

Richard Nixon Presidential Library  
Contested Materials Collection  
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses Timmons's departure and the RNC Convention. 2 pgs.
32	1	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg.
32	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten note. This document discusses the Republican National Convention. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	4/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Strachan. RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Report	Title: Talking Paper for Herb Klein. This document discusses the San Diego Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. This paper discusses Republican National Convention problems. 3 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	4/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. This document discusses a bid from Miami. 1 pg.
32	1	4/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Republican National Convention. 2 pgs.
32	1	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. This document discusses negotiations in Miami. 5 pgs.
32	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. This document discusses the San Diego Convention and possible move to Miami. 2 pgs.
32	1	4/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a possible move from San Diego to Miami and issues and concerns regarding the Republican National Convention. 8 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. Cost and construction problems in San Diego. 1 pgs.
32	1	4/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: San Diego-RNC Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Report	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. Subject: Republican National Convention. This document discusses problems relating to cost of moving from San Diego to Miami. 7 pgs.
32	1	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses the Evans and Novack Story. It is attached [very light ink]. 4 pgs.
32	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Wire. This document discusses House committees and the Republican National Convention. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: RNC Convention. This document discusses a meeting regarding a Miami Beach site for the Republican National Convention and possible appointments. 1 pg.
32	1	4/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John Mitchell. RE: Republican National Convention. This document is a follow-up. 1 pg.
32	1	4/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses program ideas with the President. 1 pg.
32	1	4/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Bill Timmons. RE: RNC Convention. This document discusses the President staying at a hotel in San Clemente during the Republican National Convention. 1 pg.
32	1	4/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Charles Colson to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Convention Arrangements. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	5/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Indiana, Ohio, D.C. Primary Returns. 3 pgs.
32	1	4/27/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Pat Buchanan to John Mitchell and H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses recent success of McGovern and the pullout of Muskie. 1 pg.
32	1	5/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to the President. This document discusses the Tennessee primary. 1 pg.
32	1	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Priority Ranking of the States for the Campaign. 4 pgs.
32	1	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Tennessee Primary Returns. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	5/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: George Wallace- Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas. 2 pgs.
32	1	5/4/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a proposal for San Clemente. Attached memo is titled-Proposal for Major Republican Conference in San Diego in September. 8 pgs.
32	1	4/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Report	From Stephen Bull to Dwight L. Chapin. RE: LBJ-1964. This document discusses President Johnson in 1964. 17 pgs.
32	1	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John Dean to Larry Higby. RE: Political Contributions by ITT Employees. 4 pgs.
32	1	4/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ed Harper to John Ehrlichman. RE: Campaign Strategy Meeting. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	12/6/1971	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Report of the Convention TV Committee. This document discusses TV coverage of the Republican National Convention. 18 pgs.
32	1	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Talking Paper-John Ehrlichman. 1 pg.
32	1	4/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. RE: Offers of Assistance. 2 pgs.
32	1	3/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. This document discusses letters to Robert Odle. 1 pg.
32	1	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses fact sheets and campaign materials. Campaign promotional materials are attached. 15 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	1	4/3/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Paul R. Jones through Fred Malik to John N. Mitchell. RE: Fund Raising Dinner. 1 pg.
32	1	4/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a campaign strategy meeting. 4 pgs.
32	1	4/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to John Mitchell. RE: Weekend Phone Conversation. 2 pg.
32	1	4/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: California. [Portion contains lighth ink.]4 pgs.
32	1	4/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: The Democratic Nomination.12 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman  
Box Number: 312

Folder: Campaign 19 Part VI March 29-May 17

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
1	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/4/72
2	Retain Open
3	Retain Open
4	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/2/72
5	Return Private/Political MEMO, BUCHANAN TO MITCHELL/HRH, 4/27/72
6	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 5/4/72
7	Retain Open
8	Return Private/Political MEMO, BULL TO CHAPEL, 4/3/72
9	Return Private/Political MEMO, DEAN TO HIGBY, 4/12/72
10	Return Private/Political MEMO, HARPER TO JDE, 4/17/72
11	Return Private/Political REPORT OF THE CONVENTION TV COMMITTEE, nd.
12	Return Private/Political TALKING PAPER - JDE 4/18/72
13	Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO STRACHAN, 4/14/72
14	Return Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH, STRACHAN TO HRH, 4/18/72
15	Retain Open
16	Retain Open
17	Return Private/Political MEMO, JONES TO MITCHELL/STANS, 4/3/72
18	Return Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH, STRACHAN TO HRH, 4/18/72
19	Return Private/Political MEMO, HRH TO MITCHELL, 4/30/72
20	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/19/72
21	Return Private/Political MEMO, MARIK TO MITCHELL, 4/20/72

Timmons

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Bill Timmons met with John Mitchell and Jeb Magruder on May 3rd to discuss the Miami Beach site and the RNC meeting this weekend.

To have the RNC focus on matters besides the site of the convention, Mitchell and Timmons suggest releasing the names of several convention appointments. The suggested appointments are:

- 1) Congressman Ford -- Permanent Chairman
- 2) Governor Reagan -- Temporary Chairman
- 3) Anne Armstrong -- Secretary of the Convention
- 4) H. Allen Smith -- Parliamentarian at Convention

Next week when Senator Scott returns from China, Mitchell plans on announcing that Scott will serve as the President's "Floor Manager" at the convention.

Timmons will proceed with these appointments and announcements on Mitchell's authority unless Timmons hears otherwise from you.

Timmons will go to Miami Beach this weekend to conduct a survey. Timmons is working on the convention on the basis of 75% of his time for Mitchell and 25% of his time on Congressional Relations. You have an April 20, 1972 talking paper (copy attached) to cover this with MacGregor.

G → Timmons 5/4

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

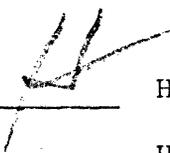
DATE: April 25, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

According to Magruder, Mitchell believes it would be inappropriate for him to talk to MacGregor about Timmons' departure. Timmons told Magruder he doesn't work for MacGregor anyhow.

Timmons would continue to manage the day to day operations of the Congressional Relations staff but would not go on the Hill.

A talking paper for MacGregor is attached. The question is whether you, Higby or I should talk to MacGregor:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Haldeman  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Higby  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Strachan

TALKING PAPER FOR CLARK MACGREGOR

A 7M 4/25

RE: Bill Timmons and the RNC Convention

Bill Timmons has been working with John Mitchell and the RNC on convention arrangements. The demands on his time are increasing.

In light of the convention problems and the importance to the President that the convention proceed correctly, Timmons should spend 75% of his time on the convention. He would remain here on the White House Staff and would spend 25% of his time managing the Congressional Relations office. He would not work on the Hill.

Do you have any problems with this arrangement?

April 20, 1972

GS/jb

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

On Saturday, April 29, Jerris Leonard met with Miami Beach Mayor Hall, Police Chief Pomerantz, the City Manager and Governor Askew's representative. They agreed to additional LEAA funds between 100-150 to be added to the LEAA grant for the Democratic Convention of 400. Leonard reported to Mitchell and Magruder that he received a positive response from the Florida group.

On Wednesday, May 3 at 10:00 a.m. the Miami Beach City Council will vote on inviting the RNC Convention. John Mitchell is bullish on the prospects of a favorable vote.

Other possible sites are Philadelphia, Atlantic City and Gattenberg, Tennessee. I told Magruder you considered Los Angeles out of the running as a possible site and he advised Mitchell. Mitchell will call you directly if Los Angeles is to be seriously considered.

The RNC will meet on May 5 and 6 to ratify the Convention site decision.

RNC Con

Sat - Leonard + Mayor Hall  
+ City Manager  
- Aslew's represent  
Rocky Pomerantz +  
cut deal on  
LEAA funds  
about 100-150,000  
more than grant  
to Dems (400)  
so total 500-550.

Vote - on Wed 5/3 at 10a  
JM believes OK to MB.

RNC Mtg Fri 5/5 + 6  
for Ratification

Phil + Atlantic City +  
Gallenberg + LA  
~~'sent some~~ indicated  
interest but JM  
informed by SM  
that LA out.  
JM will co

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 26, 1972 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Governor Askew is causing John Mitchell some problems with the move to Miami. Askew is balking on the basis of "security". Askew may backout of tomorrow's showdown meeting. Magruder believes O'Brien could be working on Askew to cause the RNC real problems.

San Diego is "in effect turned off" as the convention site. However, Philadelphia has approached Jo Good of the RNC. Warren Dorr, the Supervisor in Los Angeles, approached Magruder about Los Angeles as a convention site. Magruder emphasizes that nothing affirmative toward these sites is being done but that the options are being kept open.

*H. LA not a possibility*

April 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Bob Mardian met with Governor Reagan and Mayor Wilson, and he has convinced them that the Convention should be moved from San Diego. Reagan and Wilson will continue to make public statements supporting San Diego but these will be mostly face-saving for California. The blame for the change will increasingly focus on the cost and problems with the Canadian owners.

Negotiations with Miami Beach are continuing with the main problem being the dates of the Convention. General Motors (Buick) currently has the Hall from August 21-23 but pressure is being applied to General Motors to change its dates to please Miami Beach. The Miami Beach City Council will meet tomorrow to reach a decision on a formal bid.

Dole will issue a "call" from RNC headquarters today for a meeting within the next 10 days.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

✓  
April 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

MS  
call Klei  
G Strachan  
talk to M.

Dick Herman will meet in Miami today at 12 noon to discuss the possible bid for the RNC Convention. After the meeting, Herman will issue a statement emphasizing the extraordinarily high cost of going to San Diego. The \$1.5 million figure will be mentioned.

If Herman returns to Washington with a firm bid, Mitchell will call Reagan and send Mardian to California to see Reagan personally and to discuss the probable move to Miami.

According to Magruder, Mitchell was somewhat concerned that Herb Klein had not been told not to comment on San Diego. Apparently, Klein is still lobbying hard for San Diego. A copy of the talking paper for Klein is attached.

Att.

TALKING PAPER FOR HERB KLEIN

RE: San Diego Convention

It is essential that no White House spokesman comment on the RNC Convention, either publicly or privately. This problem emerged last December in connection with the ITT matter. At that time I asked<sup>1</sup> you not to comment.

Now, with several conflicting stories about problems in San Diego, it is even more important that there be no comment from the White House. The convention is purely an RNC matter and must remain so. Some people have suggested that you were the "White House source" quoted in Los Angeles to the effect that the convention would definitely be held in San Diego. You are also reported to have told several people that you will not permit the convention to leave San Diego. Others have said that if the convention were not held in San Diego, you would consider it "a personal insult." These comments must stop. The decision about where the convention will be held is not yours to make.

April 19, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

At Dick Herman's meeting with the Mayor of Miami yesterday, he received an "informal" bid for the the convention. The bid is the same as offered to the Democrats (250 cash, 65 from the hotel association, 150 from the Governor's fund in three installments, and 500 in goods and services discounted by amount left in place by Democrats). The Miami City Council will meet today to submit a formal bid. Although Miami would prefer to have the RNC convention on August 14-16 to save the General Motors convention, both General Motors and Miami will release the Hall to the Republicans on August 21-23.

After Herman reported to Magruder and LaRue that he had the informal bid, Mitchell called Governor Reagan to explain some of San Diego's problems. Mitchell sent Mardian to California late last night to meet with Reagan and Ed Meese personally. Mardian will use the attached talking paper and will emphasize to Reagan the demonstrators and ITT public relations problems. Since Meese wants a position in Washington after the election, Mardian will discuss San Diego in that context with him.

Mitchell called Herb Klein last night to tell him to stop lobbying for San Diego and to "cooperate". Specifically, Mitchell directed Klein to call San Diego Mayor Peter Wilson and explain the problems. Klein called Wilson and reported to Mitchell that Wilson understands but would not be "delighted" if the convention were moved to Miami.

The decision as to the location of the convention will probably be made early next week, with the official "call" by the RNC late next week.

Att.

TALKING PAPER

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION PROBLEMS:

1) Cost:

The convention in Miami cost \$800,000 in 1968. The Republican National Committee will probably be able to raise approximately \$1,500,000 for the convention in 1972. At the present time projections of the costs in San Diego is a minimum of \$2,500,000, with \$3,000,000 being more likely the final cost. The main reasons for these cost increases are increased construction costs for the arena, which in Miami in 1968 totaled \$87,000 and are projected now to cost a minimum of \$854,000. Other additional costs are primarily in the transportation area.

2) Access and construction of arena:

The Republican National Committee has been unable to reach a final agreement with the owners of the San Diego Sports Arena. At the present time, the Republican National Committee has four weeks access. To complete construction as required will take a minimum six to eight weeks access, and the owners of the arena have not agreed to allow the Republican National Committee this access. There is also disagreement as to the type of construction in the arena, with the owners demanding permanent construction of the anchor booths, while the Republican National Committee feels temporary construction would be satisfactory. If permanent construction is needed, the costs will escalate considerably beyond the \$854,000 projected construction costs, and if access is granted beyond the four weeks, it will cost \$2,500 a day minimum to \$3,500 a day maximum. This access figure is also not included in the \$2,500,000 budget.

3) Hotel space:

Approximately 15,000 first class hotel rooms were used in 1968. At the present time, we have a commitment for only 11,200 rooms, with a minimum need of 12,500 rooms and a maximum need of 15,000 rooms. It does not seem likely that we will be able to even reach the 12,500 room minimum. If that is the case, many of the news media will have to stay in hotels as far away as Los Angeles.

4) Labor problems:

There are three non-union hotels in San Diego, all of them larger hotels. (Town and Country, The Bahia, and The Catamaran) If pickets are established at the convention at these hotels, it would be difficult to use them, which would force delegates to move to Los Angeles. We are counting these three hotels in our committed 11,200 rooms. Secondly, the Associated General Contractors of America are currently in negotiations with the carpenters, laborers, cement masons, and teamsters. At the present time negotiations have broken down. The union demands are absolutely ridiculous, and Glenn Dowdy, the Executive Vice President of the Associated General Contractors of America, feels that agreement will not be reached by May 1. If that is correct, they will be far behind in their construction at the arena, and this would cause additional overtime over and above the projected budget.

5) San Diego's financial guarantee:

San Diego guaranteed the Republican National Committee \$600,000 in cash, to be paid in full by April 1st. At the present time they have received only \$100,000 of this amount.

6) Sheraton ITT:

At the present time, the only hotel in San Diego suitable for the Committee for the Re-election of the President is the new Sheraton. This would obviously cause some public relations problems.

7) Demonstrations:

It is anticipated that over 100,000 demonstrators will be in the San Diego area, and it will be very difficult for the police and the National Guard to control this situation. Miami affords much greater security for the convention.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

#1 of 2  
✓

April 20, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By OP NARS, Date 3-31-82

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT: RNC Convention

John Mitchell sent Jim Gale to Miami on April 18 to work with Rebozo to re-open the negotiations with Miami. When Gale arrived, Rebozo had arranged for the Mayor of Miami to be present at the meeting. After the meeting, which the Mayor announced as being with a "Republican figure concerning the Convention," Dick Herman received several calls requesting comment. Mitchell decided to send Herman to Miami last night.

Mitchell informed Bob Dole of Herman's trip to Miami. Dole was informed that Herman was having serious problems negotiating with San Diego but not that a change in the Convention site was the primary reason for Herman's trip.

If Herman receives a bid from Miami today, he will return to Washington for the decision on the Convention site. If the change is to Miami, Herman will inform Dole, who will issue a new "call" for the Convention on Friday, April 21, the deadline within the RNC rules.

Upon receipt of the bid from Miami, Mitchell will talk with Governor Reagan and other California officials to determine their views.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Dick Herman will meet in Miami today at 12 noon to discuss the possible bid for the RNC Convention. After the meeting, Herman will issue a statement emphasizing the extraordinarily high cost of going to San Diego. The \$1.5 million figure will be mentioned.

If Herman returns to Washington with a firm bid, Mitchell will call Reagan and send Mardian to California to see Reagan personally and to discuss the probable move to Miami.

According to Magruder, Mitchell was somewhat concerned that Herb Klein had not been told not to comment on San Diego. Apparently, Klein is still lobbying hard for San Diego. A copy of the talking paper for Klein is attached.

Att.

TALKING PAPER FOR HERB KLEIN

RE: San Diego Convention

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Now, with several conflicting stories about problems in San Diego, it is even more important that there be no comment from the White House. The convention is purely an RNC matter and must remain so. Some people have suggested that you were the "White House source" quoted in Los Angeles to the effect that the convention would definitely be held in San Diego. You are also reported to have told several people that you will not permit the convention to leave San Diego. Others have said that if the convention were not held in San Diego, you would consider it "a personal insult." These comments must stop. The decision about where the convention will be held is not yours to make.

April 19, 1972

#1 of 3

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102  
By SP DATE, Date 3-31-82

April 18, 1972

*Added to  
Stally  
[Signature]*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

John Mitchell called Bebe Rebozo this morning to see how the negotiations with Miami were proceeding. Unfortunately, Rebozo read the Saturday, April 15th news stories on "White House source" denying any plans to move, believed the reports, and cancelled the negotiations. Mitchell was surprised, directed Rebozo to begin negotiations, and sent Jim Gale, Dick Herman's assistant, to Miami to sit in on the discussions.

The deadline for decision has slipped to Friday, April 21st, when General Motors, which currently is booked into the Convention Center, must receive an answer. April 21st is also four months before the RNC Convention dates and so is important from the official RNC rules standpoint.

Magruder relayed your concern that Governor Reagan, Peter Wilson, and other Californians be informed and approve of the decision if the convention is moved. Mitchell fully understands and will discuss the matter with Reagan and other Californians when he has the Miami option.

*Handle*

According to Magruder, there is one problem that Mitchell wants you to handle. Apparently, Herb Klein has told several people that he will not let the convention leave San Diego. To do so would be "a personal insult" to Klein. Mitchell wants you to sit down with Klein and tell him to stay completely out of the convention move decision. (A talking paper is attached.)

Magruder reports that Mitchell is pleased that Finch has not commented on the San Diego convention.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER  
E.O. 12958, SECTION 1-102  
By EP, date 3-31-82

April 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Convention

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Magruder relayed your concern that Governor Reagan, Peter Wilson, and other Californians be informed and approve of the decision if the convention is moved. Mitchell fully understands and will discuss the matter with Reagan and other Californians when he has the Miami option.

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Magruder reports that Mitchell is pleased that Finch has not commented on the San Diego convention.

TALKING PAPER FOR HERB KLEIN

RE: San Diego Convention

It is essential that No White House spokesman comment on the RNC Convention, either publicly or privately. This problem emerged last December in connection with the ITT matter. At that time I asked you not to comment.

Now, with several conflicting stories about problems in San Diego, it is even more important that there be no comment from the White House. The convention is purely an RNC matter and must remain so.

# 3 of 3

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

April 18, 1972

By CP 9-31-82

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Convention

John Mitchell called Bebe Rebozo this morning to see how the negotiations with Miami were proceeding. Unfortunately, Rebozo read the Saturday, April 15th news stories on "White House source" denying any plans to move, believed the reports, and cancelled the negotiations. Mitchell was surprised, directed Rebozo to begin negotiations, and sent Jim Gale, Dick Herman's assistant, to Miami to sit in on the discussions.

The deadline for decision has slipped to Friday, April 21st, when General Motors, which currently is booked into the Convention Center, must receive an answer. April 21st is also four months before the RNC Convention dates and so is important from the official RNC rules standpoint.

Magruder relayed your concern that Governor Reagan, Peter Wilson, and other Californians be informed and approve of the decision if the convention is moved. Mitchell fully understands and will discuss the matter with Reagan and other Californians when he has the Miami option.

According to Magruder, there is one problem that Mitchell wants you to handle. Apparently, Herb Klein has told several people that he will not let the convention leave San Diego. To do so would be "a personal insult" to Klein. Mitchell wants you to sit down with Klein and tell him to stay completely out of the convention move decision. (A talking paper is attached.)

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

*H FU*  
*4/19*  
*Wed*

To :

From : L. Higby

*Have full details Wed.  
city of Miami Bid.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Convention

Two developments have occurred in the last two days. First, Jeb Magruder talked with Evans and Novak on Friday, April 14 regarding the cost and construction problems encountered in San Diego. The facts are summarized in the April 6 memorandum from Magruder to Mitchell (copy attached). Also, the second letter, from the construction company to Herman was also given to Novak, who told Magruder the story would run on Wednesday, April 19, 1972.

The story about the San Diego Convention appeared on the front page of the Los Angeles Times. Unfortunately "a White House source" is quoted as denying that the convention would move from San Diego to Miami. Magruder called Gerry Warren, Bob Finch, and Ken Clawson and determined that they did not comment on the convention. Magruder and Miller believe Herb Klein may be the White House source". Magruder is trying to reach Klein.

The second development concerns Bill Timmons. According to Magruder, Mitchell will want Timmons to take a leave of absence from the White House staff from mid-May through the convention in August to devote full time to the convention planning. Mitchell feels that in light of the "probable" move to Miami, Timmons' full-time effort would be required. MacGregor will submit a formal written request to you next week.

Attachment

*This should be open only*

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to anyone is  
Magruder NO  
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Kehlo NO  
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*Make sure  
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i.*

*Now they need to get Pete Wilson,  
R. Reagan etc aboard before  
they make any irrevocable  
comments.*

*OK*

X  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/7/72

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

You asked me to keep informed of the developments surrounding the possible change of location of the RNC Convention from San Diego to Miami.

The recommendations of the meeting Mitchell asked Magruder to call are attached.

According to Magruder, Mitchell doubts he will have the option to go to Miami prepared by April 21. Rebozo is Mitchell's agent in Florida.

FROM 4/10 - Rooms OK

See my notes

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 6, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Republican National Convention

In a meeting yesterday with Cliff Miller, Fred LaRue, and Dick Herman, we discussed and outlined the steps we feel should be taken if it is decided that we should move the convention from San Diego to Miami. In our discussions we talked primarily about the problems relating to cost, construction and labor.

FACTS

The cost of the convention in San Diego will be approximately \$2,500,000. This compares with \$800,000 in 1968. The major reasons for the increase are construction costs for the arena, which will cost approximately \$854,000 compared to \$87,000 in Miami; additional transportation costs; and increased labor costs relating to all of the convention activities. At this point in time, the RNC is projecting an income of approximately \$1,500,000 and it is Dick Herman's estimate that if the city of Miami's bid is similar to their original bid, the total cost of the convention in Miami would be \$1,500,000. This would include approximately \$250,000 as a buy-out for San Diego.

It is our feeling that no matter how well we program this move there will be considerable negative media attention. The attention will not only be on cost and labor problems, but will also undoubtedly reflect on our problems with Sheraton/ITT and our potential problem with demonstrators.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Considering these negatives, the following is our plan to accomplish the objective with the least amount of negative reaction from the public. The indication of news sources is tentative and flexible at this time.

1. Nothing should be done until we have a firm commitment from Miami for the convention. This should include specific dates and the convention bid.

2. As soon as the bid is confirmed, we should notify Governor Reagan directly. It is our feeling that this should be done in a personal meeting between you and the Governor. At that meeting you and the Governor should agree as to whether any other individuals in California should be notified at that time. This could include Lt. Governor Reinecke, Mayor Peter Wilson, Congressman Bob Wilson, and Gordon Luce. It is our feeling that these are the four people most affected by the move.

3. As soon as Reagan has been notified we would have Dick Herman write a letter to all of the National Committee members pleading for additional cash contributions and ads to make up the \$1,000,000 deficit. We would plan to give this letter to a reputable columnist like Evans and Novak and have it published immediately. The objective would be to show our concern for the increased cost of the convention.

4. At the same time, we would give Evans and Novak the details of our construction problems so that their column would include these facts as well as the letter.

5. Immediately after the publication of Evans and Novak's first column, we would give to the wires Bob Knowles memorandum to Dick Herman (Tab A), which we think would be very effective in describing the union and construction problems in San Diego.

6. We would probably include with the wire service report a letter from the construction company to Dick Herman (Tab B), which goes into some detail also.

7. As soon as these have been published we would have Dick Herman meet with the arena owners, Harry Ornest and Peter Graham, who are Canadian citizens, on the new contractual problems relating to access to the arena (Tab B). At the present time we only have four weeks access. It has been indicated that we will need at least eight to probably 11 weeks access. We would try to

G-7 JET

This is a bad approach

Good

✓

✓

✓

schedule this meeting in Vancouver rather than San Diego, although this might be difficult. Dick Herman would be accompanied by Fred Scribner, the RNC's Legal Counsel. The negotiations would be such that no agreement could be reached, and Herman and Scribner would walk out of the meeting and the story would be leaked to an appropriate news source.

*NO* 8. Concurrently, while all of this is taking place, the White House, our Committee, and the RNC should be commenting simply that we are concerned with the problem as it seems to exist and hope that an acceptable solution can be reached by all parties. The RNC would have to acknowledge the validity of the letters when they are leaked.

✓  
G → JRM  
4/10

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An additional factor which is not included in the plan is the labor disputes involving the building trade unions in San Diego. If these disputes are not settled it is possible that the arena could not be completed on schedule. By tomorrow we should have a copy of a letter to Congressman Bob Wilson detailing these potential labor disputes. This letter could also be used in the same manner at the appropriate time to further aggravate the tenuous situation with the arena owners.

It should be noted that according to the rules of the RNC, a new call would have to be made four months before the convention begins, which gives us to April 21 to accomplish all of the above.

Miami should "leak" about the probs & submit a bid before RNC mtg

G → JRM  
4/10

# 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

## COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

PERSONAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

To: DICK HERMAN

Date March 30, 1972

From: SENATOR ROBERT P. KNOWLES

Subject:

I frankly wish that I could report to you that I was able to solve some of the problems we are having here in San Diego. However, I know you want me to be honest with you and I therefore must report that our troubles seem to be getting worse rather than better.

This morning I had a meeting with Stoddard Martin of Golden Construction Company and he laid out his timetable for construction at the Convention hall. I will send you a copy of this timetable after it is finalized, but I thought you should know at this time that it is my opinion that there is no way that we can get access to the hall to meet his timetable. We went over the alternatives, and if he attempts to accomplish the construction in the time that we will have access to the hall, it is going to cost us literally thousands of dollars in overtime -- and even with overtime Stoddard will not give us assurance that the job can be done by the time the gavel falls.

This afternoon I talked with Glen Dowdy, Executive Vice President of Associated General Contractors of America, and Glen who is inclined to normally be very optimistic, painted a totally pessimistic picture of the labor situation here in San Diego. They are currently in negotiations with carpenters, laborers, cement masons and teamsters. This is handled as a single package. Glen tells me that negotiations have completely broken down and that no further meetings have been scheduled. He tells me that the demands are utterly ridiculous, and based on years of his labor negotiating experience, he is ready to predict that they will not meet the deadline of May 1. Coupled with this, the contract for the operating engineers expires June 1, and Glen predicts trouble in this area.

I know that you have been terribly concerned about Convention costs and about the ability of the Convention program to finance our Convention. I think we agree that we are going to get very little in the way of cash from the local units of government and will simply have to depend on a substantial number of program ads to come up with the necessary funds. In my opinion, costs are going to run higher than our budget. If it is possible to

1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

PERSONAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To: DICK HERMAN  
From: SENATOR ROBERT P. KNOWLES

Date March 30, 1972

Subject: Page 2

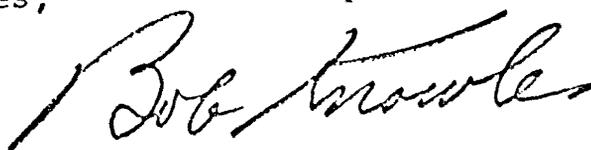
buy additional access time at the Convention hall, I believe you should be prepared to pay a substantial number of dollars -- and I am talking about six figures, not five.

I am sure you are aware that there have been some problems with some of the nonunion hotels. Currently the picket lines are gone and everyone is back to work. However, the situation is still fairly volatile, and I believe that there is a possibility that the unions will utilize our Convention as leverage to achieve their goals. If this involved only a few small hotels, or if there were a surplus of rooms I would not be worried. However, some of the major hotels like the Town and Country, the Bahia and the Catamaran are nonunion, and if we lost these hotels I am afraid we would have delegates commuting from Los Angeles.

Adding all of our problems together, some of which we may never solve -- I have come to one conclusion, and I want it to be on record at least to you. I believe that if there is any way at this point to change the Convention city you should give it every consideration. The alternative appears to be a highly risky one -- that of not having a Convention at all in this city. Perhaps our preparations here have proceeded too far to pull out of San Diego at this time. Certainly we couldn't pull out without a few headaches and perhaps some law suits. However, as you are aware, a large number of people in the City of San Diego would heave a sigh of relief if we announced that due to unsolvable physical problems we were required to move the Convention site.

Dick, I am sorry to have to paint such a bleak picture. I have never had a part in any venture that failed, and neither have you. I am sure that neither of us want to start with something as important as this. In my opinion, there is an extremely high risk that the opening gavel will not fall on August 21 in San Diego and I therefore urge you to give every consideration to encouraging the powers to be to move the Convention to another city.

With all best wishes,





**H. GOLDEN CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

Camino de la Reina  
San Diego, California 92108  
Telephone (714) 291-8181

March 29, 1972

Mr. R. L. Herman  
Vice Chairman  
Post Office Box 189  
Omaha, Nebraska 68101

Subject: Arena Construction

Dear Dick:

You have requested of us what the cost would be to provide all the necessary facilities, exclusive of the network and radio requirements for the committee on arrangements if allotted four weeks to install and complete ready to open convention.

We confirm our verbal quote to you as follows:

1. M. H. G. Work	+\$50,000.00
2. Mechanical & Electrical Work	+\$60,000.00
3. Total To Add	+\$110,000.00

We must caution you that even if the above money is available to do this work we will still have a most difficult time trying to supply and keep enough manpower to do the job and be complete in time for the convention to open. We cannot guarantee completion in four weeks.

To be realistic we should have the interior of the Arena available to us no later than June 1, 1972 if the convention is to assured of opening August 21, 1972.

Very truly yours,

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Republican National Convention

As a follow-up to my earlier memorandum, we have looked into the question of what would happen if the RNC Rules are not followed so that the official "call" doesn't occur before April 21 (four months before the opening date of the convention pursuant to Rule 24).

The answer, based on a cursory review of the Rules of the RNC, is that there will be some adverse public relations flak, but no federal or state statute would be violated:

1. The RNC is not incorporated so, if the Rules were not strictly followed, no federal or state statutes would be violated. Only the "rules" of an organization analogous to a private club would be violated.

2. The Ripon Society, or other dissident member, could file a law suit in a federal court challenging the violation of the Rules but, as the current Ripon vs RNC suit indicates, delay could prevent any decision, even an adverse one.

3. Even if the Rules were strictly followed, the official "call" has already occurred so any action before or after April 21 would be an amended "call." The Rules neither provide for an "amended call" nor for some sort of "extraordinary" procedures to handle unforeseen circumstances.

It is Dick Herman's feeling that the first order of business of the convention, if it is held in Miami, would be to ratify the amended call which should eliminate any legal problems.

CONFIDENTIAL

April 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Convention

Two developments have occurred in the last two days. First, Jeb Magruder talked with Evans and Novak on Friday, April 14 regarding the cost and construction problems encountered in San Diego. The facts are summarized in the April 6 memorandum from Magruder to Mitchell (copy attached). Also, the second letter, from the construction company to Herman was also given to Novak, who told Magruder the story would run on Wednesday, April 19, 1972.

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Attachment

GS:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1972



MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

San Diego - RNC Convention

After your discussion with John Mitchell on April 12th, Magruder received instructions to leak the two letters to Dick Herman on the San Diego construction problems. Magruder will personally release the letters to UPI for Saturday release.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Republican National Convention

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FACTS

The cost of the convention in San Diego will be approximately \$2,500,000. This compares with \$800,000 in 1968. The major reasons for the increase are construction costs for the arena, which will cost approximately \$854,000 compared to \$87,000 in Miami; additional transportation costs; and increased labor costs relating to all of the convention activities. At this point in time, the RNC is projecting an income of approximately \$1,500,000 and it is Dick Herman's estimate that if the city of Miami's bid is similar to their original bid, the total cost of the convention in Miami would be \$1,500,000. This would include approximately \$250,000 as a buy-out for San Diego.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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1. Nothing should be done until we have a firm commitment from Miami for the convention. This should include specific dates and the convention bid.

2. As soon as the bid is confirmed, we should notify Governor Reagan directly. It is our feeling that this should be done in a personal meeting between you and the Governor. At that meeting you and the Governor should agree as to whether any other individuals in California should be notified at that time. This could include Lt. Governor Reinecke, Mayor Peter Wilson, Congressman Bob Wilson, and Gordon Luce. It is our feeling that these are the four people most affected by the move.

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*5-7 JSM  
4/10  
This is a  
bad  
approach*

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*Good*

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✓  
G → JSM  
4/10

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*Miami should 'hear' about the probs & submit a bid before RNC mtg*

G → JSM  
4/10

# 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

## COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

PERSONAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

To: DICK HERMAN

Date March 30, 1972

From: SENATOR ROBERT P. KNOWLES

Subject:

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# 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

## COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

PERSONAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

To: DICK HERMAN  
From: SENATOR ROBERT P. KNOWLES  
Subject:

Date March 30, 1972

Page 2

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With all best wishes,





**H. GOLDEN CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

Camino de la Reina  
Diego, California 92108  
Telephone (714) 291-8181

B

March 29, 1972

Mr. R. L. Herman  
Vice Chairman  
Post Office Box 189  
Omaha, Nebraska 68101

Subject: Arena Construction

Dear Dick:

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We confirm our verbal quote to you as follows:

1. M. H. G. Work	<u>+\$50,000.00</u>
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Very truly yours,

Stoddard Martin

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 7, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

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SUBJECT: Republican National Convention

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: April 18, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

This advance copy of the Evans & Novak story that Magruder arranged on San Diego has been reviewed and approved by Mitchell.

RELEASE WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19

INSIDE REPORT: FAREWELL, SAN DIEGO?

BY HOWARD EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK

WASHINGTON—FLUFFING OR NOT, POLITICAL AGENTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON THIS WEEK ARE ISSUING AN ULTIMATUM TO SAN DIEGO: BECOME MORE COOPERATIVE OR, EVEN AT THIS LATE DATE, WE SHALL MOVE THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION TO ANOTHER CITY.

THE NIXON MEN CAREFULLY AVOID PUBLIC STATEMENTS. BUT PRIVATE NEGOTIATIONS IN SAN DIEGO INDICATE THEIR PATIENCE IS SOON SPECIFICALLY AT ISSUE IS WHETHER THE SAN DIEGO ARENA CAN BE READY BY THE JUNE 21 CONVENTION OPENING. BEYOND THAT, MR. NIXON'S AGENTS ARE FED UP WITH WHAT THEY REGARD AS PRICE-GOUGING OBSTRUCTIONISM AND LETHARGY IN SAN DIEGO.

THESE SENTIMENTS ARE VOICED ON A LEVEL CONSIDERABLY HIGHER IN THE REPUBLICAN HIERARCHY THAN STATE SEN. ROBERT KNOWLES OF WISCONSIN, THE CONVENTION COORDINATOR. INDEED, KNOWLES' MEMORANDUM SUGGESTING A POSSIBLE NEW CONVENTION CITY WAS LEAKED TO THE PRESS LAST WEEK BY HIGH REPUBLICAN OFFICIALS WITHOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE.

THAT HABITUALLY SECRETIVE NIXON MEN WOULD PURPOSELY EXPOSE DIRTY LINER TESTIFIED TO THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION. UNLESS THEY GET SATISFACTION THIS WEEK FROM THE HITHERTO INTRACTABLE ARENA OWNERS, THEY WARE IMMEDIATE STEPS WILL BE TAKEN TOWARD A NEW CONVENTION SITE --MOST LIKELY MIAMI BEACH, WHERE THE DEMOCRATS MEET IN JULY, ALTHOUGH A THIRD, UNNAMED CITY IS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

SOME UNIDENTIFIED REPUBLICAN SOURCES VIEW ALL THIS AS AN ELABORATE BLUFF, CONTENDING THE POINT OF NO RETURN HAS BEEN PASSED AND THAT EVEN IF A TEAM COULD COMPLETELY HOTEL SPACE NOW.

THEY WOULD OPENLY ADMIT HOW THE JOB WOULD BE MITIGATED BY BARRY

REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS, WHO NOW FEEL SAN DIEGO IS LINKED--  
IRREVOCABLY, IF UNFAIRLY--TO THE LITZ AFFAIR. NOR WOULD THERE BE  
OBJECTION FROM REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WHO HAD SAN  
DIEGO THROTTLED BY THE WHITE HOUSE.

ONE REASON FOR THEIR OBJECTIONS WAS THE EXPENSE TO THE PARTY IN  
GETTING SAN DIEGO READY FOR THE CONVENTION. THE FIGURE HAS NOW  
CLOSED TO BE DISCLOSED (DURS) 2.5 MILLION, COMPARED WITH (DURS)  
1,700 FOR 1968. THE HOTEL CONSTRUCTION COSTS ALONE, (DURS) 87,000  
IN 1968, WOULD BE AT (DURS) 500,000. EVER SINCE SAN DIEGO WAS  
SELECTED, THE MANY REP. FEEL, CONTRACTORS AND UNION LEADERS HAVE BEEN  
TRYING TO SUE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR EVERY LAST CENT.

ESSENTIALLY, THE PRESIDENT'S AGENTS ARE UP LADY OVER POSSIBLE UNION  
PICKET LINES AND 2 THREE DIB TO UNION HOTELS--THE TOWN AND COUNTRY  
(DURS T O) THE PALM AND THE CATALINA. THE PARTY MUST CHOOSE  
BETWEEN THE DISGRACE OF REPUBLICAN DELEGATES CROSSING PICKET  
LINES OR SENDING OFF HUNDREDS OF THEM TO COMMUTE FROM LOS ANGELES  
HOTELS.

THE CONSIDERATION OF A NEW SITE DID NOT REALLY BEGIN UNTIL DIOR  
NEWARK, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MAN FROM NEBRASKA AND VICE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION'S ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE, RECEIVED A  
MARCH 29 LETTER FROM SAN DIEGO CONTRACTOR STODDARD LARTIL. IN  
RESPONSE TO LARTIL'S QUERY, LARTIL ESTIMATED (DURS) 220,000 TO READY  
THE AREA IN FOUR WEEKS, BUT THEN ADDED:

"WE MUST CAUTION YOU THAT EVEN IF THE ABOVE MONEY IS AVAILABLE  
TO DO THIS AREA, WE WILL STILL HAVE A MOST DIFFICULT TIME TRYING TO  
SUPPORT AND KEEP ENOUGH MANPOWER TO DO THE JOB AND BE COMPLETE IN TIME  
FOR THE CONVENTION TO OPEN. WE CANNOT GUARANTEE COMPLETION IN FOUR  
WEEKS."

TO OBTAIN ACCESS TO THE AREA TO BE COMPLETED BY JUNE 1 (AS REQUESTED BY  
THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE) WOULD COST THE REPUBLICANS UP TO (DURS) 3,000  
A DAY, OR (DURS) 900,000. BUT COST IS SECONDARY. THE  
AREA IS TO BE READY BY JUNE AND JULY. AND ITS COSTS ARE BEING...

THE REPUBLICANS HAVE ACCESS THEM FOR (SET ITAL) ANY (END ITAL) PRICE.

THAT IS THE BACKGROUND BEHIND KNOWLES' MARCH 30 MEMORANDUM TO  
HIGHTON SUGGESTING ANOTHER SITE. "PERHAPS OUR PREPARATIONS HAVE  
PROCEEDED TOO FAR TO PULL OUT OF SAN DIEGO AT THIS TIME," KNOWLES  
NOTE. "CERTAINLY WE COULDN'T PULL OUT WITHOUT A FEW HEADACHES AND  
PERHAPS SOME LAWSUITS. HOWEVER, ... A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE  
CITY OF SAN DIEGO WOULD FEEL A SIGH OF RELIEF IF WE ANNOUNCED THAT  
DUE TO UNSOLVABLE PHYSICAL PROBLEMS WE WERE REQUIRED TO MOVE THE  
CONVENTION SITE."

BEFORE ANY SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT, MR. NIXON'S AGENTS ARE DELIVERING  
THEIR ULTIMATUM TO THE ARCADE CLUBS, BUT SIMULTANEOUSLY, THEY COVER  
THE MISIDENTIFIED TRACKS, EXPLAINING THAT MR. NIXON REALLY WANTED THE  
CONVENTION IN KANSAS CITY AND WAS NEUTRAL ABOUT SAN DIEGO. THAT IS  
JUST EXACTLY THE LINE TO REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN WHO LAST  
SUMMER SELECTED SAN DIEGO ONLY AFTER BEING INSTRUCTED IT WAS THE  
PRESIDENT'S FERVENT DESIRE.

(RELEASED WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19)

(END EVANS-COVAR)

(GOP)

WASHINGTON--THE REPUBLICAN OFFICIAL MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR PUTTING THE GOP NATIONAL CONVENTION TOGETHER AT SAN DIEGO HAS URGED LAST-MINUTE CONSIDERATION OF MOVING IT TO ANOTHER SITE BECAUSE OF ESCALATING COSTS AND CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS. IT WAS DISCLOSED TODAY.

THIS URGENT RECOMMENDATION WAS CONTAINED IN A LETTER FROM ROBERT F. KNOWLES, COORDINATOR FOR THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AS HE WAS FOR THE SAME EVENT IN 1968, TO DICK HERMANN, NEBRASKA NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONVENTION ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE.

DISPUTES INVOLVING LABOR UNIONS OVER CONTRACTS WERE LISTED AMONG THE PROBLEMS AND COUPLED WITH A WARNING THAT THE CONVENTION HALL MIGHT NOT BE READY FOR THE OPENING SESSION AUG. 21.

THE TWO-PAGE RECITAL OF PROBLEMS CARRIED NO REFERENCE TO THE BUFFETING NOW GIVEN THE GOP OVER WHETHER SETTLEMENT OF AN ANTITRUST CASE AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CORP. WAS INVOLVED IN COMMITMENTS BY ITS SUBSIDIARIES TO HELP FINANCE THE CONVENTION.

REACHED BY TELEPHONE, HERMAN CONFIRMED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED THE LETTER SHOWN TO UPI BY A RELIABLE SOURCE BUT WOULD NOT SAY WHETHER HE WAS GOING TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT. AS THE OPERATING HEAD OF THE COMMITTEE UNDER REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN ROBERT J. DOLE, HE DID SAY THAT THE PLAN WAS STILL TO HOLD THE CONVENTION AT SAN DIEGO.

"ADDING ALL OF OUR PROBLEMS TOGETHER, SOME OF WHICH WE MAY NEVER SOLVE," KNOWLES WROTE, "I HAVE COME TO ONE CONCLUSION ... I BELIEVE THAT IF THERE IS ANY WAY AT THIS POINT TO CHANGE THE CONVENTION CITY, YOU SHOULD GIVE IT EVERY CONSIDERATION ..."

"IN MY OPINION, THERE IS AN EXTREMELY HIGH RISK THAT THE OPENING GAVEL WILL NOT FALL ON AUG. 21 IN SAN DIEGO, AND I THEREFORE URGE YOU TO GIVE EVERY CONSIDERATION TO ENCOURAGING THE POWERS TO BE TO MOVE THE CONVENTION TO ANOTHER CITY."

KNOWLES SAID HE HAD GONE OVER THE TIMETABLE WITH AN OFFICIAL OF THE COMPANY HANDLING CONSTRUCTION AT THE HALL. THAT THE WORK UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD COST THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS IN OVERTIME AND WITH NO ASSURANCE THAT THE JOB WOULD BE FINISHED ON TIME.

IN THIS LETTER DATED MARCH 30, KNOWLES WROTE THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CRAFT UNIONS AND CONTRACTORS HAD BROKEN DOWN COMPLETELY.

4-13--TS&amp;EH357PES

UPI-143

THE HOUSE TOMORROW:

NOT IN SESSION

COMMITTEES (10):

AGRICULTURE---10:00-OPEN LIVESTOCK & GRAINS SUBCOMTE. CONT. HRNGS. ON BEEF PRICES. PUB. WIT. 1301 LOB.

APPROPRIATIONS---10:00-OPEN INTERIOR SUBCOMTE. OUTSIDE WITNESSES. H-305 CAP.

APPROPRIATIONS---10:00-EX. SUBCOMTES: D.C., H-302; LABOR-HEW, H-164; TRANSPORTATION, H-236; TREAS-POSTAL SERV-GEN. GOVT., H-301; (10:30)- STATE, JUST., COMM. & JUD., H-310 CAP.

D.C.---10:30-OPEN CONT. ON HOME RULE LEGIS. PUB. WIT. 1310 LOB.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS---10:00-OPEN FOREIGN OPER. & GOVT INFO. SUBCOMTE. CONT. HRNGS. ON U.S. GOVT. INFO. POLICIES & PRACTICES. DEPT. WIT. 2154 ROB.

INTERIOR---9:45-OPEN CONT. HRNGS. ON NATL. ENERGY CRISIS. PUB. WIT. 345 COB.

INTERIOR---9:45-OPEN NATL. PARKS & REC. SUBCOMTE. PA. AVE. DEVELOP. PLAN. PUB. WIT. 1324 LOB.

INTERSTATE---10:00-OPEN COMMERCE & FINANCE SUBCOMTE. CONT. PANEL DISCUSSIONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE SECURITIES INDUSTRY. 2123 ROB.

JUDICIARY---10:00-OPEN SUBCOMTE NO. 3. CONT. HR 13113- PAROLE IMPROVEMENT & PROCEDURES ACT '72. CHARLOTTE REESE, FORMER MEMBER, U.S. PAROLE BRD. & MERRILL SMITH, CHIEF, U.S. PROBATION DIV., ADMIN. OFC. OF THE U.S. COURTS. 2226 ROB.

POST OFFICE---10:00-OPEN POSTAL SERV. SUBCOMTE. CONT. HRNG. ON THE STATUS & PERFORMANCE OF THE U.S. POSTAL SERVICE. PUB. WIT. 210 COB.

4-13--EH403PES

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN  
SUBJECT: RNC Convention

Bill Timmons met with John Mitchell and Jeb Magruder on May 3rd to discuss the Miami Beach site and the RNC meeting this weekend.

To have the RNC focus on matters besides the site of the convention, Mitchell and Timmons suggest releasing the names of several convention appointments. The suggested appointments are:

- 1) Congressman Ford -- Permanent Chairman
- 2) Governor Reagan -- Temporary Chairman
- 3) Anne Armstrong -- Secretary of the Convention
- 4) H. Allen Smith -- Parliamentarian at Convention

Next week when Senator Scott returns from China, Mitchell plans on announcing that Scott will serve as the President's "Floor Manager" at the convention.

Timmons will proceed with these appointments and announcements on Mitchell's authority unless Timmons hears otherwise from you.

Timmons will go to Miami Beach this weekend to conduct a survey. Timmons is working on the convention on the basis of 75% of his time for Mitchell and 25% of his time on Congressional Relations. You have an April 20, 1972 talking paper (copy attached) to cover this with MacGregor.

GS/jb  
Att - talking paper  
F/U - May 8

UP/AP  
Bolest  
Radio  
on FMK  
- 5/11

know:

Herman, Markian, Dean, CWC, JM, LaR, CAM

Finch

H&K knows

H&K D. Caslowe

4/5

5:30

J&M, LaRue, Herman, G

JM - 3 areas to program w/ Press

- ① Constitute - Owners as villains
- ② Cost
- ③ Labor Squeeze

- Time frame v.a.v. - notifying SD people, etc.

- Dick Herman use Canadian trip as angry walkout conf from on Mon/Tues next wk

- In 4 Squ/attys (Gribner, Haucy, Parma, etc).

- list of pros & cons of disat of w/SD so if a change later

G - re get it out during VN news

- Herman convinced could blow out SD

- several days away for decision

F in O'Brien to SD.

Markian asked

Herman last night

75 G - cone

Contract

13 G - arch

Hotel Rms -

Contract w/ each Hotel 12,000 Rms  
for 3 days 580000

labor Dept reviewing all labor contracts in SD as to when up

- Strike Risk

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL TIMMONS

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

RNC Convention

Bob asked me to contact you directly regarding the plans of the President and the First Family to stay at San Clemente during the Convention. There will be no need for a Presidential Suite nor for rooms for any of the First Family at the Sheraton, Westgate or any other hotel in San Diego. No publicity or problems should result as the President never intended to stay at any hotel in San Diego.

cc: Dwight Chapin

GS:car

Colson

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



EYES ONLY

April 3, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON *WC*  
SUBJECT: Convention Arrangements

John Dean has just told me of his memo to you regarding San Diego. Bryce Harlow raised the same question with me last week. His concern is that all of the TV focus will be on the Sheraton Hotels whether we stay in them or not and that San Diego has become synonymous with the ITT affair.

If we are not locked in, as John says we are not, I would assume that someone is considering the pros and cons of going to Miami instead. Among the pros is a hell of a lot better security. I happened to see a copy of the Quicksilver Times this weekend with the great centerfold ad calling all revolutionaries to do their duty and be in San Diego in August. I suppose the other side of the argument is that we would hurt ourselves in California by moving the convention out of the state. But, if the crazies really arrive in numbers, it could be argued that we are doing California a favor by moving to Miami.

This is just to let you know that a lot of people are thinking along the same lines John Dean is.

G → D H 4/6

X

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 2, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**  
SUBJECT: Indiana, Ohio, D.C.  
Primary Returns

The President's name is on the Ohio and Indiana ballots. In D.C. there is no slate as the original one was successfully challenged and the delegates will be chosen by the D.C. Republican Committee. The President is expected to win easily in Ohio and Indiana.

The Indiana polls close at 6 and 7 p.m., while the D.C. polls close at 8 p.m. Ohio is having real trouble with their four sheet complex ballot, and a late wire indicated Ohio's polls would not close until 11:59 p.m. CBS and NBC have announced shows on the results beginning at 10:30 p.m. ABC has not announced election shows. I will be in touch with Magruder and Shumway from 7:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

For New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, Harry Dent has prepared a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary has been delivered to the President at 7:30 a.m. the next morning.

RECOMMENDATION

That Dent be asked to prepare his analysis of the Indiana, Ohio, and D.C. Primaries for the President.

Agree \_\_\_\_\_

Disagree   H.  

Comment \_\_\_\_\_

*Analysis for P to H to decide if to P.  
Do not send Dent analysis to Be P.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HARRY S. DENT

*18*  
*We need to get someone else to write these - can Dent*  
*How dumb - He's now*  
*get - surprised two out*

As predicted McGovern and Humphrey won the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries. McGovern's projected delegate vote strength moves him out front with 235 to 138 for Muskie and 78 for HHH. Brinkley tabbed McGovern as the frontrunner. The big loser again was Muskie, barely finishing third behind Wallace with GW's one-day stand in Pa. and a poor second in Mass., less than half McGovern's vote.

Here are the results as of 6:30 AM:

	<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u> (97% in)		
	<u>Delegates</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
HHH	59	457,755	62%
GW	2	273,506	21%
Muskie	29	266,957	21%
McGovern	32	265,823	20%
Jackson	0	39,232	3%
Uncommitted	12	--	

*of three*  
*figure out another*  
*way to handle*  
*this*  
*L.*

	<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u> (65% in)		
	<u>Delegates</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Percent</u>
McGovern	102	176,284	51%
Muskie	0	77,467	22%
HHH	0	28,001	8%
GW	0	27,347	8%
Chisholm	0	14,048	4%
Kennedy	0	1,362	write-ins
Mills	0	9,823	3%
Jackson	0	4,223	1%
RN	34	53,654	82%
McCloskey	0	8,691	13%
Ashbrook	0	2,862	5%

McCloskey's 13% was rated a ~~psychological victory of sorts~~ and attributed to dove sentiment in the GOP on V-N. We made only one mailing in Mass.--to all precinct captains--from Brooke, Volpe, Richardson and Sargent.

McGovern's strong showing was credited to V-N dove sentiment and populism. He called it "peace and working men."

HHH's victory in Pa. was credited to a labor quid pro quo and black support. HHH said this was a great victory for the "vital progressive Demo center." It was noted as his first primary victory ever (except D. C.). HHH also proclaimed himself the "President of the American family."

RN won all delegate votes in Pa. and Mass. No competition in Pa. (50 delegate votes)

Muskie pledges to keep on.

X

April 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: -- JOHN MITCHELL  
H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

With the great success of McGovern and subsequent pullout of Muskie, the chances of a McGovern nomination are immensely improved. Thus, we must do as little as possible, at this time, to impede McGovern's rise.

Though he may act irresponsibly and make wild attacks, we should, by and large, resist the temptation and leave him alone. Vietnam is the exception. He can be hit hard on this subject -- a point which not only elevates his candidacy but also gets the President's position restated while reinforcing the strong anti-war sentiment behind McGovern.

On the other hand, the ammunition which will be our stock in the campaign -- the extremist, radical labels; the pro-amnesty and pro-abortion positions; the radical chic; the gut-the-military attitude; etc. -- should be held in abeyance until we are reasonably sure McGovern has the nomination.

The temptations will be high in many quarters to go after McGovern, but word ought to go out to lay off with but few exceptions. We have plenty of time to attach labels later, and the same labels which will defeat McGovern for the Presidency are the same labels which could prevent him from getting the nomination. Let's not do Hubert's work for him.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HARRY S. DENT *BSD*

Wallace, busing foes, and the President were the big winners in Tennessee's primaries yesterday. GCW won 68% of the Demo vote and all 49 delegate votes, while the anti-busers scored a 4-1 victory. The President got 96% to 2% for McCloskey and 2% for Ashbrook.

The voter turnout was only 25%. With 98% in, GCW won 331,543 (68%) to 77,695 (16%) for HHH, 35,288 (7%) for McGovern, 18,625 (4%) for Chisholm, and 9,720 (2%) for Muskie.

GCW won everywhere and among all groups except the blacks. Interestingly, one black precinct in Memphis split 50-50 on the busing amendment. The overall vote was 419,426 to 105,555.

Tennessee law does not bind the delegates to vote for GCW. State and district conventions will name the delegates later, and HHH and McGovern are working to win some away from GCW, which Wallace says is dirty pool. If he gets all, GCW will be third in delegate count, with 169--behind McGovern and HHH.

Wallace called the bigger than expected score a "strong message for a platform like GCW stands for." Republicans were reported to have assisted him with crossover votes in East Tennessee.

In Ohio, 16 precincts (4,000 voters) will vote Tuesday on court orders. HHH is expected to continue to be the winner, now standing 41.4% to 39.4%. McGovern will apparently win 59 of the 153 delegate votes.

(S) X

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.  
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
 (202) 333-0322

May 1, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
 THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
 FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK  
 SUBJECT: Priority Ranking of the States for  
 the Campaign

This memorandum summarizes the decisions made in the strategy meeting of April 28, regarding current priority ranking of the states, for the purpose of developing strategy and resource allocation for the campaign. A brief rationale is presented with each state or grouping of states.

CATEGORY I - SAFE STATES - (Have supported the President by large margins in the past. Should be won in 1972.)

<u>Farm States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Nebraska	5	+28
Kansas	7	+20
North Dakota	3	+18
Iowa	8	+12
South Dakota *	4	+11
	<u>27</u>	

\* Would not be safe if George McGovern is on the ticket.

<u>Mountain and Western States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Idaho	4	+26
Wyoming	3	+20
Arizona	6	+20
Utah	4	+19

New Mexico	4	+12
Colorado	7	+ 9
Montana	4	+ 9
Nevada *	<u>3</u>	+ 8
	35	

\*Nixon lost Nevada by 2% in 1960. With a Democratic registration edge of 58%D-35%R-7%I, it is the least "safe" of these states.

Border States (Recent polls suggest the President has increased his margin from 1968, particularly if George Wallace does not run.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Oklahoma	8	+16
Virginia	12	+10
Florida	17	+10
North Carolina	13	+ 8
Kentucky	9	+ 6
South Carolina	8	+ 6
Tennessee	<u>10</u>	+ 4
	77	

New England States (Will not be "safe" if Muskie or Kennedy is on the ticket.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Vermont	3	+ 9
New Hampshire	4	+ 8
Maine *	4	-12
	<u>11</u>	

\* Lost in 1968 with Muskie on the ticket; won in 1960, against a New Englander, JFK, by 14%.

<u>Midwest States</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Indiana	13	+12

Total "safe" states: 24 (163 electoral votes)

CATEGORY II - WALLACE STATES - (States won by Wallace in 1968. The President may win some, even with Wallace in the race; if Wallace is out, they should be relatively safe.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Arkansas	6	+ 8 (Nixon Second)
Louisiana	10	+20 (Nixon Third)
Mississippi	7	+40 (Nixon Third)
Alabama	9	+47 (Nixon Third)
Georgia	<u>12</u>	+12 (Nixon Second)
	44	

CATEGORY III - PRIORITY STATES - (Close election expected; intensive campaign must be run including maximum organizational effort within the states. These will undoubtedly be Democratic target states).

Top Priority - (Maximum allocation of resources and focus of management attention. "Must win" states.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
California	45	+0.2	+3
Illinois	26	-0.3	+3
Texas	26	-2	-1
Ohio	25	+6	+2
New Jersey	<u>17</u>	-1	+2
	139		

Second Priority - (High allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
New York * <i>Amey Charles P. Carey</i>	41	-6	-5
Pennsylvania *	27	-2	-4
Maryland *	10 <sup>4</sup>	-8	-2

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Michigan *	21	-2	-7
Connecticut *	8	-8	-5
Washington	9	+3	-2
	<u>116</u>		

Third Priority - (Lower allocation of resources and management attention.)

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>Nixon Margin (%)</u>	
		<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Missouri **	12	-0.5	+1
Wisconsin **	11	+4	+4
Oregon	6	+6	+6
West Virginia *	6	-6	-9
Alaska	3	+2	+3
Delaware	3	-2	+4
	<u>41</u>		

\* Although past electoral behavior would indicate an uphill battle for the President, recent polls suggest he has a good chance at this time to carry these states. Ultimate strategy will depend on the Democratic nominee. These states must be watched closely during the campaign, to be sure that they are treated as target states only so long as they remain winnable.

\*\*States with the most apparent erosion since 1968.

CATEGORY IV - PROBABLE LOSS STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 Nixon Margin (%)</u>
Massachusetts	14	-30
Minnesota	10	-12
Hawaii	4	-21
Rhode Island	4	-32
District of Columbia	3	-64
	<u>35</u>	

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Tennessee Primary Returns

The President's name is on the Tennessee ballot with Ashbrook and McCloskey. The President is expected to win easily.

All Democrats and a busing referendum also appear on the ballot.

The Tennessee polls close between 4 and 9 p.m. CBS, NBC, and ABC have not announced shows on the results. I will be in touch with Magruder and Shumway from 8:30 p.m. on.

John Mitchell is not expected to be at the Committee tonight, and Magruder expects him to watch the results on T.V.

Harry Dent will prepare a one page summary of the results for the President. This summary will be on your desk at 7:45 a.m. for you to decide whether it should go to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

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GCW won everywhere and among all groups except the blacks. Interestingly, one black precinct in Memphis split 50-50 on the busing amendment. The overall vote was 419,426 to 105,555.

Tennessee law does not bind the delegates to vote for GCW. State and district conventions will name the delegates later, and HHH and McGovern are working to win some away from GCW, which Wallace says is dirty pool. If he gets all, GCW will be third in delegate count, with 169--behind McGovern and HHH.

Wallace called the bigger than expected score a "strong message for a platform like GCW stands for." Republicans were reported to have assisted him with crossover votes in East Tennessee.

In Ohio, 16 precincts (4,000 voters) will vote Tuesday on court orders. HHH is expected to continue to be the winner, now standing 41.4% to 39.4%. McGovern will apparently win 59 of the 153 delegate votes.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

George Wallace - Georgia,  
Alabama, Mississippi, Texas

You asked for a status report on George Wallace's possible candidacy in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.

Georgia

The American Independent Party (AIP) must hold a nominating convention by May 9, 1972 for Wallace to appear on the AIP ballot on November 7, 1972. If the AIP holds the convention, it must then obtain 98,000 signatures by June 14, 1972. Georgia sources say this "would be tough" to do.

Tomorrow, discreet checks will be made to determine whether AIP convention planning is underway.

If the AIP does not hold a convention, Wallace may run as an "Independent" but again would require 98,000 signatures by June 14th. There is no indication these signatures are now being collected, but again discreet checks will be made on May 2nd.

Alabama

AIP is a recognized party in Alabama. The AIP has until September 8th to certify their Presidential candidate. So, Wallace could easily run in Alabama on the AIP ticket with his decision made as late as September 8th.

Mississippi

The AIP is not a recognized party in Mississippi. However, Wallace could run as an "Independent". Wallace would only need 10,000 signatures on a petition by September 28th. This could be done easily.

Texas

AIP has lost its status as a recognized party. For AIP to place Wallace on the ballot in November, it must obtain 23,000 signatures between May 6th and June 30th. However, the 23,000 signatures cannot include the names of anyone who voted in the May 6th Texas primary.

The Texas election board believes Wallace "would have a tough road" to get on the ballot for two reasons. One is the requirement that none of the 23,000 can have voted in the primary. The other reason is that Wallace has publicly stated in Texas that his followers should work within the Texas Democratic Party.

GS/jb  
F/U - May 5

X

Date May 4, 1972

TO: H. R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

John Mitchell forwarded "first draft" proposal for the San Clemente Campaign Kick-Off Meeting in response to your May 1st memorandum and April 25th Action Paper.

Chapin and Parker have not yet sent an advanceman to survey San Clemente pursuant to Higby's memorandum of May 2nd. However, Mike Duval will probably go this weekend.

You may want to review and comment on Mitchell's Proposal before Parker submits the advanceman's survey and the formal schedule proposal.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE *JCH*  
SUBJECT: Proposal for Major Republican  
Conference in San Diego in  
September

It has been proposed that the President and Mrs. Nixon host a two day gathering of Republican leaders in San Diego, California, during the week after Labor Day. The purpose of the gathering would be (1) to provide an opportunity for informal discussions and meetings about campaign strategy and plans, (2) to provide an attractive and suitable forum for the initial campaign address by the President, and (3) to placate, if such is necessary, those residents of San Diego who may be disturbed over the loss of the Republican National Convention. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the points which should be considered in connection with this proposal.

1. Participants. In addition to the President and Mrs. Nixon and the candidate for Vice President and his wife, the following groups of individuals might be invited to the gathering:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Approximate Number of Individuals in the Group</u>
a. The surrogate candidates	32
b. Members of Cabinet who are not surrogate candidates (Connally, Laird and Rogers)	3
c. State campaign chairmen	50

d. State GOP chairmen	50
e. Republican Senators who are not surrogate candidates	35
f. Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates (Not including Congressmen Ashbrook, McCloskey, Schmitz and Riegle)	171
g. Republican Governors who are not surrogate candidates	17
h. Officers, Executive Committee and Members of the Republican National Committee, not including State Chairmen who are listed above	112
i. Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads	70
j. State campaign finance chairmen	50
k. State campaign executive directors	50
l. Senior members of the White House staff	15
m. Senior members of the 1701 staff	15
n. Celebrities for the President	10
o. Athletes for the President	10
p. Republican leaders not listed above, such as Mayor Lugar, Dr. Arthur Flemming, etc.	<u>10</u>
Sub-Total	700
Spouses	<u>700</u>
TOTAL	<u><u>1,400</u></u>

2. Dates. The dates proposed are Thursday, September 7, and Friday, September 8.

3. Location. It has been proposed that the meeting be held in San Diego, which would be a convenient locale for the President. It is known that adequate hotel accommodations are available and that facilities such as the Civic Center are available for the proposed dinner.

4. Format. The program might be developed, as follows:

Thursday, September 7

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Check in
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Reception and Buffet
2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Working sessions
6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Banquet (Black tie)
7:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Address by the President

Friday, September 8

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Breakfast
10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.	Working sessions
1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	Address by the Vice President
3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	Working sessions
6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Barbecue at the golf course at San Clemente
8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Entertainment and fireworks display at the golf course at San Clemente

The tenor of the weekend might be that of the "team" gathering together to discuss how they are going to win. The working sessions should be made known to the press to give the weekend credibility, but emphasis should be placed on the unity of spirit, the unanimity of support and the anticipated importance of the President's address Thursday night.

It will be recalled that President Eisenhower held a similar gathering in Gettysburg after the Republican National Convention in 1956. That precedent might be referred to when faced with the question: "Why is this meeting being held in San Diego." It could be pointed out that the President (who might arrive in San Clemente several days ahead of time) could not accommodate 1,400 people in the Western White House, so San Diego was the natural locale for the meeting.

5. Costs. The cost of the program could range between \$115,000 and \$163,000.

It was estimated that, with the exception of air travel and the banquet, the weekend would cost \$60 per couple per day. The banquet would cost approximately \$35 per person. [State dinners cost approximately \$40 per person. That price includes the printing and mailing of invitations.]

The projected cost could reach the upper end of the scale if we were to pay for the air travel expenses of the key participants. If we were to bear that expense, it would be less expensive to charter an aircraft. A chartered DC-8, which holds 141 people, would cost \$24,000. The round trip cost per capita on a chartered plane would be \$170, as compared with a cost per capita of \$310 on a commercial flight. It appears that two aircraft would be required to transport the surrogate candidates, the Members of the Cabinet, the Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Agency Heads and 1701 staff. It is assumed that the White House staff would travel on the "Spirit of '76."

6. Other activities in San Diego on September 7-8.

- a. U.S. Travel Service Convention, Town and Country Hotel, September 4-9
- b. California Police Olympics, Hilton Inn, September 5-9
- c. Provident Mutual Life Insurance Convention, Hotel Del Coronado, September 5-9.

EYES ONLY

May 1, 1972

H  
FC  
5/4

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. MITCHELL  
FROM : H.R. HALDEMAN

The President had a further idea regarding the San Clemente Kick-off meeting.

His thought was that instead of giving the acceptance speech in Miami at the Convention, he would delay it until September and give it in San Diego at the Convention Hall in conjunction with the Campaign Kick-Off.

He would, of course, go to the Convention Hall in Miami the night he is nominated and speak informally as was suggested in the television memorandum, but would say at the time that he would withhold his formal acceptance address until the San Clemente Kick-Off in September.

As you know, Bryan, Wilkie, and a number of other nominees have delivered their acceptance address at a time considerably later than the Convention. We'd have to find out if anybody who has won an election has done so. There would be some obvious advantages to this in getting us some major attention and television coverage in early September when the audiences will be bigger and the effect will be more productive to us.

Nothing should be done on this, of course, until Miami is locked, but then we might announce it so that the Californians know that this is what's coming. We could do it on the basis that the President wants to make his acceptance speech in his home state in September.

HRH:pm

**ACTION PAPER - MITCHELL**

After the move to Miami is set, we should make an announcement that the President wants to have a Campaign Kick-Off Meeting of all the campaign leaders and key candidates at his home in San Clemente.

This would be something along the lines that Eisenhower did in Gettysburg. We'll set up tents and work it all out there.

The point, though, is to get the announcement out now so as to show our interest in California at a time when they may feel we're looking the other way.

WRE:pm

4/25/72

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

May 2, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EA NARS, Date 3-31-82

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: DWIGHT CHAPIN  
DAVID PARKER

FROM: L. HIGBY

SUBJECT: Campaign Kick-Off Meeting  
in San Clemente

Bob asked me to pass on to you the fact that there is great interest in having some sort of a Campaign kick-off meeting in San Clemente in September. Basically this would be similar to what Eisenhower did in Gettysburg and probably run over a two day period. The idea would be to go out there and set up tents and have private meetings and group meetings with the big wheels, opportunities for pictures with candidates, talks with State Chairmen, National Committeemen, candidate pep talks, etc.

He has discussed this with John Mitchell and Mitchell is working out some of the details and will be getting back to Haldeman with a plan.

Bob asked that you have someone get a survey of the available facilities out there. For example, the field on the President's property needs to be leveled and grass probably planted on it or something so we can put up a tent out there to accommodate a lot of people, to see what can be done there and what needs to be done there to get ready for it.

LH:kb

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

April 3, 1972

To: *ABH - FYI*  
FOR: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN *C*

FROM: STEPHEN BULL *SB*

RE: LBJ - 1964

You asked for information regarding President Johnson's posture in 1964, the number of campaign trips he made, and some of the political commentary made in 1964 through the election period.

The purpose of this paper is an attempt to give you a general picture responsive to your inquiries. It would have been convenient merely to list trips and speeches, and give you excerpts from selected editorials. However, 1964 was a highly unusual year for a variety of reasons to be discussed so, since we are delving into the general subject, I felt that it would be beneficial to go into greater depth so that 1964 can be put in its proper perspective.

The initial perspective through which 1964 should be viewed is the tenor and tone of the times. Continuing the alliterative tempo, the times were turbulent, but they were emotional as well beginning with the assassination on November 22, 1963, with the image and recollections of that day in Dallas imprinted on the minds of the American public well into 1964.

Nineteen sixty-four was a year of great unrest, both internationally and domestically. At Tab A is a listing of principal events dominating the news from January through Election Day (November 3) which warrants review. Summarizing, on the international scene you note the anti U.S. activities in the Panama Canal Zone, French recognition of Red China and the subsequent break of relations with France by Nationalist China over this act, subversive activity by Cuba in South America, U.S. sanctions against some of its allies who had been trading with Cuba, Turkish-Cyprus unrest, the ouster of Khrushchev, war in Malaysia, coups in South America and three Southeast Asia countries, and the escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Domestically there was still the issue of the Kennedy assassination which was perpetuated by the Warren Commission inquiries, racially-motivated school boycotts, heavy Civil Rights activity throughout the Nation, the murder of Civil Rights workers and, during the summer of 1964, race riots in major cities throughout the Nation.

It is against this background that the posture of President Johnson must be contrasted, since as President he was forced to deal continuously with these problems, and either by design or political decision chose to address himself to the problems as the President rather than as the Presidential contender.

Another factor which contributed to President Johnson's posture as President was the early and furious campaign activity by the Republicans. Goldwater announced his candidacy on January 3 and was soon locked in battle in pre-primary activity. The controversial character and philosophy of Goldwater made him a purely political figure engaging in political activities and pronouncements. When he was joined in campaign activity by political adversaries of his own party, and the nature of the campaign became a great ideological internecine squabble, Republican political activity dominated the news. The Democrats, and particularly President Johnson, by contrast were casually sitting back, attempting to deal with Presidential matters, and gave the appearance of being non-political. In terms of how Johnson was being viewed, the matter of whether he was bungling the issues or not was not the question. He was dealing with issues in contrast to the Republicans who were trying to get LBJ's job.

Theodore White, who will be used as reference freely throughout the remainder of this discussion, noted that in the early days of 1964 Johnson was busy learning to be President and dealing with the issues. He was getting things done, particularly on the domestic side, through passage of the Civil Rights Act, pressing for JFK's medicare program, and declaring his own war on poverty. With regard to politics, it was not a subject of discussion in the White House and apparently no attention was being paid to the political arena. The activities in which President Johnson engaged were almost entirely non-political with the exception of some Democrat fund-raising dinners to which JFK had been committed prior to his assassination. A review of President Johnson's speeches during 1964 verifies the non-political nature of virtually every event, with the exception of the fund-raisers, up until late June. His trips out of Washington (not counting Camp David and the Ranch) were most substantive in nature and included poverty tours, tours of disaster areas, commencement speeches, and addresses to special interest groups such as the United Auto Workers. It was during such speeches that he began to develop themes that would be the basis of his campaign speeches, but you will recall that even during the October campaign period he never locked horns directly with Goldwater, preferring to keep himself on the Presidential level and addressing himself to the themes "one nation", "the great society", the "war on poverty", and the "progressive course" that the Nation was taking. Throughout the year Lyndon Johnson was the "Presidential Presence" and the challengers could not approach the immense advantage that goes with being President, as we well know.

The two incidents that could have tarnished the Presidential image of Johnson considerably were the Bobby Baker case and the matter of Walter Jenkins. With Baker it has been noted that the involvement of Republicans in some of the wrongdoings protected Johnson from being implicated too deeply. With Walter Jenkins, which became public knowledge on October 14, the incident became secondary in the news to Khrushchev's ouster. In short, on both counts, Johnson was lucky.

Contrasts are important throughout 1964. In describing Johnson's posture, the contrast between the Republican and Democrat National Conventions is dramatic. The country was exposed through the media to the unruly and boisterous Goldwater supporters who shouted down Governor Rockefeller when he tried to speak. They saw the nomination of a heretofore unknown, William Miller, as the Vice Presidential nominee, and witnessed general disunity brought to a peak within the Republican party dramatically demonstrated as Sen. Kenneth Keating walked out of the Convention to the strains of "America The Beautiful". By my own recollection the only placid and unified moment in that Convention was when Richard Nixon appeared and was given a courteous and hearty welcome by his fellow Republicans. The Democratic Convention was just as noisy and boisterous, and even had the potential for disunity because of the early activities of Black delegations and Civil Rights platform considerations. Miraculously these matters were resolved before the keynote speech and the Convention resulted in being a coronation by acclamation of LBJ as President and Hubert Humphrey as Vice President. The sticky matter of Bobby Kennedy had been resolved considerably prior to the Convention when President Johnson simply announced that no member of his Cabinet was under consideration for the Vice Presidency. It was at that point that knowledgeable political analysts considered Humphrey to be the best bet for selection and there was no great surprise, and no internal bickering, over the nomination which, incidentally, President Johnson personally made at the Atlantic City Convention.

It should be noted that during the Republican National Convention President Johnson spent a casual week in Washington, twice called in reporters for non-newsworthy news conferences ("I don't have anything for you, but I thought I'd visit with you again") and left at the end of the week for the LBJ Ranch. There on the Ranch he held a lawnchair news conference, but this time had a few things to say. For the third time since the original budget message of 1963 he cut his estimate of deficit spending for fiscal 1964, and then launched a condemnation of "organized violence by small groups" intent on disrupting Civil Rights progress. His comments were interpreted as reflecting upon Goldwater's candidacy, but they were subtle enough to avoid bearing the stigma of a political response.

Earlier, reference was made to the non-political nature of President Johnson's trips up until late June. There was one swing at that time when he had a number of fund-raisers, but the first overt political event, not considering the Convention, was not until Labor Day when he addressed a Labor Day crowd in Detroit's Cadillac Square. Thereafter, he again returned to his Presidential posture and seemed to be avoiding political activities. Although Humphrey and surrogates were actively engaged politicking, the President was meeting with the Prime Minister of Canada, the President of Mexico, and engaged in such activities as visits to SAC bases with the Sec. Gen. of NATO. Again, the non-political nature of his activities and speeches is easily verified by an inspection of the Public Papers of the President - 1964.

After an interlude of approximately one month after Labor Day, Johnson hit the campaign trail on October 6 at a rally at North Carolina State. His activity became fast and furious from that point on and between October 6 and Election Day he campaigned all but five days, travelled approximately 30,000 miles, and engaged in 68 clearly-identifiable political events throughout the country. (A total listing of all events interpreted as being political from January through November 3, 1964, is attached at Tab B.)

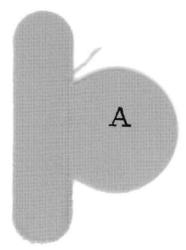
Since this is not intended to be a political analysis of Johnson's campaign, I will not belabor the campaign speeches. I merely refer to the earlier comments on the nature of President Johnson's campaign events. He drew huge crowds but spoke on a Presidential level. I cannot find any evidence that he ever referred to his opponent by name, and he seldom if ever refuted or offered rebuttal to Goldwater's campaign statements. He remained on a high plane, spoke on a positive note and, by contrast to Goldwater who suffered from foot and mouth disease (a condition which was exacerbated by a generally unfavorable Press), President Johnson appeared to be the stable leader amidst the storm of the turbulent times and the rhetoric of the right-wing extremists.

Regarding political commentary on Johnson's posture in 1964, there seemed to be very little of it. His well-timed activities and avoidance of overt political activities cast him in the light of being a non-political figure. The irony of such a statement about LBJ, perhaps one of the most political, political figures of our modern age, is almost outrageous, but that is how things seemed to appear in 1964.

While he and his staff may have planned this non-political posture, they were certainly helped along by the Republicans' political activity and the media interpretation and misinterpretation of their activities. To summarize 1964 in a sentence, the Republicans dominated the political news for most of the year while President Johnson dominated the hard news.

These past observations are based on what I must admit to being a superficial inspection of various documents and publications. I also have a certain built-in bias in interpreting LBJ's activities since I am aware that we wish to have President Nixon stay on that Presidential plane where he is right now. I sincerely believe that there are great similarities now between 1972 and 1964 where President Nixon now is being the President, dealing with the problems, and being reported on the hard news spectrum of the media. By contrast the Democrats have become the real political animals now and are dominating the political news. In short, the situations are reversed between 1964 and 1972, at least as far as the Republicans and Democrats are concerned.

I would hesitate to conclude that the key to a record-breaking popular majority vote such as LBJ obtained in 1964 is to avoid the political arena, but one lesson might be to recognize the institution of the Presidency as a powerful tool and vehicle which only one man, the incumbent, can utilize. We saw how Johnson used it in 1964. The candidacy of Goldwater, by contrast, made LBJ seem even more "Presidential". We may not enjoy the luxury of a "left-wing Goldwater" who will terrify the Nation and allow President Nixon to contrast himself so favorably as LBJ did against Goldwater. But President Nixon is the President, is doing things and, unlike 1964, is doing them right. His opponents now are tearing themselves apart and groveling about in shopping centers for votes while the President is bringing the troops home from Vietnam and holding Press Conferences in the grandeur of the Oval Office. It is a great contrast.



PRINCIPAL EVENTS DOMINATING THE NEWS

January

3 Goldwater announces  
7 British sell busses to Cuba  
8 "War on Poverty" announced in first LBJ State of the Union  
9 Riots in Canal Zone break U.S./Panamanian relations  
16 RFK Far East Peace Mission  
21 LBJ linked to Baker case  
27 France recognizes Red China  
28 Soviets down US jet that strayed into E. Germany  
30 Diem overthrow (VN)

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: GALLUP: 80% Approve

February

3 Warren Commission hearings begin  
3 Civil Rights groups boycott NYC schools  
5 LBJ Consumer Message  
6 Cuba stops Guantanamo water  
7 Mistrial declared in Medgar Evers murder trial  
10 Nationalist China breaks relations with France over  
recognition of PRC  
10 LBJ pressed for medical care  
14 Khrushchev assails PRC  
17 Jack Ruby convicted  
18 U.S. cuts aid to 5 nations trading with Cuba  
19 Bobby Baker refuses to testify  
24 OAS upholds subversion charge against Cuba

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: GALLUP: 75% Approve  
HARRIS: 83% Approve - 17% Disapprove

March

1 Chou tours Asia, Africa  
3 Malaysian talks fail  
4 Hoffa sentenced to prison  
9 Cambodian-U.S. dispute  
11 U.S. plane downed in E. Germany  
16 2nd New York school boycott  
16 U.S. backs new SVN govt.  
16 LBJ "War on Poverty" Message - establishment of OEO  
17 WH announces increased military & economic aid to SVN  
23 LBJ warns against inflation  
25 Fulbright urges U.S. Foreign Policy change  
25 Brazilian military coup  
25 UN peace-keeping force to Cyprus  
26 McNamara reaffirms U.S. commitment to SVN  
27 Alaskan earthquake  
28 King Saud loses power

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: GALLUP: 73% Approve

April

3 Melenkov and Molotov expelled  
4 U.S. -Panama resume ties  
5 Gen. MacArthur dies  
7 8 steel companies indicted for price fixing  
8 LBJ settles rail strike  
12 Khrushchev asks bloc unity vs, PRC  
15 SEATO supports SVN  
16 Colombian Canal considered  
19 Laos coup  
19 Castro charges U.S. U-2 flights continue  
20 U.S. -USSR to cut production of atomic arms material  
20 Cleveland schools boycotted  
22 World's Fair "stall-in"  
22 British-Soviet spy exchange  
28 LBJ asks Appalachia aid

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: GALLUP: 77% Approve

May

7 LBJ visits Appalachia  
9 Unrest in S. Korea  
11 LBJ pledge to Latin America through Alliance For Progress  
12 McNamara reports to LBJ on SVN and recommends  
increased assistance  
14 U.S. tightens Cuban curbs  
19 U.S. Embassy in Moscow bugged  
19 AFL-CIO opposes wage guidelines  
21 UN Ambassador Stevenson states US position on SVN  
26 Thant deplores A-Bomb talk re: SVN  
27 Nehru dies

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: GALLUP: 75% Approve  
HARRIS: 78% Approve - 22% Disapprove

June

1 U.S. Conference in Honolulu on SVN  
2 Ceasefire in Laos sought  
3 LBJ cites U.S. might  
3 Martial law in S. Korea  
5 LBJ warns Turkey on Cyprus invasion  
12 Soviet-East German pact  
19 EMK injured in plane crash  
20 Malaysia talks collapse  
22 Civil Rights workers missing in Mississippi  
22 State Dept. reiterates U.S. commitment to SVN  
22 LBJ mediation on Cyprus  
25 RFK hailed in Europe  
25 Racial violence in Florida

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: GALLUP: 74% Approve

July

2 Castro's sister defects  
8 Announcement of increasing U.S. casualties in SVN  
8 Thant urges reconvening of Geneva Conference for VN situation  
13-16 Goldwater & Miller nominated  
15 Mikoyan Soviet President  
18 Racial violence in NYC  
19 Wallace withdraws from Presidential race  
22 US support for Malaysia vs. Indonesia announced  
24 LBJ & Goldwater agree to avoid exacerbating racial tensions  
24 LBJ rejects DeGaulle neutrality plan for SVN  
26 OAS imposes sanctions on Cuba  
30 LBJ bars RFK as VP

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: HARRIS: 72% Approve - 28% Disapprove

August

2 U.S. planes attack in Gulf of Tomkin  
2 Racial violence in N.J.  
5 U.S. -NVN debate in UN  
6 New SVN govt.  
7 Turkish planes hit Cyprus  
8 UN gets Cyprus ceasefire  
16 Racial violence in Chicago suburb  
18 Excise tax cuts proposed  
25 RFK enters NY Senate race  
28 Racial violence in Philadelphia

PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: HARRIS: 75% Approve - 25% Disapprove

1/- we will  
try to get the  
Popular opinion  
for these months.  
c

September

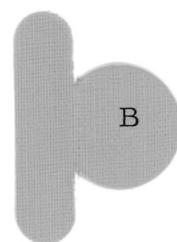
- 3 Goldwater opens campaign
- 7 LBJ opens campaign in Detroit
- 7 Chrysler settlement averts strike
- 10 Congo Peace Plan fails
- 14 Agreement on Yemen Truce
- 14 Whites boycott NYC schools
- 16 Thurmond joins GOP
- 16 Geneva disarmament talks recessed
- 18 More action in Tonkin Gulf
- 25 GM strike
- 27 Warren Commission declares Kennedy assassination  
Oswald's work alone
- 29 Rusk predicts Chinese A-Bomb

October

- 1 Dock strike halted by Taft-Hartley
- 2 4 Mississippi police indicted in Civil Rights case
- 14 Walter Jenkins scandal
- 14 Khrushchev stripped of power
- 15 204 U.S. killed in SVN since Jan. '64
- 16 PRC tests A-Bomb
- 20 Herbert Hoover dies
- 31 LBJ sees "Great Society"

November

- 1 US base in SVN mortared
- 3 LBJ wins by largest popular vote margin



<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>
<u>1964</u>	
Feb. 27	Fund-Raising Dinner - Miami, Fla.
Mar. 19	Dem. Congressional Dinner - Washington, D.C.
April 23	Fund-Raising Dinner - Chicago, Ill.
April 30	Remarks to Campaign Conference for Democratic Women - Washington, D.C.
May 9	Fund-Raising Dinner - Atlantic City, N.J.
May 26	Salute to President Johnson - Washington, D.C.
May 28	Salute to President Johnson - New York, N.Y.
June 19	Fund-Raising Dinner - San Francisco, Calif.
June 20	Fund-Raising Dinner - Los Angeles, Calif.
June 26	Fund-Raising Dinner - Detroit, Michigan
June 27	Address Dem. Farmers League - St. Paul, Minn.
June 28	Fund-Raising Dinner - Minneapolis, Minn.
Aug. 26-28	Democratic National Convention - Atlantic City, N.J.
Sept. 1	Executive Board of AFL-CIO - White House
Sept. 3	National Independent Committee for Johnson/Humphrey - White House
Sept. 10	Fund-Raising Dinner - Harrisburg, Pa.
Sept. 14	Rural America for LBJ/HHH - White House
Sept. 28	Address - Times Building - Hartford, Conn.
Sept. 28	Airport Remarks - Burlington, Vt.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>
Oct. 6	Rally - N. C. State Univ. Coliseum - Raleigh, N.C.
Oct. 7	Rally - State Capitol - Des Moines, Iowa
Oct. 7	Rally - Downtown - Peoria, Ill.
Oct. 7	Airport Remarks - Chicago, Ill.
Oct. 8	Remarks - Downtown Square - Indianapolis, Ind.
Oct. 8	Remarks - Convention Center - Cleveland, Ohio
Oct. 9	Remarks - Court House - Louisville, Kentucky
Oct. 9	Remarks - War Memorial Building - Nashville, Tenn.
Oct. 9	Remarks - Union Passenger Terminal - New Orleans, La.
Oct. 9	Dinner Rally Remarks - New Orleans, La.
Oct. 11	Airport Remarks - Phoenix, Ariz.
Oct. 11	Rally - Southgate Municipal Auditorium - Long Beach, Calif.
Oct. 11	Rally - Washington Square - San Francisco, Calif.
Oct. 11	Rally - Convention Center - Las Vegas, Nevada
Oct. 12	Rally - Outside State Building - Reno, Nevada
Oct. 12	Rally - Civic Center - Butte, Montana
Oct. 12	Rally - Courthouse Square - Casper, Wyoming
Oct. 12	Rally - Denver Coliseum - Denver, Col.
Oct. 12	Airport Rally - Boise, Idaho

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>
Oct. 14	Rally - Bergen Mall Shopping Center - Bergen, N.J.
Oct. 14	Airport Rally - Wilkes-Barre-Scranton, Pa.
Oct. 14	Remarks - Al Smith Dinner - New York, N.Y.
Oct. 15	Airport Rally - Rochester, N.Y.
Oct. 15	Rally - Outside City Hall - Buffalo, N.Y.
Oct. 15	Motorcade and Speeches through Brooklyn Area - New York
Oct. 16	Airport Rally - Cincinnati, Ohio
Oct. 16	Rally - Government Square - Cincinnati, Ohio
Oct. 16	Rally - Outside Montgomery County Courthouse - Dayton, Ohio
Oct. 21	Remarks - Memorial Hall, Univ. of Akron - Akron, Ohio
Oct. 21	Rally - Outside Belleville County Courthouse - Belleville, Ill.
Oct. 21	Motorcade - E. St. Louis, Mo.
Oct. 21	Rally - Outside Old Post Office - St. Louis, Mo.
Oct. 24	Rally - Downtown - Memphis, Tenn.
Oct. 24	Airport Rally - Chattanooga, Tenn.
Oct. 24	Rally - Baltimore Coliseum - Baltimore, Md.
Oct. 25	Rally - DePont Plaza Hotel - Miami, Fla.
Oct. 26	Rally - Colonial Plaza Shopping Center - Orlando, Fla.
Oct. 26	Rally - Hemming Park - Jacksonville, Fla.
Oct. 26	Rally - Outside City Hall - Macon, Ga.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>
Oct. 26	Rally - Outside County Building - Augusta, Ga.
Oct. 26	Rally - Outside State Capitol Building - Columbia, S.C.
Oct. 27	Rally - Downtown - Boston, Mass.
Oct. 27	Rally - Civic Center - Pittsburgh, Pa.
Oct. 27	Airport Rally - Evansville, Ind.
Oct. 28	Rally - Outside Johnson Gymnasium - Albuquerque, N. M.
Oct. 28	Rally - Outside City Hall - Los Angeles, Calif.
Oct. 28	Rally - Outside Riverside County Courthouse - Riverside, Calif.
Oct. 28	Rally - Platt Building - San Bernadino, Calif.
Oct. 28	Airport Rally - San Diego, Calif.
Oct. 29	Airport Rally - Wichita, Kansas
Oct. 29	Address - Convention Hall - Philadelphia, Pa.
Oct. 30	Airport Rally - Detroit, Mich.
Oct. 30	Rally - Kosciusko Park - Milwaukee, Wisc.
Oct. 30	Airport Rally - Rockford, Ill.
Oct. 30	Rally - Chicago Stadium - Chicago, Ill.
Oct. 31	Rally - Outside Old State House - Dover, Del.
Oct. 31	Airport Rally - Wilmington, Del.
Oct. 31	Motorcade through Long Island area - New York
Oct. 31	Rally - Madison Square Garden - New York, N. Y.

DATE

EVENT

Nov. 2 Rally - Music Hall Parking Lot - Houston, Tex.  
Nov. 2 Address - Sam Houston High School - Houston, Tex.  
Nov. 2 Rally - Foley Shopping Center - Pasadena, Tex.  
Nov. 2 Rally - Outside State Capitol Building - Austin, Tex.  
Nov. 3 Victory Speech - Municipal Auditorium - Austin, Tex.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

April 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LARRY HIGBY  
FROM: JOHN DEAN  
SUBJECT: Political Contributions by ITT Employees

This is in further response to your memoranda requesting information regarding contributions by officers and directors of ITT to either political party in 1968 and to any of the Democratic Presidential candidates thus far in 1972.

We have just completed an extensive examination of the principal officers and directors of ITT and its subsidiaries which reveals that the two individuals named in my memorandum of April 5, Felix Rohatyn, a member of the Board of Directors of ITT, and Winston Morrow, Jr., Chairman of Avis, are the only officers or directors of ITT or its subsidiaries to have contributed \$100 or more to a 1972 Democratic Presidential candidate.

Insofar as contributions which were made in 1968 by officers and directors of ITT and its subsidiaries are concerned, the available information, although limited, is attached. Unfortunately, we were forced to rely on information which was compiled by the Citizens Research Foundation of Princeton, New Jersey from reports filed with the Clerk of the House in 1968. The 1968 records are, by statute, only open for public inspection for two years and have been sealed and sent to the Archives for storage for fifty years. *great!*

In analyzing the attached information, you will note that the contributions were predominately made to Republican organizations, and that the names of Felix Rohatyn and Winston Morrow are conspicuously absent from the list. It must be remembered, however, that the reporting requirements

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

for campaign contributions were for all intents and purposes virtually non-existent in 1968, and thus it cannot be assumed with any degree of certainty that this list accurately reflects either the total amount contributed by the individuals named, or the identity of all persons associated with ITT or its subsidiaries who may have contributed to either party in 1968. Maurice Stans believes that the big money from ITT to the Democrats in 1968 was probably given in cash.

As the reporting requirements of the Campaign Spending Bill became effective Friday, April 7, we will now have access to complete information regarding contributions made to Democrat Presidential candidates, and we will keep you informed of any future contributions which may be made to them by ITT officials.

Attachment

Richard E. Bennett, Member, Board of Directors, ITT  
Executive Vice President, ITT  
\$650 - Republican National Committee  
\$650 - Democratic National Committee

Pomeroy Day, Member, Board of Directors, ITT  
\$950 - Republican National Committee

Francis J. Dunleavy, Member, Board of Directors, ITT  
Executive Vice President, ITT  
\$500 - Republican National Committee  
\$500 - Democratic National Committee

Harold S. Geneen, Chairman and President, ITT  
\$1,000 - Republican National Finance Committee  
\$ 500 - Republican Governors Club of New York

Arthur M. Hill, Member, Board of Directors, ITT  
\$1,000 - Republican Congressional Boosters Club

John A. McCone, Member, Board of Directors, ITT  
\$2,000 - Republican Victory 68 Committee  
\$1,000 - Republican National Finance Committee  
\$ 500 - Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee

Henry G. Busignies, Senior Vice President and Chief Scientist, ITT  
\$ 500 - Democratic National Committee

Edward J. Gerrity, Jr., Senior Vice President, ITT  
\$2,000 - Republican Victory 68 Committee  
\$ 500 - Republican Governors Club of New York

John Hanway, II, Senior Vice President, ITT  
\$ 750 - Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee

Herbert C. Knortz, Senior Vice President and Comptroller, ITT  
\$ 500 - Republican Congressional Committee  
\$ 500 - Republican Senatorial Committee  
\$ 300 - Republican National Finance Committee  
\$ 500 - Republican National Committee

Samuel H. Hellenbrand, Vice President, ITT  
\$1,000 - Democratic Presidential Club

**Robert H. Smith, Vice President, ITT**

**\$1,000 - Republican Victory 68 Committee**

**\$1,500 - Humphrey for President Committee**

**\$3,000 - Humphrey for President Committee**

**Edward R. Wallace, Vice President, ITT**

**\$1,500 - Republican State Dinner Committee of New York**

**Winston Morrow, Jr., Chairman and President, Avis Rent A Car System, Inc.**

**\$ 500 - Humphrey for President Committee**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



EYES ONLY

April 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN EHRLICHMAN

FROM:

ED HARPER 

SUBJECT:

Campaign Strategy Meeting

The Campaign Strategy Committee is meeting this evening at 6:30 p. m. in the South Lounge at the Sheraton Carlton Hotel to get a preview of the Advertising Group's strategy for the general election campaign.

There is no one on the Committee who knows anything about the substance of the President's programs, according to Len Garment who is a member of the Committee. Since John Mitchell, as the campaign goes along, may be getting (semi-) substantive decisions made in telephone conversations with the President about campaign strategy, it might be useful if someone from the substantive side were involved in these strategy meetings to know where there will be pressures to change substantive domestic policy.

Len Garment suggested that I call this to your attention and further suggested that you see if I might be invited to the meeting. I would not mind doing this, but think that it might be more effective if you sat in on the meeting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you call John Mitchell and suggest that it might be mutually advantageous if you sat in on the campaign strategy meeting this evening. 

ELH:ppd



REPORT OF THE  
CONVENTION TV COMMITTEE

"....There is something about a national convention that makes it as fascinating as a revival or a hanging. It is vulgar, it is ugly, it is stupid, it is tedious...and yet it is somehow charming. One sits through long sessions wishing heartily that all the delegates were dead and in hell--and then suddenly there comes a show so gaudy and hilarious, so melodramatic and obscene, so unimaginably exhilarating and preposterous that one lives a gorgeous year in an hour."

H. L. Mencken

December 6, 1971

✓ Note

In our early discussions, we were asked to "throw away the book" and think purely in terms of the impact of the convention in 60 million living rooms.

On that basis, we have addressed ourselves to a single question: How can we best use these free network hours to present the most powerful and persuasive case for the re-election of the President?

If the answer requires departure from past rules and traditions, we have assumed that this is no barrier.

At the outset, certain basic considerations about TV coverage in 1972 should be noted:

Competition. The national political convention is no longer a TV novelty that people will watch out of curiosity or because they have no other choice. In 1972 ABC will be presenting entertainment shows, and most viewers will also have a choice of movies, sports or other attractive programs on independent stations or cable TV. In short, we are like any other TV show:

People will watch us if we are interesting and exciting and will tune us out if we are dull.

Suspense. In 1972 the main event will have been decided before the show starts. Even if there is any doubt about the choice of Vice President, that will not help us on the first two nights. Lacking the <sup>1</sup>key element of suspense, we can hold viewers only if we develop excitement, emotion and pace.

The Young Audience. For some 20 million young adults this will be the first time they will have watched a convention as potential voters. In that sense, it will be their first significant exposure to the Republican Party in action. They will judge us by what they see, and if we come across as dull or phony, many will walk away from us right then and there. On the other hand, we have a great opportunity to prove to the young people that the party of Richard Nixon is honest, forthright, forward-looking and concerned.

With the above points in mind, we are attaching suggestions for each of the three evening sessions. We are also supplying the reasoning behind each of the specific recommendations. With regard to all three nights, however, our suggestions reflect the following general guidelines:

1. We should concentrate on the prime evening hours when the great TV audience is at home and ready to watch. All the routine

and dull business should either be eliminated entirely or scheduled in the morning sessions. This would include all "in house" items like expressions of appreciation to convention officials, presentation of special badges, and reports of committee chairmen.

2. The night-time line-up should consist of the most attractive and persuasive people we have. This may involve some hurt feelings, but we should be as firm as we possibly can in choosing persons who can go on camera and really come across.
3. Speeches can be an archaic form of communication. Except for the President's acceptance address, and possibly the Vice President's, no long speech made at the convention will hold an audience, either in the living room or on the convention floor. In the convention hall, delegates can mingle in the aisles or read newspapers during a speech. At home, they need only flick the dial. "Harry, see what else is on."
4. At any first night, the stars in the audience often generate more interest than those on

the stage. At a convention the speakers on the podium are very important, but the camera is often on the delegates and guests. Who they are and what they are doing can be a vital element in the total impression of the convention.

MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 21

Chairman Dole will call the convention to order at 5:30 p.m. The preliminary proceedings should have an accent on youth. A young clergyman for the invocation and perhaps an 18-year old delegate for the Pledge of Allegiance. More importantly, we recommend that the Star Spangled Banner be sung by a youthful singing group, perhaps the Young Americans, 60 or 80 strong. They could have entertained during the pre-TV warm-up period and could also be booked for a song during the evening (This Land Is My Land, for instance).

It is particularly recommended that a section be reserved within ready camera range for prominent Americans. We should have all the entertainment celebrities we can muster, but we should also have persons prominent in other fields. These could include astronauts, athletes, Medal of Freedom winners, clergymen, and well-known minority representatives including representatives of older Americans. Ideally the camera would focus on this group during the singing of the national anthem, and at other times and might occasionally super-impose names as individuals came into close-ups. In any event, the presence of persons like Bob Hope, Glen Campbell, Frank Sinatra, Neil Armstrong, Pearl Bailey, Billy Graham, Vida Blue, Bart Starr, Johnny Unitas, Arnold Palmer, etc. would have to attract the cameras from time to time and be duly noted by the audience. This "Famous Americans" section should be filled all three nights.

The main business on Monday night traditionally has been the keynote address which this committee regards as an anachronism and a sure tuner-outer. Instead, we propose a "report to the nation" in two parts - the first, domestic and the second, foreign.

We recommend that the domestic report be handled by a team of four, each from a different part of the country.

Since this is the opening act of the convention, we recommend that we use big guns -- Gov. Rockefeller, Gov. Reagan, Sen. Brooke, Sen. Howard Baker. If a moderator is needed, it could be Sen. Dole, or the temporary chairman who should, of course, be one of our most attractive people. The talks would be a maximum of 5 minutes each, hard hitting, and geared to applause lines.

Part II would portray President Nixon the Peacemaker, and we recommend a 12 minute film introduced by Ambassador Bush.

Visually, the President's world travels make very exciting film footage whether he is in a public square or visiting a Pope or a king. Moreover, it is to be hoped that we will have special footage including an inside look, in connection with the Peking and Moscow trips.

The theme of the film will be forward looking, and thus the "keynote" of the evening will end on an upbeat note

looking to the future, a continuation of President Nixon's journey for peace.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE FIRST LADY

For the closing section of Monday night, we propose something that is long overdue and for which the convention and the country will be ready and eager: A salute to the First Lady. The committee is unanimous in its feeling that Americans of all parties are becoming increasingly appreciative of the superb qualities of the First Lady. What we propose is that the convention formally recognize her contribution to her country and to her family. It could be as warm and moving a tribute as has been seen anywhere in recent years, particularly because the country is ready for it.

Specifically we suggest that a proper spokesman, perhaps Jimmy Stewart, be recognized for a special report. His theme could be that this convention is here to nominate a president. In so doing, it will also nominate a First Lady. The country has been blessed with having a man of the hour in the White House. We have also been blessed with a First Lady of extraordinary gifts and character, etc. Stewart would then present either a five minute motion picture film about Mrs. Nixon or perhaps a series of still photos showing Mrs. Nixon in various aspects of her activities, domestic and overseas, including her role as wife and mother.

At the close, a delegate could be recognized for

the purpose of introducing a resolution of appreciation and affection for the First Lady which would be passed by a thundering voice vote and a demonstration. At that point, Mrs. Nixon would walk into the spotlight and be presented to the convention. As the demonstration proceeded, she would be joined by Tricia and Julie and then perhaps by her two sons-in-law. Mrs. Nixon's remarks could be as brief as she might wish. One appropriate theme could be that this recognition of her is really recognition of all women who serve in the government.

Properly presented, this tribute could be a magnificent closing moment for opening night.

TUESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 23

We recommend that the Star Spangled Banner be sung by Johnny Cash and that it be preceded by one of his very effective patriotic monologues. Cash could make this a show stopper, and he could be called on for an encore later in the evening.

Nomination of the President.

The business of Tuesday evening is the uncontested re-nomination of an incumbent president. This should be the most exciting moment of any convention, yet because the outcome is known in advance, the re-nomination procedure can be artificial and dull.

In 1956 Ike had a full nominating speech and 8 full seconding speeches. So did LBJ in 1964.

The committee considered the possibility of eliminating all nominating and seconding speeches in favor of nomination by acclamation. However, although this idea has considerable appeal, we have concluded it is not practical. Instead we recommend that the nominating speech be limited to 10 minutes at the very most and that there be only 5 or 6 seconding speeches, each no longer than 2 minutes at most.

In choosing seconding speakers, the most important test should be how they project. One of them should certainly be in the 18-21 age group; at least two should be women; and

minority groups, including the elderly, should be represented. Hopefully, at least one-half could be non-political persons.

If it appears necessary to increase the number to 8, then each should be cut down to 60 to 90 seconds. This would give each one ample time to state a specific reason for supporting President Nixon.

### Demonstration

As the highlight of the evening, we strongly recommend that as soon as he is nominated, the President leave San Clemente by helicopter and proceed to the Convention to express his thanks. (He would announce that his formal acceptance speech would be made the following night.)

The announcement that the President is leaving San Clemente should trigger the major demonstration of the evening, building up to the climatic arrival of the helicopter.

The TV coverage would include his leaving San Clemente, and we would recommend that an accompanying helicopter furnish live coverage of the flight, including shots of the La Jolla Hills and San Diego skyline as he approaches.

While the President is en route, a demonstration would be going on in the hall, and we propose that some one suggest from the podium that the delegates and guests should proceed to the parking lot to greet the President when he touches down. The band would then lead a massive parade out of the hall, with the delegates carrying their stanchions. This in itself would make an exciting TV sequence.

We also suggest that the convention committee arrange for outside music and a large group of young people to be gathered in the parking area. These could be families of the delegates or other loyal young Republicans from California. (We understand that the available area will be huge and that the parking lot is fenced and secure.)

An area would be roped off for the landing, where the President would be greeted by members of his family and by convention officials, all to the cheers of the 20,000 people gathered in the parking area.

As soon as the cheering and demonstration quieted down, the President could speak from a platform which can be placed near the helicopter.

Thus, the wind up of the night's proceedings would take place outdoors, Benediction and all. This should be a very unusual and exciting ending as the President and Mrs. Nixon board the chopper and take off into the night. Dissolve.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 23

Under the schedule we have proposed, the program for Wednesday evening would consist of the nominations for vice president, roll call, and the acceptance speech by the vice presidential nominee. Then the grand finale would be the acceptance speech of the President.

From a television standpoint, the committee is not in a position at this time to make any specific recommendations about the handling of the vice presidential nomination since it is not known whether there will be a contest.

If there is a real contest for vice president, or even a nominal contest, the traditional procedure for speeches and roll calls would have to be followed. However, if it is known that there will be no opposition to the nominee, then we must consider whether to adopt the Tuesday night precedent of nomination by acclamation. Clearly no recommendation or decision can be made at this time.

Whatever else may happen on Wednesday night, the big event will be the President's acceptance speech, and it is important that every effort be made to schedule it not later than 7 p.m. Pacific Time. Therefore, if there is uncertainty about the duration of the vice presidential proceedings, we may wish to begin the evening session earlier

than usual on this final night. We understand that there will be no morning session on Wednesday, and therefore, it would be plausible to open the single session as early as 4:30 or even 4 p.m.

After all, the great final TV shot at the convention will be the picture of the President and his running mate, joined by their wives and all the party leaders such as Reagan and Rockefeller, in a final visual demonstration of unity and enthusiasm. This should be on the national screen not later than 10:30 p.m. in the east.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

Young Delegates and Alternates. It is not this committee's province, but we certainly would favor a national committee policy which would encourage state delegates to include young delegates and alternates. Better yet, it might well be that the President could request the RNC to adopt such a policy at its upcoming meeting. From a TV standpoint, the presence of many young delegates, including some in the 18 - 21 bracket, would be an important plus.

Reading of Roll Calls. To relieve monotony and provide some variety and representation of various minorities, could the Convention appoint a number of attractive Assistant Secretaries, each of whom could participate in the reading of the Roll Calls?

Visual backdrop. The backdrop behind the podium is an important visual effect. Traditionally it has been a giant photograph of the incumbent, but the committee unanimously believes that something different should be done this year. The overexposure of such a picture can be counter productive, both in the hall and on TV. Fred Reinstein is looking into the practicality of a changeable backdrop and we will make a further report.

Mexican Americans. Because of San Diego's proximity to Mexico, it seems particularly appropriate that some special recognition be given to Mexican Americans. As a minimum, there should be one Mexican American clergyman for the invocation, and a Mexican American should recite the Pledge of Allegiance.

Clergywoman. The assistant chaplain of Vanderbilt University is a 25 year old girl.

She or someone like her might be chosen for the invocation on one of the evenings.

Documentary Film. Consideration has been given to a 30 minute documentary film which will be produced for the Campaign and which will tell the full story of the Nixon years; however, we would have no guarantee that the networks would not cut away from a half-hour film, even though we showed it in the hall as part of the program. In any event, we believe that the mixture of film and live that we have outlined for Monday night is just as effective.

Finally, if the documentary proves to be a powerful film, it should perhaps be saved for intensive use in October, particularly in the key states. If we fire this gun in August, it may have lost its effectiveness during the last crucial days when we get down to the wire.

Flexibility. It is recognized, of course, that unforeseen events in the next months can affect the recommendations of this report.

In particular, the proceedings at the Democratic Convention could well have an effect on our own planning and might require revisions.

Evening News Shows. Because of the time zone difference, the network evening news programs will be carried as usual in the east and midwest. This means that they can include film footage from the morning sessions. As the morning schedule develops, plans should be made to insure at least one newsworthy or colorful event that is susceptible to TV coverage. This committee will be glad to assist in this when more is known about the morning schedule, such as the possibility of disputes about rules or credentials.

**TALKING PAPER - JOHN EHRLICHMAN**

**Purpose of Meeting from our Standpoint:**

1. To establish some permanent ongoing mechanism for execution and continual follow-up on key issues. We tried something like this with Morgan, et al, after the 1970 State of the Union with mixed success. It should be tried again -- this time with a purely political emphasis, involving all White House people rather than primarily those from the Domestic Council. This must be a White House, not just a Domestic Council activity.
2. To establish Malek as your man to deal with on follow up mechanism.
3. To review and clarify, if necessary, the points that were made in the President's memo.

**Desired Outcome:**

For Ehrlichman to agree that Cole, Malek, and Colson should submit their proposal for follow up mechanism including names of specific individuals to you and John by Friday of this week.

LH:pm

4/18/72

Committee for the Re-election of the President



MEMORANDUM

April 14, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

~~MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN~~ L

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR. R

SUBJECT:

Offers of Assistance

Perhaps I didn't make the point I meant to make in my memorandum on what we do in response to those people who seek staff positions here in Washington. When we write them back saying that no positions are currently available, we refer in the letter to the Nixon State Chairman and ask that they contact him. Then, we send a blind copy of our letter to the applicant to our State Chairman asking him to follow-up. In states where there is no Nixon State Chairman yet, we refer them to the Republican State Chairman and hold a second copy of the letter for the Nixon State Chairman at such time as his appointment is confirmed. I totally agree with you that the thousands of people we have heard from throughout the country should be put to work in the field and that is the whole point of our correspondence section.

April 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROB ODLE

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT:

Offers of Assistance

We read your memorandum of April 7th regarding the volume of offers of assistance and the Campaign's response. You should not be dissuaded by young people seeking staff positions with the National Campaign in Washington. Instead, these people should be put to work in their states rather than being brought to Washington. If they are truly interested they will volunteer where they are needed - in the field.

GS/jb  
F/U 4/17

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

F  
w/FO  
to my  
memo  
yesterday  
to Odle

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN  
FROM: L. HIGBY L

What happens to all the letters that we submit to Rob Odle? Obviously, 99 percent of them simply receive a reply saying we have placed your name on our active file and if something comes up we will get in touch with you. This is probably a pretty unsatisfactory way to handle this thing. Does Odle have any system for sending these letters directly from the National Committee to the State organizations, or better yet, the precinct or local organizations in the area where the people write from letting the local people know that they want to help and that some contact should be made. This is probably a good way to pick up a number of volunteers, yet I doubt if it is being done.

Please let me know.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/18

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Peter Dailey's assistant, Phil  
Joanou "clears" the text of these  
fact sheets with the NSC (John  
Lehman) and the Domestic Council  
(Ed Harper and Len Garment).

**Revenue Sharing:** The President has proposed a dramatically new program that would cause power to flow back to local officials away from the Federal Government. The program features the sharing of Federal tax revenues with State and Local governments, with no strings attached.

**Older Americans:** The President has developed a strategy to increase Social Security benefits to the nation's elderly by one-third. He has advanced programs to enable more of the elderly to live in their own homes, to improve nursing home care, and increase jobs for older people.

**Health Care:** President Nixon's proposals will make health care available to *everyone*, with the emphasis on *keeping* people well as well as taking care of the sick. He is leading the fight to eliminate cancer and sickle cell anemia.

**Drugs:** The President is negotiating the end of opium production in Turkey. He has an agreement with France to help stop the traffic of drugs. He has stepped up arrests of pushers. He is spending 6 times more for rehabilitation and 5 times more for drug education than ever before.

**Foreign Policy:** President Nixon is the first American President to visit China. The talks were the first between leaders of the countries since 1949. He will also visit Moscow this year. His administration has brought crisis diplomacy to an end, opened negotiations to limit reduced tension in nuclear weapons, and the Middle East.

**America Needs  
President Nixon.  
And the President  
Needs You.**

Paid for by Finance Committee for the Re-election of President Nixon  
Hugh Sloan Jr., Chairman, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.,  
Washington, D.C. 20006

**Re-elect  
the President.**

# The Record

**Vietnam:** The President has brought 400,000 Americans home from Vietnam. He has reduced American ground combat involvement by 90%. He has reduced casualties by 95%. He has reduced spending by two-thirds. He has laid the foundations for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia.

**The Economy:** President Nixon has taken strong steps to flatten inflation, change the tax structure, and avert an international money crisis. He created 125,000 more jobs, caused \$1.5 billion to be loaned to small business. He initiated a 90-day freeze on wages and prices. Housing starts are up 42% over last year.

**Welfare Reform:** The present welfare system strips the recipient of dignity and promises no end to the vicious welfare cycle. President Nixon has proposed a major change in the system. His program provides training and work incentives, and it would prevent the break-up of families and relieve the mounting burden on taxpayers.

**The Environment:** President Nixon is the first President to really do something about our environment. He has proposed 25 separate bills regarding our environment. He has initiated plans and programs that are *working* against air pollution, water pollution, waste disposal, radiation and noise pollution.

**Young Americans:** President Nixon has given 18-year olds the right to vote by supporting the bill and signing it into law. And he has overhauled the selective service system toward the goal of an all-volunteer Army.



April 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102  
By EP, Date 3-31-82

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN A. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Campaign Promotional Materials

Attached for your information is a sheet which we have sent to our State Chairmen describing the materials that are available to them until the convention.

You can see that the materials are limited in scope which is consistent with our present advertising posture. Pursuant to our discussion with Mr. Stans last week, we feel that it is appropriate for us to allow the states to order these materials free of charge until the post convention package is available.

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

# Campaign Material



1 1/4" Diameter Metalized Button



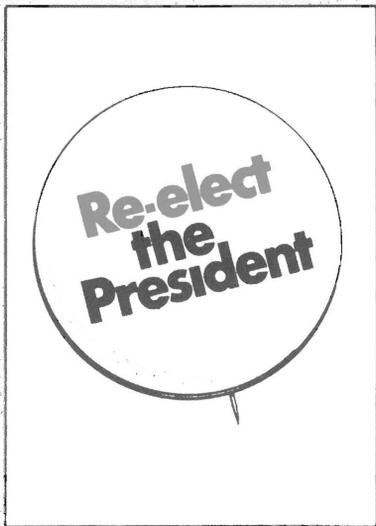
54" x 24" Litho Banner



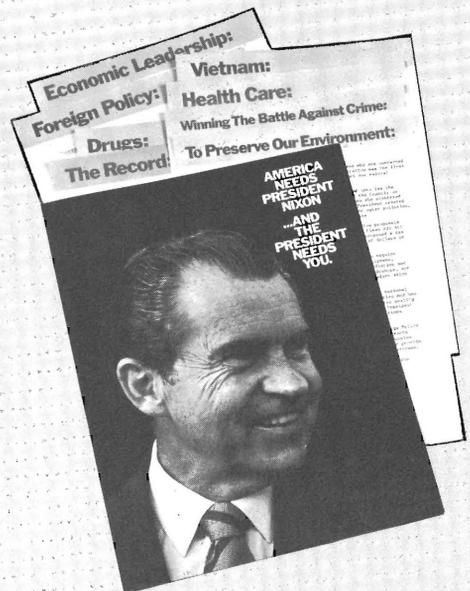
4" x 9" Brochure



15" x 4" Vynalized Bumper Strip



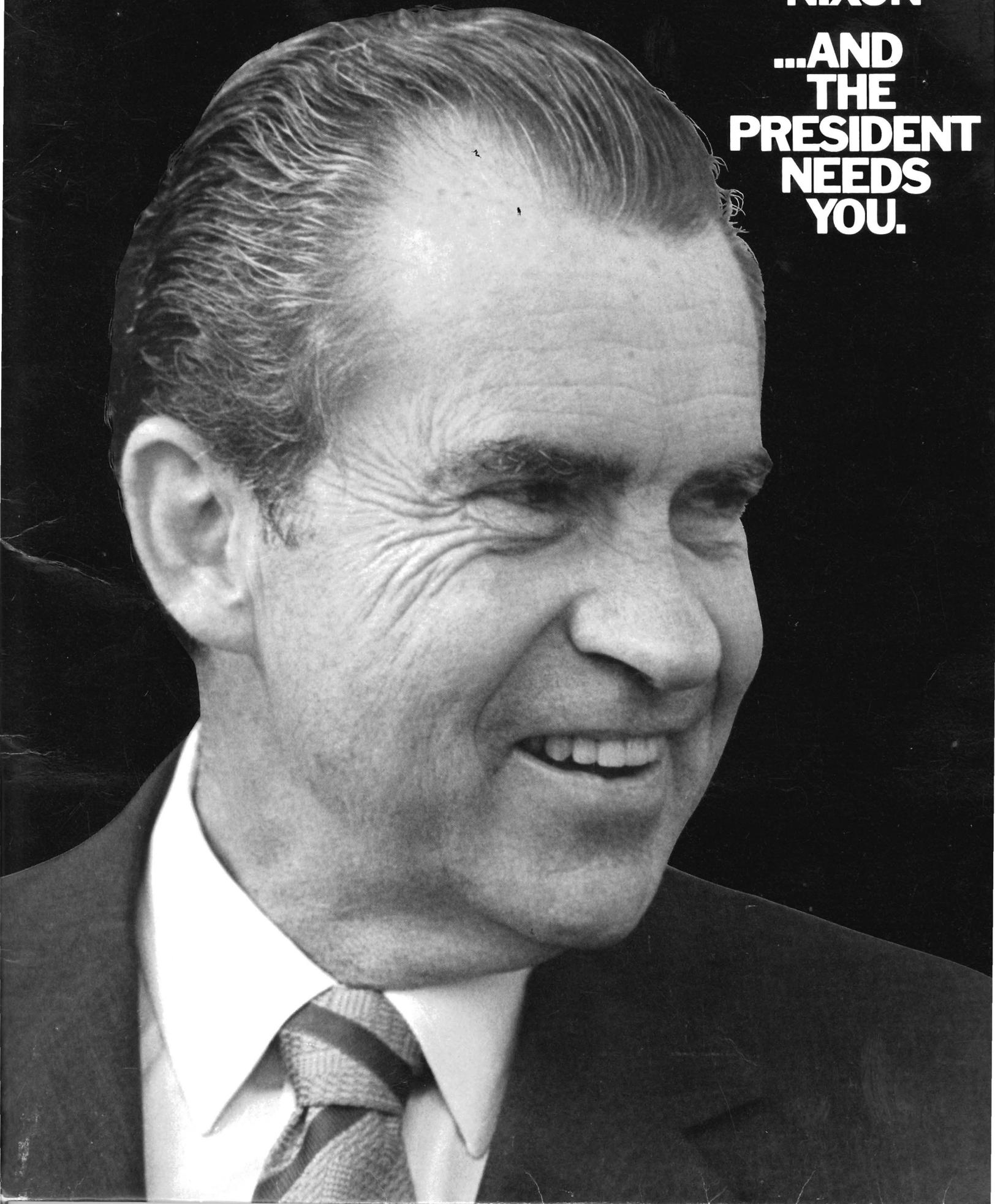
24" x 17" Litho Poster



Four Color Volunteer Kit

**AMERICA  
NEEDS  
PRESIDENT  
NIXON**

**...AND  
THE  
PRESIDENT  
NEEDS  
YOU.**



# How you can help.

You can play an important role in the re-election of the President. Here's how:

1. Volunteer your services to your local campaign headquarters. There are many areas where skills are needed, such as . . .
  - Help to incorporate into the campaign, party auxiliary organizations (Y.R.'s, C.R.'s, etc.)
  - Help incorporate community organizations (Rotary, Elks, etc.)
  - Help gather basic political information.
  - Help conduct voter identification canvass.
  - Help conduct selective registration drive.
  - Help with fund raising.
  - Help conduct special drives on absentee, sick, disabled voters.
  - Help conduct voter turnout drive.
  - Help insure ballot security.

or, you can help in scheduling events, organizing files, operating the headquarters, organizing younger voters.

2. Organize a neighborhood coffee klatch and discuss the upcoming campaign, the President's record, and the vital issues facing this country today. In this kit you will find fact sheets on these issues that can be used to guide the discussion.
3. Call ten friends and ask for their support for the President. Ask them to call ten more.
4. Talk up the President with your friends (nothing succeeds better than word of mouth advertising).
5. Use a bumper sticker on your car. Wear a button. Make your support of the President known.
6. Make sure you and your friends register.
7. Make sure you vote on election day.

You don't need past political experience to help re-elect the President!

PAID FOR BY COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

202 • 333-0920

# Foreign Policy.



## "JOURNEYS FOR PEACE"

*"We seek an open world. Open to ideas. Open to the exchange of goods and people. A world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation."*

—President Nixon.  
Inaugural Address.

The President's overtures in establishing communication with The People's Republic of China have gained overwhelming support. Congress commended the President for "outstanding initiative in furtherance of foreign relations of the United States and world peace." U Thant said: "A new chapter in the history of international relations." The new Secretary General of NATO, Joseph Luns,

called the trip "one of the great moments in the world's history."

The President's visit to China is the first talk between the leaders of both countries since 1949. Visiting China was not an easy decision for the President to make. Nor an easy step to take. But after careful analysis, President Nixon decided it was vital to the interest of world peace.

The visit to China is not the only Nixon "journey for peace." In May, the President visits Moscow. And prior to both trips he will have consulted with the heads of the Canadian, Brazilian, French, British, West German and Japanese Governments.

Although the President's visit to the People's Republic of China is vitally

important in the long run, his most immediate foreign policy goal has been to end American involvement in the Vietnam war while building a lasting peace in Southeast Asia. The record shows that is exactly what he has been doing.

The President has ended the "crisis diplomacy" of the sixties. He has moved forward negotiations to limit nuclear weapons, and concluded an agreement on Berlin. The Nixon Doctrine spreads the burden of free world defense more fairly among the free nations.

The President has achieved the breakthrough that we needed to lead the world toward a full generation of peace.

## Re-elect the President.



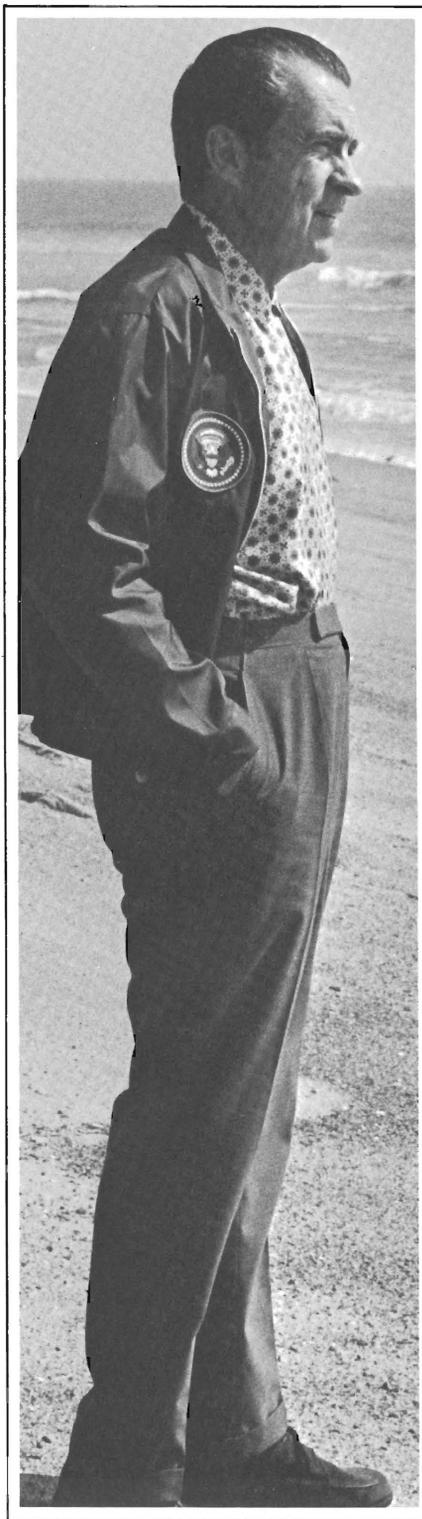
# To Preserve Our Environment.

The President is in the forefront of those Americans who are concerned about our natural environment. The Nixon Administration was the first to provide positive measures to preserve and protect our natural resources.

On the first day of the 1970's, the President signed into law the National Environmental Policy Act which established the Council on Environmental Quality. To concentrate and strengthen the scattered environment efforts of the Federal Government, the President created the Environmental Protection Agency to combat air and water pollution, solid waste problems, radiation, pesticides, and noise.

The President has put forward twenty-five comprehensive proposals for new laws to fight pollution. In addition to the Clean Air Act which he signed into law in 1970, the President has proposed a tax on sulfur dioxide pollution, which causes \$2 billion in damages each year.

Noise pollution is under attack through legislation to require that noise level standards be set for construction equipment, trucks, buses,



and other irritating noise sources. Radiation and thermal pollution, the result of technological power advances, are being monitored—and exhaustive pre-planning of power plant sites is now required.

The Administration has proposed a twelve billion dollar national program to build municipal waste water treatment facilities and has proposed extending the coverage of the Federal-State water quality standards program to all the waters of the Nation. The President has championed both federal and international legal sanctions against intentional or negligent pollution of the oceans.

In addition, the President has proposed a National Land Use Policy to stop mindless urban sprawl. \$100 million in Federal grants will assist the states in this effort. He has returned surplus Federal lands to the people and has committed new funds to provide parks and recreational areas for future generations of Americans.

It is only the beginning. Environmental problems require the urgent commitment of all Americans.

## Re-elect the President.



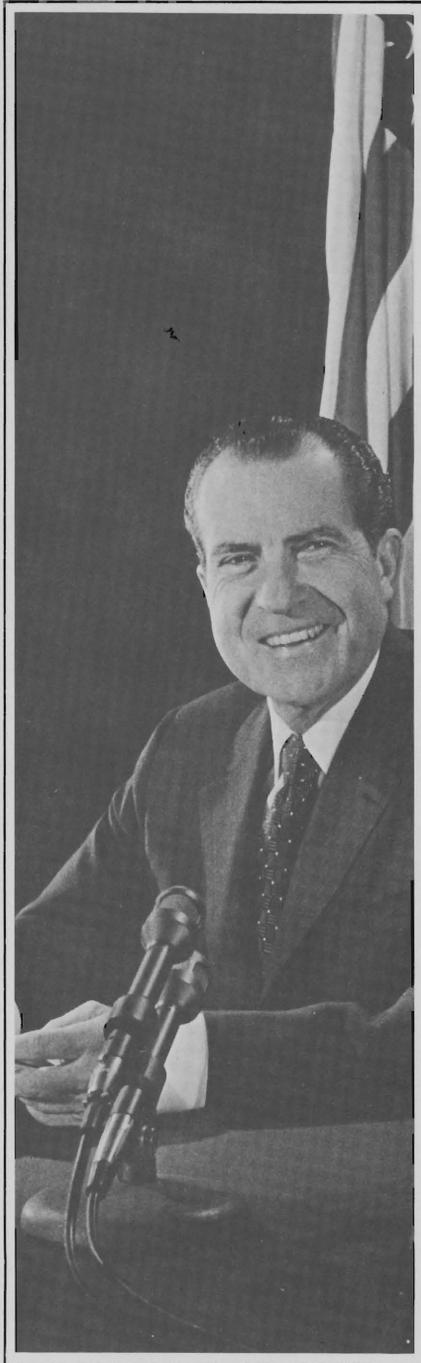
# Drugs:

## **TOO MANY YOUNG AMERICANS ARE TURNING ON WITH DRUGS. PRESIDENT NIXON IS TURNING DRUGS OFF.**

**He's hitting drugs at the source.** As the President announced on June 30, 1971, Turkey (where most U.S. heroin comes from) agreed to end opium production in 1972. The Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control, established by the President in September 1971, and shared by Secretary of State Rogers, is working with other nations to coordinate law enforcement and diplomatic efforts to stem the flow of narcotics in the United States.

**He's attacking domestic drug traffic.** The Bureau of Customs and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs seized more than two thousand pounds of heroin last year and made more than fifteen thousand drug arrests. On January 28, 1972, President Nixon announced a new drug initiative aimed specifically at the street level heroin pusher, which will utilize provisions of the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970.

**He's attacking drug abuse through education, treatment, and rehabilitation.** The Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, established on an interim basis by Executive Order (pending passage of legislation



submitted on June 17, 1971) has already significantly increased the Administration's efforts in preventing drug abuse. President Nixon has proposed \$365.2 million be spent on treatment, rehabilitation, education, training and research next year—a seven-fold increase over the \$45 million spent the year before President Nixon took office.

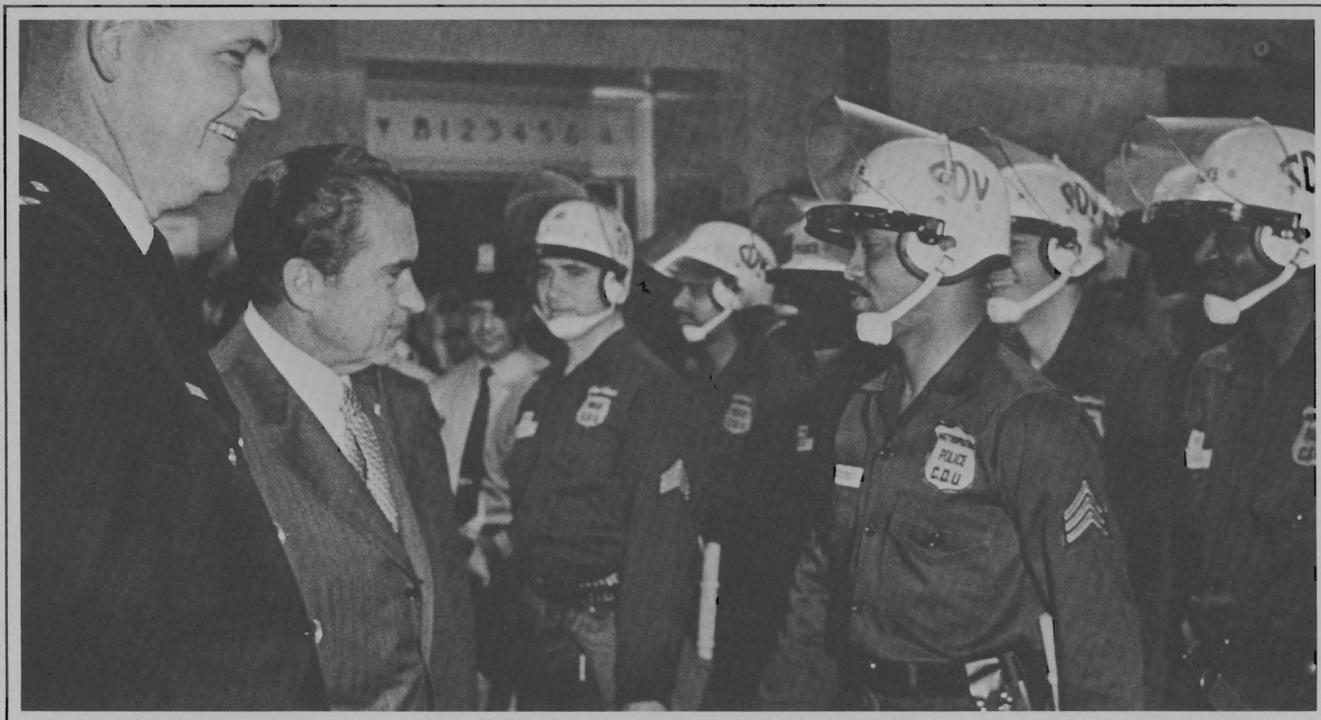
**He's attacking drug abuse in the Armed Forces.** Drug dependence in the Armed Forces is being reduced considerably by expanded drug treatment and rehabilitation programs. Drug identification and de-toxification programs, which began in Vietnam, have been expanded to include all military personnel in the United States who are being discharged, sent abroad, or are returning from overseas duty. In the year ahead, the Veterans Administration will offer treatment and rehabilitative service to an estimated 20,000 addicts. It will also expand its drug dependency rehabilitation units by as many as twelve, creating a total of up to forty-four such units.

President Nixon declared drug abuse to be Public Enemy Number 1, and has moved in a balanced, comprehensive manner to attack this enemy on all fronts. America needs President Nixon to continue this attack and bring us to victory.

## Re-elect the President.



# Winning the Battle Against Crime.



#### **The facts:**

The rate of increase of major crimes has been cut in half, to a five-year low.

51 major cities reported an overall decrease in crime during the first nine months of 1971. (In Washington, D.C. serious crime fell 13% last year.)

#### **What the Administration did.**

**Spending.** The dramatic improvement in the crime rate is a direct result of the President's forceful policies to improve federal, state and local law enforcement agencies.

Money for law enforcement was boosted by more than 200% during the first three years of the President's term and a further increase to over \$2.3 billion is proposed for this year. *New Laws and New Ideas.* President

Nixon's legislative initiatives, including the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, the District of Columbia Court Reform Act, and the Omnibus Crime Control Act of 1970, have provided the tools for improving federal efforts to curb crime.

Spearheading the fight against organized crime, are Federal Strike Forces, a pool of all federal law enforcement agencies to zero in on organized criminal activities. The Sixteen Strike Force units scored significant victories in 1971, bringing nearly six hundred federal indictments and naming over 2,500 criminal suspects—including many *major* criminal leaders. This is more than 2½ times the number of indictments obtained during the year before the President took office.

While substantial progress has al-

ready been made in stopping the increase in crime, more is being done. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) is helping fund state and local law enforcement efforts seeking improved courts and correctional facilities geared to effective rehabilitation. Outlays in fiscal 1972 totaled \$705 million—a six-fold increase over the amount spent in the year preceding President Nixon's inauguration.

The country has moved a long way from the unpleasant and seemingly distant past of three years ago. We have made a remarkable turn-around in our cities and the war against crime is still moving ahead. The President is determined that the wave of crime must not be the wave of the future. Crime, particularly, organized crime, will get no reprieve.

## Re-elect the President.

# Health Care.

**THE PRESIDENT'S PRESCRIPTION:  
HEALTH CARE FOR EVERYONE,  
WITH GOVERNMENT HELP—NOT  
GOVERNMENT TAKEOVER.**

There are more Americans than ever before. And we're living longer than ever before. For that reason, health care is more important to all of us than it ever has been.

**HERE IS WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS  
DONE FOR HEALTH CARE IN THE  
70's.**

**He has laid the foundation for a better health care system.** The way has been cleared for health maintenance organizations, where doctors can work together to provide a full range of services for comprehensive care.

**His programs make sure that EVERY-ONE will be helped.** He has proposed legislation called the National Health Insurance Partnership. It assures that no one, poor or rich, employed or unemployed, will be denied medical care because they cannot afford it. It would *supplement*, not replace, private health programs.

**His major goal is to keep people well, instead of just taking care of them when they are sick.** Last year,



the President signed a bill that began an all-out fight to find a cure for cancer. The President will personally monitor the fight against cancer, a disease that attacks one out of every four citizens.

The President's emphasis on keeping people well has produced many other new Nixon initiatives: New programs for preventing occupational accidents and illnesses, for improving highways and auto safety, for expanding health education, and for combating alcoholism and drug abuse. In addition, the President has directed that a major new effort be launched to save thousands of lives now lost to accidents and sudden illnesses by improving communications, transportation, and training of emergency personnel. The President's program also has provision for the construction of new veterans' hospitals and for the expansion of the staffs of existing ones.

Some parts of the President's programs are already in place. Last Fall, for example, the Congress passed the President's program for educating more doctors, dentists and nurses, and for training them faster and more effectively.

## Re-elect the President.



# Economic Leadership.

In 1969, when President Nixon took office, the American economy was in an ever-rising inflationary period that had gone almost unchecked through the 1960's. Much of this inflation was because of heavy spending on the Vietnam war, and the result was higher and higher prices at home.

Now that the President is bringing the war to a close, returning veterans and workers from a reduced defense industry are looking for jobs. And a growing number of women and teenagers have entered the labor force too.

## **HERE'S WHAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS DONE TO CURB INFLATION AND PROVIDE MORE JOBS FOR AMERICANS:**

Last year he signed into law the Emergency Employment Act, providing one billion dollars for more than a quarter-million new jobs.

The President in 1971 put a freeze on wages and prices, and followed this with regulations that are holding

down inflationary increases. Just as importantly, these efforts are helping to destroy the inflationary psychology in which people think prices and wages *have* to chase each other higher and higher.

President Nixon helped the American economy by reaching new agreements with our foreign trading partners and our military allies: Japan has agreed



to restrict the export of textiles, relieving pressure on American industry; the President acted to increase the price of gold to reduce international demands on the dollar; and our NATO allies agreed to pay a greater share of the cost of their own defense.

Individual income taxes were reduced by the Nixon Administration. Americans will pay \$22 billion less next year than they would have under the tax rates that were in effect when the President took office.

The Nixon Administration boosted housing starts in 1971 to a 41% increase over 1970.

There are many other areas in which the President is working to curb inflation and provide more jobs. And all of these efforts point to one objective: a new prosperity and a vigorous economy for an America at peace.

Much has been accomplished. Much more needs to be done. Give President Nixon your vote of confidence so we all may complete the task.

# Re-elect the President.



# Vietnam.

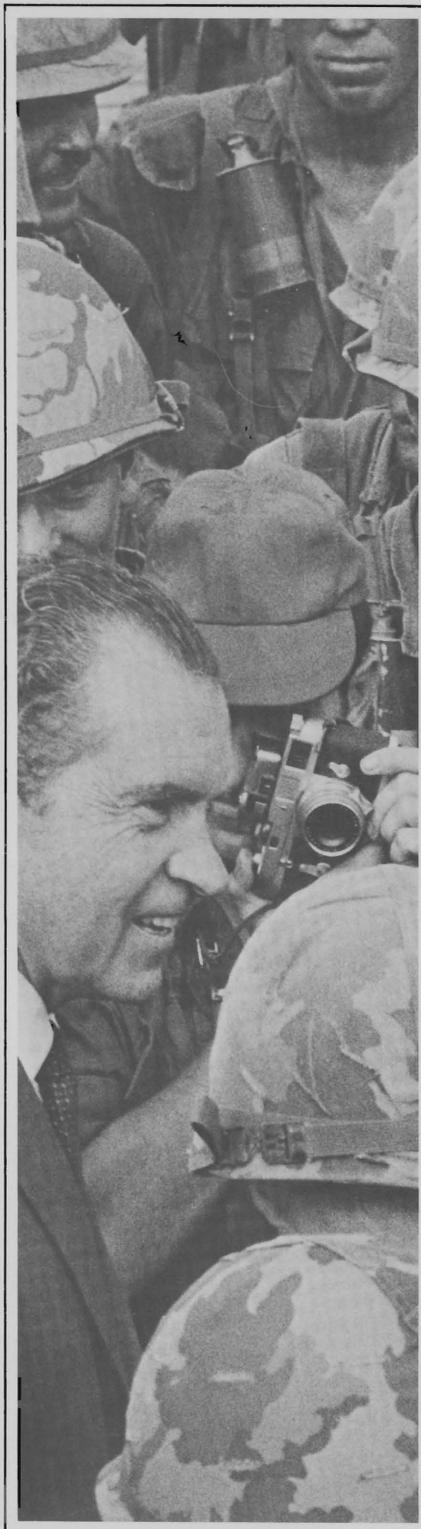
**SINCE 1969 THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN WORKING TO GET US OUT OF VIETNAM. HE KEPT HIS PLEDGES.**

**He has brought nearly 90% of our troops home.** In January of 1969, when President Nixon was inaugurated, the United States had 550,000 men in Vietnam. Today, more than 400,000 of our men have left Vietnam and more than 23,000 are leaving each month.

**He has reduced our casualties by 95%.** By 1969, 31,000 men had died in Vietnam. And 300 more were dying every week.

The President has reduced the rate of casualties by 95% by ending the American offensive ground combat role and reducing American air activity by 50%. Vietnam will continue to be the President's first priority until our combat involvement is down to zero.

**He has cut war costs by more than two-thirds.** Because of the huge reduction in American involvement in Vietnam, there is a corresponding reduction in American spending. In 1969, the incremental cost of the war in Vietnam to our defense budget was \$22 billion. In 1972, it is projected, the costs of the war will be cut by \$15 billion, a two-thirds reduction from 1969.



**He is ending America's combat role.**

In 1969, the President announced a plan to end American involvement in ground combat activities. By 1971, combat operations were virtually all conducted by Vietnamese.

**He has a plan to end the war completely.** The President has explored every channel—public and private—to find a way to stop the fighting. The President's latest peace proposal was recently made public. Here is his plan:

A cease fire throughout Indo-China.

A prisoner exchange throughout Indo-China.

Free elections in South Vietnam to include all groups.

International guarantees for the rights of the peoples of Indo-China.

The withdrawal of all American troops from South Vietnam six months after agreement on these principles.

The only thing this Administration has not done is to agree to overthrow our ally and turn South Vietnam over to the enemy. The President has proved we are willing to go the extra mile in seeking a fair settlement.

## Re-elect the President.



April 3, 1972

H

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THE HONORABLE MAURICE STANS

THROUGH: FRED MALEK

FROM: PAUL R. JONES

SUBJECT: Fund Raising Dinner

A number of Black supporters of the President desire to hold an event that will publicly demonstrate broad support for the President and raise money for the campaign. The recommended vehicle is a national rally and \$100.00 per plate dinner in Washington. The affair will bring together approximately 2,000 Black leaders from all professions in the Washington, D. C. area. This group will include Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. The suggested theme: "Moving Into The Mainstream" -- will honor the President and highlight Administration accomplishments in areas of concern to Blacks.

Major entertainment will be featured along with several prominent Blacks who will endorse the President and his record. The President will be invited to be the featured speaker at this national Black tribute to his accomplishments. Cabinet officers and other high ranking Administration officials will be encouraged to be present to meet the cross-section of Blacks from around the nation.

The event will be coordinated by the Black Vote Division's Washington team assisted by Bob Brown and several other Black appointees. We would expect to raise over \$100,000 from this event. Equally important the PR value of large gatherings of Blacks in support of the President will have a favorable effect on the Black voter. It will also serve to demonstrate to supporters that there are many others with them. From those attending will come many of the local leaders who will form and work with state committees.

Recommendation: That you approve the idea of the special event honoring the President, coordinated by the Black Vote Division's Washington team.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ COMMENT \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: April 18, 1972

TO: H.R. HALDEMAN  
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Last night's Campaign Strategy Meeting concentrated on advertising. The minutes and Peter Dailey's talking paper are attached.

Almost everyone invited, attended, and the discussion became very heated and productive.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
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April 18, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
SUBJECT: Campaign Strategy Group

The following people attended the meeting of Monday, April 17:

Pat Buchanan	Mike Lesser (November Group)
Murray Chotiner	Jeb Magruder
Peter Dailey (November Group)	Bob Marik
Harry Dent	Cliff Miller
Bob Finch	Dick Moore
Arthur Finkelstein	Bill Novelli (November Group)
Harry Flemming	Gordon Strachan
Len Garment	Bill Taylor (November Group)
Ted Garrish	Bob Teeter
Phil Joanou (November Group)	

Two short subjects were discussed at the start of the meeting:

Public Opinion of Labor Unions and George Meany. Bob Teeter had surveyed available information and had found no current data dealing directly with how the two subjects might affect voter behavior. In several states, labor is blamed more for inflation than business or government. There is also some evidence that labor leadership is out of touch with the rank and file. It may not be wise, however, to exploit those factors, because of the risk of alienating blue collar voters.

Measurements will be made on these questions in surveys in several states over the next few weeks.

The Effect of Wallace on the Ballot. Bob Teeter reported that January polling data showed Wallace running up to 1968 strength in only one or two states. His effect on the margin between major party candidates is much smaller in most states than it was in 1968. Wallace

voters have a greater intensity of feeling on the issues than other voters, and therefore would be expected to turn out in greater numbers. Moreover, in January, the Wallace voters in the border states showed the orientation to populist issues which has surfaced so dramatically in the primaries.

The effect of Wallace on the ballot as an independent candidate is increasingly more damaging to the President as he is paired against Muskie, Humphrey and Kennedy respectively. In the case of Muskie, the presence of Wallace helps in key states having 141 electoral votes; hurts in key states having 86 electoral votes; and has no measurable effect in key states having 79 electoral votes. When the President is paired against Humphrey, the figures are: helps - 11 electoral votes; hurts - 122 electoral votes; no difference - 173 electoral votes. For Kennedy, Wallace helps the President in states having 8 electoral votes; hurts - 235 electoral votes; no difference - 63 electoral votes.

A more current measurement will be made in June, reflecting the effect of Wallace's primary election activities.

Advertising Strategy. This was the first of three meetings on successive Monday evenings to discuss advertising strategy for the general campaign. The topics for the meetings are as follows:

- 4/17 - Creative Strategy
- 4/24 - Media Strategy
- 5/1 - Special voter groups, special campaign promotional materials

The creative strategy is oriented to five objectives:

1. To take the initiative away from the opposition.
2. To inform the electorate of the President's accomplishments and plans for the future
  - How things were.
  - How things are now.
  - How things are going to be.
3. To shift concern and attention to the domestic scene.
4. To strongly counter the opposition.
5. To conduct an aggressive campaign, assuming a close election.

The message and tone of the advertisements will be designed to:

1. Present the President as an activist.
2. Present the President as a man with long-range vision.
3. Present the President as a man who inherited a mess.
4. Present the President as a man of courage, decisiveness and dedication.
5. Present the issues.

The issues were presented on which the President was perceived to be better able to handle the problems than any other candidate (Vietnam, the economy) and those where he was less competent than his opponents (many domestic issues).

Several prototype 30- and 60-second spots were presented with audio and story boards. They were intended to be examples only, illustrative of the tone and style of message being contemplated.

In the discussion, the strategy group members offered several comments on appropriateness of issues, message content, level of communication, etc. During this week, Peter Dailey and others will seek out further comments from individual members. The first part of the next meeting will be given over to a follow-up discussion on the creative strategy presentation.

April 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

Following up on some of the things we covered on the phone over the weekend, and some I am not have raised with you --

Can't we get Ashbrook to pull out now by working through Lee Kaeser and Bill Buckley and then try to build some party unity? This would be a dramatic move on his part, of course, and would make Ashbrook a big man. Can we work on Parkinson to turn off his deal in this regard?

The President is concerned that nothing has been done on arrangements with Manny Garcia. It was supposed to have been set up to have someone give him a retainer and apparently Bebe has talked with the President about the fact that nothing has been done on this and the President is very much concerned.

On Ray Bliss, I will wait until you say we should bring him in to see the President and then we will set something up on your recommendation.

As I mentioned, the President wants you to consider the use of Walker's Cay for meetings with high-level people and select groups. If you want to have a strategy session with the Rockefellers and Reagan types or with your state leaders or something of that sort, this is the place that can be used for that purpose. It can accommodate 100 people at the present time.

The President wants us to start some very basic planning on the California kick-off deal that I discussed with you on the phone. This, in his mind, would be a two-day operation with a big night time gathering of all the people in the San Diego Convention Hall for a major speech by the President. It would be barbecues or picnics at the President's residence in San Clemente, with maybe the candidates on one day and the Campaign Leadership on the second day. This would also provide the opportunity for the President to meet with the Campaign Wheels from time to time during the sessions while they are out there. It should be made a big deal with all the GOP State Chairmen, National Committeemen, and so forth, and they should all stay in San Diego for obvious reasons.

The question was raised as to whether we are putting enough young people in positions of major responsibility in the Campaign.

HRH:kb

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 19, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information are some of Ken Rietz's impressions of the situation in California.

Attachment

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 10, 1972

Confidential

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER  
FROM: KEN RIETZ *KR*  
SUBJECT: California

I have the following impressions after my recent trip to California:

- 1) The overall activity by the Committee for the Re-election in California seems to be aimed at too much use of the Republican organization. Our efforts to create a broader base and use non-organization people have not met with great cooperation from CFROP personnel, particularly Bruce Nestande.
- 2) The public relations effort by the Committee is very confused. Zan Thompson does not get along with Jack Easton and Jac seems to get irritated when Zan takes any initiative. Jack seems to be willing but lacks experience. Because of this, he seems over protective and a little bit of an empire builder. The last comment Zan made to me was that she wouldn't "be able to take working with him much longer."
- 3) The Young Voters activity in California last weekend can be considered moderately successful. We had six hundred young people involved in a daylong registration drive and registered more than 1,000 Republicans. We were covered by 2 T.V. stations, the L.A. Times, and 2 radio stations in L.A., in addition to a newspaper and T.V. station in San Diego (note attached articles).

This was only a beginning effort. It will be expanded and another drive conducted in San Diego and L.A. Counties in late April and early May. Other counties where drives will be implemented are: Orange, Alameda, Santa Clara, San Francisco, San Bernadino, Sacramento, San Mateo and Contra Costa.

Confidential

Jeb Magruder

-2-

April 10, 1972

Our efforts in California have been aimed at building a separate county organization in the 10 major counties so we don't have to depend on the Republican organization, YR's, etc. This has been tough, especially with the lack of cooperation we have received from Nestande or the county central committees and others of Nofziger's staff. (They have supplied no volunteers, contacts, etc.)

By mid week next week we will have a firm schedule ready for drives in the ten counties in addition to an analysis of the ability of the county organizations to assist us and a plan for implementing the drives in each county. In my judgment, it would be a drastic mistake to alter course at this time in the youth area. We started from scratch, had no cooperation, but have come a long way. The building process has begun and the organization will build from here on in. We started with 600 in California the first day, but let's not forget we started with 32 in New Hampshire.

Attachments

cc: Fred Malek

# Nixon Youth Campaign Leader Here

The national chairman of the Youth for Nixon campaign arrived in San Diego for a brief visit yesterday, and predicted "an absolutely minimal draft during this entire year of 1972."

Republican Sen. William E. Brock of Chattanooga, Tenn., was met at the airport by about a dozen young people sporting "Re-elect the President" buttons.

Brock said he came to town to "meet with a lot of our young workers and get some ideas on how we can improve the campaign." He was also scheduled to attend a party given by young Nixon backers.

### REGISTRATION TRENDS

The 41-year-old lawmaker said that while more young people were registering Democrat than Republican, the Democratic edge was smaller than that among all voters.

"Frankly if I were in that party, I'd be very concerned at the falloff in registration among their young voters," Brock said.

"This president has done more to assure them and their children of a world of peace and understanding than any other man in this century. That's a pretty strong campaign issue."

### THEME FOR CONVENTION

He said the GOP at its August convention should "make peace our prime theme, because I think it's the most important single issue we have in this election year."

North Vietnam's invasion of South Vietnam will not lead to an escalation in fighting by Americans, he predicted. "We're not going to try to substitute our manpower for theirs any more."

"I see no prospect of any increase in the draft," he said. "The prospect is for an absolutely minimal draft during this entire year of 1972."

# Voter Drive Seeks Support Of President

A nationwide campaign to capture the youth vote for President Nixon moved into San Diego yesterday.

Ken Rietz, 36, of Washington, D.C., who is national director of the Youth Division of the Committee to re-elect the President, said his goal is to get the Republican message across to as many of the nation's 25 million new voters as possible.

"The first thing we have to do is get them registered," Rietz said.

He said he came to San Diego yesterday to do just that.

After getting instructions and being briefed by Rietz and Jim McKinney, a member of the local Young Voters for the President, several hundred youthful volunteers spread throughout the city ringing door bells and registering young Republicans.

"Although the volunteers will be concentrating on youth," Rietz said, "we will register any Republicans we can find."

A deputy registrar followed the volunteers and registered the potential voters.

Rietz said the strategy of the registration drive calls for an all-out effort to contact youthful voters in areas that attract young families — high-rise apartment complexes, low-income housing projects and other housing developments.

He said yesterday's registration drive was not just a one-day effort. "There will be others in the near future," Rietz said, "but no dates have been set."

He said volunteer workers were recruited from among young Republicans at United States International University, Cal-Western Campus; San Diego State, USD and UCSD. Also assisting in the registration drive were members of the San Diego County Young Republicans.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

H  
Reid

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.  
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(202) 333 0920

April 20, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL  
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER  
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK  
SUBJECT: The Democratic Nomination

This memorandum expands on the analysis of April 12, by Pat Buchanan and Ken Khachigian, relating to the Democratic Primaries. I substantially concur with their projected results in upcoming primaries. This analysis quantifies the delegate count which would result from several alternative scenarios.

At present, the delegate count stands at

Muskie	98-1/2
McGovern	100-1/2
Wallace	75
Humphrey	21
Chisholm	8
Mills	1
Uncommitted	151

based on completed selection in New Hampshire (18), Florida (81), Wisconsin (67), Illinois (160 plus 10 yet to be chosen in caucus), Arizona (25), Iowa (34 plus 12 to be selected by May 20th), Georgia (53) and Idaho (17).

SCENARIO I - ("Most probable" outcome): As a starting point, assume the following scenario in the remaining important primaries (similar to Buchanan/Khachigian). The estimated delegate counts are based in part on the National Observer projections of April 15, 1972.

April 25

Massachusetts - McGovern wins.

Delegates:	McGovern	75
	Muskie	27

Pennsylvania - Humphrey wins

Delegates:	Humphrey	98
	Muskie	60
	McGovern	24

Result: Muskie on the ropes; Humphrey climbing; McGovern at high  
===== momentum.

May 2

Ohio - Humphrey wins (based on Pennsylvania showing)

Delegates:	Humphrey	90
	Muskie	40
	McGovern	23

Indiana - Wallace wins (Crossover voting permitted)

Delegates:	Wallace	45
	Humphrey	31

Result: Muskie essentially out of race; Humphrey still in; Wallace  
===== in headlines; McGovern building in Nebraska, Oregon and  
California.

May 4

Tennessee - Wallace wins (Crossover voting permitted)

Delegates:	Wallace	45
	Other	4

North Carolina - Wallace wins

Delegates:	Wallace	46
	Sanford	18

Result: Wallace in high gear for West Virginia and Michigan.  
=====

May 9

Nebraska - McGovern wins (based on superior organization,  
and Humphrey time spent in Ohio, West Virginia.)

Delegates:	McGovern	14
	Humphrey	10

West Virginia - Humphrey wins. A close one. (This is a toss-up at this point. If Humphrey loses, he will probably pick up very few more delegates before the convention. Wallace could easily win this one.)

Delegates:	Humphrey	20
	Wallace	11
	McGovern	4

Result: McGovern in fine shape; Humphrey, Wallace still alive for  
===== Maryland and Michigan.

May 16

Maryland - Humphrey wins. A close one.\* (Wallace could win, as in West Virginia.)

Delegates:	Humphrey	29
	Wallace	24

Michigan - Humphrey wins. A close one.\* (Here too, Wallace could win.) (Crossover voting permitted)

Delegates:	Humphrey	54
	Wallace	44
	McGovern	24
	Muskie	10

\* Humphrey victories based on assumption that Muskie is very weak, HHH takes more of the Party's middle ground.

Result: If HHH wins, he is still alive; if not, he's gone. Wallace  
===== still a factor, McGovern still climbing.

May 23

Oregon - McGovern wins, based on good organization and more time in state than Humphrey.

Delegates:	McGovern	34
------------	----------	----

Rhode Island - Muskie wins. (Although McGovern may take these away from ESM.)

Delegates:	Muskie	22
------------	--------	----

Result: McGovern rolling for California.  
=====

June 6

California - McGovern wins. Muskie delegate slate takes votes from Humphrey.

Delegates: McGovern 271

New Jersey - Humphrey narrowly beats McGovern.

Delegates: Humphrey 56  
McGovern 53

South Dakota - McGovern wins.

Delegates: McGovern 17

New Mexico - Humphrey wins.

Delegates: Humphrey 14  
Muskie 4

Result: Momentum high for McGovern. Humphrey fighting to keep  
===== uncommitted liberal delegates and Muskie delegates from  
defecting to McGovern.

June 20

New York - McGovern wins. Many uncommitted delegates also lean toward him.

Delegates: McGovern 200  
Humphrey 25  
Chisholm 25  
Uncommitted 28

There will also be numerous delegates selected by state caucus during the period of the primaries. The estimated totals, by state and by candidate, for the preceding scenario, are given in Tab A. They show:

McGovern 1009-1/2  
Humphrey 640  
Muskie 495-1/2  
Wallace 333  
Other and uncommitted 538

SCENARIO II - (Best case for McGovern): Assume that Muskie is counted out early, and several state caucuses swing more toward McGovern. The estimate of totals by state are given in Tab B.

The overall totals are:

McGovern	1132-1/2
Humphrey	610
Muskie	412-1/2
Wallace	333
Others and uncommitted	528

SCENARIO III - (Best case for Humphrey): Assume that Humphrey does as strongly as he plausibly can; that Muskie's demise gives him substantial room to maneuver in the center and right of the Democratic Party. Specifically assume that Humphrey

1. Defeats Muskie decisively in Pennsylvania and Ohio
2. Wins Indiana
3. Beats McGovern in Nebraska
4. Beats Wallace decisively in West Virginia, Maryland and Michigan
5. Takes caucus votes away from Muskie in Kansas, Missouri and the Mountain States.
6. Goes on to beat McGovern in Oregon and California
7. Increases his share of New York delegates, following a California victory

The totals, then, are as follows: (Detailed in Tab C.)

McGovern	650-1/2
Humphrey	1155
Muskie	394-1/2
Wallace	278
Other and uncommitted	538

SCENARIO IV - (Best case for Wallace): Assume that Wallace beats Humphrey in each of their confrontations - Indiana, West Virginia, Maryland, Michigan - and that Humphrey is no longer a factor in Oregon and California, the totals are as follows: (Detailed in Tab D.)

McGovern	1025-1/2
Humphrey	558
Muskie	495-1/2
Wallace	389
Other and uncommitted	538

SCENARIO V - (Best Case for Muskie): Assume Muskie wins Massachusetts and Pennsylvania on April 25th, and Ohio on May 2nd. By this time he has nearly eliminated Humphrey from the race. He wins Nebraska on May 9, Michigan on May 16, and then goes on to take Oregon and California. He also takes some delegates from New Jersey and New York. The estimated totals by state are given in Tab E. The overall totals are:

McGovern	632-1/2
Humphrey	434
Muskie	1078-1/2
Wallace	333
Others and uncommitted	538

CONCLUSION

It is hard, if not impossible, to imagine a scenario that gives anyone 1509 committed delegates by the end of the primaries. As Buchanan and Khachigian have stated, the party regulars and the Unions have not been doing as well as was expected in electing delegates. They are being supplanted by liberals. Therefore, after the early ballots, the convention, if deadlocked, will be more liable to move left toward compromise than in the past.

In Scenarios I and II, I would judge Humphrey and Muskie to be too far back and the nomination would go to McGovern or Kennedy. In Scenario III, Humphrey has a chance. Additional support could come from Muskie delegates (possibly 200), Jackson delegates (80), Daley delegates or other uncommitted (possibly 200), and perhaps some Wallace delegates if he released them (possibly 100). Therefore, if Hubert were at 950 delegates or more, he might be able to put together another 500-600 delegates and win, if the party regulars pulled out all the stops. None of that can happen, however, unless he wins California. Scenario IV simply shows that Wallace could take Humphrey out of the race, and pave the way for a McGovern-Kennedy nomination. Scenario V shows that if Muskie came alive, he could have more than 1000 delegates at the convention on the first ballot. He would most likely become the consensus candidate and obtain the necessary 400-500 additional delegates from the uncommitted category, Humphrey, and other candidates. Once again, it would be necessary for him to take California to get within striking distance.

It seems unlikely that Humphrey will win in California, and even less likely that Muskie will. Thus, McGovern will go to the convention as the front-runner. If Kennedy wanted McGovern to get the nomination,

CONFIDENTIAL

- 7 -

George will probably be close enough for Teddy to put him over the top with an endorsement. If McGovern continues to gain momentum, as in Scenario II, Teddy may not be able to take the nomination away from him, even if he desires to do so. With McGovern's over 1,000 delegates on the first ballot, and Muskie's cause hopeless; he could probably find 500 more delegates from Muskie and the uncommitted group. The nature of McGovern's delegates is such that erosion is unlikely for two or three ballots, even for EMK, if George wanted to stay in the battle.

As Buchanan/Khachigian said---McGovern's the One.

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PROJECTED COMIT OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leading or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
* Vermont	12	8	--	4	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
* Rhode Island	22	--	--	22	--	--
* Connecticut	51	10	13	28	--	--
TOTAL	225	78-1/2	13	133-1/2	0	0
<u>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</u>						
New York	278	--	25	200	--	53
* New Jersey	109	--	30	79	--	--
Pennsylvania	182	60	98	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
Maryland	53	--	29	--	24	--
West Virginia	35	--	20	4	11	--
TOTAL	670	63	208	311	35	53
<u>SOUTH</u>						
* Virginia	53	15	5	11	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	53	99	20	197	226
<u>PLAINS</u>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
Nebraska	24	--	10	14	--	--
Kansas	35	6	9	20	--	--
* Oklahoma	39	10	11	8	10	--
TOTAL	129	16	35	68	10	0
<u>MIDWEST</u>						
* Kentucky	47	30	--	10	2	5
Ohio	153	40	90	23	--	--
Indiana	76	--	31	--	45	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
Michigan	132	10	54	24	44	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
* Missouri	73	10	12	30	--	21
TOTAL:	828	163	238	186	91	150
<u>WYOMING</u>						
* Wyoming	17	7	--	10	--	--
* Colorado	36	5	5	26	--	--
* New Mexico	18	2	10	6	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
* Nevada	11	3	--	6	--	2
* Utah	19	5	--	14	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	39	17	87	0	11
<u>PACIFIC</u>						
California	271	--	--	271	--	--
Oregon	34	--	--	34	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	0	320	0	64
<u>OTHER</u>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
* Puerto Rico	7	--	--	7	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Guam	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	0	0	7	0	24
GRAND TOTAL	3016	412-1/2	610	1122-1/2	333	528

\* States where increased McGovern delegate strength is assumed, compared to Scenario I.

PROPOSED COUNT OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	111-1/2	13	100-1/2	0	0
<u>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</u>						
* New York	278	--	75	150	--	53
New Jersey	109	--	56	53	--	--
* Pennsylvania	182	30	128	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
* Maryland	53	--	39	--	14	--
* West Virginia	35	--	25	4	6	--
TOTAL	670	33	329	235	20	53
<u>SOUTH</u>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<u>PLAINS</u>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
* Nebraska	24	--	14	10	--	--
* Kansas	35	--	15	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	12	45	62	10	0
<u>MIDWEST</u>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
* Ohio	153	--	130	23	--	--
* Indiana	76	--	56	--	20	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
* Michigan	132	10	69	24	29	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL:	828	130	318	169	51	160
<u>MOUNTAIN</u>						
* Montana	17	7	10	--	--	--
* Wyoming	11	4	5	2	--	--
* Colorado	36	5	10	21	--	--
New Mexico	18	4	14	--	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
Nevada	11	6	--	3	--	2
* Utah	19	5	5	9	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	43	46	54	0	11
<u>PACIFIC</u>						
* California	271	--	271	--	--	--
* Oregon	34	--	34	--	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	305	15	0	64
<u>OTHER</u>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
Puerto Rico	7	7	--	--	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Guam	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>3016</u>	<u>394-1/2</u>	<u>1155</u>	<u>650-1/2</u>	<u>278</u>	<u>538</u>

\* States where increased Humphrey delegate strength is assumed, as compared to Scenario I (Tab A).

PROJECTED COUNT OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	27	--	75	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	111-1/2	13	100-1/2	0	0
<u>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</u>						
New York	278	--	25	200	--	53
New Jersey	109	--	30	79	--	--
Pennsylvania	182	60	98	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
* Maryland	53	--	19	--	34	--
* West Virginia	35	--	10	4	21	--
TOTAL	670	63	188	311	55	53
<u>SOUTH</u>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<u>PLAINS</u>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
Nebraska	24	--	10	14	--	--
Kansas	35	6	9	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	18	35	66	10	0
<u>MIDWEST</u>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
Ohio	153	40	90	23	--	--
* Indiana	76	--	15	--	61	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
* Michigan	132	10	34	24	64	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL:	828	170	202	169	127	160
<u>MOUNTAIN</u>						
Montana	17	17	--	--	--	--
Wyoming	11	9	--	2	--	--
Colorado	36	10	5	21	--	--
New Mexico	18	4	14	--	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
Nevada	11	6	--	3	--	2
Utah	19	10	--	9	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	68	21	54	0	11
<u>PACIFIC</u>						
California	271	--	--	271	--	--
Oregon	34	--	--	34	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	0	0	320	0	64
<u>OTHER</u>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
Puerto Rico	7	7	--	--	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Guam	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
GRAND TOTAL	3016	495-1/2	558	1035-1/2	389	538

\* States where increased  
Wallace delegate strength  
is assured, as compared to  
Scenario I (Tab A).

PROJECTED COUNT OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES BY STATE

States	Delegate Votes	Leaning or Committed to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Muskie	Humphrey	McGovern	Wallace	
<u>NEW ENGLAND</u>						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
Vermont	12	10	--	2	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
* Massachusetts	102	70	--	32	--	--
Rhode Island	22	22	--	--	--	--
Connecticut	51	19	13	19	--	--
TOTAL	225	154-1/2	13	57-1/2	0	0
<u>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</u>						
* New York	278	50	--	175	--	53
* New Jersey	109	30	26	53	--	--
* Pennsylvania	182	98	60	24	--	--
Delaware	13	3	6	4	--	--
Maryland	53	--	29	--	24	--
West Virginia	35	--	20	4	11	--
TOTAL	670	181	141	260	35	53
<u>SOUTH</u>						
Virginia	53	20	5	6	--	22
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	46	18
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	10	27
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	18	18	--	6	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	45	4
Texas	130	20	70	5	15	20
TOTAL	595	58	99	15	197	226
<u>PLAINS</u>						
North Dakota	14	--	5	9	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
* Nebraska	24	14	--	10	--	--
Kansas	35	15	--	20	--	--
Oklahoma	39	12	11	6	10	--
TOTAL	129	41	16	62	10	0
<u>MIDWEST</u>						
Kentucky	47	37	--	3	2	5
* Ohio	153	90	40	23	--	--
Indiana	76	--	31	--	45	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
* Michigan	132	54	10	24	44	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	38	20	--	6
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
Missouri	73	10	12	20	--	31
TOTAL:	828	264	144	169	91	160
<u>MOUNTAIN</u>						
Montana	17	17	--	--	--	--
Wyoming	11	9	--	2	--	--
Colorado	36	10	5	21	--	--
New Mexico	18	4	14	--	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
Nevada	11	6	--	3	--	2
Utah	19	10	--	9	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	13	--	--
TOTAL	154	68	21	54	0	11
<u>PACIFIC</u>						
* California	271	271	--	--	--	--
* Oregon	34	34	--	--	--	--
Washington	52	--	--	10	--	42
Alaska	10	--	--	4	--	6
Hawaii	17	--	--	1	--	16
TOTAL:	384	305	0	15	0	64
<u>OTHER</u>						
District of Columbia	15	--	--	--	--	15
Puerto Rico	7	7	--	--	--	--
Virgin Islands	3	--	--	--	--	3
Canal Zone	3	--	--	--	--	3
Cuba	3	--	--	--	--	3
TOTAL	31	7	0	0	0	24
GRAND TOTAL	3016	1078-1/2	434	632-1/2	333	538

\* States where increased Muskie delegate strength is assumed, as compared to Scenario I (Tab A).