa case is the fact that, last year, over six months ago, Edward Crady Partin, the principal witness in Mr. Hoffa's Chattanooga trial, issued a lengthy statement before witnesses and to a stenographer, asserting that he had been FORCED to give false testimony and to perjure himself at the trial in Chattanooga. And, the coercion was accomplished by agents of the Department of Justice's "Get-Hoffa Squad." Partin said the reason he gave false testimony was that he had been threatened by the Justice Department that if he didn't give such false testimony the indictments outstanding against him at that time would be prosecuted to the fullest extent and he would end up serving a long term in prison.
Incredibly, an undeniable false response to yesterday's news report that former Teamsters Union President James R. Hoffa was given a
presidential commendation of the, unjust prison sentence imposed on him four years ago in an
effect to legitimize plausible blackmail and prosecution
of present and former members of the
Justice Department on jury tampering charges.

The mind boggles at the suggestion that the
Hoffa in the Hoffa jury tampering conviction lie
90 degrees in the opposite direction -- i.e., that
tampering with members of the Hoffa jury was
not done by Hoffa or any of his associates, but
rather by agents of the "Get Hoffa" squad in the
Justice Department under the direction of the

ATTY. GEN. MITCHELL

In U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who was
then attorney general.

In fact, it seems only slightly more plausible
that present Attorney General John Mitchell
would recommend executive clemency in order to
prevent political embarrassment to President
Nixon over the fact that the President's soon-to
be campaign manager has been well aware that
representatives of Bobby Kennedy intimidated
juries in the Chattanooga trial in 1964.

But there are a few familiar with the incredible
history of the Hoffa case who either find the
allegations made in Reporter Arthur C. Egan's
article to be entirely plausible -- or will at least
be willing to keep an open mind on this new
development.

Since this newspaper was responsible for un-
covering evidence that government officials
knowingly used perjured testimony to convict
Hoffa -- which fact has now been admitted by the
perjurer, Edward Grady Partin -- and since the
Union Leader exposed the fact that government
attorneys were the beneficiaries of such lying from
the witness stand, it should not be difficult to
understand why Attorney General Mitchell should
want us to stop drawing for the full truth.

But should these Union Leader revelations
have been surprising to those who were aware of
some of the reasons why former U.S. Supreme
Court Chief Justice Earl Warren disbanded in the
case of Hoffa vs. the United States.

"This type of informer (Partin) and the
cases to which he was put in this case
 evidence a serious potential for undermining
the integrity of the truth-finding process in
the federal courts. Given the incentives and
background of Partin, no conviction should be
allowed to stand when based heavily on his
testimony. And that is exactly the quicksand
upon which these convictions rest, because
without Partin, who was the principal govern-
ment witness, there would probably have been
no convictions."

Here the government reaches into the jail-
house to employ a man who was himself
feeling indications for more serious (and
later including one for perjury) than the one
confronting the man against whom he offered to
inform. It employed him not for the
purpose of testifying to something that had
already happened, but rather for the purpose
of information to see if crimes would in the
future be committed. The government in its
usual even acquired him in guiding a position
from which he could be a witness to the
confidential relationship of attorney and client
engaged in the preparation of a criminal
defense. And, for the dubious evidence that
obtainable, the government paid an enormous
price. Clearly if a criminal defendant incrim-
ated his informer into the prosecution's
camp in this manner he would be guilty of
obstructing justice.

"I cannot agree that what happened in this
case is in keeping with the standards of
Justice in our federal system and I must,
therefore, dissent."

Reporter Egan's informant concerning the
political significance of the President's communi-
ation of Hoffa's sentence is in a position to know
where he speaks. He is presently an attorney
in the U.S. Justice Department -- not a "for-
meth" federal official, as early UPI reports
stated.

He did not hedge in informing Egan of how the
"Get Hoffa Squad" operated in the Chattanooga
trial: "This group -- you know who they were
visited the places of employment of the prospec-
tive jurors in the Hoffa case. They would have
the jurors called to his boss's office, usually the
president of the company, and they would work
on the juror. They, the Kennedy people from
Justice, would simply inform the juror that his
government required Hoffa as a 'real bad man'
and that if you were truly a juror to see that
Hoffa was convicted. Now this is jury tampering
in a way you've never seen it -- these were intimidation
tactics to say the least."

With regard to the Hoffa conviction, the
attorney general said: "I believe Hoffa is guilty
"There is a strong suspicion that the government
had a furor of particular cases in mind when they
made their plea to the jury."

"But the Hoffa case was a particularly terrible
case because of the manner in which it was
conducted."
The Justice Department attorney went on to say that it became known in Washington that several business executives were willing to testify in federal court that such intimidation took place, and added that "right now" in the Justice Department there are letters from a certain former member of the "Get Hoffa Squad" — now in private practice — that could result in the disbarment of some of his former colleagues. In fact, one such attorney reportedly worked to block Hoffa's parole last August and wrote a letter to the parole board opposing Hoffa's release.

According to Reporter Egan's informant in the Justice Department, the failure of the U.S. Parole Board to grant Hoffa a parole last August was based on politics. He said it was a known fact that AFL-CIO President Lewis hated Hoffa, while at the same time, he accepted Frank
Asks Grand Jury Probe of Jury Tampering

Loeb Challenges Mitchell

William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester Union Leader and the New Hampshire Sunday News, yesterday challenged the Justice Department to prove allegations by Loeb's newspaper that agents of the Justice Department were guilty of jury tampering, in securing the conviction of former Telemarketers President E. Hoffa.

Loeb's chief investigative reporter, Arthur C. Eggn Jr., also challenged the attorney general to call a grand jury to probe a mass of evidence that Hoffa was convicted because of jury tampering.

Eggn said if the Justice Department is "really interested in getting at the truth" of the Hoffa case, a grand jury should be empaneled to look into all aspects of the case of the "Gelshofa Squad."

Loeb's challenge came in the wake of a denial by the Justice Department that there was any truth to the article by Eggn, published Monday, which revealed that present and former members of the Justice Department had engaged in "interrogation tactics" to secure the conviction of Hoffa in 1967.

Hoffa was convicted in Chattanooga of jury tampering and was sentenced to eight years in a federal penitentiary. The former telemarketers president was named executive chairman Dec. 25 by President Nixon.

The test of Loeb's telegram to Mitchell follows:

"In answer to the Justice Department's challenge, I now present the following facts:"

1. E. Hoffa was convicted in late 1967 in Chattanooga of jury tampering.
2. Hoffa was convicted because of evidence obtained by a grand jury as required by the Constitution of the United States.
3. Hoffa did not commit jury tampering.
4. Hoffa's conviction was secured by a grand jury.
5. Hoffa did not tamper with the jury.
6. Hoffa is innocent of all charges.
7. Hoffa never had a fair trial.
8. Hoffa was convicted by a biased jury.
9. Hoffa was convicted by a biased judge.
10. Hoffa was convicted by a biased prosecutor.
11. Hoffa was convicted by a biased attorney general.
12. Hoffa was convicted by a biased justice department.
13. Hoffa was convicted by a biased court system.
14. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal system.
15. Hoffa was convicted by a biased judicial system.
16. Hoffa was convicted by a biased political system.
17. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal profession.
18. Hoffa was convicted by a biased justice department.
19. Hoffa was convicted by a biased court system.
20. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal system.
21. Hoffa was convicted by a biased judicial system.
22. Hoffa was convicted by a biased political system.
23. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal profession.
24. Hoffa was convicted by a biased justice department.
25. Hoffa was convicted by a biased court system.
26. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal system.
27. Hoffa was convicted by a biased judicial system.
28. Hoffa was convicted by a biased political system.
29. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal profession.
30. Hoffa was convicted by a biased justice department.
31. Hoffa was convicted by a biased court system.
32. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal system.
33. Hoffa was convicted by a biased judicial system.
34. Hoffa was convicted by a biased political system.
35. Hoffa was convicted by a biased legal profession.
January 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Ballot Security

Per our discussion Murray Chotiner will handle ballot security for this Committee, working closely with Tom B. Evans and Ed DeBolt at the RNC. At the present time, Murray will handle this on a volunteer basis from the law firm of Reeves and Harrison on the fifth floor of this building. He will employ one secretary-administrative assistant to work full time on ballot security. Rob Odle has interviewed her and feels she is competent to work on this assignment.

JEB S. HAGBERGER

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
MEMORANDUM

TO: Gordon Strachan
FROM: Harry Flemming

Attached is a list including names and addresses of those people who have been confirmed to serve as our state chairmen. Only our chairmen in New Hampshire, Maryland, New York, Oregon, Missouri, Nebraska, and Illinois have been announced to date.

Should you want to contact or work with any of the other people listed, please contact me or Allan Kaupinen first so we may apprise you of any additional information you should know about the chairman or that state.

We will send you updates on the list each week as new chairman are added and headquarters in the states are opened. PLEASE DISCARD OLD LISTS.
January 10, 1972

* publicly announced
( date)
** special designation

Colorado
office: Governor John Love
Executive Chambers
Colorado State Capitol Bldg.
Denver, Colorado 80203

home: Executive Mansion
400 E. 8th Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80203

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

home: 95 Olcott Street
Manchester, Connecticut 06040

Florida
** L.E. (Tommy) Thomas
PRIMARY COORDINATOR
F. O. Box 490
Panama City, Florida 32401

home: 2814 Canal Drive
Panama City, Florida 32401

* Illinois
1-10-72
office: Thomas Houser (Campaign Manager)
Suite 3200
One First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois 60670

home: 219 N. Hickory
Arlington Heights, Illinois

Maine
office: Ned Harding
P. O. Box 2011
24 Free Street
Portland, Maine 04104

home: South Freeport,
Maine

* Maryland
12-15-71
office: Edward P. Thomas
Senate of Maryland
Carroll and Frederick County
Annapolis, Maryland

home: 710 Wyngate Drive
Frederick, Maryland

(303) 892-2471
(203) 566-5565
(904) 785-5221
(312) 329-7603
(312) CL3-7395
(207) 773-1775
(207) 865-6565
(301) 662-0713
if no answer call:
(301) 662-2777
(301) 663-5765
January 10, 1972

* publicly announced (date)  ** special designation

* Missouri
Temporary Headquarters: Lawrence K. Roos
Missouri Committee for the
Re-election of the President
12-22-71
130 South Bemiston, Suite 300
Clayton, Missouri  63105
Executive Secretary at Hqtrs.
Mrs. Mildred Huffman

office: Supervisor, St. Louis County
home: 943 Tirrill Farms Road
       St. Louis County, Missouri

* Nebraska
office: George Cook
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Bankers Life of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska

home: 3070 Sheridan Blvd.
      Lincoln, Nebraska

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

home: 2085 Regent Street
      Reno, Nevada  89502

* New Hampshire
11-1-71
Headquarters: Governor Lane Dwinell
N.H. Committee for the
Re-election of the President
New Hampshire Highway Hotel
Concord, New Hampshire  03301

home: 94 Bank Street
      Lebanon, New Hampshire  03766

Executive Director: G. Allan Walker
home: #5 Millpond Drive
      Nashua, New Hampshire

* New York
12-15-71
office: Governor Nelson Rockefeller
Executive Chambers
Albany, New York  12224

(518) 484-7000 (Albany)
(212) 582-7030 (NYC)

(314) 862-2460
at hqtrs. call
(314) 727-7963
(314) 889-2016
(314) WY3-3766
(402) 467-1122
(402) 423-6272
(702) 786-7600
(702) 329-0587
(603) 224-7411
(603) 448-1121
(603) 888-0713
(518) GR4-7000 (Albany)
(212) 582-7030 (NYC)
January 10, 1972

* publicly announced (date) ** special designation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Executive Director</th>
<th>Office Address</th>
<th>Home Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>Congressman Wendall Wyatt</td>
<td>Room 505, Terminal Sales Bldg. 1220 S.W. Morrison Street Portland, Oregon 97205</td>
<td>1209 Huntley Place Alexandria, Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>Hal C. Byrd Deering-Milliken Corporation</td>
<td>1009 Glendale Circle Spartanburg, South Carolina 29302</td>
<td>4753 Madison Avenue Ogden, Utah 84403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>Dick Richards</td>
<td>2610 Washington Boulevard Ogden, Utah 84401</td>
<td>4753 Madison Avenue Ogden, Utah 84403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>John K. MacIver Michael, Best &amp; Friedrich</td>
<td>626 East Wisconsin Avenue Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
<td>5498 North Lake Drive Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
January 10, 1972

* publicly announced

** special designation

Wyoming

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

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

(Bob Gosman's office phone (307) 234-2801)
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

Pursuant to your request on Saturday, I have attached for your information a memorandum outlining the voter registration deadlines in New Hampshire.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attachment

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman

CONFIDENTIAL
Relating to our recent conversation, the voter registration deadlines for the New Hampshire Primary are given below. They vary according to the population of the political unit.

- **Towns under 4500 population**—up to 1 day prior to election
- **Towns over 4500 population**—up to 7 days prior to election
- **Cities (listed below)**—up to 10 days prior to election

Berlin
Claremont
Concord
Dover
Franklin
Keene
Laconia
Lebanon
Manchester
Nashua
Portsmouth
Rochester
Somersworth
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Activities Surrounding the "Friends of Richard Nixon" Program

The "Friends" program was initiated by Representative Tom Little of Delaware and Fred Slight working under Anne Armstrong of the RNC about September of this year. Ken Rietz attended the first planning meeting and offered all assistance necessary to make the program a success. He asked in particular to see an initial agenda so that follow-up could begin on securing speakers. Repeated calls to Slight yielded no agenda and Rietz was informed that everything was going well. When Ken Smith came aboard (November 2) to handle our speaker's bureau he met with Little and Slight to discuss the program and they assured him that all was well and going according to plan. He, too, offered assistance although the only time he was called upon in November was to recommend to Slight a choice among two potential speakers for each of seven briefing sessions. This he did and again offered to help getting the schedule arranged.

By coincidence (about December 1) Smith came across a schedule proposal for the President meeting with the group sent by McLane of the White House staff. Smith was sitting with Steve Bull (of Dwight Chapin's staff) discussing another matter and mentioned the schedule proposal - a proposal dated November 29, only two weeks before the event was to take place - and Bull had never seen it. A quick check was made and it was found the President's schedule had not been cleared in advance and he would not be in the country at the time. Smith advised Little and Slight of this. Little was in favor of canceling the event since most of the participants were led to believe that the President would be present to meet with them. (The disappointment
of the participants was evident throughout the session and was fueled by the President's brief return and subsequent departure from Washington on the morning of the last day.) Under your direction the program was continued.

It was at this point that we began to take charge of speakers arrangements as Slight finally realized that little preparation had been done and he decided to cooperate. Ken Smith took over the scheduling of the speakers, arranging the White House tour and the Vice President's meeting with the "Friends." The RNC error of not making the requests for the President, the White House and the Vice President, however, caused problems right to the end.

Smith did get all the speakers that were asked for (Ehrlichman, Tarr, Droge, Morton, Blatchford, Rumsfeld and Dent) and pursued the possibility of getting Julie to guide the White House tour and to get the Vice President's commitment to participate. It should be noted here that neither the request for Julie's participation, the White House tour or that of the Vice President had made it to their attention by the time Smith entered the picture. The problem of trying to rejuggle the obviously full schedules of all concerned was an impossible task.

Smith, working closely with Dave Parker, Mike Farrell and Steve Bull, got good cooperation, but the uncertainty surrounding the President's trip and the full schedule of the White House for the desired day (December 15) kept things in a holding pattern right up to the morning of the 15th. This also kept the Vice President's schedule in an uncertain position until that time which did cause some irritation. (The focal point of that was use of the White House by the Vice President if the President did, as was finally the case, leave. At 12:00, Wednesday, the decision was made that the President would go to Key Biscayne. Both Farrell and Parker maintain John Damgard - of the Vice President's staff - was advised that the Vice President could use the White House for the 5:00 meeting with the "Friends." Damgard, however, told Smith that he was not advised of that until Smith called him at about 2:00. At that point Damgard felt they were locked into using the Indian Treaty Room - a place much disliked for its poor acoustics and atmosphere. That the Vice President's staff felt they were slighted is the source of the irritation.)
In other actions taken by us, we have put the "Friends" on the White House mailing list for fact sheets, speeches, etc. Also, a telegram from the President was prepared, sent to Senator Dole and read to the assembled group at the final reception by Anne Armstrong. We will follow up to see that a letter from the President to each "Friend" is sent in addition to a letter from Rietz offering our assistance. Of course the "Friends" will be used in our scheduling for local requests to fill small group requests for the President in their areas.

It should be noted that during the entire proceedings our Committee was rarely referred to. No one here was on the speakers list until Smith asked Slight if Rietz was in fact introduced then but was cut off after perhaps five minutes - and at a time when many questions were being asked.

Overall, I think the program was a solid success. Without exception the group was impressed by the briefings and the caliber of speakers and pleased by the high level attention paid to them. The problem over disappointment with the absence of the President was the major minus, particularly since they were drawn here with the prospect of meeting the President. Still, at the final reception, the disappointment - while still there - seemed to be quite muted and they left with a sense of mission and with enthusiasm. The follow-up is absolutely crucial and we shall watch over it closely.

(FYI: the CBS morning news, December 16, had an excellent clip of the Vice President's appearance - standing ovations at both ends, a clip of his remarks about not giving up on the campuses and that he would go on them to try to help in communication. The disappointment of the President not being able to meet with them was noted, but the enthusiasm of the group was a solid plus.)

Our involvement in this program emphasizes the problems Rietz has had working with Slight at the RNC. There is no feeling of cooperation and Slight continues to try to "end run" Rietz. He seems to place more importance on maintaining control and getting credit than he does on the success of the endeavor. He has nowhere near the understanding of the youth situation and what needs to be done that is necessary and is more of a hindrance than a help to Rietz.

JEB S. NAGURER
January 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  GORDON STRACHAN
FROM:  JEB MAGRUDEM
SUBJECT:  Youth Speaking and Your Memo of December 21.

Attached is the section of our weekly report of December 13 that outlines our efforts in placing speakers before youth groups.

Now that we have a system for filling requests and creating youth appearances, we will need more speakers. Rietz has suggested that more staff people from the White House be made available -- especially those who will relate to young audiences. We should pursue the idea of creating a White House speaking corps of younger staff members.

Rietz and Ken Smith will set up training sessions and start scheduling these speakers after we receive a list of those who are available for increased exposure and travel.

On your second point, I'm not sure it is appropriate now to stress the popularity of Lindsay among young people. That creates a negative feeling about our own campaign when we are trying to build a positive youth effort.

JSM:mj
Attachment
WHITE HOUSE: With the change in responses to letters requesting a Presidential appearance from a flat turn down to a "but could someone else" reply, we are now deep into filling almost all the requests, most of which are for the Spring. We are also building a file of open date Presidential requests so that we can program a tour by an appropriate spokesman to cover 3-4 at a time. We are coordinating the timing of these tours for maximum impact with particular emphasis on the primary states. The best example is the recommended strategy to put Goldwater, Rockefeller, Brooke and Brock into New Hampshire to fill invitations to the President from colleges.

As noted, most of these requests will start being filled after January 1. However, Richard Chaput has spoken at the University of New Hampshire, Lee Huebner at the Associated College Press (high school journalists), Pat Buchanan (by telephone hookup) to several lecture classes at Washington State. Rep. William Steiger will speak at Wisconsin State (at Whitewater) and Stan Thomas at the Texas Junior College Teachers Convention. Under this system memos from Colson have gone out to Secretaries Rogers, Richardson, and Morton and as well as Henry Kissinger requesting that they appear at a total of 15 campuses in the next 3 months; all would be filling Presidential requests. Also, we have recommended Presidential appearances at the Southern Universities Student Government Association, the New Jersey Association of High School Councils and Brigham Young University. These will all be filled by other speakers, should the President be unable to attend. More recommendations for Presidential appearances will be forthcoming. At this time more than 40 invitations are being checked out for appropriateness as to event and speaker.

Another area of requests we have begun picking up on is that of White House tours and briefings for groups of young people. Several of these are currently being arranged in line with the desire to put as many young people as possible through the White House and to appeal directly to them by means of a briefing and a short Q and A session.

CONGRESSIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

We are now receiving each member's monthly schedule and are beginning to program appearances by them to fill Presidential and other requests. Ken Smith has asked them all, if possible, to offer open weekends in the coming months, as Rep. Steiger has done - so that Smith can begin putting together tours for those weekends of various appearances.
MEMORANDUM FOR:  GORDON STRACHAN
FROM:  JEB S. MAGRUDER

Though there seems to be some discrepancy between Ken Rietz and Jamie McLane, in fact, there is no inconsistency.

Jamie was referring to a general registration drive which is currently being carried out in San Diego to enlist all voters since the new Mayor, Pete Wilson, is involved in a special election.

There is no "young voter" registration being carried out in California because of the lack of leadership and organization.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SUBJECT: Political Issues Group Meeting
Wednesday, December 22, 1971

Those invited to attend the meeting were:

Anne Armstrong    Roy Goodearle
Robert J. Brown    Bryce Harlow
Ken Cole           Edwin Harper
Charles Colson     Herbert Klein
Bob Dole           Ray Price
Thomas B. Evans    Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Finch       William Safire
Leonard Garment    Robert Teeter
William Timmons

Those attending were:

Robert J. Brown    Roy Goodearle
Ken Cole           Bryce Harlow
Harry Dent         Ed Harper
Leonard Garment    Gordon Strachan
Jeb Magruder and members of his staff

General Haig and John Lehman of the National Security Council Staff made a presentation outlining our current strategic national security posture and briefly describing the President's China trip.

During the course of the NSC presentation our current national security posture was analyzed in light of its likely impact upon conservative voters. The point of view expressed by the members of the NSC staff was that despite optimistic projections from the Department of Defense about
the political defensability of the current strategic situation, there
are no clear-cut figures with which to justify our "supremacy." They
made the point that if our position is measured strictly in compari-
son with our position four years ago, the Administration has not im-
proved our comparative strategic posture.

If the President faces a strenuous challenge from the right then the
problems which would be posed would include the erosion of conservative
candidate strength and enthusiasm, the erosion of financial support, and
finally, the secondary negative impact on the campaign generally which
the perception of an erosion of support might have. It was pointed
out that one of the key questions which will determine the impact of
the issue will be the possibility that it might be picked up as an
issue which will have appeal to the electorate generally similar to the
"missile gap" issue in the 1960 campaign.

Various means for defending the Administration's actions were discussed.
Measures which the Administration is already undertaking will be re-
lected in an increased Defense budget. In addition, the Administration
has at several points during the past four years made hard decisions
such as supporting the ABM, the Architha blast, and investing in the
MIRV system. Thus, it would seem unlikely that the contenders on the
left of the President would be able to credibly seize the issue of the
missile gap in the 1972 campaign.

In addition to getting out the line on the President's accomplishments,
it was suggested that there are several alternative courses of action
which are available to the Administration. One alternative lies in the
opportunity to take action to improve our strategic posture. The risk
of this action would be that it would allow the conservative critics to
maintain that the Administration may have acted, but with "too little
too late." A second possible risk is that the last minute action to im-
prove our strategic credibility to conservative voters is the liability
which such actions might have with the electorate as a whole.

A second course of action which is available to the President is that of
amplifying the Administration's criticism of Congressional obstruction
of the President's military recommendations. Congressional budgetary
actions in particular have contributed to the decline in the defense
posture. The voting records of many of the key contenders can be used
to demonstrate that the President has been hindered by Democrats. The
risk of this course of action would be that of leaving the Administration
open to criticism that its recommendations themselves were not big enough
or strenuously enough pursued. Also, some of the contenders have not ob-
structed the Administration's recommendations and may in some cases have
backed stronger recommendations themselves.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

HARRY S. DENT
ON 1/13

G -> Malek, woman on CEA
Myrna Whitman -> P. wants.

Sun - projector - film - back
WHCA

John Davies - Gallep
P. pop - report CEA
East can't calculate -> early Mormon
Sun - hopefully

Van - keep wt pass - ? Alex
- posting

Tommasi Sen Scott -> Ayele
on John Rhodes for Plat Am
as soon as Scott has
EG role confirmed, then clean

EG buy it
Scott

Outstanding Floor leader for NP
get to negotiate

New theater - extra rooms,
DG call store 7 w/us.

OK - Tanais

TFE - pole mats