

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	2	4/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: McGovern's Victory in Wisconsin. 2 pgs.
32	2	4/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. White House Staff notes. 2 pgs.
32	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses state issues. 1 pg.
32	2	5/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. Title: Comprehensive Strategy Group- 6:30. 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	2		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses 8:15 meetings. 1 pg.
32	2	4/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document contains Comprehensive startegy meeting notes. 1 pg.
32	2	4/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses voting demograhpics. 2 pgs.
32	2	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses budget. 2 pgs.
32	2	4/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses a study on Wallace states. 1 pg.

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32	2	4/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	From Jeb S. Magruder to H.R. Haldeman. This document discusses a plan for a Direct Mail operation prepared by Bob Morgan. 74 pgs.
32	2	5/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Gordon Strachan. Enclosed in this document is a personnel list and a budget breakdown. 37 pgs.
32	2	5/16/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bob Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Compass Systems, Inc. 2 pgs.
32	2	4/14/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: General Campaign Strategy. 3 pgs.
32	2	4/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Democratic Primaries. 5 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	2	5/10/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert H. Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: The Deomcratic Nomination. 2 pgs.
32	2	4/12/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Senator Kennedy. 6 pgs.
32	2	4/28/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Arthur J. Finkelstein through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Conservative Party in New York. 2 pgs.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 312

Folder: Campaign 19 Part VII March 29-May 17 [Folder 1]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
22	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAREK TO MAGRUDER, 4/5/72
23	Return Private/Political NOTES, JSM - MAREK..., "4/28/[72]"
24	Return Private/Political NOTES, "LA RUE - FLEM...", "n.d."
25	Return Private/Political NOTES, "CAMP STRA GRP...", "5/15/[72]"
26	Return Private/Political NOTES, "L. JSM - JM...", "n.d."
27	Return Private/Political NOTES, "JOANOU H - TERTER...", "4/17/[72]"
28	Return Private/Political NOTES, "8:30 - TUES - MAREK'S...", "4/14/[72]"
29	Return Private/Political NOTES, "BUDGET 2 OPTIONS...", "4/21/[72]"
30	Retain Open
31	Return Private/Political NOTES, "STUDY ON WALLACE...", "4/24/[72]"
32	Return Private/Political MEMO/ATTACH, MAGRUDER TO ARH, 4/26/72
33	Return Private/Political MEMO, ODLE TO STRACHAN, 5/17/72
34	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAREK TO MITCHELL, 5/16/72
35	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/25/72
36	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAREK TO MITCHELL, 5/10/72
37	Retain Open
38	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/14/72
39	Return Private/Political MEMO, MAGRUDER TO MITCHELL, 4/12/72
40	Return Private/Political MEMO, FINKELSTEIN TO MITCHELL, 4/28/72

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 5, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK 

SUBJECT: McGovern's Victory in Wisconsin

I think there are two observations that are very important about McGovern's victory which was totally unexpected a few weeks ago. The first is, whereas all the other candidates depended upon a few weeks of concentrated campaigning in the state, McGovern carefully built a volunteer organization over a period of more than a year. This strategy brought him from a 5% candidate in the national polls to a position of being able to successfully challenge all of the more firmly entrenched Democratic leaders. It also allowed him to leave the field far behind in the final week of the campaign. This is something that Republican Presidential candidates of the recent past have not been able to do in November. As Murray Chotiner mentioned in the Strategy Group on Monday, we should have a field organization by now and we don't.

McGovern's performance demonstrates that we ought to get moving in this neglected area.

Second, if a candidate like McGovern were to win the nomination in Miami, it might be very hard for people like George Meany to support him. Meany has made the statement that he could not support a candidate who advocates surrender in Vietnam. We seem firmly committed to a strategy of attacking Meany hard, even at this early date. I want to raise the point that little would be lost in postponing an attack until after the Democratic Convention in July. On the other hand, it just might be that the convention slaps Meany and some of the other established Democratic leaders in the face, and it would be useful to us if they had the option to at least remain neutral in the general election in November. They would never do this if they had been subjected to harsh personal attack over the months preceding the Convention..

It is the conventional wisdom that someone like McGovern cannot be nominated by the Democratic Convention. However, as you know, the new rules on delegate selection have led to a much more left-leaning mix of delegates so far. Furthermore, it appears that labor has been less successful than anticipated in electing their

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- 2 -

own people as delegates in the various state caucuses.

Theodore White on CBS last night speculated that the resurrection of the new left in the Democratic Party might lead to a convention that would make Chicago look like child's play. If that occurs, it is not at all certain that the established forces will win as they did in 1968.

One last point--apparently McGovern had some success in carving into the discontented blue collar constituency which had formerly belonged to Wallace. Bobby Kennedy was able to do this in 1968, while at the same time retaining his credentials as a card-carrying liberal. It will take hard work and imaginative strategy on our part to assure that these people, many of whom are Arthur Finkelstein's peripheral urban ethnics, vote for the President in November if a person like McGovern is nominated.

It looks more and more like Kennedy for President.

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JSM

Bill Walker-Kneass Deputy

~~Mailed → JSM re E's new job on issues~~

~~Ap computer mapping
JSM → Cole re stuns + issues~~

~~E + N on regional people
E - JSM Tues night Miller +
Mty Wed Mardian
Garment + Hauser - alliance + pub's
alleged w/ advertising
Garment → E cpl re adver~~

~~Mail - direct mail plan + teleph
update~~

- JSM + FM | ① qa mty w/ JSM - add FM
- FM | ② more manage of clothing
- ③ strategy mty - add FM
- ④ FM review tight memos

~~alas + Hsu → Mardian away R/dk~~

~~Wise away for mail + to Presmen~~

~~NJ away for More + to JSM~~

~~split 6 sts for JSM for day to day~~

A-2 weakest
men on 2
biggest sts

Cal - Mardian
NY - Flemming
Tx - La Rue

Ill - Al Keep - 6 New Eng

Ohio - Mosiman

NJ - Mosiman

Convention - m B vote today at 5p

No firm view

- Final Vote - could lose 4 to 3

- Jo Good, ^{Paul} Herman, Timmons,

Sat - on RAE, Bob Knowles, JSM,
Ballball Bob Flan, JM, La Rue
bids for next

Fri - D.C. out before morning

Choices: Gattenberg Team

Phil

Atlantic City

Atlanta

ha Rue

Flem SE ~~the W Va, Ky, Pa, SC,~~
Kaup NE including Conn only
all of south Ala + Ga Kaup Key St

Mardon - Western States
+ Mo + Wis

Yeutter - m w farm st
SD, ND, Kan, Neb,
Iowa, Minn, Okla

© Don Roseman - N.J., Pa, Ind,
Md, Del, Mich
5 Key Sts

JM pers: Cal, Tx, Ill
NY, Ohio, ~~Rt.~~

← ha Rue trying to have JM
on but have all
men in to give each
list

Camp Stra Grip -

5/15
6:30

H - to see ~~ads~~ + promo stuff
before ~~U.S.S. R.~~

Advertising ~~Stra~~ for Voters Blocs.

Wave II - ~~Credibility~~ of Media

Info to Adver - ~~Credib~~ - not il deals
but A/D.

Regis - ~~Polling~~ - conduct none
but when are deadlines
- 30 days;

Big argu - ~~why~~ Regis any kids.

1:45

L.

JSM - JM really appreciates
8¹⁵ Mlys

Joanou

4/17

H - Teeter re polls - sts - add ? s.
Post Anderson - Eastland Advertising Comp.
Camp Strategy Mtg

Miller,
Joanou,
Bailey,
Best,
Flem,
Aotina,
May,
Garm,
Teeter,
Finkel,
Buchen,
Mailk
Finch

Meet each Mon at 1701 for next 3 Mon's
Meany Teeter

No data on him pers or off pay led.
Labor blamed for infla

Wallace - only 1 or 2 sts seen
as strong as in '68

Gen'l referenc'd to memo on Wal
- at this juncture rather have Wal
off than on but a very close?

Advertising Strategy for Comp - Bailey

3 Areas:

Funda Camp Thrust:

Basic Media Str

Special Voter Bloc Groups

cc
of Bailey
Memo for H

- Ade believe P better on Q+A
than on Address.

- Just keep P off personal
attack, P only P' tal;
Garis lang had

- Emphasize Personal Accompl
not Personal Characteristics

DN 4/14

~~Dean~~

~~Eisen - send to Dean for still
Freestone~~

~~No will signed~~

~~Dean - Sequoia stuff -
will send memo
re no~~

JSM

- E + R w/ construct costs plotted,
- appear Wed, JSM → Powell
real blast, 2nd letter + everything
- Klein - probab. "WH source" in
LAT - 1st page story
- Kevin Phillips → JSM re "Don't
worry about your right,
only ♀ on left."
- CWC + DH doing memo on
Sun. Operation.

Collision
Course

CWC v JSM

- prob w/ subst v. Pd line
eg - R Fined in Pa re
line on VN.

- JSM wants Axel Koch +
CWC will fight.

Herge doing memo for JSM → H re Koch +
O'Donnell 12

CWC v JSM on
Eastland - write
every mem re
confirm
Kleindienst, JSM piece

RESERVATION COPY

JM wants Timmons over from
WH to 1701

- G. to cover w/ Timmons
mid-May thru age then back to WHS

JM - Regis, Get out Vote, Ballot Security

Burley + Javits - Co-Am under Rockefeller
for NY.

Jewish vote - FM believes subst in road,
Policy right, Golda → Ams re R N
As Am pushing R N.

	x	x	x	x	x
x					
x					
x					

Liddy - switch for Meo → McG
Begin Mon. Mon

Domes Council - no prob - E is reliable
JM - H talked w/E, but JM hasn't
heard anything. No E v JM prob
JM said that E's attitude improved,
"surface situation has improved."

Mon → JM / H / Teeter re Strategy

ha Rue → Flem re not head of Pol Dir
JM meet Flem today re replacing Don Mossi
#3 EPA
Dr / End - Rude

4/21

Budget -

2 ~~Options~~ Options

35 + 40 m - Total: includes
all st expenses

- approved bills thru Feb

- indie st Budgets - review
tomorrow + then go thru

w/ stans next week on
Budge Comm

Advertising - ~~2.2~~ mil includes
commis above media

11.2

Teleph 2.2 m

Air Mail 4.4 m

St Paul's - 8-10

Poling - 800

Porter 800

PR 800

WH Sup 1.5 m

Fin & adm - balance

- Moseman hired

Yeutter - farm belt

- JTM tentativly approved st + Flem
resisting

- La Rue mills for JTM on rights

O'Brien - 2-3 wells covered

H must
review JSM

Strategy Mtg -
JSM, Pailey, Tetter, Finkeldstein,
JSM, Maill, La Rue, Miller
- 1st mtg next week - Key States
Advertising, etc

> 100 professionals - 200 Books.
Mrs It - 8t Books for Splus etc.
work Billie Wagner

No solution on Spades Res

4/24

Study on Wallace States - 3

~~LAI~~ -

Malet

JSM feeling oats - "JSM really does strongly about this"

Solution - Get JSM hard on

① crappy staff work + FM will cost quality benefit

Treter Int + Cal Plan as exis.

② Manuevering to console point - must stop screwing around or FM blast

Action - post Elec

1. Team Effort

2. Stay away FM

3. Stop closing off JSM - Strategy Mtg

No Comp Strategy - Mark - Planning for Dept Responsiveness

F
FM asset role / co Manage Consult
Budget -

→ mtgs, lenative decreases
need better st budgets

36.5 m + 4-5 for sts.

Not spe limit on advertis 1.5 under

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

April 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information is the plan
for our Direct Mail operation which was
prepared by Bob Morgan.

Table of Contents

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WHY EMPHASIZE THE USE OF DIRECT MAIL AS A MEDIA

Unique Circumstances

The year 1972 presents a unique set of circumstances to re-elect the President of the United States. He is known to almost every potential voter, and his position on the political spectrum is well-established. He probably receives and will continue to receive more coverage than any other individual in the country. His constant exposure, via newspapers, magazine articles, radio and television, will tend to neutralize the effect of those media as campaign vehicles. Since January 1 through March 18, major networks have devoted 41 hours and 44 minutes to Mr. Nixon's China trip alone versus 20 minutes of prime national television time by Muskie and Humphrey.

This exposure, plus the President's long history on the national political scene, have crystallized the attitudes of most potential voters. Ever since the 1968 campaign, a constant level of approximately 43% of the electorate have supported him in public opinion polls. Because of the higher registration levels, the Democratic candidate will be assured of a similar-sized base of support. The 1972 election, therefore, will probably be close and will hinge on the decision of the undecided target of "swing" voters. Our direct mail, therefore, will be focused on that voter segment.

Direct mail can focus on that segment of the adult population whose opinions need re-enforcement and/or need a persuasive message(s) -- the reachable electorate. Direct mail is called the personal media since it can personally communicate in a primary manner without abstractions.

Segmentation

Many recent close political campaigns have been waged and won by identifying various demographic and geographic voting segments -- then communicating specific issues to these segments until their opinions change to the degree needed. In the new book The Ticket-Splitter: A New Force in American Politics by Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance, they mention that the best predictors of the swing voters are: income, age, education, occupation, race and residence. Once this identification is made, then and only then, can they be reached with the salient issues that are important to them. Demographic segmentation of consumer profiles is not a new

concept -- it has been commercially tried and proven! But it has only been within the past two years that it has been used with earnest in the political field. In 1972 we should see its extensive use on a national scope for the Presidential election.

The firm Valentine-Sherman, that works exclusively on Democratic campaigns and more recently to help elect Hubert Humphrey to the Senate, claims a 3% to 5% increase in the vote for their candidates through "the selective segmented approach to direct mail." This was written up in a recent article in the Minneapolis Tribune (December 5, 1971). (Tab A)

Another article supporting the segmentation of the voting population appeared in the February, 1971 issue of The Journal of Marketing Research (Tab B). This article brings out how in the business world various products appeal to consumers having distinct demographic profiles and how this applies directly to the political picture.

The "RNC project" conducted on direct mail in Virginia, Kentucky and Indianapolis in 1971 supports these findings. These tests were conducted with control and experiment precincts. The effect of direct mail on the Republican vote in these elections was in the range of the Valentine-Sherman findings. We consider this extremely important as the major element of the media mix not used completely in past Presidential elections. Theodore H. White stated in The Making of the President in 1960 that Richard Nixon "would have been President if only 4,500 voters in Illinois and 28,000 voters in Texas had changed their minds." Direct mail is the media element heretofore not used to its full capability.

Pinpointing the Target Voter

Public opinion polls can relate issues to voter segments. Direct mail can then pinpoint the voter segments demographically, geographically, and personally cover with impact in depth the issues that need directional change. This will result in public opinion changes by zeroing in on issues, and that reachable voter segment that needs more personal persuasion.

Universal direct mail lists are available which include the addresses of 85% of all American families. The names can be classified according to 25 demographics¹ -- 8 individual characteristics and 17 median, or percent characteristics by census tract.² The characteristics that have proven most useful in the past to define adult market segmentation are:

- 1) Income
- 2) Own a telephone but no car -- 28% fall in this category

¹A list of these variables appears in Tab C.

²The cities in the U. S. where census tracts are available with total mailing counts are listed in Tab D.

- 3) Own a car but not a listed telephone or no telephone at the household
- 4) Own a telephone and a car
- 5) Live in a single family dwelling unit
- 6) Live in a multiple family dwelling unit -- 2 to 10 units
- 7) Live in a multiple family dwelling unit over 10 units
- 8) Annual length of residence up to 10 years
- 9) Year and make of car
- 10) Multiple car household
- 11) Median education by census tract
- 12) Percent blue collar/white collar workers by census tract

It is significant how these demographics are applied to the commercial field -- frozen orange juice is an excellent example.

Seventy-five percent of the frozen orange juice sales is consumed by 25% of the market. Direct mail pinpoints the 25% by using income, education, eliminating telephone-only households and apartment dwellers, picking certain geographic areas, as well as length of residence.

Another good example of applying demographics to consumer profiles is the petroleum credit card field.

An active credit card customer must be near a convenient service station, have an income of over \$8,500 per year for good approval, own his home, preferably own two cars -- one of which is five years or newer -- and have a listed telephone.

The specific individual characteristics listed commercially predict buyers' behaviors in many ways. Some applications follow:

<u>Demographic Characteristic</u>	<u>What it Describes</u>
Income	-Credit approval levels -Life style indicator -Purchase indicators, e.g. Buyers' Index
Own a listed telephone but no car	-Older households if length of residence over 9 years -Excellent geriatric predictor

- Own a car but no phone or no listed phone
 - Add female heads of household to length of residence and you predict older widows with a high degree of incidence
 - Not a petroleum or tire company prospect but if length of residence is under 4 years, a good rent-a-car prospect
- Own a listed telephone and a car
 - Potential poor credit risk (half of the people have unlisted numbers for privacy and the other half to avoid creditors -- we can't tell which half)
 - Younger families on the average
 - Families in the acquisition phase of their household
- Households living in single family dwelling unit
 - Higher credit approval families
 - Longer length of residence generally associated with this segment
 - Generally older established families
 - Excellent retail industry potential households
- Households living in single family dwelling unit
 - Older households as a rule
 - Higher income households
 - Better credit risks
 - When correlated to income, good prospects for swimming pools, building contractors, summer vacation homes, land investment, insurance leads, fertilizer sales, e.g., Scott's Turf Builder, all major household appliances, etc.
- Apartments -- under 10 units
 - Generally described as garden apartments. More of a tie in demographic as it is used with income, length of residence, and automobile ownership to predict when it should be eliminated to zero in on a marketing profile
- Apartments -- over 10 units
 - Since 1963 when new housing units started to decline, the

apartment segment has taken a different complexion. It predicts life style attitudes more than anything else

Annual length of residence up to 10 years

-This predicts the age of the household better than any other variable. Combined with apartment ownership and no automobile it is an excellent geriatric predictor
-Also relates to credit acceptance

Year and make of car

-This fits profiles and life styles very well. Imagine the significance of a new Pinto owner vs a Lincoln Continental
-This also falls out as one of the most significant predictors for lead development programs when a regression analysis is used

Multiple car ownership

-Good predictor of young families when one car is a station wagon
-Better credit approval rate with this segment
-Good insurance and land leads
-Good for automobile sales and tire sales as well as petroleum sales

Median education by census tract

-It is more and more clear that households with similar incomes but different education levels have different life styles. An example of this is the \$15,000 a year electrician who will develop different interests than a Harvard MBA one year out of school. Product profiles are geared to the various life styles -- all products are no longer geared to all markets. It is just part of the segmented approach to marketing

Percent blue/white collar workers by census tract

-This is one of the best predictors of the interests of the households. Again stressing life style vs just income

Best emphasized by the do-it-yourself market which is bigger with blue collar households

These 12 demographics that have commercially proven to be the most useful are most likely the same ones we would use to identify the various segments of the voting population. (The book The Ticket-Splitter, a very politically sophisticated text, agrees with four of the twelve listed.) For example, the life style of voters living in homes is different than voters living in high rise multiple dwelling units. Even The Ticket-Splitter which espouses the highest degree of political sophistication does not begin to match commercial expertise. In the area of direct mail demographic applications to segmented marketing, the political applications are about a decade behind. One of our objectives in this campaign is to bridge that gap immediately. The Committee for the Re-election of the President can catch up by following this direct mail plan.

Demographic Voter Profiling

Presently the Committee for the Re-election of the President is in the process of relating socio-economic characteristics to geographic as well as identifiable population elements. The older voters (60 year olds and older) are interested in different issues, e.g., Medicare, Social Security, spiraling inflation, retirement plans, etc. The youth market (18 to 25 years old) is more concerned with the draft, Vietnam, military expenditures, environment, drugs, unemployment, etc.

These are two readily discernable elements in the overall voter mix, but the profiling will allow us to mail by these and other elements such as: Mexican-Americans, Blacks, affluent suburban young families 25 to 45, new residents of growth areas, high unemployment areas -- you can almost name a segment of the voter mix and there will be demographic profiling to pinpoint that group.

Again this concept is used often in the business community and is only another good example of the cross-fertilization that is going on -- relating proven business techniques to the political arena.

"The Swing Voter"

A large portion of the voter population makes their decision relatively early in a campaign, e.g., 1960 and 1964 about 70% of the voters had made a candidate choice by August and did not waiver from that decision through election day¹.

¹ORC Study.

The polling done by the Committee for the Re-election of the President will identify by demographic and geographic segment --

- voters firmly committed to the President
- voters firmly opposed to the President
- undecided, target or "swing" voters.

Direct mail tactically would zero in on the Republicans to confirm and be supportive of their vote where a key state needs insurance. The main thrust, however, would be to bring "The Swing Voter" into the President's camp. This would be done by voter segment tying in to the issues that the in-house poll(s) say are important by voter segment. Direct mail would clarify the President's position as it relates to that particular segment in an intensive manner and create the margin of safety necessary to insure victory.

The objective of the use of mass media is to contact that fraction of voters in the population who can be influenced favorably by the political message. In total numbers, the size of the television market that can be served at a given cost is often larger than the number of households that can be reached by direct mail for the same cost. However, when one analyzes the percentage of people in each market who are the influenceable voters, direct mail comes out very favorably by comparison.

Tab E represents a hypothetical analysis to make that point. In the case of a television commercial, it might be assumed that 25% of the sets in a given market are watching that commercial. It might further be assumed that 80% of the viewers are of voting age. Only about 65% of the population of voting age will be registered and likely to vote on election day, and finally, of those likely to vote, a maximum of perhaps 30% are uncommitted and susceptible to that television commercial message.

When the television message is thus filtered through to the influenceable voters, they represent, in this example, only 4% of the total potential media audience.

In direct mail, on the other hand, much greater control can be exercised in the selection of households who will receive letters. Thus, the fraction of letters which are read by influenceable voters will be substantially better. In the hypothetical example, we have assumed that 85% of the letters will be deliverable. Most messages will have a deliverability of closer to 95%. Post election surveys have shown that approximately 70% of political direct mail is read. Since the mail will be sent to households, it will be assumed that nearly 100% of that which is opened and read will be seen by persons of voting age. By careful selection of the mailing lists, the fraction of recipients who are registered and likely to vote can be increased to about 80%.

Finally, direct mail can be carefully targeted to areas where undecided voters are known to be concentrated. We can double the percentage of voters reading the mail who are not strongly committed and therefore susceptible to the impact of the message on their vote. That is, the 30% not strongly committed in the television example now becomes 60% in the case of direct mail.

The cumulative percent, then, of letters which reach the hands of voters not strongly committed is 29% in this example, or approximately seven times the comparable fraction of television commercials in a media market.

Although hypothetical, this analysis has used numbers which are reasonable to illustrate how direct mail can be many times more effective than television in focusing a message to a desired audience.

At a point in time after the conventions and before the final election the effect of television will probably reach a saturation point. In the final 60 days before the recent gubernatorial election in Michigan the emphasis was switched from television to direct mail after they found that they had reached a saturation point with their television audience.

Mailing Ensemble Elements

Most mailing ensembles include envelopes, brochures, and letters. The envelopes can be reproduced with a minimum lead time of two weeks, but four weeks is more reasonable. The computer forms have about the same lead time. A brochure's lead time would be slightly longer due to the set up time and necessity of reviewing proofs prior to printing.

Suppliers in these areas are already presenting their capabilities regarding timing, lead time, quantities per week, security standard operating procedures, and suggested economics of scale.

MAILING ENSEMBLE CREATIVITY - WHAT GRAPHICS AND COPY WORK BEST
BY VOTER SEGMENT

Not all graphics cause the same reaction from all people even if they are from the same socio-economic and geographic segment of the voter population.

Practically speaking, we have to find out what graphic combinations sway voter opinion in the direction we want in the shortest period of time at the lowest cost.

Since the issues are constantly changing, we can only identify writing styles (not specific copy) which work best and which are less effective. Direct mail writing styles can be classified as to the Fog Index¹, length of pages, long paragraphs versus short paragraphs, etc.

Good judgment and an application of sound business principles will be directly applied. The objective is to hone in on the best of a series of good approaches to maximize results -- change cushioned voter margin.

During the primaries, we are using a series of control groups to measure election results on a series of mailings.

¹The Fog Index is a measurement of the complexity of written material and is an accepted technique on the degree of readability.

ORGANIZATION

The direct mail organization will be relatively small in relationship to the task and budget. This is accomplished by using the art, creative and direct mail copy staff of the November Group. A full-time direct mail copy writer is being searched for now. We will work directly with the creative and copy staff assigned to us which will keep our Washington manpower to a minimum.

In Washington the staff now consists of a direct mail manager, a finance, quality and quantity control coordinator and a secretary. We now need a math oriented stenotypist in the controls area and we need an individual with graphic and direct mail skills as a back up to keep the work load flowing and thereby avoiding costly errors.

Recommendations

That you approve the hiring of a graphic and direct mail coordinator starting April 17th (\$11,700 for seven months).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

That you approve the hiring of a math oriented stenotypist starting April 10th (\$5,300 for seven months).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Task Force

The significance of the Task Force should be understood at this time. We have chosen R. H. Donnelley Corporation as our prime direct mail supplier and requested that specific people in their organization be assigned to a special group called the Task Force to work on the Committee's assignments. This meant pulling key personnel off of their regular management assignments in order to operate in this group full time. They are the best people available in Donnelley's organization at their respective jobs. The Task Force consists of a production manager, data processing and systems manager, communication liaison and the statistical quality control function. Direct mail per se does not normally build in the kind of quality control we desire -- se we will make that a qualification of our job requirements.

A contract has been signed by Maurice H. Stans and R. H. Donnelley which includes a minimum mailing guarantee during the campaign. Since Donnelley is the largest direct mail firm with the greatest plant and machine capacity and with the Task Force arrangement, an exclusive contract is in our best interests. It gives us the biggest organization in the business with a hand picked staff to operate our job and to reserve machine time for our peak time.

Donnelley was closing a 250,000 square foot plant in Oak Brook, Illinois, but has agreed to leave it open through the General Election and run our jobs with the standard operations procedure for security that we submit. Jim McCord, the head of the Committee's security operation, has reviewed the Oak Brook facility and has made suggestions for improvements (see Tab F). He will follow up in May so we will be ready security wise for the General Election.

The Task Force would be in the facility which in effect gives us an in-house direct mail company completely at our disposal without the interference of commercial jobs. The authorization to see documents pertaining to the Committee's work will be on a need-to-know basis and all documents will be kept locked when not in use.

All normal sales management has been stripped away except at the vice-presidential level which speeds all decisions and gives us direct access to satisfying our needs while maintaining a maximum security atmosphere.

Recommendation

That you approve the concept of having an exclusive arrangement with R. H. Donnelley Corporation which prevents them from performing other political services without the Committee's approval.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

OPERATING PLANS AND BUDGETS

Successful direct mail primary operations have been completed in New Hampshire (Tab G shows the first, second and third mailing ensembles for New Hampshire), Florida (Tab H shows the first and second mailing ensembles for Florida) and Wisconsin (Tab I shows the first and second mailing ensembles for Wisconsin). Primary operations are in progress for Maryland, Michigan and California. The development of these programs has been refined as they have progressed.

Strategy

For the general campaign the strategy would be to direct mailing efforts to reachable voter segments to capitalize on the selectivity and flexibility available. This would be done by:

1. A. Securing registered voter lists for mailing purposes in all key states (Tab J) in the Committee's tape format.
 - B. Identifying bloc groups in key states that are reachable. This selectivity would be both geographic as a saturation mailing or to individual voters within geographic areas.
 - C. Technically matching voter registration data by precinct voter history; individually matching demographics down to the precinct and voter level; use algorithms to identify ethnic names; and matching specialty lists for specific needs, e.g., elderly, corn farmers, etc.
2. Mailing to identifiable bloc groups, e.g., Agricultural, Blacks, Elderly and Spanish speaking in key states.
 3. Developing lists for the telephone operation and a system to respond to undecided voters with a strong get out the vote mailing for pro Nixon voters.

Specifically these mailings will be going to the key states in Tab J -- California, New York, Texas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, Missouri, Wisconsin, Maryland, Connecticut and Oregon. These states all have in common a close contest for electoral votes and a reasonable chance to bring the state into the Nixon fold for 1972.

Three mailings are scheduled for each target voter. This is usually enough to establish a communication pattern and accomplish our goals--

- convert the undecided
- be supportive
- bring in the reachable bloc group.

The target mailings will go to voters in these definable segments--

- Agricultural (see Tab K for details by state)
- Blacks
- Elderly
- Jewish
- Spanish speaking
- Non-ethnic or non-specialty.

Each of the segments above will be identified using registered voter lists (where available), universal list demographics, algorithm formulas, 1970 census tract data and other cross reference controls. This will allow us to only go after reachable voter blocs based on the voter history by precinct as well as the demographics. Some of the mailings will go to the undecided voter defined by telephone operations. Direct mail will only be used as a supportive role to get out the vote when added insurance for that state is needed.

A major effort is being made to completely avoid any duplication of effort. This is being accomplished with tight management controls on all mailings and magnetic tapes.

In states where we have developed a new registered Republican list on magnetic tape or have cleaned up an old tape, it is a major asset to the Republican party. How it is used and by whom should be studied for future party development.

Interface - Telephone Operation

In all key states (see Tab J) where a telephone operation takes place, we supply the graphics, printing and data processing support -- acting in a staff capacity for their needs. This saves duplication on list development as well as costly software. In some instances this support means putting the names of registered voters on cards (see Tab L for an example). In other instances the telephone number is put on by a match code process. Whenever we can direct the volunteer or paid worker to productive calls vis-a-vis non-productive hand look up of telephone numbers it increases their efficiency. These cards can be sorted in sequence for ease of processing.

In some cases, a telephone call triggers a letter response from the computer based on the issue or issues indicated. Tab M is a complete example of how this looked for the New Hampshire primary. This same telephone call can identify a voter opposed to the President which then eliminates this voter from any get out the vote mailing or personal contact.

Organization and Volunteer Development

Since we are developing a list of all registered voters in the key states (Tab J), we can develop name and address lists sorted by precinct. This has proven a boon to the state and county chairmen who almost immediately capitalize on it to:

1. Structure their county with precinct captains and give each captain a vehicle to recruit workers in his area.
2. Develop a checking system to follow up on the counties and precincts.
3. Develop walking blitzes to get out the vote.
4. Develop telephone blitzes to get out the vote.

The direct mail efforts, although good, have their greatest effect on what they can do for the organization at the grass roots level. It gives the county chairman a reason to organize as if a reason was necessary.

Advertising

Direct mail as a personal media works best when it is tied in thematically with television, newspaper, magazine and radio. The psychologists often call this the Gestalt approach where the sum of the parts add to more than any of the parts separately. All advertising key words, themes, pictures, and overall direction must work in tandem with direct mail ensembles.

Coordination for this is handled via direct contact with the creative people in the November Group as well as unstructured cooperation with the key advertising people -- Phil Joanou and Pete Daily.

Budget

The estimated cost for that type of direct mail program would be approximately:

Materials	\$ 996,000
Mailing and Services	1,660,000
Postage	1,660,000
Research	41,500
List Development and Software	392,500
	<u>\$ 4,750,000</u>

Recommendation

That you approve the above budget as a basis for the development of a refined direct mail plan for the campaign.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

It is imperative that we have the capacity to produce 15 million ensembles in October without conflict. To insure that this capacity is available, it will be necessary for us to enter into an agreement with the Donnelley Corporation to set aside the required computer configuration.

We strongly believe that it is in the best interests of the Committee that we enter into this agreement. If the need arises for a rapid response late in the campaign we cannot afford to shop around for performance -- it must be available with a fast turnaround plus tight security.

Recommendation

That you agree with the type of an arrangement that is included in the contract between the Committee and the R. H. Donnelley Corporation (Tab N). This contract has been reviewed by the Counsel for the Committee. It was executed on April 6 by Mr. Stans to facilitate prepayment of \$2.5 million, as you had directed in earlier discussions. It would be possible to amend the contract if you felt strongly that changes should be made.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

Democrats use computer in '72 vote drive

By Bernie Shellum
Staff Writer

The Democrats will spend millions of dollars next year to square out votes with a computer that reads and analyzes telephone books, writes personable letters and pushes party loyalty.

If it finds out you're a Republican, the computer may ignore you.

If you're an independent, you probably won't fare much better.

But if you're a Democrat, the computer will know how long you've lived in your home, how big your family is and what you do for a living.

One day next year, the computer will cause your telephone to ring and a volunteer will ask how well—or whether—you like the Democratic candidates.

Callers also will urge you to register and, in the last few days before next year's election, to vote.

You may even receive a letter, addressed to you by name, inquiring "if you need any assistance, such as a babysitter or a ride to the polls," and identifying the precise location of your polling place. The signature of the candidate will look very real, just as the computer printed it.

If you are a Democrat living in one of 30 states, there is

Computer continued on page 15A



Valentine

Humphrey

Sherman

COMPUTER: Votes sought among poor, old

Continued from page 1A

A good thing is that some of all of these things will happen to the Democrats. The Democratic Labor Union in Minnesota, they are almost a certainty.

In those 31 states, Democratic officials and candidates have drawn a simple conclusion: next year's election results in Minnesota and two other states suggest that the surest way to win is to use the computer and the statehouse. It is the application of advanced technology to old-fashioned politics that is the key.

And in suburban Minneapolis, the men who operate Valentine, Sherman and Associates are favoring the fact that, after 27 months in business, they are the most sought-after political consultants in the nation.

They don't sell political limousine, but they have enlisted more clients for next year's campaigns than any of the television image-makers who do.

They also are faster about their clients; they could have aided a 32nd state in their operations last week, but Norman Sherman said no. It would have been a Republican campaign and they don't take Republicans.

Right now, Valentine, Sherman doesn't really need the business.

The company already has 170 technicians transferring names and numbers from telephone directories onto sheets. These are fed into its new \$250,000 computer, which is kept whirring 24 hours a day in Edina, recording information on magnetic tape and feeding out sheets that volunteers will use to record the age, family characteristics, occupation and party preferences of the people in the telephone books.

It all ends up on magnetic tape, which will in turn produce the basic data that volunteers will use next year to see that voters who favor the Democratic party—or at least those who favor the candidate whose election the Democrats seek—first register and then vote.

For the Democrats, getting out the vote has been a tedious, time-consuming task, but of great importance in most elections because fewer Democrats than Republicans are "automatic voters."

Often, these nonautomatic voters are poor, old or alienated from the political system. In the view of Jack Valentine, one of the partners in the Bloomington firm, they "will do the right thing"—that is, vote Democratic—"if they're asked or if they're pushed."

In offering the tools for get-out-the-vote drives, Valentine, Sherman makes modest claims. It tells potential clients that the service can be expected to add from 3 percent to 5 percent to the candidate's vote.

But in most states the Democrats are the majority party and if they turn out their own vote they win the election.

This, together with the proven results of the Valentine, Sherman system and Sen. Hubert Humphrey's salesmanship, has proved persuasive. Former and candidates in 20 states already have contracted for the computer service, and in 11 more they have made preliminary arrangements for it.

The survey will be used in most of the Upper Midwest states, including Minnesota. It was learned last week that the other clients are concentrated in the Mississippi River Valley all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. In a few states, the data on voters will be computerized in only one or more congressional districts, at a cost ranging from \$10,000 to \$15,000 per district.

While Valentine, Sherman is not the only company operating in the field of computer politics, its progress has easily been the most spectacular. For 1971, its second full year of operation, Valentine and Sherman will do more than \$1 million in business. That figure is certain to be multiplied next year, counting only those arrangements that already have been made.

This fall, Democrats in Ohio decided to extend the Valentine, Sherman system statewide after crediting it with the reelection of Toledo Mayor Harry Kessler. Kessler, who had run second in professional public opinion polls, won with 61 percent of the vote.

In Toledo, as in Valentine, Sherman's pioneer effort on behalf of Humphrey and the DFL ticket in Minnesota last year, computerized letters were mailed to thousands of homes. However, Toledo carried Kessler's statements on specific issues and were intended to overcome political weaknesses discovered earlier during the telephone survey of the city's voters.

In Minnesota last year, Humphrey sponsored computer letters that were mailed to Democrats in more than 20 key legislative districts; the primary purpose there was simply to identify the DFL legislative candidates, who would appear on the ballot without party affiliation.

Ordinarily, the falloff in the DFL vote from the top of the ticket to the bottom runs from 15 percent to 45 percent, reflecting the lessened interest in more local offices. Last year, the falloff in the target districts was sharply reduced and most of these legislative candidates won.

As for predicting the turnout of DFL Chairman Richard Moe, Valentine said that 49th district telephone calls were made during a six-day period at the end of the campaign. This, he said, "turned out 50,000 DFLers who would not otherwise have voted."

For next year's campaign, in which voters for the Legislature will be at a ballot box, Valentine has again contracted with Valentine, Sherman to provide the service, with Sen. Walter Mondale as the uniting figure on the ticket.

In South Dakota, arrangements confirmed that Rep. James Abdnor will use the Valentine, Sherman system in what is expected to be a tight race for the Democratic nomination to succeed Republican Sen. Earl Marzoff.

Humphrey is considered a likely client for those states in which he undertakes active campaigning for delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Sherman, his former press secretary, is expected to become the No. 3 man in the senator's presidential campaign, joining Jack Chestnut and John Starnes.

And in one border state a liberal governor has enlisted Valentine, Sherman, even though he isn't even up for election next year. He hopes to jump some conservative Democrats from the legislature on the assumption that his own long-range program is more appealing through a legislative program which some Democrats oppose.

Meanwhile, the Republicans, too, are gearing up for expanded use of computers in voter-identification surveys.

In Minnesota, the party had been developing for more than a decade a card-index file that was considered one of the most sophisticated voter profiles in the country. But the Republicans were caught short by the Valentine, Sherman operation last year, and are bent on catching up.

President Nixon's campaign organization already has asked Minnesota Republicans about the kinds of lists that will be available next year. In recent days, at least five computer firms have been interviewed for the task of converting the card file to a computerized system.

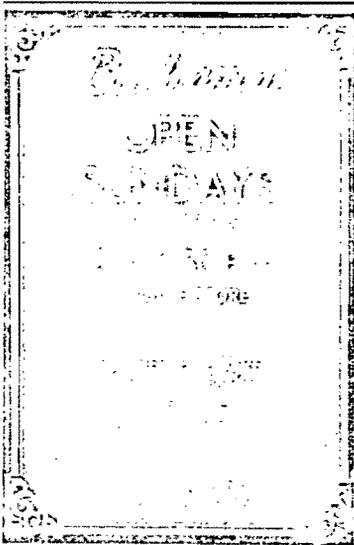
Knowledgeable informants say the party will spend from \$50,000 to \$70,000 to make the conversion.

Valentine thinks that is nonsense, since the Republican party is a more homogeneous group and Republican voters are more consistent and reliable voters than Democrats.

"I think the Republicans are wasting their money by doing something like we're doing," he said. "I think the Democrats are crazy if they're not doing it, for that very reason."

But Valentine acknowledges that voters need to be impressed with a letter that comes addressed to them and ends with issues and circumstances of direct concern to them and their families.

Last year, for instance, Humphrey reminded Minnesota farmers of his dedication to "the development of programs designed to increase farm-bargaining power."



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In the past, marketing research has largely been restricted to tactical questions. However, with the advent of new techniques, marketing research can contribute directly to the development of strategic alternatives to current product marketing plans.

Market Segmentation: A Strategic Management Tool

Like motivation research in the late 1950's, market segmentation is receiving much attention in research circles. Although this term evokes the idea of cutting up a market into little pieces, the real role of such research is more basic and potentially more valuable. In this discussion *market segmentation analysis* refers to examination of the structure of a market as perceived by consumers, preferably using a geometric spatial model, and to forecasting the intensity of demand for a potential product positioned anywhere in the space.

The purpose of such a study, as seen by a marketing manager, might be:

1. To learn how the brands or products in a class are perceived with respect to strengths, weaknesses, similarities, etc.
2. To learn about consumers' desires, and how these are satisfied or unsatisfied by the current market.
3. To integrate these findings strategically, determining the greatest opportunities for new brands or products and how a product or its image should be modified to produce the greatest sales gain.

From the position of a marketing research technician, each of these three goals translates into a separate technical problem:

1. To construct a product space, a geometric representation of consumers' perceptions of products or brands in a category.
2. To obtain a density distribution by positioning consumers' ideal points in the same space.
3. To construct a model which predicts preferences of groups of consumers toward new or modified products.

This discussion will focus on each of these three prob-

* Richard M. Johnson is Vice President of Market Facts, Incorporated.

lems in turn, suggesting solutions now available. Solutions to the first two problems can be illustrated with actual data, although currently solutions for the third problem are more tentative. This will not be an exhaustive catalog of techniques, nor is this the only way of structuring the general problem of forecasting consumer demand for new or modified products.

CONSTRUCTING THE PRODUCT SPACE

A spatial representation or map of a product category provides the foundation on which other aspects of the solution are built. Many equally useful techniques are available for constructing product spaces which require different assumptions and possess different properties. The following is a list of useful properties of product spaces which may be used to evaluate alternative techniques:

1. *Metric*: distances between products in space should relate to perceived similarity between them.
2. *Identification*: directions in the space should correspond to identified product attributes.
3. *Uniqueness/reliability*: similar procedures applied to similar data should yield similar answers.
4. *Robustness/foolproofness*: procedures should work every time. It should not be necessary to switch techniques or make basic changes in order to cope with each new set of data.
5. *Freedom from improper assumptions*: other things being equal, a procedure that requires fewer assumptions is preferred.

One basic distinction has to do with the kinds of data to be analyzed. Three kinds of data are frequently used.

Similarity/Dissimilarity Data

Here a respondent is not concerned in any obvious way with dimensions or attributes which describe the

products judged. He makes global judgments of relative similarity among products, with the theoretical advantage that there is no burden on the researcher to determine in advance the important attributes or dimensions within a product category. Examples of such data might be: (1) to present triples of products and ask which two are most or least similar, (2) to present pairs of products and ask which pair is most similar, or (3) to rank order $k-1$ products in terms of similarity with the k th.

Preference Data

Preference data can be used to construct a product space, given assumptions relating preference to distances. For instance, a frequent assumption is that an individual has ideal points in the same space and that product preference is related in some systematic way to distances from his ideal points to his perception of products' locations. As with similarity/dissimilarity data, preference data place no burden on the researcher to determine salient product attributes in advance. Examples of preference data which might lead to a product space are: (1) paired comparison data, (2) rank orders of preference, or (3) generalized overall ratings (as on a 1 to 9 scale).

Attribute Data

If the researcher knows in advance important product attributes by which consumers discriminate among products, or with which they form preferences, then he may ask respondents to describe products on scales relating to each attribute. For instance, they may use rating scales describing brands of beer with respect to price vs. quality, heaviness vs. lightness, or smoothness vs. bitterness.

In addition to these three kinds of data, procedures can be *metric* or *nonmetric*. Metric procedures make assumptions about the properties of data, as when in computing a mean one assumes that the difference between

ratings of values one and two is the same as that between two and three, etc. Nonmetric procedures make fewer assumptions about the nature of the data; these are usually techniques in which the only operations on data are comparisons such as "greater than" or "less than." Nonmetric procedures are typically used with data from rank order or paired comparison methods.

Another issue is whether or not a *single product space* will adequately represent all respondents' perceptions. At the extreme, each respondent might require a unique product space to account for aspects of his perceptions. However, one of the main reasons for product spaces' utility is that they summarize a large amount of information in unusually tangible and compact form. Allowing a totally different product space for each respondent would certainly destroy much of the illustrative value of the result. A compromise would be to recognize that respondents might fall naturally into a relatively small number of subgroups with different product perceptions. In this case, a separate product space could be constructed for each subgroup.

Frequently a single product space is assumed to be adequate to account for important aspects of all respondents' perceptions. Differences in preference are then taken into account by considering each respondent's ideal product to have a unique location in the common product space, and by recognizing that different respondents may weight dimensions uniquely. This was the approach taken in the examples to follow.

Techniques which have received a great deal of use in constructing product spaces include nonmetric multidimensional scaling [3, 7, 8, 12], factor analysis [11], and multiple discriminant analysis [4]. Factor analysis has been available for this purpose for many years, and multidimensional scaling was discussed as early as 1938 [13]. *Nonmetric* multidimensional scaling, a comparatively recent development, has achieved great popularity because of the invention of ingenious computing methods requiring only the most minimal assumptions regarding the nature of the data. Discriminant analysis requires assumptions about the metric properties of data, but it appears to be particularly robust and fool-proof in application.

These techniques produce similar results in most practical applications. The technique of multiple discriminant analysis will be illustrated here.

EXAMPLES OF PRODUCT SPACES

Imagine settling on a number of attributes which together account for all of the important ways in which products in a set are seen to differ from each other. Suppose that each product has been rated on each attribute by several people, although each person has not necessarily described more than one product.

Given such data, multiple discriminant analysis is a powerful technique for constructing a spatial model of the product category. First, it finds the weighted combi-

Figure 1
THE CHICAGO BEER MARKET

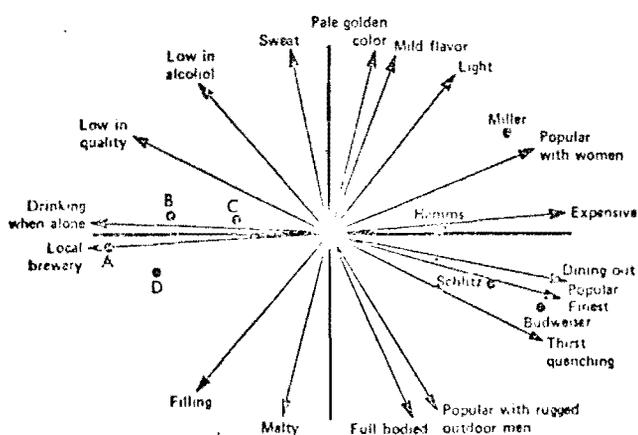
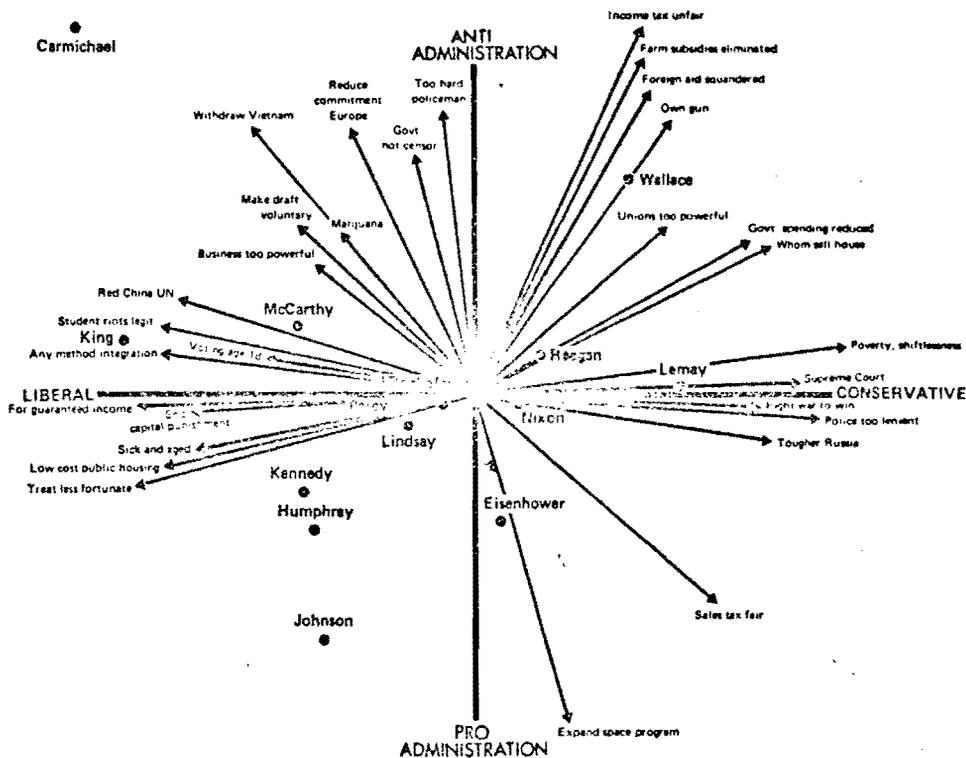


Figure 2
THE POLITICAL SPACE, 1968



nation of attributes which discriminates most among products, maximizing an *F*-ratio of between-product to within-product variance. Then second and subsequent weighted combinations are found which discriminate maximally among products, within the constraint that they all be uncorrelated with one another. Having determined as many discriminating dimensions as possible, average scores can be used to plot products on each dimension. Distances between pairs of products in this space reflect the amount of discrimination between them.¹

Figure 1 shows such a space for the Chicago beer market as perceived by members of Market Facts' Consumer Mail Panels in a pilot study, September 1968. Approximately 500 male beer drinkers described 8 brands of beer on each of 35 attributes. The data indicated that a third sizable dimension also existed, but the two dimensions pictured here account for approximately 90% of discrimination among images of these 8 products.

The location of each brand is indicated on these two major dimensions. The horizontal dimension contrasts premium quality on the right with popular price on the left. The vertical dimension reflects relative lightness. In addition, the mean rating of each product on each of

¹ McKeon [10] has shown that multiple discriminant analysis produces the same results as classic (metric) multidimensional scaling of Mahalanobis' distances based on the same data.

the attributes is shown by relative position on each attribute vector. For instance, Miller is perceived as being most popular with women, followed by Budweiser, Schlitz, Hamms, and four unnamed, popularly priced beers.

As a second example, the same technique was applied to political data. During the weeks immediately preceding the 1968 presidential election, a questionnaire was sent to 1,000 Consumer Mail Panels households. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with each of 35 political statements on a four-point scale. Topics were Vietnam, law and order, welfare, and other issues felt to be germane to current politics. Respondents also described two preselected political figures, according to their perceptions of each figure's stand on each issue. Discriminant analysis indicated two major dimensions accounting for 86% of the discrimination among 14 political figures.

The liberal vs. conservative dimension is apparent in the data, as shown in Figure 2. The remaining dimension apparently reflects perceived favorability of attitude toward government involvement in domestic and international matters. As in the beer space, it is only necessary to erect perpendiculars to each vector to observe each political figure's relative position on each of the 35 issues. Additional details are in [5].

Multiple discriminant analysis is a major competitor of nonmetric multidimensional scaling in constructing

product spaces. The principal assumptions which the former requires are that: (1) perceptions be homogeneous across respondents, (2) attribute data be scaled at the interval level (equal intervals on rating scales), (3) attributes be linearly related to one another, and (4) amount of disagreement (error covariance matrix) be the same for each product.

Only the first of these assumptions is required by most nonmetric methods, and some even relax that assumption. However, the space provided by multiple discriminant analysis has the following useful properties:

1. Given customary assumptions of multivariate normality, there is a test of significance for distance (dissimilarity) between any two products.
2. Unlike nonmetric procedures, distances estimated among a collection of products do not depend upon whether or not additional products are included in the analysis. Any of the brands of beer or political figures could have been deleted from the examples and the remaining object locations would have had the same relationships to one another and to the attribute vectors.
3. The technique is reliable and well known, and solutions are unique, since the technique cannot be misled by any local optimum.

OBTAINING THE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMERS' IDEAL POINTS

After constructing a product space, the next concern is estimating consumer demand for a product located at any particular point. The demand function over such a space is desired and can be approximated by one of several general approaches.

The first is to locate each person's ideal point in the region of the space implied by his rank ordered preferences. His ideal point would be closest to the product he likes best, second closest to the product he likes second best, etc. There are several procedures which show promise using this approach [2, 3, 7, 8, 12], although difficulties remain in practical execution. This approach has trouble dealing with individuals who behave in a manner contrary to the basic assumptions of the model, as when one chooses products first on the far left side of the space, second on the far right side, and third in the center. Most individuals giving rank orders of preference do display such nonmonotonicity to some extent, understandably producing problems for the application of these techniques.

The second approach involves deducing the number

Figure 3
A ONE-DIMENSIONAL PRODUCT SPACE

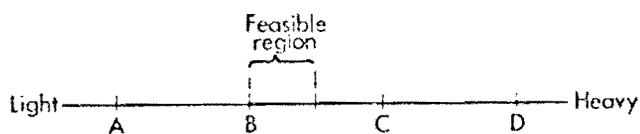
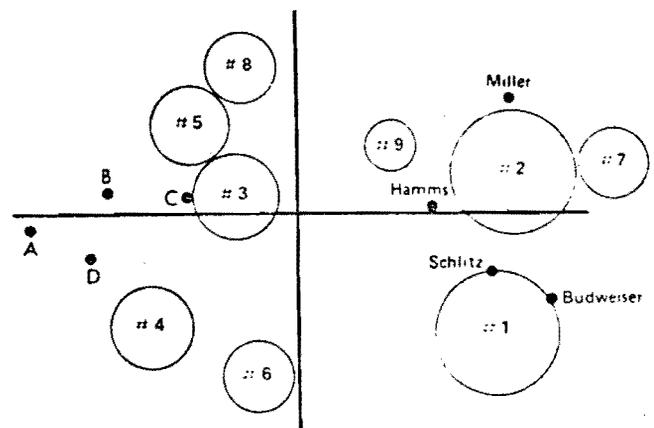


Figure 4
DISTRIBUTION OF IDEAL POINTS IN PRODUCT SPACE



of ideal points at each region in space by using data on whether a product has too much or too little of each attribute. This procedure has not yet been fully explored, but at present seems to be appropriate to the multidimensional case only when strong assumptions about the shape of the ideal point distribution are given.

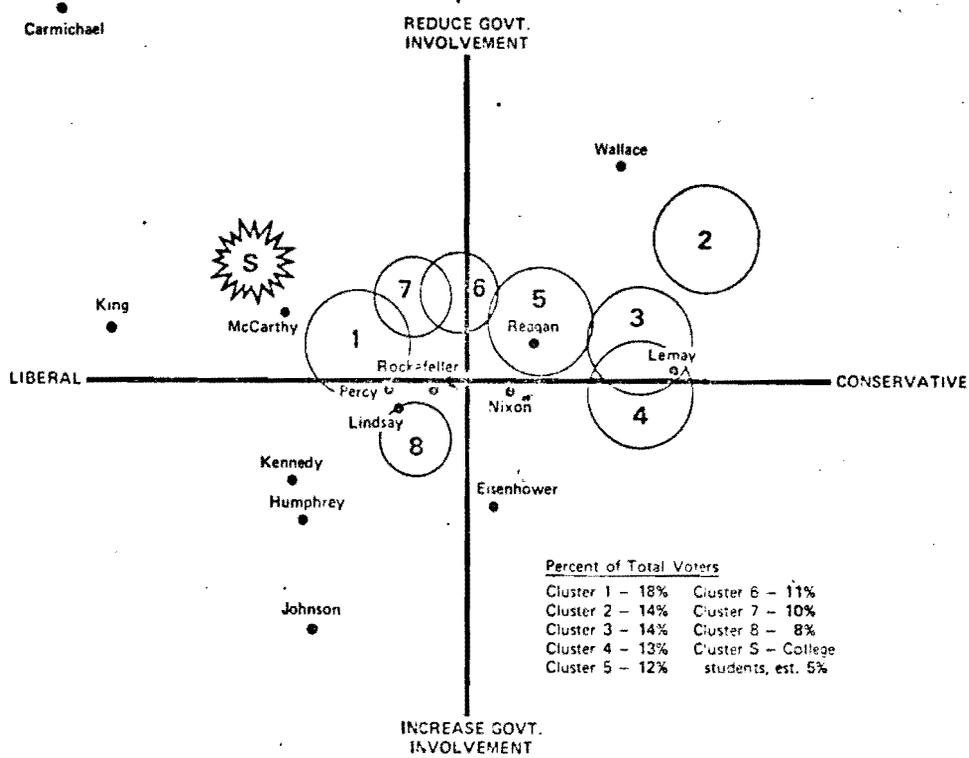
The third approach is to have each person describe his ideal product, with the same attributes and rating scales as for existing products. If multiple discriminant analysis has been used to obtain a product space, each person's ideal product can then be inserted in the same space.

There are considerable differences between an ideal point location inferred from a rank order of preference and one obtained directly from an attribute rating. To clarify matters, consider a single dimension, heaviness vs. lightness in beer. If a previous mapping has shown that Brands A, B, C, and D are equally spaced on this one dimension, and if a respondent ranks his preferences as B, C, A, and D, then his ideal must lie closer to B than to A or C and closer to C than to A. This narrows the feasible region for his ideal point down to the area indicated in Figure 3. Had he stated a preference for A, with D second, there would be no logically corresponding position for his ideal point in the space.

However, suppose these products have already been given the following scale positions on a heavy/light dimension: A = 1.0, B = 2.0, C = 3.0, and D = 4.0. If a respondent unambiguously specifies his ideal on this scale at 2.25, his ideal can be put directly on the scale, with no complexities. Of course, it does not follow *necessarily* that his stated rank order of preference will be predictable from the location of his ideal point.

There is no logical reason why individuals must be clustered into market segments. Mathematically, one can cope with the case where hundreds or thousands of individual ideal points are each located in the space. However, it is much easier to approximate such distributions by clustering respondents into groups. Cluster

Figure 5
VOTER SEGMENT POSITIONS RELATIVE TO POLITICAL FIGURES



analysis [6] has been used with the present data to put individuals into a few groups with relatively similar product desires (beer) or points of view (politics).

Figure 4 shows an approximation to the density distribution of consumers' ideal points in the Chicago beer market, a "poor man's contour map." Ideal points tended somewhat to group themselves (circles) into clusters. It is not implied that all ideal points lie within the circles, since they are really distributed to some extent throughout the entire space. Circle sizes indicate the relative sizes of clusters, and the center of each is located at the center of its circle.

A representation such as this contains much potentially useful marketing information. For instance, if people can be assumed to prefer products closer to their ideal points, there may be a ready market for a new brand on the lower or "heavy" side of the space, approximately neutral in price/quality. Likewise, there may be opportunities for new brands in the upper middle region, decidedly light and neutral in price/quality. Perhaps popularly priced Brand A will have marketing problems, since this brand is closest to no cluster.

Figure 5 shows a similar representation for the political space, where circles represent concentrations of voters' points. These are not ideal points, but rather personally held positions on political issues. Clusters on the left side of the space intended to vote mostly for Humphrey and those on the right for Nixon in the 1968

election. Throughout the space, the percentage voting Republican increases generally from left to right.

It may be surprising that the center of the ideal points lies considerably to the right of that of the political figures. One possible explanation is that this study dealt solely with positions on *issues*, so matters of style or personality did not enter the definition of the space. It is entirely possible that members of clusters one and eight, the most liberal, found Nixon's position on issues approximately as attractive as Humphrey's, but they voted for Humphrey on the basis of preference for style, personality, or political party. Likewise, members of cluster two might have voted strongly for Wallace, given his position, but he received only 14% of this cluster's vote. He may have been rejected on the basis of other qualities. The clusters are described in more detail in [5].

A small experiment was undertaken to test the validity of this model. Responses from a class of sociology students in a western state university showed them to be more liberal and more for decreasing government involvement internationally than any of the eight voter clusters. Their position is close to McCarthy's, indicated by an "S."

STRATEGIC INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS

Having determined the position of products in a space and seen where consumer ideal points are located, how

DEMOGRAPHIC SELECTIVITY

I. Census Tract Characteristics

Population 18-34
Population 18-44
Population 18-54
Population 18-64
Children 5 and under/households
Children 6-13/households
Children 14-19/households
Owner Occ. housing units
Renter Occ. housing units
Families with members under 18
Negro occupied housing units
Median Value Owner Occupied
Median Contract Rent
Family head husband/wife household/total households
Negro owner occ.
Total owner occ.
Median FIND income

II. Individual Voter Selectivity Within Tract

Female Heads of Household
Single Family Dwelling Units
Multiple Family Dwelling Units 2 to 10 Units
Multiple Family Dwelling Units over 10 Units
Length of Residence
Telephone Ownership Only
Telephone and Auto Ownership
Auto Ownership Only

ST	POST OFFICE	COUNT	ST	POST OFFICE	COUNT
CA	LA HABRA	13581	AL	ANNISTON	12806
CA	LAKEMOOD	25342	AL	BESSEMER	18639
CA	LA MESA	16235	AL	BIRMINGHAM	132345
CA	LANCASTER	12253	AL	DECATUR	10366
CA	LONG BEACH	126458	AL	DOTHAN	9439
CA	LOS ANGELES	552338	AL	FLORENCE	9380
CA	LYNWOOD	13030	AL	GADSDEN	18171
CA	MANHATTAN BCH	14314	AL	HUNTSVILLE	40568
CA	MENLO PARK	17664	AL	MOBILE	67652
CA	MODESTO	30437	AL	MONTGOMERY	40816
CA	MONROVIA	10403	AL	PHENIX CITY	6090
CA	MONTEBELLO	12204	AL	SELMA	7770
CA	MONTEREY PARK	13454	AL	TUSCALOOSA	16772
CA	MOUNTAIN VIEW	20677	AZ	MESA	22358
CA	NATIONAL CITY	10275	AZ	PHOENIX	168976
CA	NEWPORT BEACH	16424	AZ	TUCSON	91436
CA	N HOLLYWOOD	49367	AR	EL DORADO	8723
CA	NORWALK	22936	AR	FORT SMITH	20041
CA	OAKLAND	116773	AR	H SPG NAT PK	11791
CA	ONTARIO	18692	AR	LITTLE ROCK	49606
CA	ORANGE	23404	AR	N LITTLE ROCK	22003
CA	OXNARD	22748	AR	PINE BLUFF	17692
CA	PACOIMA	14753	AR	TEXARKANA	6399
CA	PALO ALTO	29003	CA	ALAMEDA	19362
CA	PARAMOUNT	8893	CA	ALHAMBRA	22060
CA	PASADENA	50966	CA	ALTADENA	11463
CA	PICO RIVERA	13201	CA	ANAHEIM	49713
CA	POMONA	27380	CA	ARCADIA	18252
CA	REDLANDS	11652	CA	BAKERSFIELD	56274
CA	REDONDO BEACH	27897	CA	BELLFLOWER	16119
CA	REDWOOD CITY	24737	CA	BERKELEY	47040
CA	RESEDA	14588	CA	BEVERLY HILLS	16743
CA	RICHMOND	40061	CA	BUENA PARK	18449
CA	RIVERSIDE	52761	CA	BURBANK	30840
CA	SACRAMENTO	123651	CA	CANOGA PARK	26352
CA	SALINAS	19211	CA	CHULA VISTA	23672
CA	SN BERNARDINO	42800	CA	COMPTON	25979
CA	SAN BRUNO	10742	CA	CONCORD	33544
CA	SAN DIEGO	192513	CA	COSTA MESA	21713
CA	SAN FRANCISCO	223129	CA	CULVER CITY	12079
CA	SAN JOSE	136332	CA	DALY CITY	20869
CA	SAN LEANDRO	26258	CA	DOWNEY	27147
CA	SAN MATEO	31111	CA	EL CAJON	21705
CA	SAN PEDRO	22161	CA	EL CERRITO	8811
CA	SANTA ANA	58489	CA	EUREKA	12342
CA	SANTA BARBARA	37005	CA	FREMONT	26298
CA	SANTA CLARA	23221	CA	FRESNO	77483
CA	SANTA CRUZ	19980	CA	FULLERTON	24400
CA	SANTA MONICA	32380	CA	GARDENA	25290
CA	SANTA ROSA	29616	CA	GARDEN GROVE	33572
CA	SOUTH GATE	18357	CA	GLENDALE	48146
CA	S SN FRANCISCO	12397	CA	HAUTHORNE	17964
CA	STOCKTON	42030	CA	HAYWARD	47786
CA	SUNNYVALE	26765	CA	HUNTINGTN PK	12976
CA	TEMPLE CITY	9782	CA	INGLEWOOD	34653

ST POST OFFICE COUNT

CA TORRANCE 44622
CA VALLEJO 23354
CA VAN NUYS 72170
CA VENICE 16951
CA VENTURA 22193
CA WEST COVINA 17723
CA WESTMINSTER 15031
CA WHITTIER 46467
CA WILMINGTON 14284
CO AURORA 20111
CO BOULDER 20733
CO COLORADO SPG 52672
CO DENVER 216120
CO ENGLEWOOD 14169
CO FT COLLINS 13334
CO GREELEY 13415
CO PUEBLO 28307
CT BRIDGEPORT 56034
CT BRISTOL 15244
CT FAIRFIELD 12909
CT GREENWICH 7842
CT HARTFORD 100312
CT MANCHESTER 14772
CT MERIDEN 16440
CT MIDDLETOWN 9421
CT MILFORD 12750
CT NEW BRITAIN 24419
CT NEW HAVEN 82097
CT NEW LONDON 9055
CT NORWALK 19726
CT NORWICH 9493
CT STANFORD 32540
CT STRATFORD 15411
CT TORRINGTON 9535
CT WALLINGFORD 9735
CT WATERBURY 34642
DC WASHINGTON 303535
DE WILMINGTON 71111
FL CLEARWATER 33734
FL DAYTONA BEACH 25090
FL FT LAUDERDALE 107795
FL FORT PIERCE 12159
FL GAINESVILLE 23800
FL HIALEAH 30458
FL HOLLYWOOD 55361
FL JACKSONVILLE 132983
FL KEY WEST 7466
FL LAKE LAND 20162
FL MIAMI 317318
FL ORLANDO 69173
FL PANAMA CITY 15549
FL PENSACOLA 44413
FL ST PETERSBURG 109742
FL SARASOTA 38361
FL TALLAHASSEE 22944

ST POST OFFICE COUNT

FL TAMPA 110919
FL W PALM BEACH 49177
GA ALBANY 19430
GA ATHENS 14470
GA ATLANTA 241855
GA AUGUSTA 39298
GA COLUMBUS 42596
GA MACON 36171
GA MARIETTA 15686
GA ROME 13249
GA SAVANNAH 47594
GA VALDOSTA 9575
ID BOISIE 20667
ID IDAHO FALLS 11741
ID POCATELLO 13562
IL ALTON 13153
IL ARLINGTON HTS 28699
IL AURORA 21780
IL BELLEVILLE 22025
IL BERWYN 18449
IL BLOOMINGTON 12544
IL CALUMET CITY 8809
IL CHAMPAIGN 21093
IL CHICAGO 844871
IL CHICAGO HTS 14561
IL DANVILLE 16909
IL DECATUR 31351
IL DES PLAINES 23938
IL E ST LOUIS 31959
IL ELGIN 17520
IL ELMHURST 14661
IL EVANSTON 26598
IL FREEPORT 9119
IL GALESBURG 11529
IL GRANITE CITY 14382
IL HARVEY 13871
IL HIGHLAND PARK 8828
IL JOLIET 31663
IL KANKAKEE 10249
IL MAYWOOD 13762
IL MOLINE 17036
IL MONTGOMERY 4214
IL OAKLAWN 31012
IL OAK PARK 22847
IL PARK FOREST 8880
IL PARK RIDGE 12391
IL PEKIN 11883
IL PEORIA 59129
IL QUINCY 14427
IL ROCKFORD 61596
IL ROCK ISLAND 15825
IL SKOKIE 18426
IL SPRINGFIELD 39563
IL URBANA 12050
IL WAUKEGAN 19738

ST	POST OFFICE	COUNT
IL	WILMETTE	9275
IN	ANDERSON	26111
IN	BLOOMINGTON	18197
IN	EAST CHICAGO	10622
IN	ELKHART	19900
IN	EVANSVILLE	50976
IN	FORT WAYNE	70317
IN	GARY	60465
IN	HAMMOND	37696
IN	INDIANAPOLIS	234754
IN	KOKOMO	20035
IN	LAFAYETTE	23304
IN	MARION	14285
IN	MICHIGAN CITY	13663
IN	MISHAWAKA	13465
IN	MUNCIE	25904
IN	NEW ALBANY	13186
IN	RICHMOND	15753
IN	SOUTH BEND	50384
IN	TERRE HAUTE	26932
IA	AMES	11509
IA	BURLINGTON	10056
IA	CEDAR RAPIDS	36483
IA	CLINTON	10606
IA	COUNCIL BLF	19216
IA	DAVENPORT	29696
IA	DES MOINES	79735
IA	DUBUQUE	18469
IA	FORT DODGE	9485
IA	IOWA CITY	16409
IA	MASON CITY	10729
IA	OTTUMWA	10154
IA	SIOUX CITY	26664
IA	WATERLOO	26003
KS	HUTCHINSON	14410
KS	KANSAS CITY	51909
KS	LAURENCE	14705
KS	SALINA	13001
KS	SHAWNEE MSN	59564
KS	TOPEKA	44056
KS	WICHITA	97539
KY	ASHLAND	11515
KY	BOWLING GREEN	10263
KY	COVINGTON	33182
KY	LEXINGTON	47793
KY	LOUISVILLE	168740
KY	NEWPORT	21255
KY	OWENSBORO	17749
KY	PADUCAH	12145
LA	ALEXANDRIA	17747
LA	BATON ROUGE	72965
LA	BOSSIER CITY	11542
LA	LAFAYETTE	22593
LA	LAKE CHARLES	24165
LA	METAIRIE	39477

ST	POST OFFICE	COUNT
LA	MONROE	19674
LA	NEW IBERIA	8806
LA	NEW ORLEANS	175221
LA	SHREVEPORT	61975
ME	BANGOR	8868
ME	LEWISTON	10131
ME	PORTLAND	30206
MD	BALTIMORE	357442
MD	CUMBERLAND	10679
MD	HAGERSTOWN	15696
MD	ROCKVILLE	31544
MD	SILVER SPRING	59892
MA	ATTLEBORO	8641
MA	BEVERLY	10710
MA	BOSTON CENTRL	270700
MA	BOSTON NORTH	68915
MA	BOSTON SOUTH	60076
MA	BOSTON WEST	111002
MA	BROCKTON	24994
MA	BURLINGTON	5354
MA	CHICOPEE	17129
MA	FALL RIVER	30616
MA	FITCHBURG	13104
MA	FRAMINGHAM	17375
MA	GLOUCESTER	8116
MA	HAVERTHILL	14445
MA	HOLYOKE	13532
MA	LAURENCE	33123
MA	LEOMINSTER	8340
MA	LOWELL	25949
MA	LYNN	38240
MA	NATICK	8859
MA	NEW BEDFORD	35316
MA	NORTHAMPTON	6731
MA	PEABODY	13115
MA	PITTSFIELD	17413
MA	SALEM	11303
MA	SPRINGFIELD	50443
MA	TAUNTON	10945
MA	WESTFIELD	7724
MA	WOBURN	10191
MA	WORCESTER	49341
MI	ALLEN PARK	11699
MI	ANN ARBOR	38152
MI	BATTLE CREEK	24500
MI	BAY CITY	23042
MI	BIRMINGHAM	21819
MI	DEARBORN	44028
MI	DEARBORN HTS	13945
MI	DETROIT	517367
MI	EAST DETROIT	13158
MI	EAST LANSING	13561
MI	FLINT	83903
MI	GARDEN CITY	10696
MI	GRAND RAPIDS	94927

ST POST OFFICE	COUNT	ST POST OFFICE	COUNT
MI HAZEL PARK-	7111	NH PORTSMOUTH	5908
MI INKSTER	11402	NJ ATLANTIC CITY	23569
MI JACKSON	29980	NJ BAYONNE	17526
MI KALAMAZOO	43853	NJ BERGENFIELD	8182
MI LANSING	49428	NJ BLOOMFIELD	15472
MI LINCOLN PARK	15714	NJ CANDEN	52802
MI LIVONIA	28551	NJ CLIFTON	24665
MI MIDLAND	11236	NJ CRANFORD	7952
MI MUSKEGON	34604	NJ EAST ORANGE	20105
MI PONTIAC	41035	NJ ELIZABETH	46993
MI PORT HURON	16867	NJ ENGLEWOOD	9668
MI ROSEVILLE	16280	NJ FAIR LAWN	13206
MI ROYAL OAK	49388	NJ GARFIELD	7911
MI ST CLAIR SHRS	25205	NJ HACKENSACK	25272
MI SAGINAW	45120	NJ HOBOKEN	7472
MI SOUTHFIELD	21342	NJ JERSEY CITY	53234
MI TAYLOR	18392	NJ KEARNY	15537
MI WARREN	49238	NJ LINDEN	12170
MI WYANDOTTE	24688	NJ LONG BRANCH	9699
MN AUSTIN	8915	NJ MONTCLAIR	17996
MN DULUTH	35708	NJ NEWARK	106032
MN MINNEAPOLIS	299436	NJ NEW BRUNSWICK	
MN ROCHESTER	18444	NJ NORTH BERGEN	12571
MN SAINT PAUL	161208	NJ ORANGE	21397
MN ST CLOUD	11782	NJ PASSAIC	15035
MS BILOXI	11249	NJ PATERSON	48424
MS GREENVILLE	10559	NJ PERTH AMBOY	15255
MS GULFPORT	12858	NJ PLAINFIELD	23533
MS HATTIESBURG	9826	NJ RAHWAY	19568
MS JACKSON	56494	NJ RIDGEWOOD	12153
MS LAUREL	7227	NJ TEANECK	13052
MS MERIDIAN	13439	NJ TRENTON	64394
MS VICKSBURG	7714	NJ UNION	16191
MO COLUMBIA	15010	NJ UNION CITY	15558
MO FLORISSANT	25359	NJ VINELAND	9813
MO INDEPENDENCE	36755	NJ WAYNE	13124
MO JEFFERSON CY	10061	NJ WESTFIELD	13419
MO JOPLIN	14668	NJ WEST NEW YORK	10429
MO KANSAS CITY	174915	NM ALBUQUERQUE	76167
MO SAINT JOSEPH	25168	NM CARLSBAD	7064
MO ST LOUIS	371943	NM HOBBS	7420
MO SAINT JOSEPH	25325	NM LAS CRUCES	10350
MO SPRINGFIELD	38008	NM ROSWELL	9685
MT BILLINGS	22653	NM SANTA FE	9981
MT BUTTE	12683	NY ALBANY	47652
MT GREAT FALLS	20135	NY AMSTERDAM	8195
MT MISSOULA	12619	NY AUBURN	10778
NE GRAND ISLAND	11086	NY BALDWIN	10802
NE LINCOLN	48937	NY BINGHAMTON	25770
NE OMAHA	124772	NY BRONX	314934
NV LAS VEGAS	47283	NY BROOKLYN	621212
NV RENO	26763	NY BUFFALO	228885
NH CONCORD	8633	NY ELMIRA	18505
NH MANCHESTER	28441	NY FAR ROCKAWAY	32446
NH NASHUA	14569	NY FLORAL PARK	23393

ST POST OFFICE	COUNT
NY FLUSHING	275073
NY FRANKLIN SQ	7700
NY FREEPORT	12617
NY HEMPSTEAD	36458
NY HICKSVILLE	22670
NY ITHACA	12872
NY JAMAICA	176629
NY JAMESTOWN	13577
NY KINGSTON	9091
NY LEVITTON	13495
NY LOCKPORT	10067
NY LONG BEACH	13684
NY LONG IS CY	58012
NY MASSAPERUA	16252
NY MOUNT VERNON	20165
NY NEUBURGH	13695
NY NEW ROCHELLE	25758
NY NEW YORK	466688
NY NIAGARA FALLS	29274
NY N TONAWANDA	13678
NY POUGHKEEPSIE	18554
NY ROCHESTER	164846
NY ROCKVILLE CTR	19261
NY ROME	11097
NY SCHENECTADY	48778
NY STATEN ISLAND	75501
NY SYRACUSE	86707
NY TROY	22408
NY UTICA	27965
NY VALLEY STREAM	18667
NY WANTASH	10141
NY WATERTOWN	9604
NY WHITE PLAINS	23250
NY YONKERS	68714
NC ASHEVILLE	22629
NC BURLINGTON	11932
NC CHARLOTTE	85361
NC DURHAM	31944
NC FAYETTEVILLE	29096
NC GASTONIA	17565
NC GOLDSBORO	10533
NC GREENSBORO	45106
NC HIGH POINT	20448
NC KANNAPOLIS	7952
NC RALEIGH	40546
NC ROCKY MOUNT	19783
NC WILNINGTON	19681
NC WILSON	7947
NC WINSTON SALEM	44864
ND BISMARCK	10315
ND FARGO	16267
ND GRAND FORKS	11063
ND MINOT	8981
OH AKRON	106818
OH ALLIANCE	10149

ST POST OFFICE	COUNT
OH BARBERTON	15059
OH CANTON	65150
OH CINCINNATI	263124
OH CLEVELAND	519336
OH COLUMBUS	216064
OH CUYAHOGA FLS	23567
OH DAYTON	168079
OH ELYRIA	22337
OH FINDLAY	12189
OH HAMILTON	29533
OH LANCASTER	10808
OH LIMA	25299
OH LORAIN	26919
OH MANSFIELD	25255
OH MARION	14089
OH MASSILLON	15302
OH MIDDLETOWN	17674
OH NEWARK	16637
OH PORTSMOUTH	12258
OH SANDUSKY	13521
OH SPRINGFIELD	33930
OH STEUBENVILLE	11465
OH TOLEDO	128723
OH WARREN	25857
OH YOUNGSTOWN	71535
OH ZANESVILLE	14266
OK BARTLESVILLE	10971
OK ENID	14984
OK LAWTON	22768
OK MUSKOGEE	13159
OK NORMAN	14023
OK OKLAHOMA CITY	155104
OK TULSA	114422
OR EUGENE	37775
OR PORTLAND	220016
OR SALEM	34031
PA ALIQUIPPA	11204
PA ALLENTOWN	40883
PA ALTOONA	22208
PA BETHLEHEM	27185
PA CHESTER	27049
PA EASTON	17589
PA ERIE	53535
PA HARRISBURG	44323
PA HAZLETON	12458
PA JOHNSTOWN	27805
PA LANCASTER	33213
PA LEBANON	14171
PA LEVITTON	19563
PA MCKEESPORT	20381
PA NEW CASTLE	18546
PA NORRISTOWN	29716
PA PHILADELPHIA	523485
PA PITTSBURGH	302301
PA POTTSTOWN	10735

ST POST OFFICE	COUNT	ST POST OFFICE	COUNT
PA READING	52445	TX ORANGE	9809
PA SCRANTON	45615	TX PAMPA	7761
PA SHARON	10292	TX PASADENA	24473
PA WILKES BARRE	44746	TX PORT ARTHUR	16782
PA WILLIAMSPORT	17641	TX SAN ANGELO	19436
PA YORK	34987	TX SAN ANTONIO	195855
RI NEWPORT	12583	TX TEMPLE	9649
RI PAUTUCKET	36319	TX TEXARKANA	9703
RI PROVIDENCE	93127	TX TEXAS CITY	8565
RI WARWICK	22617	TX TYLER	17937
RI WOONSOCKET	14522	TX VICTORIA	10663
SC ANDERSON	12712	TX WACO	36754
SC CHARLESTON	44464	TX WICHITA FALLS	27463
SC COLUMBIA	50202	UT OGDEN	29581
SC GREENVILLE	41212	UT PROVO	12759
SC ROCK HILL	9642	UT SALT LAKE CY	113971
SC SPARTANBURG	19453	VT BURLINGTON	14747
SD RAPID CITY	13633	VA ALEXANDRIA	68834
SD SIOUX FALLS	23161	VA ARLINGTON	64846
TN CHATTANOOGA	56704	VA CHARLOTTESVL	14196
TN JACKSON	12457	VA CHESAPEAKE	20194
TN JOHNSON CITY	10216	VA DANVILLE	15484
TN KINGSPORT	15837	VA HAMPTON	32483
TN KNOXVILLE	56455	VA LYNCHBURG	18758
TN MEMPHIS	180385	VA NEWPORT NEWS	34287
TN NASHVILLE	108241	VA NORFOLK	70006
TN OAK RIDGE	9404	VA PETERSBURG	11327
TX ABILENE	24802	VA PORTSMOUTH	29514
TX AMARILLO	41461	VA RICHMOND	122200
TX ARLINGTON	27371	VA ROANOKE	39827
TX AUSTIN	91297	WA BELLINGHAM	15504
TX DAYTON	14535	WA BREMERTON	14681
TX BEAUMONT	35840	WA EVERETT	21778
TX BIG SPRING	8595	WA SEATTLE	257027
TX BROWNSVILLE	10683	WA SPOKANE	73233
TX BRYAN	9504	WA TACOMA	85002
TX CORPUS CHRSTI	54722	WA VANCOUVER	28259
TX DALLAS	285027	WA YAKIMA	23540
TX DENTON	9972	WV CHARLESTON	36555
TX EL PASO	78588	WV CLARKSBURG	9809
TX FORT WORTH	155640	WV FAIRMONT	9261
TX GALVESTON	19209	WV HUNTINGTON	26849
TX GARLAND	22190	WV PARKERSBURG	18960
TX GRAND PRAIRIE	13589	WV WHEELING	16472
TX HARLINGEN	7706	WI APPLETON	18217
TX HOUSTON	401787	WI BELOIT	13664
TX IRVING	26858	WI EAU CLAIRE	14263
TX KINGSVILLE	7208	WI FOND DU LAC	12434
TX LAREDO	13646	WI GREEN BAY	30141
TX LONGVIEW	15009	WI JAMESVILLE	13656
TX LUBBOCK	46791	WI KENOSHA	26769
TX MCALLEN	9552	WI LA CROSSE	17774
TX MESQUITE	16788	WI MADISON	65369
TX MIDLAND	18469	WI MANITOWOC	10395
TX ODESSA	24761	WI MILWAUKEE	291405

ST	POST OFFICE	COUNT
WI	OSHKOSH	17702
WI	RACINE	35241
WI	SHEBOYGAN	16775
WI	SUPERIOR	10116
WI	WAUKESHA	13624
WI	WAUSAU	12892
WY	CASPER	14097
WY	CHEYENNE	14913

CONFIDENTIAL

"FILTERING" OF POLITICAL MESSAGE TO UNCOMMITTED VOTES THROUGH TWO MEDIA

<u>Television Commercial</u>	<u>% Total Potential Media Audience</u>	<u>Cumulative %</u>
(a) Percent of market watching program	25%	25%
(b) Percent of viewers of voting age	80%	80 x 25 = 20%
(c) Percent (a) and (b) who are registered and likely to vote	65%	65 x 20 = 13%
(d) Percent of (a), (b) and (c) who are not strongly committed and therefore susceptible to media influence on their vote	30%	30 x 13 = 4%
 <u>Direct Mail</u>		
(a) Percent of letters deliverable	85%	85%
(b) Percent who will read the message	70%*	70 x 85 = 60%
(c) Percent of (a) and (b) of voting age	100%**	100 x 60 = 60%
(d) Percent of (a), (b) and (c) who are registered and likely to vote	80%**	80 x 60 = 48%
(e) Percent of (a) through (d) who are not strongly committed and therefore are susceptible to direct mail influence on their vote	60%	60 x 48 = 29%

*Based on post-election survey results by DMI covering certain 1970 statewide and congressional races in California, New York, Minnesota, North Dakota, Texas, Utah, Wyoming, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wisconsin.

**Assuming names and addresses taken from list of registered voters.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

March 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT MORGAN
FROM: JAMES W. McCORD
SUBJECT: Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation,
Oak Brook, Illinois Security

Summary

On March 22, 1972, a security survey was made of the Donnelley Corporation facility at Oak Brook, Illinois. The overall security of this facility, which encompasses 220,000 square feet under one roof and employs 276 people, was found to be excellent. Certain recommendations are made below which in the overall security picture are minor in nature, but which will strengthen the security of the facility. When these changes are made the total security of the facility will be upgraded to the point where it would likely meet the standards of a facility clearance under the industrial security program of the Department of Defense and other Federal agencies. F

Details

The survey made encompassed physical security, personnel access and security measures, technical security (alarm systems), key control and compartment of operations.

Physical Security

The Donnelley Corporation employs a 24 hour guard service on contract to protect the facility at Oak Brook, Illinois. Performance by these security guards has been good, the Donnelley Corporation advised.

The Corporation also utilizes an employee security pass of two types. One is a temporary pass and the second for longer term use. Samples are attached as Tab A.

The front doors are alarmed by a tape alarm system and the guard controls of the facility utilize the Detex clock punch system.

Loading docks in general provide isolation of drivers from merchandise of value stored within the facility and the drivers do not have free access to the facility.

Main access doors appear adequate in construction to prevent unauthorized access.

The reception room is a controlled area in which the telephone operators require visitors to register and then arrange an escort for them through the plant.

The internal layout of the facility is neat, clean and clear of obstructions. The various job orders under production are compartmentalized and goods of value are stored in fence areas under lock and key. Keys to these areas are strictly limited to a few people who must have access for operational and administrative reasons.

Fire Prevention and Safety

The facility is protected by a sprinkler system, by fire extinguishers which were recently tested, by fire bells and by a fire warden system for use in evacuating the building in case of fire or other hazardous conditions.

Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 sets forth stringent requirements for all industries to insure that the plant or facility be free of safety and health hazards. Such hazards may include electrical wiring so laid out as to create a hazard, corridors being blocked, hazardous chemicals in the air, etc. A complaint from an employee to the Labor Department can bring a no-notice inspection by the Labor Department to determine if a plant has met the requirements of this act. A further description of the act is set forth in attachment B.

Normally a survey, called a pre-inspection survey, would be made of a plant or facility to determine if it is in compliance with the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. A review of the Donnelley facility indicates that such a survey is not needed at this time because of the excellent conditions prevailing in the overall protection of the safety and health of the employees located there.

Protection of Magnetic Tapes

The work being done for the Committee for the Re-election of the President is performed almost exclusively in compartmentalized areas. In addition the magnetic tapes of the Corporation are stored in a separate secure area where access

is carefully controlled and unauthorized persons are not allowed entry. This area is also under lock and key and fire prevention measures are in effect in this area.

Personnel Security

The Corporation at Oak Brook has an extremely low turnover rate and has a large number of employees who have been with the Corporation 10, 15, 20 and even 25 years. Through a reduction in force a short time back a number of employees had to be laid off and certain marginal employees were included in that layoff. Inventory shrinkage from internal theft has been minimal, they advise, and the overall conditions observed at the plant would confirm this statement. Through the years the management has been able to confirm the reliability and trustworthiness of the employees and they advise that they have no problems at the present time which would appear to threaten the security of the Committee's work being performed there.

Security Environment

The security environment of the facility is excellent. It is located in a suburban industrial area out away from a high crime locale. Employee parking is adequate. Access is available by main thoroughfares nearby to other parts of the city of Chicago and its suburbs. Police protection is reported to be quite adequate. Exterior lighting of the facility appears adequate and there has not been a history of major problems involving unauthorized persons seeking entry to the plant from the nearby areas. From a security standpoint, it is believed that a better location could not be found for the particular operation involving the Committee's project.

Recommendations

The recommendations set forth below will enhance the overall security of the Donnelley Corporation facility at Oak Brook and the costs involved in these measures are minimal:

1. A small I.D. (identification emblem) is recommended for the approximately 40 people involved in the Committee's project at the facility. This emblem would permit ready identification within the compartmented areas and the plant itself of those personnel authorized to be in the areas where the Committee's project is being handled.
2. For the two safe cabinets which contain correspondence from Committee headquarters in Washington and certain other sensitive documents, it is recommended that a bar and combination lock be installed which would provide adequate after hours protection.

3. It is recommended that the majority of the locks, including those to the main doors, the key offices and certain other key areas, be re-keyed as soon as possible.
4. It is recommended that a list of personnel working on the Committee project be forwarded to the Committee headquarters in Washington. This list would serve as the access list reflecting those who are authorized to have access to Committee materials under production at Oak Brook.
5. Because of the history of bomb threats and in some instances bombings which have occurred elsewhere in the country targeting Republican headquarters and in New Hampshire threatening the Committee's headquarters, it is recommended that a written bomb threat operating procedure be drawn up. This written procedure would indicate what key officials need to be notified in case of a bomb threat and what steps should be taken to protect the lives of the personnel at the plant should a bomb threat or attempted bombing occur. A sample format will be forwarded by the writer for Oak Brook's use.
6. It is recommended that at the next visit by the writer in approximately 60 days an audio counter-measure inspection be made of the key offices and meeting rooms in the facility.

Attachments

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel / Concord, New Hampshire 03301
Phone (603) 224-7411

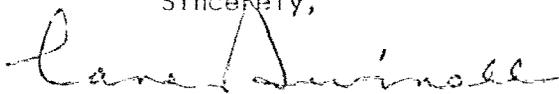
Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*
Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*
G. Allan Waiker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Dear Fellow Republican:

President Richard Nixon is a courageous and effective leader--he has proven himself to be the right man for these difficult times. I hardly need to remind you of the importance of the New Hampshire primary. We are the first in the country, and as a result, we must recognize our special responsibility, and the broad national influence of our votes.

America needs President Nixon...and the President needs you. I ask you to fill out the attached volunteer card and send it in to me today. Let us show him, and America, our tremendous support.

Sincerely,



Lane Dwinell

Volunteer Card

**I WANT TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT
IN THIS WAY:**

- I want to do telephone campaigning.*
- I want to do door to door campaigning.*
- I want to work in a Headquarter office.*
- I cannot personally volunteer but my contribution of \$_____ is enclosed.*

Telephone_____

Signature_____

G

Second New Hampshire Mailing

**NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR
THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**
New Hampshire Highway Hotel
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel / Concord, New Hampshire 03301
Phone (603) 224-7411

Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*

Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*

G. Allan Walker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Mr. & Mrs. Noel Kenyon
Belmont, NH 03220

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Kenyon:

On March 7th the results of our primary will be flashed across America and transmitted to the world. This is our opportunity to show the nation our support for President Nixon.

And he has earned it.

It was four years ago that the strong backing we gave Richard Nixon started him on the way to the Presidency. He has not failed us. His record is one of courage and action as the enclosed brochure so aptly points out. Now once again he needs our help.

Let us demonstrate this to our fellow Americans by enthusiastically supporting him, and casting the first votes to re-elect the President on March 7th.

Sincerely,


Lane Dwinell

LD:jem

Older Americans: The President has developed a comprehensive strategy for meeting the needs of the Nation's elderly, including a one third increase in Social Security benefits, programs to enable more of the elderly to live in their own homes, improved health and nursing home care, and increases in employment and volunteer service opportunities.

Revenue Sharing: He has proposed that the flow of power away from locally elected officials to the Washington bureaucracy be reversed through the sharing of Federal tax revenues with state and local governments.

Health Care: President Nixon has provided far-reaching programs to make health care available to every American and has pledged his administration to an all out effort to eliminate cancer and sickle cell anemia.

Drugs: He has moved forcefully to curb narcotics by greatly expanding the law enforcement manpower dedicated to stopping the traffic, and negotiating the end of opium production in Turkey. He has created a White House Special Action Office to develop and coordinate a national drug rehabilitation program.

Foreign Policy: The President has taken bold initiatives in world affairs in his quest for a full generation of peace. He has ended crisis diplomacy and opened negotiations to limit nuclear weapons. By implementing the principles of the Nixon Doctrine, he has fostered more self-reliance among our allies.

**HE
NEEDS
YOUR HELP!**

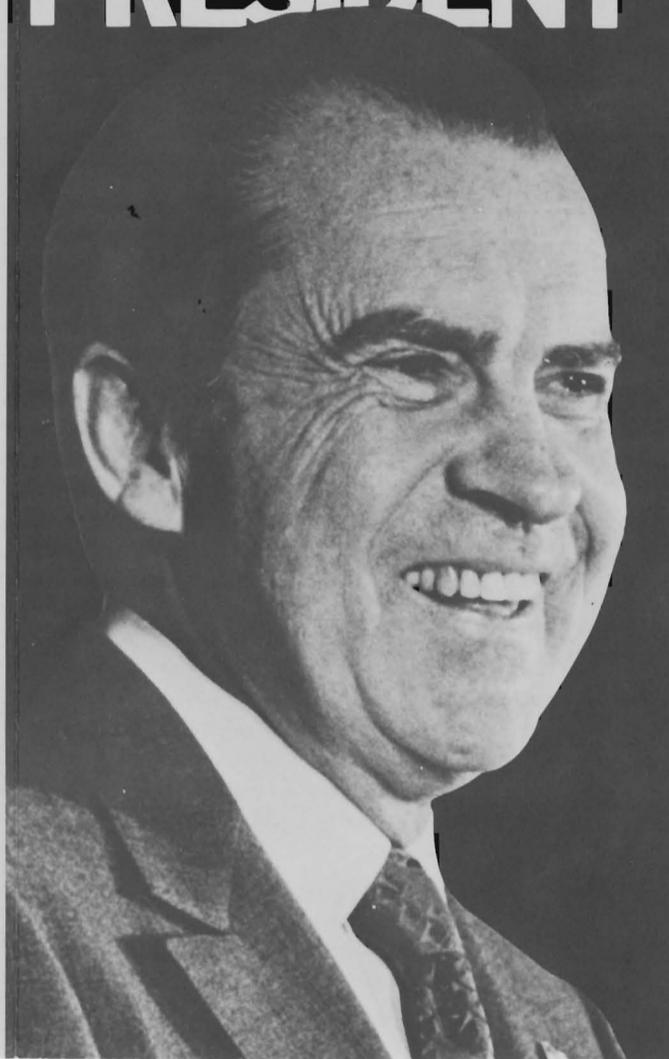
Finance Committee for the Re-election of
President Nixon

Hugh Sloan, Jr., *Chairman*

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006



**RE-
ELECT
THE
PRESIDENT**



A record of courage and action:

Vietnam: The President has laid the foundations for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia by preparing the South Vietnamese to resist aggression and determine their own future. By years end, he had cut the number of American troops to one-quarter of what it was when he took office.

The Economy: When President Nixon took office inflation was raging. Americans were receiving higher wages, but these were being consumed by a rate of inflation with little parallel in modern American history. The President took bold economic steps, including a 90 day freeze on wages and prices, and a comprehensive system of anti-inflation controls. Major tax changes were proposed and enacted. An historic agreement was reached on a realignment of currency rates. These courageous actions to hold the line on prices, create new jobs and improve the competitive position for business and workers in foreign markets, will benefit all Americans.

Welfare Reform: He has proposed sweeping changes in the present welfare system to provide training and work incentives, to prevent the break-up of families, and ultimately to relieve the growing burden on the taxpayers.

The Environment: President Nixon has created the Environmental Protection Agency to coordinate his tough new Federal programs to upgrade air and water quality, restrict misuse of harmful pesticides, reduce the problem of solid waste disposal, and administer the new standards to climatic radiation and noise pollution.

Young Americans: He has moved toward the goal of an All-Volunteer Army and has overhauled the Selective Service System to eliminate inequities. He supported and signed the law giving the vote to 18-year olds.



Third New Hampshire Mailing

**NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR
THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**
New Hampshire Highway Hotel
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel / Concord, New Hampshire 03301
Phone (603) 224-7411

Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*

Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*

G. Allan Walker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Mr. & Mrs. W. Berry

Meredith, NH 03253

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Berry:

Your votes this year in the New Hampshire primary will be more important than ever before. Because, Tuesday evening, the entire nation's attention will be focused on our state, waiting for the results and watching to see how we support President Nixon.

On March 7th, please carry one of the enclosed sample ballots and have your spouse carry the other to the voting booth to remind you of those delegates pledged to President Nixon and let your ballots speak to America.

Sincerely,


Lane Dwinell

LD:jen

For Delegates At Large:

Vote for not more than Ten:

- DONALD E. BARRON, Salem
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- ROBERT P. BASS, JR., Concord
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- VIRGINIA V. BECK, Concord
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- JOHN A. BECKETT, Durham
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- KIMBERLY BELIVEAU, Dover
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- GAIL ANN BESHARA, Salem
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- HORACE S. BLOOD, Concord
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- RICHARD BRADLEY, Thornton
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

- JOHN F. BRIDGES, Bedford
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- RICHARD P. BROUILLARD, Laconia
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- SARAH L. BROWNING, Manchester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- A. MARION BURTON, Concord
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- LIONEL A. CARON, Rochester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

- JOHN P. H. CHANDLER, JR., Warner
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- MARJORIE P. COLONY, Harrisville
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- CLYDE R. COOLIDGE, Somersworth
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- SHARON J. CUTLER, Exeter
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- THOMAS J. DALE, Nashua
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- LANE DWINELL, Lebanon
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- CHARLES H. GAY, Derry

- ANNE B. GORDON, Jaffrey
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- GEORGE E. GORDON III, Pembroke
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

- PATRICIA A. GRAY, Concord

For Alternate Delegates At Large:

Vote for not more than Ten:

- JOSEPH J. ACORACE, Manchester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- MEREDITH ALEXANDER, Concord
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- MARIE A. BAKER, Goffstown
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- JOHN R. BRADSHAW, Nelson
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- WEBSTER E. BRIDGES, JR., Brookline
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- JEFFREY BROWN, Candia
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- STANLEY M. BROWN, Bradford
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- GEORGE T. BUTLER, Holderness
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- CHARLOTTE P. COGSWELL, Dover
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- DEEN COLLINS, Lee
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- SONJA M. DION, Loudon
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- ALAN W. DOHERTY, Hill
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- EILEEN DORE, Tilton
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- LINDA DUTTON, Canterbury
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- MARTIN R. HALLER, Concord
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- RICHARD D. HANSON, Bow
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- LYLE E. HERSOM, Northumberland
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- CONNIE HICKEY, Laconia
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- ARTHUR W. HOOVER, Rochester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- JAMES O. HERRIGAN, Durham
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- WILLIAM R. HOSEK, Dover
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- J. RICHARD JACKMAN, Concord
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- RITA LESNYK, Goffstown

For District Delegates:

Vote for not more than Two:

- RICHARD FERDINANDO, Manchester
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- RUTH L. GRIFFIN, Portsmouth
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- JOHN R. MAHER, Portsmouth
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- LINDA A. MAIN, Portsmouth
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

- BRUCE M. OWEN, Manchester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PATRICK PAULSEN, for President

- ELISABETH ANNE PRAY, Rochester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- GEORGE B. ROBERTS, JR., Gilmanton
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- JANE ROY, Manchester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

- GEORGE SIDERIS, Manchester
FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
RICHARD NIXON, for President

- NORMAN H. STAHL, Bedford
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

- JOHN B. TARRANT, Manchester
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

- For Alternate District Delegates:
Vote for not more than Two:

- BONNIE AVERY, Pittsfield
PLEGGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
AUSTIN BURTON, for President

**CANDIDATE OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY**

FOR

PRESIDENT

OF THE UNITED STATES

I HEREBY DECLARE MY PREFER-
ENCE FOR CANDIDATE FOR THE
OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES TO BE AS FOL-
LWS:

- JOHN M. ASHBROOK

- PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

- RICHARD NIXON

- PATRICK PAULSEN

**CANDIDATE OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY**

FOR

VICE PRESIDENT

PATRICIA A. GRAY, Concord
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

BARBARA E. HENDERSON, Concord
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

ROBERT E. HOOD, Laconia
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

JUDITH HOWARD, Derry
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

RICHARD E. HOWARD, Hillsborough
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

MICHAEL D. KELLER, Keene
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

KANDICE L. KRUSE, Durham
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

STEWART LAMPREY, Moultonborough
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

HARLAN LOGAN, Plainfield
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

NORMAN C. MARSH, Gilford
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

MALCOLM McLANE, Concord
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

JOHN MILNE, Hanover
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

FRANK J. PALAZZO, Seabrook
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

THOMAS P. PAVLIDIS, Manchester
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

FARRELL QUINLAN, Sunapee
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

ROBERT H. RENO, Concord
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

DEBORAH L. A. RICHMOND, Warner
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

RICHARD L. SMITH, Rochester
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

BERNARD A. STREETER, JR., Nashua
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

KATHERINE M. UPTON, Concord
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

DANIEL H. WOLF, Newbury

DARLENE YOUNG, Tilton
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

KIMON S. ZACHOS, Manchester
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

RITA LESNYK, Goffstown
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

ARTHUR J. LOCKE, Hooksett
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

GLORIA MANDEVILLE, Bedford
 FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

ANTHONY A. McMANUS, Dover
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

JOHN T. B. MUDGE, Lyme
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

FRED A. NOYES, Pittsfield
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 JOHN M. ASHBROOK, for President

MARY JOANNA PERKINS, Bristol
 FAVORABLE TO THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

FREDERICK A. PORTER, Amherst
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

PAULINE J. RICHARDSON, Gilford
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

W. DOUGLAS SCAMMAN, JR., Stratham
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

KATHLEEN SPENCER, Dover
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

WILLIAM W. SWAYNE, Pittsfield
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

GLADYS WHITTEMORE, Barrington
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

JACALYN WILLOX, Concord
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

ALBERT E. BARCOMB, Rochester
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

H. ALFRED CASASSA, Hampton
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 RICHARD NIXON, for President

STEPHEN M. DUPREY, Conway
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

RUTH C. EMERSON, Pittsfield
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 AUSTIN BURTON, for President

BARBARA C. HAMMOND, Manchester
 PLEDGED TO VOTE FOR THE NOMINATION OF
 PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR., for President

OF THE UNITED STATES

I HEREBY DECLARE MY PREFERENCE FOR CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO BE AS FOLLOWS:

AUSTIN BURTON

*For your convenience in voting for the pledged delegates and alternates I thought you might like to have this sample ballot.
 See you at the polls!*

FLORIDA COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

P.O. Box 311, Tallahassee, Florida 32302
Phone (904) 222-7920

L. E. Thomas
Primary Campaign Coordinator

Mr. & Mrs. Vern Bunnell
2002 Australia Way E Apt
Clearwater, Fl 33515

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Bunnell:

There is a time when you have to stand up and be counted. For Florida Republicans that time is now, in the Presidential Primary on March 14th.

President Richard Nixon is a bold, courageous and effective leader. He has proven himself to be the right man for these difficult times.

America needs President Nixon—and he needs you. Let us show him, and America, our tremendous support. Please complete the attached volunteer card and send it in today.

Sincerely,



L. E. Thomas

LET:jem

P.S. See you at the polls March 14th.

TEAR HERE

Volunteer Card

Mr. & Mrs. Vern Bunnell
2002 Australia Way E Apt
Clearwater, Fl 33515

Telephone _____

Signature _____

I want to personally support President Nixon for re-election by participating in the campaign. Please contact me right away!

I can't personally participate in the campaign but I want to show my support with a contribution of \$_____.

Mr. & Mrs. Vern Bunnell
2002 Australia Way E Apt
Clearwater, Fl 33515

33515-00196

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, fold it in half and insert it in the business reply envelope and mail today.

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM

MS. MAY E. MACDONALD
8667 SEMINOLE BLVD
SEMINOLE, FL 33304

1

AMERICA NEEDS CONTINUED STRONG LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT
NIXON. NOW THE PRESIDENT NEEDS YOUR HELP. NATION WILL
BE WATCHING FLORIDA PRIMARY. YOUR VOTE EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT. NOW IS TIME FOR FLORIDA REPUBLICANS TO
UNITE IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT. LET US SHOW AMERICA
OUR STRENGTH AND UNITY.

TOMMY THOMAS

First Wisconsin Mailing

Re-elect the President

WISCONSIN COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
229 EAST WISCONSIN AVENUE, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53202

(H

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.**

Authorized & paid for by the Wisconsin Comm. for the Re-election of the President.
H. L. Erickson, Treas., 7685 N. Berwyn, Glendale, Wis.

Re-elect
the President.

The Record

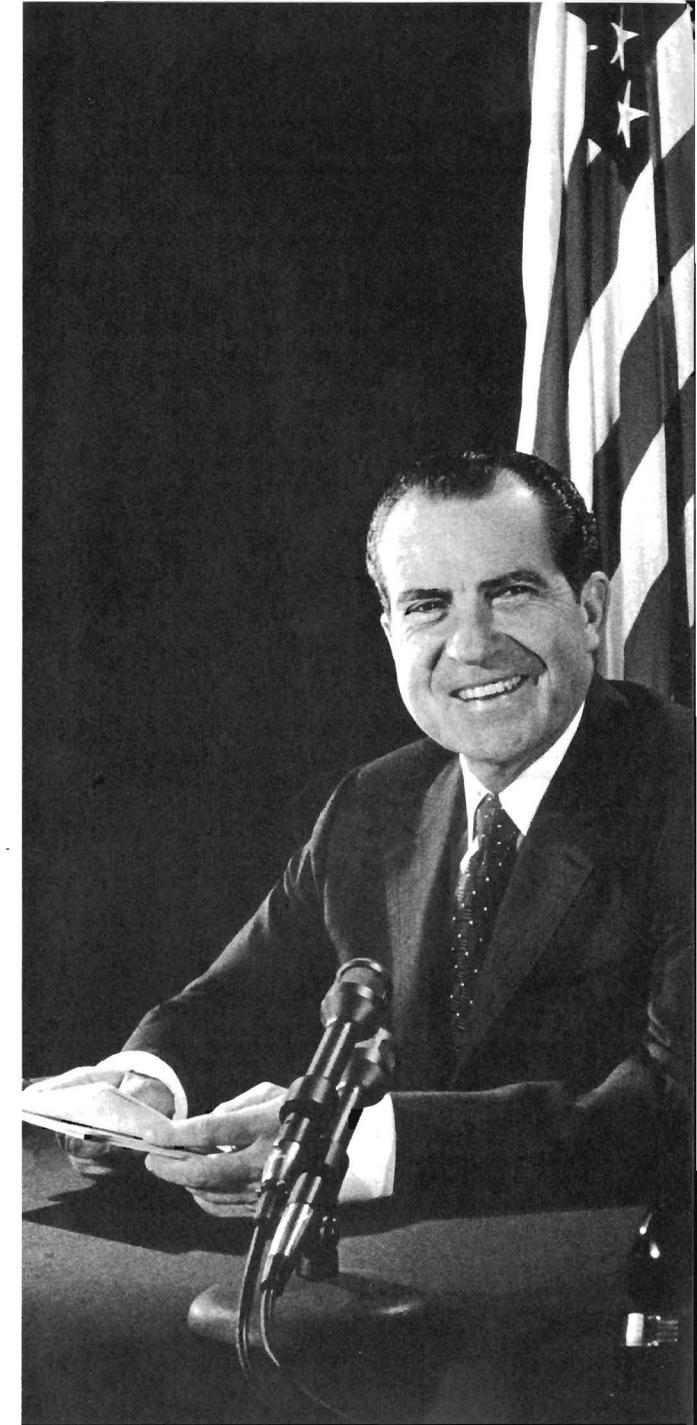
Vietnam: The President has brought 400,000 Americans home from Vietnam. He has reduced American ground combat involvement by 90%. He has reduced casualties by 95%. He has reduced spending by two-thirds. He has laid the foundations for a lasting peace in Southeast Asia.

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.



First Class Mail
Permit No. 6
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by

**Wisconsin Committee for the
Re-election of the President
229 East Wisconsin Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202**

Re-elect the President

WISCONSIN COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
229 EAST WISCONSIN AVENUE, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53202 (414) 278-0262

Mr. Wesley J. Mulder
Box 27
Adell, Wi 53001

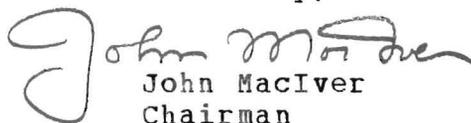
Dear Mr. Mulder:

At the 1968 Republican Convention, the Wisconsin delegation cast the deciding votes that nominated Richard Nixon for President of the United States. On Primary Day, April 4th, Wisconsin will again have the opportunity to register its support for the President.

As you know, he has brought more than 400,000 men home from Vietnam; he has slowed inflation and slowed the rising crime rate; he has introduced bold initiatives in the fight against pollution; and he has made dramatic progress in the search for world peace.

Based on this record, I believe he deserves your support once again. If you agree, would you complete the attached volunteer card and send it in today, and PLEASE don't forget to cast your vote for President Nixon on April 4th.

Sincerely,


John MacIver
Chairman

TEAR HERE Paid for by the Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President, Hugh Sloan, Jr., Treasurer, 1701 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Volunteer Card

Mr. Wesley J. Mulder
Box 27
Adell, Wi 53001

Telephone _____

Signature _____

I want to personally support President Nixon for re-election by participating in the campaign. Please contact me right away!

I can't personally participate in the campaign but I want to show my support with a contribution of \$_____.

Mr. Wesley J. Mulder
Box 27
Adell, Wi 53001

53001 0C00350

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill out this volunteer card, fold it in half and insert it in the business reply envelope and mail today.

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM

MR. GERHARD F. NUENTHEL
ROUTE 1 BOX 213A
EDGERTON, WI 53534

1

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BROUGHT 400,000 MEN HOME FROM THE WAR.
HE HAS SLOWED INFLATION AND SLOWED THE TERRIBLE CRIME RATE.
HE HAS MADE DRAMATIC PROGRESS IN THE SEARCH FOR WORLD
PEACE AND THE FIGHT TO SAVE OUR ENVIRONMENT. PLEASE
SUPPORT HIM ON APRIL 4TH. CAST YOUR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT
NIXON.

JOHN MACIVER
CHAIRMAN, WISCONSIN COMMITTEE
FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE
PRESIDENT

TARGET STATES

<u>State</u>	<u>Electoral Votes</u>	<u>1968 % Vote</u>	<u>Number of Voting Households to be Mailed</u>	<u>Number of Mailings</u>	<u>Total Mailings in each State</u>	<u>Cumulative Number of Mailings</u>
California	45	51.7	1,750,000	3	5,250,000	5,250,000
New York	41	47.1	1,800,000	3	5,400,000	10,650,000
Texas	26	49.2	850,000	3	2,550,000	13,200,000
Pennsylvania	27	48.1	850,000	3	2,550,000	15,750,000
Illinois	26	51.6	850,000	3	2,550,000	18,300,000
Ohio	25	51.3	630,000	3	1,890,000	20,190,000
Michigan	21	42.0	720,000	3	2,160,000	22,350,000
New Jersey	17	51.2	720,000	3	2,160,000	24,510,000
Missouri	12	50.6	450,000	3	1,350,000	25,860,000
Wisconsin	11	52.0	540,000	3	1,620,000	27,480,000
Maryland	10	49.0	450,000	3	1,350,000	28,830,000
Connecticut	8	47.2	450,000	3	1,350,000	30,180,000
Oregon	6	50.0	450,000	3	1,350,000	31,530,000
Volunteer mailings					470,000	<u>32,000,000</u>

RECOMMENDED AGRICULTURAL MAILINGS
BY PRODUCT

<u>State</u>	<u>Agricultural Mailings</u>		<u>Total Agricultural Mailings</u>
California	25,000	X3 =	75,000
New York	23,000	X3 =	69,000
Texas	44,200	X3 =	132,600
Pennsylvania	25,400	X3 =	76,200
Illinois	56,000	X3 =	168,000
Ohio	28,000	X3 =	84,000
Michigan	50,000	X3 =	150,000
New Jersey	3,400	X3 =	10,200
Missouri	43,000	X3 =	129,000
Wisconsin	35,200	X3 =	105,600
Maryland	5,000	X3 =	15,000
Connecticut	2,200	X3 =	6,600
Oregon	20,000	X3 =	60,000

K

MR. RICHARD PALMER
STAR RTE
CHARLESTOWN, NH 03603

00277 SU UNT

Tel. _____

CALL 1 (To all registered GOP's)			For Undecideds ONLY in Call #1		
FOR Nixon	AGAINST Nixon	Undecided	CHECK ISSUE(s) OF CONCERN:		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Ashbrk <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> McClos <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Vietnam	<input type="checkbox"/> Environment	<input type="checkbox"/> Crime
Date of No Answer, Busy, etc.:	<input type="text" value="2/"/>	<input type="text" value="2/"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Economy-Inflation	<input type="checkbox"/> Drugs	<input type="checkbox"/> Health Care
			<input type="checkbox"/> Unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/> Foreign Policy	<input type="checkbox"/> Can't Say; Won't Say
CALL 2 (To Undecideds only)			CALL 3 (Get-Out-the-Vote call to all GOP's "FOR Nixon")		
FOR Nixon	AGAINST Nixon	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/> Call completed		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Date of No Answer, Busy, etc.:		
			<input type="text" value="3/"/>	<input type="text" value="3/"/>	<input type="text" value="3/"/>

L

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**NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR
THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT**
New Hampshire Highway Hotel
Concord, New Hampshire 03301



NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

New Hampshire Highway Hotel / Concord, New Hampshire 03301
Phone (603) 224-7411

Lane Dwinell—*Chairman*

Mrs. Bedford Spaulding—*Assistant Chairman*

G. Allan Walker, Jr.—*Executive Director*

Annis Clarkson
57 Watson St.
Nashua, NH 03060

Dear Annis Clarkson:

When one of our volunteers spoke with you over the telephone recently, you indicated particular interest in the issues of:

VIETNAM	ECONOMY-INFLATION
UNEMPLOYMENT	ENVIRONMENT
DRUGS	FOREIGN POLICY
CRIME	HEALTH CARE

The President's overall record, as well as his accomplishments in your area of interest, warrant our continued support for his re-election.

I hope that after reading the enclosed issue papers you will join us in supporting President Nixon at the polls on March 7th.

Sincerely,


Lane Dwinell

LD:jen

Unemployment:

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.

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 billions, a 2/3rds 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 gurantees 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.

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 billions of dollars 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.

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

1. 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.
2. His programs make sure that EVERYONE 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.
3. 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.

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.

1

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

4

Drugs:

TOO MANY YOUNG AMERICANS ARE TURNING ON TO DRUGS. PRESIDENT NIXON IS TURNING DRUGS OFF.

1. 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

2. 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

3. 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.

4. 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.

Winning The Battle Against Crime:

THE CRIME RATE IS SLOWING THIS YEAR.

HOW THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION DID IT.

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.

A. 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.

B. 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 2-1/2 times the number of indictments obtained during the year before the President took office.

While substantial progress has already 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.

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 has 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 Viet Nam 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 spread 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.

AGREEMENT

This AGREEMENT, made this sixth day of April 1972 in the city of New York, New York, by and between THE REUBEN H. DONNELLEY CORPORATION, having its principal place of business at 825 Third Avenue, New York, New York, (hereinafter referred to as "Donnelley"), and the FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, having its principal place of business at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC (hereinafter referred to as "the Committee");

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, Donnelley desires direct mail business; and

WHEREAS, the Committee desired to employ direct mail to communicate with voters on behalf of President Richard Nixon's bid for re-election;

NOW, THEREFORE, Donnelley and the Committee, in consideration of the mutual promises and commitments made herein, hereby mutually agree as follows:

I. The Committee agrees to employ Donnelley to mail a minimum of 25 million pieces of direct mail during the period beginning April 17, 1972, and ending October 31, 1972, inclusive. The Committee may require Donnelley to produce and mail up to 15 million of said 25 million pieces of mail in the month of October, 1972.

II. The Committee agrees to pay Donnelley for all of its services and postage in advance of Donnelley's execution of the mailings and to make the first such payment for services and postage of \$2,455,540 to Donnelley upon the signing of this contract. Donnelley will bill the Committee in accordance with the following schedule of prices, which prices include Donnelley's services and postage:

N

Preparation of Computer letter, including
Mailing Service: (based on two-up format) --

7" form.....	\$ 35.00	per thousand
10" form.....	37.50	" "
14" form.....	40.16	" "

Use of RHD Lists --

1st coverage.....	\$ 12.50	per thousand
2nd coverage.....	8.50	" "
Each Additional Coverage.....	6.50	" "

Software.....\$ 20.00 per hour

Use of RHD Tapes for
Demographic Identification.....\$ 4.00 per thousand

List Correction (based on use of sequence numbers).....	Deletions	\$ 61.00	per thousand
	Changes	186.00	" "

List Print-outs (5-across Cheshire style) 3.75 per thousand

No materials are included in above costs. If Donnelley supplies materials, they will be billed to the Committee at actual cost plus 17.65%. All costs for delivery of materials will be paid by the Committee.

III. Donnelley agrees to maintain the computer capability necessary to perform under this contract, and to keep its facilities at Oak Brook, Illinois, open for operation during the period beginning April 17, 1972 through October 31, 1972, and to devote the use of said facilities and no other facilities to the performance of this contract.

IV. Donnelley agrees that this contract may be cancelled by reason of non-performance by Donnelley or if, for any reason, Richard Nixon ceases to be a candidate for President of the United States at any time during the period of this contract. The Committee shall notify Donnelley in writing of such cancellation 30 days in advance of the effective date thereof; provided, however, that if the contract is being cancelled by the Committee by reason

of non-performance Donnelley shall first have been advised by the Committee of said non-performance and shall have been given 15 days to cure said non-performance before the 30-day notice of cancellation is given. Said 30 days shall run from the time such notice is placed in the U.S. Mails, addressed to an officer of Donnelley at Donnelley's principal place of business.

The Committee agrees that, in the case of cancellation of this contract, Donnelley will bill the Committee for the cost of all services, postage and materials expended by Donnelley as of the effective date of cancellation, plus the costs of equipment required to be purchased or leased, and facilities required to be maintained, under Paragraph III above.

Any portion of advance payments which the Committee may have made to Donnelley not used by Donnelley to cover the costs expended for services, postage, materials, and additional computers and equipment necessary for the performance of this contract (which costs are estimated to be approximately \$75,000 for each of three months based on the 15 million October requirement in Paragraph I, or approximately 1/3 less for each 5 million reduction in the October requirement if notice of such reduction is received by Donnelley far enough in advance for Donnelley to cancel the equipment leases) shall be returned by Donnelley to the Committee after either the cancellation or the termination of this contract.

V. Donnelley recognizes that the exigencies of a Presidential electoral campaign are such that normal commercial standards of performance of the business of direct mail are exceeded greatly and that demands which would be considered extraordinary under ordinary commercial conditions are reasonable and ordinary demands to be expected during a Presidential electoral campaign. Accordingly, Donnelley agrees to perform this Contract using its

best efforts consistent with the availability of manpower and equipment.

VI. Donnelley agrees to employ the highest standards of security and confidentiality to protect the privacy of the business of the Committee. Pursuant thereto, Donnelley agrees specifically:

a. To keep all of the Committee's magnetic tapes under lock at all times when not in use and to maintain a sign-out system so that all tapes can be accounted for at all times.

b. To keep all correspondence to or from the Committee which is marked "Confidential" under lock at all times when not in use and return this correspondence to the Committee after the termination of this Contract.

c. To keep all correspondence and any other material pertaining to the business of the Committee under lock at all times during the non-working day, in containers previously approved as secure by a representative of the Committee.

d. To keep separate from all other Donnelley work orders, interoffice Donnelley work orders pertaining to the business of the Committee.

e. To exclude from the area in which Committee business is being performed anyone other than Donnelley or Committee personnel working on Committee business.

f. To limit dissemination of information about Committee business within the Donnelley organization to those with a need-to-know the same.

g. Not to discuss among its own employees the activities of the Committee, unless such discussion is necessary for the performance by Donnelley of this contract.

h. Generally not to discuss with anyone not employed by either the Committee or Donnelley any of the business or activities of the Committee, and, particularly, the dollar volume of Committee business, the quantities of planned or actual mailings, or the kinds of mailings employed by the Committee.

1. To allow no one other than a Donnelley employee, working on Committee business, to enter areas under the control of Donnelley in which Committee business, or work on the behalf of the Committee, is being performed, unless such person is identified positively and bears written authorization for such access, signed by any one of the following persons:

Jeb S. Magruder,
Robert H. Marik, or
L. Robert Morgan

In witness whereof, the parties have executed this Contract.

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE
RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

By _____
Maurice H. Stans

ATTEST:

THE REUBEN H. DONNELLEY CORPORATION

By _____

ATTEST:

Secretary

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: ROBERT Ç. ODLE, JR. *R.C.O.*

Pursuant to your request I am enclosing at Tab A a list of the personnel we currently have on board at 1701 and a brief description of each. These are descriptions, not titles.

At Tab B is the budget break-down described to you in my memo of May 5.

Although different people might describe the organization of the campaign in different ways, there are basically four divisions or broad areas:

1. The Finance Division, housed in Suite 272, and headed by Mr. Stans. Hugh Sloan serves Stans as a sort of "executive officer" and there are several vice chairmen and fund raisers, e.g., Dan Hofgren, Tom Pappas, Lee Nunn, Newell Weed, Lang Washburn, etc. Gordon Liddy is the Division's counsel. The campaign controller's office, although it works closely with my administrative operation, is a part of Finance.
2. The Political Division, located on the third floor, is headed by five regional coordinators; the fifty states are split among them. The five area coordinators are Bob Mardian (west), Harry Flemming (south), Don Mosiman (midwest), Clayton Yeutter (farm states), and Al Kaupinen (northeast). Mosiman previously was a top man at EPA; Yeutter is from Agriculture and also heads Farm Families for the President.

Fred La Rue, although technically not in the Political Division, performs a number of chores in this area as Special Assistant to the Campaign Director.
3. The voter blocs and functional groups, spread throughout the building, are run by Fred Malek. Assisting him at 1701 are Chuck Shearer (who did this at the Willard in '68) and Andre Le Tendre (who started yesterday).

These groups are Youth (Ken Rietz); Business and Industry (Paul Kayser); Black (Paul Jones); Ethnic (Tony De Falco); Older Americans (Dan Todd); Agriculture (Clayton Yeutter); Spanish Speaking (Alex Armendaris); Veterans (Frank Naylor); Labor (not yet selected); Jewish (Larry Goldberg); Transient Vote (Dick McAdoo); Lawyers Committee (Dan Pilierio); Physicians (Bill Stover); Educators (not yet selected); Women (Pat Hutar); Voters Rights (Murray Chotiner).

4. Then there is what might be termed "everything else," and falls under the jurisdiction of Jeb:
 - a. Advertising. Peter Dailey's November Group. Three people in Washington, the balance in New York.
 - b. Convention. Run by Bill Timmons out of the White House.
 - c. PR/Media. Cliff Miller and Van Shumway's operation.
 - d. Research and Planning. Headed by Bob Marik this also includes the Direct Mail operations (Bob Morgan) and Telephone Operations (Nancy Brataas).
 - e. Polling. Bob Teeter. Bob has two young assistants in Washington.
 - f. Spokesmen Resources. The "scheduling" operation run by Bart Porter and Curt Herge and the "tour desk and advance" operation headed by Jon Foust. The latter also includes celebrities, athletes, American Music, etc.
 - g. Administration. Odle. Roughly comparable to the White House Staff Secretary plus Personnel and Security. Also includes budget administration and special projects for Magruder. Correspondence section, guards, drivers, etc.
 - h. Counsel. Glenn Sedam.

With respect to your question on operating expenses, it costs approximately \$50,000 - \$60,000 per month to run 1701. This includes all rents, phones, furniture, office equipment, supplies, stationery, security devices, typewriters, leasehold improvements, auto rental, etc. Costs for telephone equipment and our long distance charges run almost one-third of this amount.

Let's discuss the salary situation on the phone. I'm having those figures put together now.

A

ADMINISTRATION

Magruder's Office

Job Description

Jeb Magruder	Assistant to Mr. Mitchell
Bob Reisner	Administrative assistant to Magruder
Gene Roberts	Secretary to Magruder
Vicki Chern	Secretary to Reisner

Sedam's Office

Glenn Sedam	Counsel
Diane Kalin	Secretary to Sedam

Odle's Office

Rob Odle	Director of campaign admin- istration, personnel, etc.
Connie Santarelli	Assistant for personnel, Committee correspondence, etc.
Jeannie Mitchell	Assistant for personnel, Committee correspondence, volunteer recruitment and placement, etc.
Martha Duncan	Assistant for office manage- ment, equipment, supplies, machine maintenance
Jeanne Mason	Secretary to Odle
Kathy O'Melia	Receptionist & switchboard
Ruby Youngs	Telephone Operator

<u>Odle's Office, cont.</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Sylvia Panarites	Receptionist - 4th floor
Jim McCord	Security coordinator
Linde Zier	Correspondence typist
Nick Bungato	Staff messenger
Carl Foster	Staff driver
James Dooley	Mailboy

Mitchell's Office

John Mitchell	Campaign Director
Lea Jablonsky	Secretary to Mr. Mitchell
Morgan Elliott	Driver for Mr. Mitchell

Note: There is also a security guard force under the Administrative Division.

Note: Sandra Hobbs, legal secretary to Mr. Mitchell, is on the payroll of Mudge Rose Guthrie & Alexander

ADVERTISING

<u>Peter Dailey's Office</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Bill Novelli	Assistant director; based in Washington
Liz Johansen	Secretary to Dailey
Susan Schjelderup	Secretary to Joanou and Novelli*

Other Advertising salaries are reflected on payroll of November Group, Incorporated.

NOVEMBER

GROUP

INC.

Highly Confidential

March 22, 1972

Pete Dailey:

In the interest of proper internal control it would be desirable if from time to time the payroll rates both internal and anchor and loan-were confirmed by a person in authority independent of the Finance Department. (Reimbursement to free lance personnel have been reported to you separately)

Accordingly, if the information below agrees with your understanding, kindly indicate so by signing a copy of this document and return to me.

Should you have any questions, please let me know.

<u>Dept.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Start Date</u>	<u>A&L/NG</u>
Executive	P. Dailey	President	2/1	A&L
Executive	P. Joanou	Exec. V.P.	2/1	A&L
Finance	P. Muller	Sr. V. P.	2/1	NG
Creative	W. Taylor	Creat. Dir.	3/1	A&L
Acc. Man.	M. Lesser	Man. Suprv.	2/1	A&L
Finance	F. Becker	Treas.	2/1	NG
Media	G. Karalakes	Dir. Media	2/1	A&L
Sales Pro.	M. Heinrich	Mgr. Promo.	1/16	NG
Executive	S. Woodson	Adm. Asst.	2/28	NG
Sales Prom	P. Krever	Adm. Asst.	2/1	NG
Finance	B. Goubeaud	Exp.-Sec.	2/21	NG
Acc. Man.	M. Giangrande	Adm. Asst.	2/17	NG
Off. Serv.	R. Blau	Rec.-Swich Bd.	2/21	NG
Off. Serv.	E. Prato	Kail Head	3/6	NG
Media	S. Masucci	Asst Buyer	3/16	NG
Acc. Man.	M. Scott	A/E	3/13	NG
Creative	G. Whitlock	Sec. to Dir.	3/1	A&L
Acc. Oper.	S. Willis	Print Good/Buy	3/6	A&L

CC: R. Smelas. Price Waterhouse
F. Becker

*Represents contractual rate for services from inception to dissolution of Corporation

909 THIRD AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022
(212) 752-3500

Pete Dailey
March 22, 1972

AGRICULTURE

Personnel

Job Description

Clayton Yeutter

Director

John Foltz

Assistant

Gary Madson

Assistant

Roni Haggert

Secretary^A

Kathy Hill

Secretary

BALLOT SECURITY

Personnel

Job Description

Yvonne Allen

Assistant to Chotiner

Note: Chotiner is not on payroll but does receive reimbursement for expenses.

BLACK LIAISON

Personnel

Job Description

Paul Jones

Director

Brenda Pettross

Secretary

Karen Minor

Secretary

Frank Carpenter

Assistana

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Paul Kayser	Director
Harold Fangboner	Assistant
Peter Rocchio	Assistant
Bill Harper	Administrative assistant
Pat Cochran	Secretary
Catherine Koob	Secretary

CITIZENS

Personnel

Job Description

Charles Shearer

Director

Jerry Jones

Campaign controller

Carolyn Muse

Secretary to Jones

Edward Nixon

Assistant to Malek

Tina Karalekas

Secretary to Nixon

Andre Le Tendre

Assistant to Shearer

CONVENTION

Personnel

Fred Rheinstein

Job Description

Convention media
coordinator

ELDERLY

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Dan Todd	Director
Jim Mills	Assistant
Polly Sedlak	Secretary
Christie Todd	Assistant
Ruth Groom	Assistant
Judy Prokop	Secretary

ETHNIC

Personnel

Job Description

Anthony De Falco

Director

Connie Broadus

Secretary

EXECUTIVE

<u>Mrs. Mitchell's Office</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Kristin Forsberg	Secretary
Tom Wince	Driver-messenger
Carol Willis	Staff Director
Jacqueline Newman	Secretary

Special Arrangement -- Dent Job Description

Jan Milliken	Secretary in Dent's office
--------------	-------------------------------

Note: This is a special arrangement worked out at Roger Milliken's request whereby he pays the Committee \$8,000 per year so that it can pay his daughter that sum to work in Dent's office. The daughter does not know her salary is paid by her father and he wants it that way.

<u>Special Arrangement</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Patricia Lasky	Writer

FIELD OPERATIONS

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Tom Houser	Illinois Chairman
Diane Graham	California fieldman
Tony Goldstein	California fieldman
Tom Dey	California fieldman
Ken Manning	California fieldman
Dan Hall	California fieldman
Michael Scholar	California fieldman
Susan Sullivan	California fieldman
Dustin Murdock	California fieldman
Richard Richards	Western fieldman

FINANCE

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Hugh Sloan	Assistant
Peter Holmes	Assistant to Sloan
Lee Nunn	Assistant
Lang Washburn	Assistant
Newell Weed	Assistant
Paul Barrick	Controller
Charles Dexter	Director mail fund raising
Barbara Zapp	Direct mail fund raising
Kenneth Talmage	Administrative Assistant
Arden Chambers	Secretary to Stans
Ann Pinkerton	Secretary to Stans and Chambers
Jane Dannenhauer	Secretary to Sloan
Yolanda Dorminy	Secretary to Nunn
Judy Hoback	Bookkeeper
Charlotte Lyeth	Accounting
Eveline Hyde	Coordinator of finance volunteers
Carroll Holton	Driver for Stans
Maureen Devlin	Secretary-receptionist
Florence Thompson	Secretary to Talmage
Richard Visceglia	Direct mail fund raising
Celine Terrar	Direct mail fund raising

<u>Finance personnel cont.</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Elaine Hall	Secretary
Gordon Liddy	Counsel
Sally Harmony	Secretary to Liddy
John T. Washburn	Assistant
Joyce Barbour	Assistant Bookkeeper
Glenn Olson	Direct Mail fundraising
Sharon Harris	Direct Mail fundraising
John Chadwell	Assistant to Mr. Nunn

Note: Messrs. Maurice Stans, Dan Hofgren, Thomas Pappas, and Michael Miller are not on payroll but do receive reimbursement for expenses.

Robert Odell and several secretaries in the Finance Division are on the RNC payroll.

JEWISH

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Larry Goldberg	Director
Ronald Greenwald	Assistant
Beryl Cohen	Secretary
Michael Abrams	Assistant
Paige Peters	Secretary

LAWYERS COMMITTEE

Personnel

Job Description

Daniel Piliero

Director

Mary Lewis

Secretary

LETTERWRITING

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Betty Nolan	Director
Victoria Agnich	Assistant
Christine Nadeau	Assistant

1

Note: This is the office which quietly writes the hundreds of "letters to the editor" throughout the country.

This function was transferred to our payroll when we assumed the White House support budget.

PHYSICIANS

Personnel

Job Description

William Stover

Director

Merlyn Hunger

Secretary

POLITICAL

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Harry Flemming	Political Coordinator
Donald Mosiman	Political Coordinator
Al Kaupinen	Political Coordinator
Mark Bloomfield	Assistant to Flemming
David Allen	Research
Dolores Ulman	Secretary to Flemming
Barbara Fierce	Secretary to Bloomfield and Kaupinen
Laura Frederick	Secretary to LaRue
Robert Mardian	Political Coordinator
Betsy Callaway	Secretary
Wyn Drake McAuliffe	Secretary to Mardian
Diane Kopperman	Secretary to Mosiman
Neille Mallon	Secretary to Mardian

Note: LaRue is not on payroll but does receive reimbursement for expenses.

POLLING AND RESEARCH

Marik's Office

Job Description

Bob Marik	Director of research, planning, strategy, etc.
Bob Morgan	Assistant for direct mail
Nancy Brataas	Assistant for telephone operations
Carmen Hoepfner	Assistant to Brataas
Gail Belt	Assistant to Brataas
Art Finkelstein	Assistant for demographics
Rick Fore	Administrative assistant to Marik
Richard Shriver	Planner
Thomas Slivinski	Assistant to Morgan
Biba Wagner	Research Assistant
Jo Creighton	Secretary to Marik
Ann Braafladt	Secretary to Fore and Marik
Mary Adams	Secretary to Brataas
Dan Mintz	Assistant to Finkelstein
Susan Le Donne	Secretary to Morgan

Teeter's Office

Bob Teeter	Polling director
Ted Garrish	Assistant to Teeter

Teeter's Office cont.

Job Description

Dan Evans

Assistant to Teeter

Marybeth Koeze

Secretary to Teeter

Nancy Crouch

Secretary to Garrish
and Evans

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND MEDIA

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Cliff Miller	Director
Van Shumway	Director of public affairs
Scott Peters	Audio director
Powell Moore	News and information
Ann Dore	Communications manager
Art Amolsch	News bureau manager
John B. Fuller	Writer
Frank Leonard	Publications and graphics
D. J. Atwood	Assistant to Leonard
Bill Parish	Photo editor
Angela Harris	Assistant
Leslye Arsht	Research coordinator
Pat Strunk	Wire room operator, messenger, etc.
Karen Koon	Secretary to Shumway
Noelle Kantzer	Secretary to Girard
Patty Price	Secretary to Amolsch
Laura Underwood	Production Assistant
Jean Coleman	Secretary to Miller
Terri Thayer	Secretary to Harris and Leonard
Joan Donnelly	Secretary to Dore
Michael Kekker	Messenger
Jim Randall	Audio Assistant
Mark Rosenker	Audio Assistant

es

SCHEDULING AND TOUR OFFICE

Porter's Office

Job Description

Bart Porter	Scheduling Director
Curt Herge	Master scheduler
Bill Minshall	Assistant scheduler
Sandra Cram	Assistant scheduler
Nora Vandersommen	Secretary to Porter
Peggy McClung	Secretary
June Peterson	Secretary
Roger Stone	Assistant scheduler
Debra Herwig	Secretary

Foust's Office

Job Description

Jon Foust	Tour Director
Edward Cowling	Tour Desk
Ed Crane	Celebrities coordinator
Susan Davis	Advanceman
Patti Schragar	Celebrities secretary
Peggy Wiesemann	Secretary to Foust
Debbie Nixon	Secretary
Harry Warner	American Music Coordinator

SPANISH SPEAKING

Personnel

Job Description

Alex Armendaris

Director

Frank Almaguer

Assistant/Fieldman

Betty Gonzales

Secretary¹

TRANSIENT

Personnel

Job Description

Richard McAdoo

Director

Susan Whittier

Secretary

VETERANS

Personnel

Job Description

Frank Naylor

Director

Judy Myers

Secretary

James Smith

Fieldman

WOMEN

Personnel

Job Description

Pat Hutar

Director

Rita Hauser

Public Relations

Nancy Steorts

Coordinator

Nancy Blair

Secretary to Hutar, Hauser,
Steorts

YOUTH

<u>Personnel</u>	<u>Job Description</u>
Ken Rietz	Director
Ken Smith	Assistant and project manager
Tom Bell	Assistant and project manager
Bob Podesta	Project manager
George Gorton	College director
Bert Krueger	Fieldman
Maxwell Calloway	Fieldman
Louis Barnett	Fieldman
Ted Wigger	Fieldman
Tom Davis	Fieldman
Bill Lamont	Fieldman
Bill Ehrig	Fieldman
Connie Cudd	Secretary to Rietz
Marilyn Johnson	Assistant to Rietz
Barbara Preve	Secretary for Assistants
Eve Auchincloss	Secretary for Assistants
Angie Miller	Project Manager - Nixonetts, Nixonaires
Gary Burhop	Convention coordinator
David Chew	Assistant
John Ford	Assistant

B

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Preliminary Budget - Post April 7

R. C. Odle, Jr., April 28, 1972

<u>Division</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Advertising	Dailey	\$ 12,153,000	Includes all media costs, overhead, salaries, etc., to run November Group. This figure represents the total cost to Re-elect Committee. Some dollars which might have gone to this budget are now scheduled for the Direct Mail and Telephone budgets.
Campaign Materials	Dailey	\$ 1,500,000	Cost \$2 million in 1968. If the states purchase campaign materials, then the state support budget will increase by this amount and this category will be removed. Regardless of where the money is spent, however, it will cost \$1,500,000.
Candidate Support	Magruder/Malek	\$ ¹ 1,380,000	Represents the White House support account previously maintained at RNC. Includes Presidential and First Family travel, the entire White House mailing program, etc.
Convention	Timmons	\$ 475,000	Includes all 1701 and White House travel to and from convention site. Timmons has justified this figure and believes it will not be changed even if the convention site is.
Political	La Rue/Flemming	\$ 211,000	Includes all costs (salaries, payroll burden, travel) for running Political Division. Does not include any costs associated with state support.
PR/Media	Miller/Shumway	\$ 740,000	All expenses associated with Division: salaries, travel, payroll burden, and all Division programs.
Polling	Teeter	\$ 750,000	Best estimate of what we think will be requested and needed between now and November.
Research and Planning, Direct Mail, Telephone Operations	Marik	\$ 6,785,000	\$4,490,000 for direct mail; \$1,900,000 for telephone operations; \$180,000 for computer maps, Compass Systems, data processing; balance for salaries, travel, payroll burden.
Special groups and committees including all voter bloc groups and Citizens activity plus Women (Volunteers) and Ballot Security	Malek/Hutar/Chotiner	\$ 2,354,000	A realistic budget for the dozen special groups and committees plus the overall Citizens activity. Also includes national volunteers program and ballot security program. Less than 1968 figure.
Spokesmen Resources (Scheduling and Tour Offices)	Porter/Foust	\$ 725,000	Represents entire cost of program: surrogates, athletes, celebrities, American Music, scheduling, travel, charters, rallies, payroll, payroll burden.
Administration	Magruder/Odle	\$ 225,000	Primarily salaries, payroll burden, travel, etc.
Office Administration	Odle	\$ 420,000	Rents, telephones, furniture, equipment, autos, typewriters, leasehold improvements, etc.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 27,718,000	
Funds spent prior to April 7		\$ 3,110,000	Includes all funds spent by all divisions but does not include any pre-payments.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 30,828,000	
Finance Committee Budget	Stans/Sloan	\$ 865,000	Does not include costs of running Division offices, telephones, etc., which are included above.
SUB-TOTAL		\$ 31,693,000	
State Support	La Rue/Flemming		
TOTAL			

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 5, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM:

ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

Jeb suggested that I give you a brief analysis of the budgeting process we have been going through for the last several weeks.

We began by asking each Division head to submit a budget which would include the amount of money he would like to do the job he wanted to do. In other words, each was asked to submit, in effect, a campaign plan in dollar figures. Hence, many of the budgets were greatly in excess of what is practical or even desirable. But we wanted to start at the top and work down.

I then took each Division budget and ran it by Paul Barrick, our controller. Paul and I went over each, moved expenses from one Division to another, eliminated duplications, etc.

A meeting was then held with Magruder, Malek, La Rue, and Odle to review \$44 million worth of requests which had come in. After one long meeting and three cuts at it, we arrived at a \$35 million budget (exclusive of Finance) and it was then approved by Magruder, Malek, La Rue, and Odle as a budget that we should propose to Mr. Mitchell.

At that point, a controversy arose between the Finance and non-Finance people as to whether 1701 should attempt to support the state committees' budgets or the states and counties' budgets as well. Since the Political Division (Flemming et al) does not have all the budgets for the states in on either of these bases, it was decided to remove all state support costs from the budget and agree on a total dollar figure which would be exclusive of state support.

The budget proposed by the campaign committee to the finance committee is attached. It envisions a \$31.7 million campaign exclusive of state support. That figure would include all moneys spent from inception of 1701 (April 1971) to the end. However, all moneys spent from inception through April 6 are lumped together towards the end of the budget.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

Since the preparation of this proposed budget, the Budget Committee (Mitchell, Stans, Magruder, Malek, Nunn, Sloan, La Rue, Odle) has met five times to review the various categories. In each of these sessions, one or two Division heads come in to defend their budgets.

Except for Polling and Spokesmen Resources, who will defend their budgets next week, we now have almost unanimous agreement on the proposed dollar figures for each Division (The convention budget up-date will have to wait until Timmons' team gets back from Miami).

Also by next week we should have semi-final state support figures which would be added to the \$31.7 million figure.

We'll keep you posted.

Please call me if you have any questions.

cc: Mr. Jeb S. Magruder

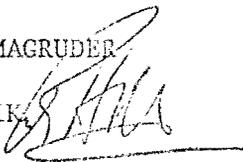
CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 16, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MARIK 
SUBJECT: Compass Systems, Inc.

As you know, we have agreed to invest substantially in Compass Systems, Inc. for the purpose of assuring that we have a comprehensive demographic data base to augment our campaign in California. For the past year, the resources of Compass were devoted to reapportionment. That project was coordinated by the Republican State Central Committee, although there was also involvement by Governor Reagan's office and Bob Monagan's office. We are now in the transition of reapportionment to campaign application, and we have encountered some early operating difficulties in achieving responsiveness and smooth coordination with the Republican State Central Committee and Compass in filling our requirements for data.

As we see it, there are three important factors:

1. The Republican State Central Committee has not performed satisfactorily as the clearing house for all data requests. There have been excessive delays and inadequate follow through.
2. Compass Systems, Inc. is somewhat weak in internal management, although they are technically competent. This has led to failure to make some deadlines as committed.
3. There is a major stumbling block between the Central Committee and Compass in that the latter feels that it has valid billings outstanding for over \$40,000 for project overruns. The Central Committee feels that the claims have no basis whatsoever. Up until now, there has been no constructive effort to resolve that situation.

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

I have sent Bob Morgan to California to work out a satisfactory arrangement with the California people to protect our investment and assure that we will have access to the demographic data base which we require. It is our strong feeling that the Republican State Central Committee personnel should be removed altogether from the coordinating function and that that function should be given to a neutral person. We have received general agreement that Alan Heslop, a political scientist who was a consultant to the overall reapportionment project, would be acceptable in this role. The Re-election Committee may have to pay his compensation to act as coordinator. His fee would be \$100 per day and he may serve as many as ten days per month.

Our problem now is that Put Livermore, despite early promises of cooperation, is becoming reluctant to negotiate with us and to take positive action to deal with an unsatisfactory situation. According to Bob Morgan, Put has even gone so far as to say that the State Central Committee may hold onto the data base in order to retain control over the project.

We are still working to find an acceptable solution to the problem and we hope to have a recommendation in the near future. However, I did want to apprise you of the situation early because we may have to ask for your help to achieve Put Livermore's cooperation.

Lyn Nofziger, who is meeting with you this afternoon, has been in close contact with Bob Morgan as he has been working on the project in California.

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: General Campaign Strategy

Although this memorandum was prepared last month, upon reviewing it today, I feel that it will nevertheless be of interest to you as it makes some important points concerning general strategy.

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

March 7, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ARTHUR FINKELSTEIN

SUBJECT: General Campaign Strategy

I have been searching for a profound thought on your query on the best general campaign approach (bland vs. blatant) and keep coming back to one not very profound position, that of a very old political axiom, namely: Know where your voter is, know who your voter is, and be able to count.

I have a general predilection for a low profile campaign and perhaps my bias here will show, but:

1. The Republican Party is overwhelmingly the minority party and cannot, as a rule, afford (nor can the Democrats) an overt ideological position without denying a larger, less ideological slice of the electorate.
2. Richard Nixon is not a charismatic personality and would be unable to effectively "pull-off" anything other than a bland performance.
3. Our constituency is an older, less emotionally constituted and more diligent voter. A quieter campaign would be tailored more to their tastes.
4. The other side of that coin, you suggested, is that in a bland campaign many of these voters would tend to stay within the confines of their party - majority Democratic - and thereby hurt the President. I suspect this is valid except that, after all, our candidate is the incumbent President, a known quantity, an earnest, businesslike, efficient President. As such, he garners a stronger loyalty, more so than as a mere partisan. However, this argument is intriguing other than the incumbency factor.
5. Unquestionably, a hotter campaign would bring forth a larger turnout. Larger turnouts mean a great deal more (percentage wise) people who are on the bottom of the socio-economic ladder and, therefore, blocs of non-Republican voters.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

6. However, a more intensely fought campaign would force the ultimate Democratic nominee to take positions which would, because of Nixon co-option of the Centrist position, be somewhat, if not totally, ideological in bearing. This would be true of both Kennedy and Muskie.
7. Kennedy is not, in fact, totally boxed in since a campaign can be fought either for a cause (Left or Right), for consensus, or for a personality. Kennedy would, no doubt, run as a personality concerned with an issue and would, therefore, produce a contrast with Nixon and run a formidable race.
8. Muskie has a personality problem and could not, in my estimation, run with a cause. Therefore, he would have to run for consensus, which he is now doing. For Muskie this would be a difficult proposition and probably not a successful one.
9. While a Kennedy-Nixon confrontation would, no doubt, be the more dangerous one for Nixon, it would have side advantages. Kennedy's campaign would produce a more issue-oriented (Left vs. Right rather than a Muskie Democrat vs. Republican) campaign. This in turn would bring to fore certain voter shifts which Scammon-Wattenber-Phillips have been alluding to.
10. A Kennedy-Nixon race would allow the Republican Party to start on a long, slow incrementation period in Congress as well as the voting shifts.
11. Lastly, to try to hold up Muskie or deflate Kennedy or any other "anti" strategy is dangerous and can conceivably backfire in the campaign.

cc: Bob Marik

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 25, 1972

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE LINKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By OMP / 3-31-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Democratic Primaries

The attached memorandum from Bob Marik concerning the lessons of the Democratic primaries will be implemented at our next staff meetings. In the meantime, I thought you would be interested in the points that he is making.

Attachment

bcc: Mr. Haldeman

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 10, 1972

FOR: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Democratic Primaries

You probably saw the attached article from the "Outlook" Section of this Sunday's Washington Post. The author, Polsby, makes three major points:

1. That the Democrats are not tearing themselves apart in the primaries, to the extent that they will default the general election to Richard Nixon;

2. That Ed Muskie's chances have not been fatally damaged by the primary results thus far;

3. That the abnormally heavy turnout in the Democratic primaries thus far suggests great interest among those voters in 1972, and that the traditionally Republican edge in percent turnout may not exist in November.

The first two points are well-worn. I happen to agree with the first and disagree with the second. The very important point is the third one, and we probably have not thought about that enough. The Democrats may be setting the stage for the greatest turnout in their history. You may recall an early comment by John McIver, that the Wisconsin Democrats always had the divisive primaries. However, those contests did increase the Democratic primary turnout and attracted substantial Republican crossovers. Pretty soon, the habit of turning out and voting for the Democratic slate carried over to November, and the Republicans found themselves in bad shape.

We must be aware of the same danger nationally in November, 1972. The President can, and should conduct his campaign as the incumbent, the occupant of the Oval Office. We, however, cannot afford to act anything like a campaign-oriented branch of the White House Staff. We (the total campaign committee) must be in the field, out-organizing McGovern; we must get all of our people oriented

to the fact that the campaign will be won or lost in the precincts, not 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue.

In short, I'm afraid we are allowing our very fine staff structure, which was effective for the planning phase, to insulate us from the realities of the campaign. We tend to be overconfident, listening too much to the optimistic evaluations of other Nixon loyalists. Meanwhile, the Democratic campaign workers are becoming battle-hardened in the trenches of the primaries, and they may ambush us in November.

Recommendations X

1. For starters, we have never had a discussion of local campaign organization and activities at a Tuesday Staff Meeting. A theoretical presentation would be useless, but if we do have good organizers working in any state, it would be very effective to have one of them talk to the staff. (Much like it sometimes helps to have a person from Sales tell the Manufacturing people how the customers in the market place are reacting to a company's products and services.)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Person to follow up _____

2. That Ken Reitz talk to the staff about the Brock campaign, emphasizing the success of the field activities, and how they were implemented.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Person to follow up _____


ROBERT H. MARIK

Misreading the Primaries

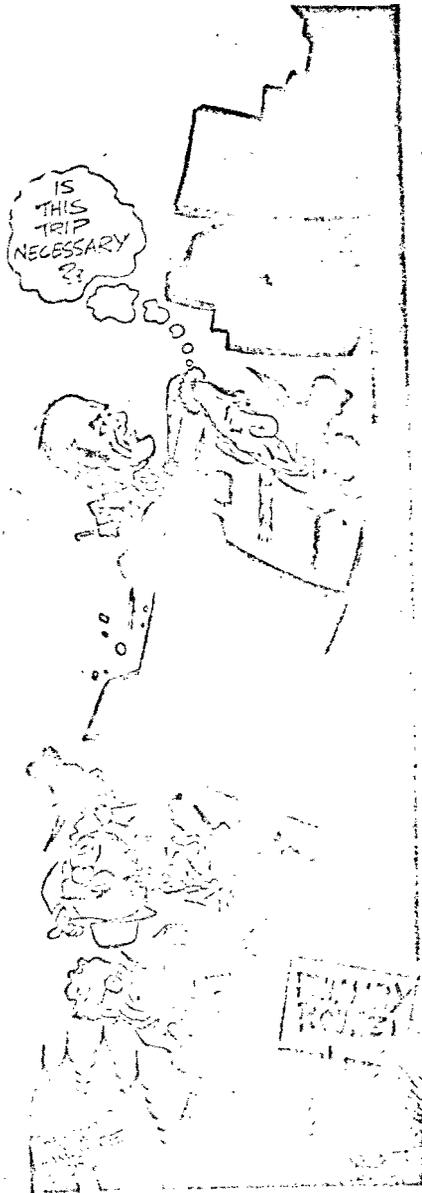
By Nelson W. Polsby

Polsby is professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley and co-author, with Aaron Wildavsky, of "Presidential Elections."

IN THE AFTERMATH of the Wisconsin primary two propositions are now being accepted as conventional wisdom. The first is that the Democrats are tearing themselves apart and that President Nixon's chances of re-election have been enhanced. The second is that the primaries are destroying the chances for nomination of Sen. Edmund Muskie, whose candidacy is now generally regarded as on the ropes. Neither proposition will stand up to much close examination.

Florida and Wisconsin didn't help Muskie, to be sure, but analysts haven't given adequate weight to a few underlying facts about primary elections. For one thing, centrist candidates are handicapped in a crowded field. With a big menu to select from, voters scatter their choices widely. Secondly, primary electorates are quite unrepresentative of party voters in general elections. In primaries, it's ideologically committed partisans who turn out, and the more ideological candidates—not the ones in the middle—reap the benefits. Thus the Democratic primaries don't tell us what all Democrats want, just what some of them want. Moreover, there is no way to tell what the second choices of any of these voters would be like.

Yet sooner or later the Democratic Party will have to choose just one nominee to run against Richard Nixon. To have any hope of winning, the candidate they finally settle on will have to draw support not merely from the 30 per cent of party voters who are most liberal or from the 22 per cent who are



Bill in the Commercial Appeal. Memphis

most reactionary, but from a fairly wide spectrum of Democrats. So over the slightly longer run, being in the center is important to a candidate's chances.

So far, the main lesson of the primaries has been that several possible Democratic nominees are closely matched as far as primary electorates are concerned. To analysts who like to report unequivocal results, the idea of such a fair contest must seem intolerable. The messages they have been sending have made the financial backers of several Democratic hopefuls jittery, since some of them, obviously, are backing eventual losers.

Stopping the Stampede

IT'S MUCH TOO EARLY, however, to count Muskie out. It is certainly true that he has committed one or two tactical blunders, the most important of which was his late announcement of candidacy. Now he is spread much too thin, and by the very nature of his central position comes across indistinctly on short notice to audiences in the primary states. What is a disadvantage in the early primaries, however, may turn out to be a blessing at a national convention when delegates start thinking about their second choices and about appealing to a broader spectrum of voters in an attempt to beat President Nixon. Muskie's main problem, and it may prove insuperable, is to stop a stampede away from him of over-impressionable souls who are misreading the primary results to date.

While the primaries have exaggerated Sen. Muskie's weakness, they have done the opposite for Sen. George McGovern and Gov. George Wallace. There is no reason to disbelieve the polls that say that neither of these hopefuls has overwhelming support among Democrats. The "smashing" victories both have achieved thus far have fallen well short of majorities, even among sharply biased primary electorates.

See PRIMARIES, Page B4

"A cautious look at the primaries suggests that President Nixon may be in for real trouble . . . and that Sen. Muskie's death has been slightly exaggerated."

The Distortions Of the Primaries

PRIMARIES, From Page B1

Sen. McGovern can surely claim, however, to be in the process of consolidating his grip on the left wing activist element of the Democratic Party. There is something remarkable about this achievement, since McGovern is in many ways more moderate than the bulk of his more passionate followers. It seems plausible to assume that if the party turns to a centrist candidate for the presidential nomination that his showing in the primaries will bring Sen. McGovern's name prominently into vice presidential consideration.

The Heavy Turnout

OF ALL THE MAJOR candidates, the one least affected by the early primaries is Sen. Hubert Humphrey. It is clear that he enjoys substantial reservoirs of strength among black voters and in organized labor, both at the core of the Democratic coalition. While many strongly ideological voters find his candidacy distasteful, other Democrats, with only slightly longer memories, count Humphrey as one of the foremost modernizers of the Democratic Party. Nobody doubts that he will be a force to reckon with at the national convention. Still, he has not moved into anything like an unequivocally leading position in the wake of Muskie's poor showings in Florida and Wisconsin.

Does any of this warrant the proposition that President Nixon has been gaining in relation to the eventual Democratic nominee? In spite of equivocal primary results, the Democrats do not seem to be tearing one another limb from limb. So far the level of discourse among serious contenders for the nomination has been civil. Cer-

tainly we have heard nothing like the harsh words that the Kennedy forces used against Hubert Humphrey in West Virginia in 1960, or that Lyndon Johnson spoke against John Kennedy at the Los Angeles convention. So it is premature to say that the Democrats have been doing themselves irreparable damage.

Meanwhile, there are signs in the primaries themselves that a Republican should treat as quite ominous. One significant advantage Republicans have traditionally held over Democrats has been in the superior capacity of the GOP to turn out voters at the polls. Turnout, however, so far, has been quite high in the Democratic primaries, much higher than in the hotly contested year of 1968. If Democrats turn out in the general election to the extent they have turned out in the primaries, the President might well be not just defeated, but defeated decisively.

The figures are clear in New Hampshire, where in 1968 only 35 per cent of those turning out in the primary voted Democratic; in 1972 the comparable figure was 43 per cent. In Wisconsin, home of the cross-over, 60 per cent of the voters voted in the 1972 Democratic primary; this year the figure was 80 per cent.

Primary elections are notoriously difficult to interpret. Because so much depends on them, they are often given panicky misinterpretations. A cautious look at the primaries so far suggests, however, that President Nixon may be in for some real trouble in the general election, and that Sen. Muskie's death has been slightly exaggerated.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 10, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

This memorandum is an update of the analysis of April 20, 1972, on the projected delegate strength of the Democratic contenders at the convention.

Since the earlier memo, Muskie and Jackson have left the campaign trail. McGovern has done better than anticipated in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and has defeated Humphrey head-on in Nebraska. The reading here is that McGovern's superior organization is continuing to build momentum for him. The effect has been that today's "most probable" projected outcome exceeds the "best case" for McGovern three weeks ago. The earlier projection showed McGovern with 1,132-1/2 delegates as a top figure. He now has a chance at over 1,300 delegates (Tab A). The difference is the three large states mentioned above, as well as good preliminary showings in Texas, Oklahoma and Vermont.

Humphrey still has a chance to coalesce the center of the party behind himself, but he must win in California in order to survive. With Ted Kennedy's near-endorsement of McGovern, George looks very strong for the June 6 primary. A first-ballot nomination is now a distinct possibility.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1964 Presidential Election Results

States	Delegate Votes	Leading or Qualified to:				Others or Uncommitted
		Kasikie	Draper	McGovern	Ballace	
NEW ENGLAND						
Maine	20	20	--	--	--	--
* Vermont	12	4	--	8	--	--
New Hampshire	18	13-1/2	--	4-1/2	--	--
Massachusetts	102	--	--	102	--	--
* Rhode Island	22	--	--	22	--	--
* Connecticut	51	--	18	33	--	--
TOTAL	225	37-1/2	18	169-1/2	0	0
MIDDLE ATLANTIC						
New York	278	--	25	200	--	53
* New Jersey	109	--	30	79	--	--
Pennsylvania	182	28	82	58	2	12
Delaware	13	--	7	6	--	--
Maryland	53	--	20	--	33	--
West Virginia	35	--	20	4	11	--
TOTAL	670	28	184	347	46	65
SOUTH						
* Virginia	53	--	15	15	--	23
North Carolina	64	--	--	--	37	27
South Carolina	32	--	--	--	--	32
Georgia	53	--	--	4	--	49
Florida	81	--	6	--	75	--
Alabama	37	--	--	--	34	3
Mississippi	25	--	--	--	--	25
Louisiana	44	--	24	6	12	2
Arkansas	27	--	--	--	--	27
Tennessee	49	--	--	--	49	--
Texas	130	--	60	25	40	5
TOTAL	595	0	105	50	247	193
PLAINS						
North Dakota	14	--	3	11	--	--
South Dakota	17	--	--	17	--	--
Nebraska	24	--	10	14	--	--
Kansas	35	--	15	20	--	--
* Oklahoma	39	--	15	15	9	--
TOTAL	129	0	43	77	9	0
MIDWEST						
* Kentucky	47	--	25	15	2	5
Ohio	153	--	74	66	--	13
Indiana	76	--	55	--	21	--
Illinois	170	59	--	13	--	98
Michigan	132	--	44	44	44	--
Wisconsin	67	--	13	54	--	--
Minnesota	64	--	33	18	--	13
Iowa	46	14	--	12	--	20
* Missouri	73	--	20	32	--	21
TOTAL:	828	73	264	254	67	170
MOUNTAIN						
* Montana	17	--	5	12	--	--
* Wyoming	11	--	4	7	--	--
* Colorado	36	--	10	26	--	--
* New Mexico	18	--	10	8	--	--
Arizona	25	9	1	6	--	9
* Nevada	11	--	3	6	--	2
* Utah	19	--	5	14	--	--
Idaho	17	3	1	7	--	6
TOTAL	154	12	39	86	0	17
PACIFIC						
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
OTHER						
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	150-1/2	653	1310-1/2	369	533

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.
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April 12, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM:

JEB S. MAGRUDER

Attached for your information is an analysis of the possible impact of Kennedy's candidacy. It was prepared by Rick Fore, Assistant to Bob Marik, and presents an interesting perspective on Kennedy's ability to unite constituencies in ways which are not possible for other Democratic contenders.

Attachment

CONFIDENTIAL

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 4, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT H. MARIK
FROM: RICHARD L. FORE
SUBJECT: Senator Kennedy

Although Senator Kennedy has consistently stated that he would not be a candidate for President in 1972, his name still surfaces in discussions of Democratic contenders. Therefore, it appears necessary to take an objective look at Kennedy as a potential opponent running against the President.

Most polling information shows that Kennedy runs almost as well as Muskie does against Nixon. This was even true several months ago when Muskie was at his high point. During that same time period, Kennedy ran ahead of Humphrey when pitted against Nixon. It appears that Kennedy's constant denial of Presidential aspirations in 1972 has lowered his percentage in the polls recently. However, he still rates among the most formidable Democratic contenders.

The President presently leads all his possible Democratic opponents. However, his track record in other elections diminishes the importance of his lead at this point. At this stage in 1960, Nixon was ahead of John Kennedy by 10 points. In 1962, Nixon led Pat Brown by 21 points in the California Governor's race. Against Hubert Humphrey in 1968, President Nixon ran ahead by 14 points, but barely won with a 500,000 vote plurality.

It then appears in a Nixon-Kennedy race that you would have on one side an Incumbent President who has had a serious erosion problem in political campaigns. He presently does not have an overwhelming lead against any Democratic opponent. On the other side, you would have Ted Kennedy who runs almost as well as any potential Democratic candidate against the President.

Potential Strong Points of a Kennedy Candidacy

Although Kennedy starts nearly even with other Democratic contenders in the polls, there are additional variables that would make him a more formidable opponent. A critical view of each of these elements follows:

Youth Support - There are potentially 25 million 18 to 24 year olds eligible to vote in 1972. If 40% vote, 10 million young people will go to the polls. Senator Kennedy leads the President by a large margin with the voters in this age bracket. In trial heats with other Democrats against the President, Kennedy leads other contenders by 10% or more. This alone represents a vote shift of 2,000,000 from Nixon to Kennedy. Furthermore, Kennedy would probably increase this turnout with this constituency.

Black Support - Kennedy has a great deal of support with minority groups. In particular, the 7,000,000 Blacks who will probably vote in 1972 are a natural Kennedy constituency. Kennedy leads other Democrats by 5% or more in trial heats with the President. This represents a vote shift of 700,000 from Nixon to Kennedy.

Democratic Party Support - While Senator Kennedy travels around the country, he keeps in contact with Democratic Party leaders. He has the support of the old guard in the Party such as John Bailey of Connecticut and Mayor Daley of Chicago. If he were to emerge as the nominee at the Convention, he would not have lost any blood in the primaries. He then could effectively unite the party and charge into the campaign against Nixon. He would be the reluctant hero answering the call of the Party.

Kennedy Mystique - The majority of the Democrats pitted against Nixon would provide a passionless and a generally uninteresting campaign. This would not be the case if Kennedy won. When Ted Kennedy would ask Americans to help him finish what his brother began, the voting population would once again become a victim of that "old Jack magic." A Kennedy candidacy would convey nostalgia and emotionalism. As one reporter summarized, "Kennedy would send shivers of joy, dread, anger and ecstasy throughout America like nothing since Robert Kennedy."

Ted Kennedy already has the "halo effect" produced by his brothers. When polled, the American public views Kennedy as follows:

1. Sensitive to problems
2. Responsive
3. Clear grasp of the issues
4. Member of a family that cares

Media Campaign - Kennedy is already known by 90% of the American public. He is by far the most attractive candidate and would mount the most effective media campaign. Skillful communications' experts could produce advertisements with his brothers speaking, with Ethel and Rose Kennedy working for Ted, and with many other images of the New Frontier. We would be fighting a myth.

Fourth Party Candidacy - Eugene McCarthy has threatened to run as a fourth party candidate. His candidacy would lower the Democratic totals and generally benefit Republicans. The effect of his candidacy would be substantially dulled if Kennedy runs. Both candidates share the same constituency. Nixon would probably not have the luxury of a divisive fourth party candidate if Kennedy were to run.

Potential Weak Points of a Kennedy Candidacy

Just as there are positive elements in a Kennedy candidacy, there are also negative elements. Criticism of Kennedy follows:

Chappaquiddick - Kennedy's most vulnerable point at the present is the drowning of Mary Jo Kopeckne while in his car at Chappaquiddick. This undoubtedly hurt Senator Kennedy with the American public at that time. It is still one of the first responses mentioned when people are questioned about Kennedy. However, it may not have hurt him as much as we would like to think. He still rates very high in truthfulness and integrity. Kennedy is the third most admired man (Nixon and Billy Graham are 1 and 2) in America today. Furthermore, it would be very difficult to take advantage of this event. It has already received maximum coverage. If Republicans continuously harp on Chappaquiddick, Kennedy could conceivably reverse the situation and receive a great deal of sympathy.

Kennedy Intelligence - Kennedy has often been called an intellectual lightweight. This was much more evident in the past than it is now. He has assembled the best staff on Capitol Hill, who now keep him thoroughly briefed. Kennedy also has gained a certain degree of intellectual maturity. He recently has been coming down on the right side of issues. In committee hearings he has previously been reluctant to question vigorously. In the ITT hearings, he has been thoroughly briefed and has

been in the spotlight. Likewise, when Elliot Richardson, who is excellent in Committee hearings, recently appeared before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Aging, Kennedy did an outstanding job in quizzing Richardson. If Kennedy is not overly intelligent, his staff more than compensates for it.

In a Presidential Campaign, Kennedy has many of his brothers' top-notch advisors that he could call on. Mankiewicz, Salinger, Goodwin and Walinsky have temporarily joined the McGovern campaign. He could have a group of aides who already have been in the field this year.

Elderly - The elderly vote proves to be the Democrats' weakest point. Kennedy runs as well as any Democrat. However, Nixon has a very large margin with the elderly vote at the present. Kennedy is aware of the weakness and has really begun to work on the problem during the last session of Congress. Kennedy sits on the Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee on Aging and the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. Most important, Kennedy is Chairman of the Health Subcommittee that has been touring the country holding "consumer" hearings on the "health care crisis" in our country. These hearings have received very positive media coverage. Much of his work on Health Care has emphasized the needs of the elderly. The President has just signed Kennedy's Nutrition Bill for the Elderly (Senate Bill 1163). This Bill provides program-funds to the states, that would give those over 60 one hot meal per day, five days per week.

Although hearings are not yet well underway on the National Insurance Bill in the Senate Finance Committee, Kennedy's Senate Bill 3 has already enjoyed a widespread reception with the elderly. The Administration has also introduced its own health bill. It, however, has not been as well received because it provides less coverage.

Kennedy is effectively wooing the elderly vote by concentrating on Health Care. The huge expense of a Health Care program such as that proposed by Kennedy does not concern Senior Citizens. Elderly Americans are vitally interested in Health Care in their twilight years regardless of the cost to the Federal Government.

Strategy

If it is agreed Kennedy is the strongest Democrat that could run against the President, a strategy should be devised to prevent his entry into the race. If a single candidate emerges as the front-runner before the convention, this strategy will probably not be necessary. The ideal situation would be a weakened Humphrey or Muskie limping into the convention and receiving the nomination.

We, however, cannot take the chance of waiting for the convention. Kennedy must be eliminated now. We must lock him into his position as a non-candidate. Any adverse press that could be mobilized should be used to make him uncomfortable. Any information leaked now would be more believable while he is not a candidate. We should work in every way possible to see that Kennedy does not receive a mandate in the Oregon Primary where his name is on the ballot.

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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April 28, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ARTHUR J. FINKELSTEIN
SUBJECT: Conservative Party in New York

If one looks beyond the Buckley vote total of 1970, the Conservative Party did not, in fact, do well. Their gubernatorial candidate, Paul Adams, received 17% less vote in 1970 than he did in 1966. Since Buckley received over two million votes on the Conservative Party line, one could surmise that a large portion of Adams' 422,514 votes were Buckley "coat-tail" votes.

Mathematically, the 1970 Conservative Party base vote (determined by adding the lowest vote total received on the Conservative Party line by county of any statewide candidate) is 341,059. This is only 20,000 more votes than it was in 1966 when Adams was the top of the ticket.

Rockefeller's ability to rearrange his image so that he was perceived as a right-of-center candidate was largely responsible for this shift. If Nixon were to run without Conservative Party support, he would, of course, be perceived even further to the right than Rockefeller (without having the built in anti-Rockefeller vote inherent among many Conservatives). If the Conservative Party line were left void, Nixon's vote would suffer slightly from New York City conservative Democrats who would feel uneasy about voting for a Republican. However, this would amount to no more than 100,000 votes and probably less than 50,000 votes.

If the Conservative Party fielded a Presidential candidate without a highly visible name, the shift in votes other than those mentioned above would probably be from Upstate and suburban (particularly Nassau and Suffolk County) Republicans. In this case, the Conservative

Party could be expected to draw 250,000 to 300,000 votes which, if the Conservative line were not listed, would probably break about 2 - 1 for Nixon, or a Nixon plurality-cost of no more than 100,000 votes.

Finally, if Nixon were the candidate of the Conservative Party, he would attract that additional "no more than 100,000 vote" plurality but would feel some slight defection from liberal Republicans from suburban New York City (Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester), leaving Nixon a plus of about 75,000 votes.

Since Nixon lost New York State by 370,000 votes in 1968, the 50,000 to 100,000 vote difference the Conservative Party would make is critical only if other major inroads are made.

Summing up, if:

1. the Conservative Party line is left blank, it would cost Nixon very little, say less than 50,000 votes.
2. the Conservative Party fields an unknown (Paul Adams type), then Nixon will be hurt by almost 100,000 votes.
3. Nixon is the Conservative Party nominee, his vote total will be improved by somewhat less than 100,000 votes.
4. Bill Buckley runs as Conservative Party nominee for President, it could hurt in a plurality sense by as much as 200,000 votes.

For the most probable cases, the cost to Nixon is about 1%.