

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	4	4/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title:Tentative Budget. This document discusses voting blocs and citizens, youth, black vote, ethnic, agriculture, Jewish, older American, Veterans, Labor Spanish speaking, tranient, etc. 15 pgs.
32	4	6/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Progress Report on Campaign Activities. 31 pgs.
32	4	6/8/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldemad. Re: Mitchell Political Meeting--June 7, 1972. 6 pgs.
32	4	5/11/1982	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert M. Teeter to The Honorable John N. Mitchell. RE: Final First Wave Analysis. 8 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	4	4/26/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to H.R Haldeman. RE: Campaign Meeting. 7 pgs.
32	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Hand written document discussing notes on Democrat campaign results. 4 pgs.
32	4		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Talking Paper discussing McGovern primary results. 2 pgs.
32	4	5/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note. RE: Mitchell Political Meeting May 18, 1972. 3 pgs.
32	4	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten Note discussing Final 1st Wave Analysis. Also included, Analysis on Campaign and Advertising Strategies. 18 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	4	5/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Finance Committee for the Re-Election of the President to Gordon Strachan. RE: White House Support List. 1 pg.
32	4		<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Report	Title: Western Regional Finance Chairman for Nixon. 1 pg.
32	4	5/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Devan L. Shumway, through Jeb S. Magruder, to Honorable John N. Mitchell. RE: Financial Report. 2 pgs.
32	4	5/24/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Harry S. Dent to Honorable John N. Mitchell. RE: Political Issues Group Meeting Thursday, May 18, 1972. 5 pgs.
32	4	5/25/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Max Friedersdorf to Harry Dent. RE: Congressman McCloskey. 2 pgs.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
32	4	5/23/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Letter	From Norris Cotton, U.S. Senator to Honorable Harry S. Dent. Discusses Cotton's gratitude to Dent for speaking at the annual May luncheon of the Federation of Republican Women's Clubs. 1 pg
32	4	5/22/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lyn Nofziger to Ronald Reagan. RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 20 May 1972). 2 pgs.
32	4	5/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lyn Nofziger to Ronald Reagan. RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 13 May 1972) 3 pgs.
32	4	6/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Other Document	Handwritten document. Notes on McGovern and concerned Democrats. 2 pgs.
32	4	3/31/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Jeb Magruder. RE: RNC Registration. 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	4	5/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From J. Curtis Herge, through Jeb S. Magruder, to Honorable John N. Mitchell. RE: Proposal for Campaign Kick-off Event in San Diego and San Clemente September 14 and 15, 1972. 12 pgs.
32	4	5/11/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	Form L. Higby to Gordon Strachan. Discussing preparing Talking Paper regarding Campaign operations for Haldeman/Ehrlichman meetings. 1pg.
32	4	5/2/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From L. Higby to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Daily Political Meetings. 3 pgs.
32	4	6/5/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Newsletter	News From the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. Discussing positions held by certain key personnel of the committee. 4 pgs
32	4	4/13/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Robert Morgan, through Jeb S. Magruder, to Honorable John N. Mitchell. RE: Voter Registration Test. 4 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	4	4/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From H.R. Haldeman to John Mitchell. Follow-up on Ashbrook pulling-out, Parkinson turning of his deal. President's concern with Nancy Garcia, Ray Bliss meeting with President, Walker's Cay, and California kick-off deal. 2pgs
32	4	5/30/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Rietz to Jeb S. Magruder and Fred Malek. Topic: Student leaders press conference in Los Angeles. Includes an article. 5 pgs.
32	4	6/1/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Fred Malek to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Weekly Report. 3 pgs.
32	4	5/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Memo	From Gordon Strachan to Larry Higby. RE: Stan's Dinner. 2 pgs.
32	4	6/6/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	White House Staff	Other Document	Handwritten Note. This document discusses poll meetings. 1 pg.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 312

Folder: Campaign 20 Part I May 17-June 6, 1972

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
59	Return Private/Political TENTATIVE BUDGET VOTING BLOCS... n.d
60	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/6/72
61	Return Private/Political MEMO, MALEK TO HRH, 6/5/72
62	Retain Close Invasion of Privacy MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/6/72
63	Return Private/Political MEMO, MALEK TO HRH, 6/5/72
64	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HRH, 6/8/72
65	Return Private/Political NOTES, "JM, MILLER...", 6/7/72
66	Return Private/Political NOTES, "M.F. H. F. G...", 5/19/72
67	Return Private/Political MEMO, TEETER TO MITCHELL, 5/11/72
68	Return Private/Political NOTES, "SELEC - DIF BALLS...", 5/18/72
69	Return Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO HIGBY, 5/15/72
70	Return Private/Political MEMO, NUHN TO STRACHAN, 5/31/72
71	Return Private/Political PRESS RELEASE, n.d.
72	Return Private/Political MEMO, SHUMWAY TO MITCHELL, 5/30/72
73	Return Private/Political MEMO, DEHT TO MITCHELL, 5/24/72
74	Return Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH, DEHT TO STRACHAN, 5/26/72
75	Return Private/Political LTR, COTTON TO DEHT, 5/23/72
76	Return Private/Political MEMO, HOFZIGER TO REAGAN, 5/22/72
77	Return Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH, MAGRUDER TO HRH, 5/17/72
78	Retain Open
79	Retain Open
80	Retain Open
81	Retain Open
82	Return Private/Political NOTES, "H. MTG. w/JM...", n.d

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 312

83	Retain	Open
84	Return	Private/Political NOTES, "COLSON, JM, MARG...; 6/5/[72]
85	Retain	Open
86	Return	Private/Political MEMO, STRACHAN TO MAGRUDER, 3/31/72
87	Return	Private/Political MEMO, HERGE TO MITCHELL, 5/18/72
88	Return	Private/Political MEMO, HERGE TO MITCHELL, 5/1/72
89	Return	Private/Political MEMO, HIGBY TO STRACHAN, 5/11/72
90	Return	Private/Political MEMO, HIGBY TO HRH, 5/2/72
91	Return	Private/Political PRESS RELEASE, 6/5/[72]
92	Return	Private/Political NOTES, "FM PERSONNEL - BIGGEST...," 6/1/[72]
93	Retain	Open
94	Retain	Open
95	Return	Private/Political NOTES, "CWC → H...", " 6/6/[72]
96	Return	Private/Political MEMO, HRH TO MITCHELL, 4/30/72
97	Return	Private/Political NOTE/ATTACH, MALEK TO HRH, 6/5/[72]
98	Return	Private/Political MEMO, MALEK TO HRH, 6/1/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VOTING BLOCS AND CITIZENS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Old</u> <u>Estimate (3/7)</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Estimate</u>
Youth	\$401,000	\$298,000
Business & Industry	199,000	184,000
Black Vote	153,000	137,000
Ethnics	106,000	119,000
Older Americans	118,000	114,000
Agriculture	117,000	134,000
Spanish Speaking	105,000	118,000
Veterans	101,000	107,000
Labor	93,000	100,000
Jewish	77,000	82,000
Transients	62,000	66,000
Lawyers	37,000	37,000
Physicians	26,000	26,000
Educators	0	35,000
Women	204,000	230,000
Voters Rights	109,000	109,000
Citizens General and Functional Groups	<u>350,000</u>	<u>319,000</u>
 Total	 \$2,461,000	 \$2,215,000

*These should be
reversed - then
old folks should be
doubled.*

4/24/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
YOUTH DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Present Staff (per earlier schedule)		\$ 98,000
Wisc. Fieldman (Krueger) - 4/7	10,500	6,200
Border States Fieldman (Davis) - 4/7	10,000	5,800
Penn. Fieldman - 5/15	12,000	6,000
Ohio Fieldman - 5/15	12,000	6,000
Farm States Fieldman - 6/1	12,000	5,500
Midwest Director - 5/15	18,000	9,000
Rocky Mtn. & Northwest Fieldman (Wigger) - 5/15	7,800	4,000
Convention staff man (Burkop) - 5/1	7,800	4,400
Convention secretary - 5/1	7,200	2,400
Convention staff man - 5/1	7,200	1,800
Convention secretary - 6/1	7,200	1,800
Convention staff man - 7/1	7,200	1,200
4 Field secretaries - 5/15	3,000	<u>12,000</u>
Total Staff		164,100
Payroll Burden		10,900
Staff Travel & Expenses		60,000
Rent & Supplies for State Hdqtrs.		10,000
Convention - Buses & Events		21,000
Special Brochures & Buttons		12,000
State Chmn Travel & Expenses		5,000
Organization Meetings		5,000
Misc. Mailings & Promotional Items		<u>10,000</u>
 Total		 \$ 298,000

Notes to Youth Budget:

1. Calloway (South) or Davis (Border States) will be transferred to another area effective 6/15. The remaining man will cover the entire Southeast.
2. Wigger will remain in Oregon until the primary. He will then focus on Washington and all Rocky Mtn. States as well until the election.
3. N. Y. contingency - in event State does not add 2 full-time fieldmen as expected, we may want to add our own fieldman to assist in N. Y.
4. Burhop will stay on after the convention to fill in where needed.

TENTATIVE BUDGET
BLACK VOTE DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Jones)	- 4/7	\$ 32,000	
Secretary (Petross)	- 4/7	10,000	
Assistant Dir.	- 5/15	21,000	
Field Coordinator	- 5/15	18,000	
Field Coordinator	- 6/1	18,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	<u>8,400</u>	
Total Staff			56,500
Payroll Burden			4,200
Staff Travel & Expenses			15,000
Consultants/Surrogates - fees & expenses*			12,500
Organization Meetings			6,000
Formation of Citizens Committee (mailings & brochures)			12,000
Meeting of key Black Leaders			3,000
Brochures			15,000
Newsletter			3,000
Contingency			<u>10,000</u>
Total			\$ 137,200

* Consultants used in certain cities in place of field men - fees of \$10,000 and expenses of \$2,500.

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
ETHNICS DIVISION*

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (- 5/15	\$ 30,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	8,400	
Asst. to Director	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 7/15	18,000	
2 Secretaries	- 6/15	<u>16,800</u>	
Total Staff			62,200
Payroll Burden			4,700
Staff Travel & Expenses			28,000
Consultants & Surrogates Travel			6,000
Organization Meetings			6,000
Field Meetings/Expenses			7,000
Special Mailings/Promotions			<u>5,000</u>
Total			\$ 118,900

* Budget is highly tentative and will be finalized when campaign plan is completed.

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
AGRICULTURE DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Yeutter)	- 4/7	\$ 36,000	
Asst. Director (Foltz)	- 4/7	27,000	
Field Director (Madson)	- 4/7	20,000	
Secretary (Haggert)	- 4/7	7,600	
Secretary (Hill)	- 4/7	8,000	
Fieldman	- 5/15	18,000	
Fieldman*	- 6/1	<u>18,000</u>	
Total Staff		134,600	74,700
Payroll Burden			5,600
Staff Travel & Expenses			31,000
Surrogate Travel			5,000
Organization Meetings			3,200
Field Meetings & State Chairmen Expenses			10,000
Special Mailings			<u>4,000</u>
 Total			 \$ 153,500

4/21/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
JEWISH DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Goldberg)	- 4/7	\$ 32,000	
Secretary (Peters)	- 4/17	10,000	
Asst. Dir. (Greenwald)	- 4/10	24,000	
Secretary (Cohen)	- 4/24	7,500	
Fieldman (Abrams)	- 5/15	<u>21,600</u>	
Total Staff		95,100	53,000
Payroll Burden			4,000
Staff Travel & Expenses			10,000
Consultant/Surrogates Travel			7,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 82,000

4/21/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
OLDER AMERICANS DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Todd)	- 4/7	\$ 36,000	
Secretary (Sedlak)	- 4/7	10,000	
Field Dir. (Mills)	- 4/7	14,000	
Fieldman (Todd)	- 4/7	12,500	
Fieldman (Groom)	- 5/1	12,000	
Secretary	- 5/1	<u>8,500</u>	
Total Staff		93,000	52,000
Field Director	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Payroll Burden			4,500
Staff Travel & Expenses			30,000
Surrogate Travel			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/Dinners			5,000
Special Mailings/Promotion			<u>5,000</u>
 Total			 \$ 114,000

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VETERAN DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Naylor)	- 4/7	30,000	
Secretary	- 4/24	8,400	
Fieldman & Asst. Dir.	- 5/15	24,000	
Fieldman	- 6/1	18,000	
Fieldman	- 8/1	18,000	
Secretary	- 6/1	<u>7,200</u>	
Secretary (part time)			<u>1,200</u>
Total Staff			51,700
Payroll Burden			3,900
Staff Travel & Expenses			16,500
Consultants/Surrogates expenses			16,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/expenses			5,000
Promotional Items			6,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 107,100

4/21/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
LABOR DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director	- 5/15	\$ 30,000	
Field Director	- 5/15	24,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	9,000	
Secretary	- 6/15	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Staff			50,000
Payroll Burden			3,300
Staff Travel & Expenses			18,500
Consultants/Surrogates expenses			10,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/expenses			5,000
Promotional Items			5,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 100,300

4/24/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
SPANISH SPEAKING DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Armendariz)	- 4/7	\$ 30,000	.
Secretary	- 4/7	8,000	
Field Director (Gar	- 5/1	20,000	
Fieldman (Mexican)	- 5/15	15,000	
Fieldman (PR)	- 5/15	15,000	
Asst. to Director	- 6/1	15,000	
2 Secretaries	5/5/15	<u>16,000</u>	
Total Staff			62,200
Payroll Burden			4,700
Staff Travel & Expenses			21,000
Consultants/Volunteer expenses			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/Expenses			5,000
Special Brochures & Mailings			5,000
Contingency			<u>10,000</u>
Total			\$ 117,900

5/2/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
TRANSIENTS (SPECIAL BALLOTS)

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (McAdoo)	- 4/15	\$ 25,000	\$14,500
Secretary	- 5/1	10,000	5,500
Western Field Man	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Eastern Field Man	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Total Staff			<u>35,000</u>
Staff Benefits/Overhead			2,600
Staff Travel & Expenses			18,000
Printing & Materials			<u>10,000</u>
Total			65,600

5/4/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

<u>Staff</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Kayser)	\$ 60,000	
Asst. Dir. (Fangboner)	30,000	
Asst. Dir. (Rocchio)	30,000	
Admin. Asst. (Harper)	9,600	
Secretary (Cochran)	9,600	
Secretary (Koob)	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Staff	147,200	90,000
Payroll Burden		6,800
Mailings		4,500
Field Kits		20,000
Staff Travel & Expenses		41,500
Organization Dinner		3,000
Regional Meetings		8,000
Visual Aids		<u>10,000</u>
Total		\$ 183,800

TENTATIVE BUDGET
CITIZENS - GENERAL & FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Citizens Director (Shearer)	- 5/8	\$ 35,000	
Secretary	- 5/8	9,000	
3 Asst. Directors	- 6/1	60,000	
4 Secretaries	- 6/1	32,000	
1 Executive Assistant	- 6/1	20,000	
4 Part time Secretaries	- 7/1		<u>6,000</u>
Total Staff			73,500
Payroll Burden			5,500
National Citizens Orientation Expenses			5,000
Travel & Expenses for National Committee			5,000
Staff Travel & Expenses			20,000
Travel & Expenses - Consultants & Volunteers			30,000
Expenses for each of estimated 30 groups			
Organization Dinners/meetings	- 1,000 x 30 =		30,000
Travel & Expenses for Chma & Coms.	- 2,000 x 30 =		60,000
Mailings & Brochures	- 3,000 x 30 =		<u>90,000</u>
Total			\$ 319,000

5/5/78

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VOLUNTEERS/WOMEN

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Hutar)	- 4/7	\$ 25,000	\$15,000
Assistant (Steorts)	- 4/7	15,000	9,000
Assistant	- 6/1	18,000	8,300
PR Consultant	- 5/15	24,000	12,000
Secretary	- 4/7	8,400	5,500
Secretary	- 5/15	9,000	4,500
Secretary	- 9/1	8,400	1,500
3 Regional Field Dirs.	- 6/1	14,400	19,800
4 Regional Field Dirs.	- 7/1	14,400	<u>21,600</u>
Total Staff			97,200
Payroll Burden			7,300
Staff Travel & Expenses:			
Hdqts Staff			18,000
Regional Dirs.			37,000
Volunteer Manual			6,000
Training Manual			5,000
Speakers Bureau			10,000
Volunteer sign-up cards for hospitality suites			1,000
Hospitality Suites:			
Four regionals and June RNC meeting			3,000
Hospitality suite during RNC Leadership Conference			1,300
Salute to the President Luncheon (telephone hook-up to luncheon sites			10,000
Letterheads and envelopes			4,000
Re-Election Canvass Team and Victory Squad Kits			5,000
Special volunteer recognition pins, insignia for key leaders			10,000
Volunteer Newsletter			<u>15,000</u>
Total			\$ 230,300

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By ep, Date 6-31-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 5, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: FRED MALEK 
SUBJECT: Progress Report on Campaign
Activities

As we have discussed, it seems desirable to provide you with monthly progress reports on my campaign-related activities. Since this is the first report, it reviews overall progress and accomplishments for the first several months as well as highlighting activities of the past month. Particular focus is placed on major problems that we have encountered.

PROGRESS TO DATE

Initial Efforts

My initial efforts at 1701 were concentrated on developing an overall concept for Citizens and Voting Bloc operations. Briefly, the concept that I developed established two objectives for a 1701 Citizens group activity: (1) Developing a national public relations effort aimed at persuading members of a constituent group to vote for the President; and (2) Assisting the State Nixon organizations in the establishment of field organizations comprised of members of the particular constituent group. A Citizens group organization within a state, in turn, has two principal purposes: (1) To gain support for the President from the members of that constituency both from word-of-mouth and the conduct of special, persuasive programs; and (2) To provide workers for regular campaign activities (voter identification, registration, get-out-the vote, etc.). The concept is developed more fully in the copy of a memorandum to Mitchell at Tab A. Concurrently with the development of this concept, I focused on completing the recruiting of Citizens Directors, the development of plans and budgets, and the establishment of White House/1701 teamwork.

Recruiting. In the recruiting area, in addition to Directors already on board when I arrived, I have added the following:

- Chuck Shearer (Overall Citizens)
- Dick McAdoo (Special Ballots - Transients)
- Bill Stover (Physicians)
- Dan Piliero (Lawyers)
- Frank Naylor (Veterans)
- Tony De Falco (Ethnics)

In addition, due to the combined efforts of Chuck Colson and myself, Don Rodgers was brought on recently to cover the Labor constituency both for the White House and 1701.

Plans and Budgets. Comprehensive campaign plans for all groups except Ethnics and Labor have now been developed, and most of these have been reviewed and approved by John Mitchell. Budgets have also been developed and approved for all Citizens groups, as shown at Tab B.

Most of the groups are well into the implementation of their plans. At this point in time, the Citizens Directors have recruited fieldmen and other necessary staff, and are concentrating on working with the political coordinators and the States to develop functioning field organizations. Many of the Citizens group State Chairmen have already been selected. In a few key States, delay in the selection of the State Nixon Chairmen has held up final selection of the State Citizens group Chairmen. In those cases, I have told the Citizens Directors to proceed to set up tentative organizations, contingent on the final approval of the State Nixon Chairman, when he is chosen.

Teamwork. The area of fostering teamwork among the Voting Bloc Directors, the related White House people (Colson's staff, Domestic Council, Congressional Relations, etc.), and the RNC has been more difficult.

To minimize unproductive competitive efforts (such as accusatory memo writing), I have held regular meetings of each constituent group "team", and tried to discuss problems openly. I feel we are making progress here, although there will always be some bickering. The meeting at Camp David (discussed later) was a particularly effective way of getting the individuals to talk out mutual problems.

I feel for the most part that we now have fairly harmonious and effective team efforts, although we are hampered by some personnel weaknesses as will be discussed later. The most effective teams seem to be in Spanish-Speaking, Older Americans, Veterans, and Agriculture.

Developments in May

Specific highlights of the past month include: (a) Viet Nam response efforts; (b) Development of guidelines for State Chairmen; (c) Camp David conference; (d) Campaign control system development; and (e) Coordination of schedule proposals.

Viet Nam. The work of the Citizens/Voting Bloc groups in generating a favorable response to the President's Viet Nam initiatives has been well documented to you in other reports. The Citizens/Voting Bloc directors and their staffs spent most of their time for a full week generating telegrams and letters to the President, letters to key Congressmen, and in organizing events (vigils, petitions, etc.) to demonstrate support for the President.

While these efforts set regular activities back a bit, the results appear to have been more than worthwhile. Evidence of regional media coverage of the various events continues to come in, even at this late date.

Guidelines. The purpose and content of the various programs offered at 1701 (Citizens/Voting Bloc groups, telephone, direct mail, etc.) have never been adequately communicated to the State organizations by the political division. To alleviate the confusion that exists in the field, we are developing a set of guidelines describing each of the programs, its national organization, a suggested State organization, and how the State and national operations should relate. This set of guidelines will be completed next week and sent to each State Chairman. Then, beginning in the middle of June, each State Chairman will be brought to Washington to discuss the programs that apply to his State, and to develop a final plan for State re-election activities.

To date, the Voter Blocs and other 1701 programs have always been at a more advanced stage of development than the political division. Hopefully, the planning procedure will force the States to catch up.

Camp David Conference. As you know, I had the Voting Bloc Directors and their counterparts from Colson's staff to Camp David for a one and one-half day meeting last week. The conference was successful beyond my expectations, both from a substantive and a morale/camaraderie standpoint. A full report on the meeting is on its way to you.

Campaign Control System. Jerry Jones, now on my staff at 1701 as Campaign Controller, spent most of May in California, developing a reporting and control system by which campaign management will be able to plan and control essential activities such as voter identification and registration. I am currently in the process of reviewing the system, and it is being pilot-tested in Orange County during the California Primary. Bill Horton has provided considerable help on this and will continue as part of Nofziger's staff (part-time) when he returns to California next month.

We should have a finished product in the next couple of weeks, at which time we will provide you with a complete description of the system.

Schedule Proposals. Schedule proposal packages for the President and First Family have been submitted for almost all of the voter blocs. Labor is the sole exception, and now that Don Rodgers is on board, we will work with him to develop proposals in this area. The proposals cover 5 months and represent the combined efforts of 1701, Domestic Council, and White House communications staff. We will keep Dave Parker informed of any changes in priorities, and we look forward to receiving feedback on the proposals already submitted.

PROBLEMS

Naturally, the campaign operation is not without problems. Five areas that I consider to be of major concern are discussed below.

1. Ethnics. The ethnic constituent group will undoubtedly be critical to our success in November. Unfortunately, Tony De Falco, the individual we selected to head up the ethnic effort at 1701, turned out to be not suited to the managerial role required of a voting bloc director. He could not develop a plan for how we should attract the ethnic vote, nor was he capable of structuring the requisite national organization. The situation was compounded by the fact that Mike Balzano, the ethnic project manager on Colson's staff, is not a

planner or manager, either.

To solve the problem, I have relevelled De Falco, and am in the process of recruiting for a new Director, with a target date of July 1. To ensure that we do not lose much time, we have already hired a Special Assistant to the Director (John Wirth) who will begin Monday to analyze the ethnic demographics and to develop a campaign strategy and plan. Hopefully, by the time the Director is on board, much of the planning work will be done, and he can turn his energies immediately to field organization.

2. Blacks. Though certainly less important than the ethnics, weakness in the 1701/White House/RNC Black team is also a matter of concern to me. The extent of the incompetence has become apparent in the poor planning of the June 10 Black \$100-a-plate fundraiser at the Statler Hilton. Hopefully, the dinner will be rescued from complete failure, but this will not alleviate my worries about a group that thinks that conducting registration drives in Bedford-Stuyvesant would be a good idea.

The primary long-range problem is lack of political experience, resulting in unsatisfactory progress in field organization. Our team just does not know how to organize Black leadership in key urban areas and shows no signs of being able to put together the strong organized efforts that we needed in the Black areas of these cities. I have concluded that Paul Jones (hired at 1701 last January) is simply the wrong man for the job, but we may be stuck with him at this time. Bob Brown has provided only limited support -- he seems to be all rhetoric but little action and follow up.

We are taking steps to rectify this, and John Clarke is helping me further analyze the situation and develop suggested courses of action. I hope to have this completely planned out by 6/10 with corrective actions beginning immediately. Even though the Blacks might not represent a significant vote, our effort to get this vote is highly visible, and there is certainly some potential there.

3. Business and Industry. The Director of the Business and Industry effort, Paul Kayser, was hired by the Committee before I arrived. He has been an irritation, and has shown consistent poor judgment in the development of programs and the use of resources. Kayser, a former Pepsico Vice President, feels that he is outside the campaign structure and can run around me to Don Kendall (the Chairman), which he has done with at least partial success on a couple of occasions.

This is a problem I will probably have to endure, although I hope to alleviate the programmatic weakness by working Cliff White into the Business and Industry area when he comes on board as a consultant next week.

4. PR Support. Lack of coordination of PR for some of the Viet Nam related events and slowness in development of communications plans for the Citizens groups have surfaced a weakness in the PR area at both 1701 and the White House.

At 1701, the problem seems to be lack of manpower -- only 1 1/2 persons are assigned to do the PR for all of the Citizens groups. This is simply not enough to accomplish all that needs to be done, and after discussion of this problem at Camp David, we have obtained Jeb's agreement to hire two more full-time people to concentrate on Citizens PR.

At the White House, the problem seems to be somewhat different. Several of the White House project managers (e.g., Cohen, Evans, and Balzano) are incredibly weak on public relations and have not been doing the job. The problem is they are simply not experienced or able enough to handle the communications responsibility without support. Consequently, I intend to recommend to Colson that he have Bill Rhatican, who is one of his ablest people in this area, delegate his specific responsibility for Veterans, and instead work with all of the project managers on public relations and communications.

5. Organizational Relationships. A final major problem area involves development of the relationship between the Citizens/Voting Bloc groups and the State organizations. As discussed above, the basic concept is that the national Citizens organizations exist to serve the States. However, while recognizing the final authority of the Nixon State Chairman within his State, we must nevertheless ensure that he gives full consideration to programs developed by the Citizens Group directors for use within the States. Unfortunately, several State Chairmen have not cooperated with the Citizens Group directors, preferring instead to institute their own programs.

Unfortunately, the state organizations have suffered from weak leadership and lack of direction from Washington, and they are far behind all program activities. The reorganization of states under five political coordinators will help, but it will take time for them to really gain control. Until the political division was reorganized, the only appeal for a Citizens group Director was to Flemming, who was not very helpful, or through me to Mitchell, who obviously does not have the time to deal with such minor matters.

The reorganization of the political division should help to solve this problem. Mitchell has made it very clear to the political coordinators that they are expected to reinforce the position of the Citizens group Directors with the State Chairmen, and ensure that appropriate programs are implemented. Also, I imagine that some of our present problems result from Flemming not adequately communicating the Citizens group concept to the State Chairmen. This should be remedied by the Guidelines and planning sessions that were discussed above.

NEXT STEPS

While problems do exist, my overall impression is that the campaign organization is basically sound, and is reasonably on target. Jeb in my opinion is doing a good job with all the support activities, and he and I are working quite well together as a team. During the next month, in addition to day-to-day management of the Citizens Groups, I plan to focus on the following priority areas:

- Making certain that the ethnic effort is on track and the Black problems rectified.

-- Preparing for and participating in the discussions with
State Chairmen regarding the Citizens group guidelines.

-- Finalizing the campaign control system.

I will send you another overall progress report at the end of June.
In addition, I will pass on to you items of special interest, as they arise.

Attachments

Tab A



Camp - Jim Cit

March 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN MITCHELL
FROM: FRED MALEK
SUBJECT: Preliminary Citizens Campaign Strategy

The purpose of this memorandum is to review my preliminary strategy and plans for the Citizens/Voting Bloc organizations. General campaign plans covering each voting bloc are being prepared and will be submitted to you over the next several weeks. I feel it is important, however, to have a unifying strategy that binds the individual plans together and provides a framework for operation.

OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGY OF CITIZENS ACTIVITIES

Objectives. The most important objective is to gain the favor of broad blocs of voters by demonstrating convincingly the President's understanding of and interest in their problems and by publicizing his accomplishments and initiatives in areas of major concern to them. The secondary objective is to increase enthusiasm for and interest in the Nixon campaign among particular functional groups and to thereby provide manpower to assist in overall State campaign efforts. In many cases this will include canvassing, registration, and get-out-the-vote drives under the direction of the State Nixon Chairman.

Strategy. We should set priorities and devote the major part of our resources on those voting groups with the greatest pay-off potential. Consequently, groups are divided into two categories: a dozen major voting blocs (e.g., elderly, ethnics) and some fifty small functional groups (e.g., dentists and scientists). Our major emphasis will, of course, be on the major voting blocs in order to convince them to vote for the President and to enlist their support in the campaign. The effort expended on the functional groups will be focused on obtaining manpower support for the campaign.

Also, priorities should be set between major voting blocs in order to guide resource decisions, management attention, and White House and Presidential efforts. Top priority should be devoted to those groups:

- Which are large or important beyond their national average in key States.

-- Where the issues and accomplishments are favorable and a special effort can be instrumental in either attracting or retaining votes for the President.

Based on these criteria, the blocs singled out for top priority and second priority attention are outlined below. Of course, these are only general guidelines as the priority requirements in each State will vary (e.g., Spanish-speaking will be a top priority in Texas and California).

<u>Top Priority</u>		<u>Second Priority</u>	
<u>Group</u>	<u>Voters (millions)</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Voters (millions)</u>
Youth	25	Transients	6
Older Americans	20	Labor	26
Ethnic	40	Spanish-Speaking	6
Farm	5	Black	7.5
Women*		Jewish	3.5
		Business	3
		Veterans	28

Agree _____

Disagree _____

One additional voting bloc warrants your attention: Catholics, who are estimated to comprise nearly 30% of the expected voters. There are seemingly no commanding reasons for Catholics to vote against the President, and he is on the right side of the germane issues (e.g., aid to parochial schools and abortion). Yet, most polls show Catholics supporting the President's opponents. In past campaigns there has never been a separate effort to attract the Catholic vote as the Ethnics group usually encompasses it. This year, however, we may want to mount a distinct Catholic campaign under a different name. My recommendation is that I study this issue and present a proposal to you if I feel this group should also be singled out for top or secondary priority.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

*Women effort under Pat Hutar not an integral part of Citizens but is included here as there will be close coordination with this effort.

Most of the voting bloc and functional groups will have programs in all States. However, the degree of emphasis will vary so as to concentrate on the largest voting blocs in each State and on those most apt to be swayed. Also, a much greater proportional effort will be made in the large key States such as California and Illinois. This will range down to a minimal effort in the smallest States such as Rhode Island or Wyoming where the outcome is already fairly clear.

Planning. To effectively integrate Citizens into the campaign, it will be important to involve Voting Bloc Directors in the planning process. As pointed out earlier, general campaign plans are being prepared now for various voting blocs. Later, the Voting Bloc Director should participate with Bob Marik and the State Nixon Chairman in developing that part of the State Victory Plan pertaining to his area. These State plans would then govern his and his organization's activities for the remainder of the campaign.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

ORGANIZATION

National. As we have discussed, a National Citizens Director will be brought in to organize and ride herd on the many functional groups and to assist in managing voter bloc operations. In addition, I estimate 3 - 4 medium level Assistants will be needed to develop and control the 50 or so functional groups. Edward Nixon will function as a top level assistant to the National Director and me, undertaking key projects of sensitivity and counseling with National Chairmen and Committee members.

Each voting bloc group will have a full-time Director along with some support staff. Directors are already on board for 8 of these groups, and they are shown, along with target hiring dates for the remaining 4, at Tab A. Budgets are currently being prepared for each voting bloc group, and the size of staff for each group will vary with the size of target and complexity of mission. Overall, I intend to keep the staffs small with most added professionals devoted to field support.

A prominent National Citizens Chairman and broadly representative National Citizens Committee will be formed ostensibly to oversee all of the voting bloc and functional group activities. Of course, the Dale Committee will remain the major overall committee. Recommended names for the Citizens Committee will be submitted to you for approval. Similarly, Chairmen and Committees will be formed for all the Voting Bloc groups and most of the Citizens functional groups. We plan to maintain tight control over all Chairmen and their committees.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

State. In conjunction with the State Nixon Chairman, a Chairman and Committee will be formed in each State for most of the Voting Bloc and functional groups. Criteria for selection will be similar to that at the national level. In keeping with holding the State Nixon Chairman accountable for results in his State, the State Voting Bloc Chairmen (e.g., State Older Americans Chairman) would be selected jointly by the State Nixon Chairman and the National Voting Bloc Director. He would report directly to the State Nixon Chairman and receive functional/programmatic guidance from the National Director as long as this guidance is not inconsistent with the State Victory Plan. In some cases it may be necessary to hire a full-time State Director for a major voting bloc (e.g., Spanish-Speaking in California). This would be decided in conjunction with the State Nixon Chairman and would come out of his State budget.

Since Citizens is integrated into the Campaign, in most cases there will be no need for an overall Citizens Chairman at the State level. In some States, however, where the registration is largely Democratic and where the Nixon group is not broadly representative, we may consider an overall Citizens Chairman and Committee. In these cases the Citizens Chairman would report (although not visibly) to the State Nixon Chairman, would not have authority over the Voting Bloc Chairmen, and would be primarily oriented toward public relations. We are currently studying this concept further, and any specific decisions would be made in collaboration with the State Nixon Chairman.

Agree _____

Disagree _____

OPERATING TIMETABLE

More detailed operating plans are being developed for each voting bloc and will later be developed for each functional group. The following are the major general steps to be taken and the approximate time period for completion.

For Voting Bloc Groups

<u>Step</u>	<u>Time Period for Completion</u>
1. Complete staffing of National Directors	4/1 - 4/15
2. Complete General Campaign Plans for each Voting Bloc and begin operating programs*	3/15 - 5/1

*Youth program well underway. Some activity in other areas, but full programs not yet underway.

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 3. | Select California Chairman and complete plans for primary activity for selected groups** | 3/31 |
| 4. | Select National Citizens Chairman and Committee | 5/1 |
| 5. | Select National Chairman and Committee for each Voting Bloc | 5/1 - 5/15 |
| 6. | Select State Chairman and Committee for each Voting Bloc and begin State organization efforts | 5/1 - 5/15 |
| 7. | Begin mounting specific programs in selected areas of each State in conjunction with State organizations | 6/1 |

For Citizens Functional Groups***

- | | <u>Step</u> | <u>Time Period for Completion</u> |
|----|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | | |
| 1. | Bring on National Citizens Director | 3/17 |
| 2. | Designate States where overall Citizens Committee needed | 4/15 |
| 3. | Determine functional groups desired | 4/15 |
| 4. | Select National Chairman and Committee for each group | 5/1 - 6/1 |
| 5. | Develop plans for each group | 5/15 - 6/30 |
| 6. | Select overall Chairmen and Committee in States where desired | 6/1 - 6/15 |

**Part of tentative California primary plan includes certain amount of activity and testing by 3 - 4 voting bloc groups.

***Some groups such as lawyers and physicians are on an accelerated schedule.

7. Select State Chairmen and Committee for each group 6/1 - 7/15
8. Begin organizational efforts 6/1 - 7/15

Attachment

Tab B

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VOTING BLOCS AND CITIZENS

<u>Group</u>	<u>Old</u> <u>Estimate (3/7)</u>	<u>New</u> <u>Estimate</u>
Youth	\$ 401,000	\$ 298,000
Business & Industry	199,000	184,000
Black Vote	153,000	137,000
Ethnics	106,000	119,000
Older Americans	118,000	114,000
Agriculture	117,000	134,000
Spanish Speaking	103,000	118,000
Veterans	101,000	107,000
Labor	93,000	100,000
Jewish	77,000	82,000
Transients	62,000	66,000
Lawyers	37,000	37,000
Physicians	26,000	26,000
Educators	0	35,000
Women	204,000	230,000
Voters Rights	109,000	109,000
Citizens General and Functional Groups	<u>350,000</u>	<u>319,000</u>
 Total	 \$ 2,461,000	 \$ 2,215,000

4/24/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
YOUTH DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Present Staff (per earlier schedule)		\$ 98,000
Wisc. Fieldman (Krueger) - 4/7	10,500	6,200
Border States Fieldman (Davis) - 4/7	10,000	5,800
Penn. Fieldman - 5/15	12,000	6,000
Ohio Fieldman - 5/15	12,000	6,000
Farm States Fieldman - 6/1	12,000	5,500
Midwest Director - 5/15	18,000	9,000
Rocky Mtn. & Northwest Fieldman (Wigger) - 5/15	7,800	4,000
Convention staff man (Burkop) - 5/1	7,800	4,400
Convention secretary - 5/1	7,200	2,400
Convention staff man - 5/1	7,200	1,800
Convention secretary - 6/1	7,200	1,800
Convention staff man - 7/1	7,200	1,200
4 Field secretaries - 5/15	3,000	<u>12,000</u>
Total Staff		164,100
Payroll Burden		10,900
Staff Travel & Expenses		60,000
Rent & Supplies for State Hdqtrs.		10,000
Convention - Buses & Events		21,000
Special Brochures & Buttons		12,000
State Chmn Travel & Expenses		5,000
Organization Meetings		5,000
Misc. Mailings & Promotional Items		<u>10,000</u>
 Total		 \$ 298,000

Notes to Youth Budget:

1. Calloway (South) or Davis (Border States) will be transferred to another area effective 6/15. The remaining man will cover the entire Southeast.
2. Wigger will remain in Oregon until the primary. He will then focus on Washington and all Rocky Mtn. States as well until the election.
3. N. Y. contingency - in event State does not add 2 full-time fieldmen as expected, we may want to add our own fieldman to assist in N. Y.
4. Burhop will stay on after the convention to fill in where needed.

TENTATIVE BUDGET
BLACK VOTE DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Jones)	- 4/7	\$ 32,000	
Secretary (Petross)	- 4/7	10,000	
Assistant Dir.	- 5/15	21,000	
Field Coordinator	- 5/15	18,000	
Field Coordinator	- 6/1	18,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	<u>8,400</u>	
Total Staff			56,500
Payroll Burden			4,200
Staff Travel & Expenses			15,000
Consultants/Surrogates - fees & expenses*			12,500
Organization Meetings			6,000
Formation of Citizens Committee (mailings & brochures)			12,000
Meeting of key Black Leaders			3,000
Brochures			15,000
Newsletter			3,000
Contingency			<u>10,000</u>
Total			\$ 137,200

* Consultants used in certain cities in place of field men - fees of \$10,000 and expenses of \$2,500.

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
ETHICS DIVISION*

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (- 5/15	\$ 30,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	8,400	
Asst. to Director	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 7/15	18,000	
2 Secretaries	- 6/15	<u>16,800</u>	
Total Staff			62,200
Payroll Burden			4,700
Staff Travel & Expenses			28,000
Consultants & Surrogates Travel			6,000
Organization Meetings			6,000
Field Meetings/Expenses			7,000
Special Mailings/Promotions			<u>5,000</u>
Total			\$ 118,900

* Budget is highly tentative and will be finalized when campaign plan is completed.

4/21/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
AGRICULTURE DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Yeutter)	- 4/7	\$ 36,000	
Asst. Director (Foltz)	- 4/7	27,000	
Field Director (Madson)	- 4/7	20,000	
Secretary (Haggert)	- 4/7	7,600	
Secretary (Hill)	- 4/7	8,000	
Fieldman	- 5/15	18,000	
Fieldman*	- 6/1	<u>18,000</u>	
Total Staff		134,600	74,700
Payroll Burden			5,600
Staff Travel & Expenses			31,000
Surrogate Travel			5,000
Organization Meetings			3,200
Field Meetings & State Chairmen Expenses			10,000
Special Mailings			<u>4,000</u>
 Total			 \$ 133,500

4/21/7..

TENTATIVE BUDGET
JEWISH DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Goldberg)	- 4/7	\$ 32,000	
Secretary (Peters)	- 4/17	10,000	
Asst. Dir. (Greenwald)	- 4/10	24,000	
Secretary (Cohen)	- 4/24	7,500	
Fieldman (Abrams)	- 5/15	<u>21,600</u>	
Total Staff		95,100	53,000
Payroll Burden			4,000
Staff Travel & Expenses			10,000
Consultant/Surrogates Travel			7,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 82,000

4/21/71

TENTATIVE BUDGET
OLDER AMERICANS DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Todd)	- 4/7	\$ 36,000	
Secretary (Sadlak)	- 4/7	10,000	
Field Dir. (Mills)	- 4/7	14,000	
Fieldman (Todd)	- 4/7	12,500	
Fieldman (Groom)	- 5/1	12,000	
Secretary	- 5/1	8,500	
Total Staff		<u>93,000</u>	52,000
Field Director	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Payroll Burden			4,500
Staff Travel & Expenses			30,000
Surrogate Travel			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/Dinners			5,000
Special Mailings/Promotion			<u>5,000</u>
Total			\$ 114,000

4/21/77

TENTATIVE BUDGET
WILSON DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Naylor)	- 4/7	30,000	
Secretary	- 4/24	8,400	
Fieldman & Asst. Dir.	- 5/15	24,000	
Fieldman	- 6/1	18,000	
Fieldman	- 8/1	18,000	
Secretary	- 6/1	<u>7,200</u>	
Secretary (part time)			<u>1,200</u>
Total Staff			51,700
Payroll Burden			3,900
Staff Travel & Expenses			16,500
Consultants/Surrogates expenses			16,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/expenses			5,000
Promotional Items			6,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 107,100

TENTATIVE BUDGET
LABOR DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director	- 5/15	\$ 30,000	
Field Director	- 5/15	24,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Fieldman	- 6/15	18,000	
Secretary	- 5/15	9,000	
Secretary	- 6/15	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Staff			50,000
Payroll Burden			3,300
Staff Travel & Expenses			18,500
Consultants/Surrogates expenses			10,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/expenses			5,000
Promotional Items			5,000
Special Mailings			<u>3,000</u>
Total			\$ 100,300

4/24/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
SPANISH SPEAKING DIVISION

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Armendariz)	- 4/7	\$ 30,000	.
Secretary	- 4/7	8,000	
Field Director (Gar	- 5/1	20,000	
Fieldman (Mexican)	- 5/15	15,000	
Fieldman (PR)	- 5/15	15,000	
Asst. to Director	- 6/1	15,000	
2 Secretaries	5/5/15	<u>16,000</u>	
Total Staff			62,200
Payroll Burden			4,700
Staff Travel & Expenses			21,000
Consultants/Volunteer expenses			5,000
Organization Meetings			5,000
Field Meetings/Expenses			5,000
Special Brochures & Mailings			5,000
Contingency			<u>10,000</u>
Total			\$ 117,900

5/2/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
TRANSIENTS (SPECIAL BALLOTS)

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (McAdoo)	- 4/15	\$ 25,000	\$14,500
Secretary	- 5/1	10,000	5,500
Western Field Man	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Eastern Field Man	- 6/15	18,000	7,500
Total Staff			<u>35,000</u>
Staff Benefits/Overhead			2,600
Staff Travel & Expenses			18,000
Printing & Materials			<u>10,000</u>
Total			65,600

5/4/72

TENTATIVE BUDGET
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

<u>Staff</u>	<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Kayser)	\$ 60,000	
Asst. Dir. (Fangboner)	30,000	
Asst. Dir. (Rocchio)	30,000	
Admin. Asst. (Harper)	9,600	
Secretary (Cochran)	9,600	
Secretary (Koob)	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Staff	147,200	90,000
Payroll Burden		6,800
Mailings		4,500
Field Kits		20,000
Staff Travel & Expenses		41,500
Organization Dinner		3,000
Regional Meetings		8,000
Visual Aids		<u>10,000</u>
Total		\$ 183,800

4/24/70

TENTATIVE BUDGET
CITIZENS - GENERAL & FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Citizens Director (Shearer)	- 5/8	\$ 35,000	
Secretary	- 5/8	9,000	
3 Asst. Directors	- 6/1	60,000	
4 Secretaries	- 6/1	32,000	
1 Executive Assistant	- 6/1	20,000	
4 Part time Secretaries	- 7/1		<u>6,000</u>
Total Staff			73,500
Payroll Burden			5,500
National Citizens Orientation Expenses			5,000
Travel & Expenses for National Committee			5,000
Staff Travel & Expenses			20,000
Travel & Expenses - Consultants & Volunteers			30,000
Expenses for each of estimated 30 groups			
Organization Dinners/meetings	- 1,000 x 30 =		30,000
Travel & Expenses for Chms & Coms.	- 2,000 x 30 =		60,000
Mailings & Brochures	- 3,000 x 30 =		<u>90,000</u>
Total			\$ 319,000

5/5/70

TENTATIVE BUDGET
VOLUNTEERS/WOMEN

<u>Staff</u>		<u>Salary</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Director (Hutar)	- 4/7	\$ 25,000	\$15,000
Assistant (Steorts)	- 4/7	15,000	9,000
Assistant	- 6/1	18,000	8,300
PR Consultant	- 5/15	24,000	12,000
Secretary	- 4/7	8,400	5,500
Secretary	- 5/15	9,000	4,500
Secretary	- 9/1	8,400	1,500
3 Regional Field Dirs.	- 6/1	14,400	19,800
4 Regional Field Dirs.	- 7/1	14,400	<u>21,600</u>
Total Staff			97,200
Payroll Burden			7,300
Staff Travel & Expenses:			
Hdqts Staff			18,000
Regional Dirs.			37,000
Volunteer Manual			6,000
Training Manual			5,000
Speakers Bureau			10,000
Volunteer sign-up cards for hospitality suites			1,000
Hospitality Suites:			
Four regionals and June RNC meeting			3,000
Hospitality suite during RNC Leadership Conference			1,300
Salute to the President Luncheon (telephone hook-up to luncheon sites			10,000
Letterheads and envelopes			4,000
Re-Election Canvass Team and Victory Squad Kits			5,000
Special volunteer recognition pins, insignia for key leaders			10,000
Volunteer Newsletter			<u>15,000</u>
Total			\$ 230,300

June 8, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Mitchell Political Meeting --
June 7, 1972

Mitchell met with Magruder, Malek, LaRue, Marik, and Teeter to discuss the political situation in light of McGovern's victories and situation June 6, 1972. Subjects discussed were:

1) Mitchell mentioned he just had had lunch with the Wednesday Senate Group (Percy and other liberal Republican Senators). Scott and Griffin attended. According to Mitchell there was general euphoria about a possible McGovern candidacy. Most believe McGovern at the top of the Democratic ticket could be very helpful to Republicans running for House and Senate seats.

This view was confirmed by Senator "Fritz" Hollings (D-S.C.) who is advising all candidates to run their own campaigns and to avoid McGovern. Mitchell is concerned about resulting complacency in the state organizations, as well as White House Staffers.

2) Mitchell asked the group to develop a political line emphasizing that either the Democratic Party or McGovern will have to modify policy positions; that Humphrey made a remarkable recovery; and that the election would be close because Republicans are a minority party. The statement is attached at Tab A and has been distributed pursuant to Mitchell's directions, to the White House Staff by Dent, the campaign committee by Magruder, and the Administration spokesmen by Bart Porter.

3) Mitchell is having a detailed precinct analysis of the Jewish, black, and chicano vote prepared by the campaign's demographer, Art Finkelstein;

4) Mitchell is directing a covert, well-financed program, headed by Democrats, to explain McGovern's "extreme positions" to labor, veterans, and Jewish voters. The goal is to keep the Democrats fighting for the nomination, though realizing McGovern has it, and hopefully acquiring these voting blocs in November;

5) Mitchell believes the substantive issue spokesmen (e.g. Laird and Rogers) can appropriately comment on the differences between the Administration's stands and McGovern's. However, he directed Magruder and Miller to meet with Tom Wilck and John Lofton to assure that Monday only comments on the Democrats, not on McGovern or Humphrey.

6) Mitchell directed the campaign to focus on McGovern on the big issues (national defense, welfare, and taxes). Mitchell believes if the 3 A's of Scott (acid, amnesty, and abortion) can be marginally effective in certain areas and among certain groups only.

I reviewed with Bob Marik the three previous meetings held before I was invited. They covered the Teeter First Wave polling analysis submitted to you on May 11, 1972. Marik had prepared a summary of the comments, which is attached at Tab B.

GS/jb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1972

TO: WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: HARRY S. DENT

Attached for your information is an assessment of the situation at the conclusion of the Presidential primaries. This statement should serve as your guidance for the campaign between now and the time that the Democrat nominee is finally selected or some new position develops.

ASSOCIATED PRESS RELEASE
BY JOHN N. MCGOVERN, NATIONAL CHIEF COUNSELLOR
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The Democrat Party appears to be approaching a crossroads. Although it is not certain that Sen. George McGovern will be the Democrat Party's Presidential nominee this year, the choices available to the National Convention are rapidly narrowing.

And if Senator McGovern is the nominee, one of two things is going to have to occur: either the Democrat Party is going to have to accept Senator McGovern's views on domestic, defense and foreign policy -- views which many Democrats find extreme -- or Senator McGovern is going to have to modify his views to conform with the mainstream of his party.

The seriousness with which many Democrats look upon Senator McGovern's positions is reflected in Senator Humphrey's strong finish in the California Primary. In the space of one week, Senator Humphrey reduced the McGovern lead from the 20 percent shown in a widely-read public opinion poll just a few days ago to the 5 percent which actually separated the two men when the votes were counted. If the primary had been held two or three days later, Senator Humphrey may well have won.

Again, although Senator McGovern ran an extremely expensive media campaign, a majority of California Democrats voted for someone else. Thus, the Democrat presidential nomination has by no means been decided.

In any case, no matter who the eventual nominee is, the Committee for the Re-election of the President is preparing a maximum effort on behalf of the President this fall. We must never lose sight of the fact that the Republican Party is a minority party and that a coalition of Republicans, Democrats and Independents will be needed to re-elect President Nixon in the general election, a goal we will reach.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT TEETER

FROM: BOB MARIK

SUBJECT: Comments on the First Wave Analysis

This memorandum summarizes the important comments made by the Strategy Group in their discussion of your analysis of the first wave of polling. Although your mathematical analysis showed past party voting behavior to be a stronger variable than demographic grouping, it was still felt that the campaign strategy should be oriented to some degree around the important voter blocs. In particular, the idea was raised of seeking an appropriate sample of pivotal voter groups and tracking the attitudes of that group by monthly surveys up to the election. This information would be used to augment the state-by-state data which would be developed through the existing polling plan. Two groups which should be tracked in this manner are urban ethnics (potential shift to Nixon), and upper income White suburbanites (potential shift to McGovern).

In the statistical analysis, the Group also commented on the substantial variation of important factors among the states. For example, Party Type had 21% influence in California and only 6% in Ohio. The question was raised as to whether the nation-wide analysis is useful for strategy development or whether it would have to be approached state by state.

The Group was concerned that the questionnaire be framed in such a way that the important issues could be identified and their intensity measured perhaps more sharply in the first wave. In particular, the question was raised as to whether the apparent importance of busing in Florida and Michigan was accurately reflected in the first wave results. The analysis recommended that issues such as crime, drugs and unemployment should not be emphasized except to particular audiences and when we had an impressive story to tell. We will want to get into that strategy more deeply when the advertising program is developed in detail.

The feeling of the group was that the President's support among young voters might well be higher than was implied in your memo. This can be checked with the second wave results.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 2 -

There was agreement that the ticket-splitter analysis should be done and would be useful as a tool to guide campaign strategy. There was disagreement with the statement that no special effort needs to be made to register older voters. Newly retired people are often transient and may well represent a fertile area for registration canvassing activities.

There was disagreement on the comment that registration drives among young voters should be stopped as we have discussed in detail in last week's meeting.

There was agreement with the point that we should attempt to build as large a lead as possible between now and the national conventions. Our activities should be geared to push McGovern to the left before he becomes well known to the voting public. The specific tactics need to be developed over the next few weeks.

It was mentioned that one important issue was general unrest. It would be useful if a clearer definition could be established of what is on the voters mind when they discuss the issue cluster of general unrest.

Finally, as we discussed over the telephone, it would be useful for us to devote a portion of a meeting in the near future to a presentation by you of the techniques used in the survey program and the significance of the information that is being obtained. With that background, our future discussions would be much more fruitful.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
FROM: ROBERT M. TEETER
SUBJECT: Final First Wave Analysis

During the past several weeks we have analyzed the first wave polling results utilizing a number of the most advanced statistical techniques available. This analysis has enabled us to identify the most important independent variables which influence presidential vote and to develop a very sophisticated analysis package which can be run and interpreted rapidly on all of our subsequent polling.

While it is not necessary to have knowledge of these techniques in order to use the results, I would be happy to go over them in more detail with you anytime.

Our conclusions from this analysis are:

1. Past party voting behavior is the single most important factor which affects the presidential vote. The classification of voters into behavioral Republicans, Democrats, or Ticket-splitters accounts for almost three times as much of the variance why people vote for or against the President as is explained by any other variable. This appears to be particularly true in Wisconsin, Indiana, and California.
2. The next most important factors affecting the Presidential vote are the voters' perceptions of the President's trust and his issue handling ability. Trust is best defined by the following variables -- honesty, open minded, and just. Seemingly, these personality traits are related to perceptions of credibility. To a lesser degree the presidential vote is related to perceptions of competence -- experienced, trained, and informed.

Most voters have a general perception of how well the President handles issues and problems overall and that appears to be more important to voting than is their perception of his handling of any one or two issues. This overall issue handling ability seems to be perceived by the voters as a single personality dimension similar in many ways to the dimensions of trust, competence, etc.

The only individual issues which appear to have any significant independent effect on voting are Vietnam, Inflation, and general unrest. Vietnam and inflation were also, fortunately, the issues that the President was seen as handling well, and his ability to handle the general unrest problem was rated about equally to that of his opponents. ?

? Those issues on which the President is rated relatively poorly -- crime, drugs, and (unemployment) -- do not appear to affect presidential voting to any major degree. This is particularly true of crime and unemployment. Apparently the President is seen as having done a good job on those problems that the voters think have gotten better overall, while he is seen as having done a poor job on those problems which have become worse during the last few years. There also appears to be little believability that the President will make much difference in the crime or drug problems.

malell 3. Demographic bloc voting is significantly less important than past party voting behavior, and less important than perceptions of the candidates trust, competence, and issue handling ability. Once party behavior is taken into account there is little difference in the vote for various demographic groups. In other words, differences in the rate that various demographic groups support Nixon can be explained almost entirely by party preferences rather than membership in any particular demographic group. The factors having some but small effect on the vote are age, income, and education. Generally speaking, voters who are older, have higher incomes, and have more education seem to have a greater propensity to vote for the President, primarily because of their propensity to vote Republican more than as a result of their demographic group. Bloc voting against the President is evident only with a limited number of groups -- blacks, young voters (18 to 25 year olds especially in California), and Jewish voters in New York. All appear to oppose the President to a greater degree than would be predicted by their past voting behavior or party preference.

It appears to be possible to improve the vote for the President in several demographic groups where he is weak. We have made these conclusions from our analysis of the data from the individual voting blocs:

- A. Older voters (60 years and over) are the single most important group in the election. In Missouri and Oregon, the President is especially weak. Taxes, inflation, and the economy are the important issues.
- B. The President is running very poorly with young voters (18 to 24). Heavy turnout and registration by this group could be devastating. The percentage of Republican support among youth is very small. Vietnam and the economy are the issues. We have special weakness in California and Wisconsin.

- C. The vote for Nixon among blacks varies greatly. The President is running well with this group in the south, the border states, and New Jersey and New York. There is a severe credibility problem and racial appeals to this group are unlikely to work. Pocketbook issues will be important.
- D. Spanish-Americans are supporting the President to a greater degree than expected. The support appears to be flexible. We could expect to improve our support with this group by at least 15% in California.
- E. Ethnic support in Philadelphia is very weak and seems to be causing our poor showing there.

4. The importance of each of the vote determining factors varies considerably from state to state. Generally, the relative importance of these factors in affecting the vote is listed below:

- Party
- Nixon Trust
- Comparative Issue Handling Ability
- Age
- Opponents Competence
- Income
- Religion
- Education

After party, the voters' perceptions of Nixon trust and comparative issue handling ability are the factors which have the greatest influence on the President's vote.

The factors in the individual state studies are shown in Attachment A. Attachment B graphically shows the importance of these factors.

5. While the President was in relatively good shape against any of his potential opponents in January, there was a relatively small undecided vote for that point in time and there appears to be some limits on the President's potential vote. There are relatively large groups of voters who vote for the President on all of the sample ballots and who vote against the President regardless of who his opponent is on all the sample ballots. This indicates to me that once the Democratic nominee is selected the undecided vote may be very small. This, along with the probability that the Democratic candidate will increase his support and that the ratio will get closer during September and October, means that we should attempt to build as large a lead as possible between now and the national conventions on the theory that we will lose ground after the conventions. Moreover, every point we can gain between now and the conventions will come with less effort and at less cost than those percentage points needed during the fall campaign.

6. There does not appear to be any definite ideological basis for voting on any of the ballots. That is, very few people if any are voting for the President because they feel he is particularly conservative or liberal, or that people are voting against the President because they feel he is too conservative or too liberal.

7. The Vice-President's approval rating is somewhat lower than the President's in almost all of the states but follows up and down about in line with the President's. I cannot identify any particular segment of voters with whom the Vice-President is either adding or subtracting from the ticket.

8. The net effect of a Wallace third party candidacy was very small in January and has undoubtedly changed since then. We should defer any hard conclusions as to whether we want him on or off the ballot until after the second wave of polling, but my inclination at this point is that we would do better without him on the ballot.

9. There is no question but that we have a very realistic chance to carry any or all of the big states -- New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, and California and we should continue to make a maximum effort in those states. California appears to me to be the one state where we may not be doing as well as we might be at this time and where there are indications of future problems. Voters in California seem to have a more fixed perception of the President. That is, of course, logical in that California voters probably know him better than those in any other state.

Recommendations

Based on our analysis, we make the following recommendations:

1. A ticket-splitter analysis should be done in each of the priority states by precinct or ward and township. For the rest of the country, the analysis should be done by county. This is undoubtedly the most efficient way to locate ticket-splitters and to develop priority areas for both our organizational and communications efforts. Moreover, it will allow us to identify Democratic areas which have some propensity to split their ticket, and from these areas we may be able to cause ticket-splitting in favor of the President.

2. With apparently small undecided vote, a strong organizational effort will be critical. I would recommend putting a disproportionate share of our resources into organizational personnel to assure that this effort is maximized. I also think our organizational effort should be structured so that we have the flexibility to concentrate our people in a few states late in the campaign, even to the degree of assigning one to each county or congressional district for the top priority states in late September and October.

Special organizational effort should be made to improve the President's voting strength in Philadelphia (especially with ethnics), New York City (outside Manhattan), Buffalo, Los Angeles (Orange County), Baltimore suburbs, Montgomery County (Maryland), Mid-Texas (Austin), rural Missouri, and Kenosha/Racine Wisconsin.

3. As indicated before, I think the development of an overall theme or idea for the campaign is imperative and that this should be done before the Democratic convention and should center around the President's hopes and aspirations for our country. To be effective it must be positive and give people the hope that many of our problems can and will improve.

4. As the President's overall issue handling ability is more important to determining vote than his handling of any individual issue, those issues on which he is perceived as handling well should be emphasized and those he is seen as handling poorly should only be used if we have an impressive story to tell or if the appeal is designed for some particular group.

5. We should emphasize the following personal attributes in our media programs:

Trust - Just
Honest
Open Minded

Competence - Experienced
Trained
Informed
Competent

It is possible to use the President's ability to handle issues in communicating the above attributes. No special effort needs to be directed to make the President appear -- warm, relaxed, and having a sense of humor. To the extent that it is possible to convey these characteristics, we should do so, but not at the expense of the trust and competence variables.

6. Special efforts should be implemented to maximize the President's strength with specific voting blocs.

A. A campaign directed at older Americans through the voting bloc group should be given top priority. Maximum available resources should be allocated into this program. A massive turnout drive should be implemented, and a supportive direct mail effort should be considered. Because of the current high level of registration, no special effort in this regard needs to be made to register older voters. Special emphasis should be made to improve our level of support with older Americans in the following priorities:

Missouri (Primarily Rural)
Oregon
Texas
Wisconsin
Maryland
Indiana
California
Pennsylvania
New York

Taxes and inflation should be given emphasis.

- B. All registration drives among young voters should be stopped. Our primary objective with this group should be low turnout and persuasion of Democrats and swing voters to vote for the President. Areas for special emphasis to improve support among young voters should be:

Wisconsin
California
Maryland
Pennsylvania
New York

Primary issue emphasis should be made on Vietnam, jobs for youth, and pollution.

In meeting our objective of converting Democrats and independents, we must be careful not to direct our young voter campaign solely at our own voters. To keep turnout at a minimum we should attempt to keep the marijuana referenda now proposed for California and Michigan off the ballot if possible.

- C. The Jewish vote bloc should implement a program to improve the President's strength with this voter group in New York state. Careful consideration should be given to the question of parochial schools with this group. Our data indicates support of aid to parochial schools may be a negative with Jewish voters.
- D. In order to carry several critical northern states we will need to carry a greater percentage of blacks than we did in 1968. Because of our credibility problems, we must be careful in making any racial appeals so that our efforts are not counterproductive.

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MARKET OPINION RESEARCH

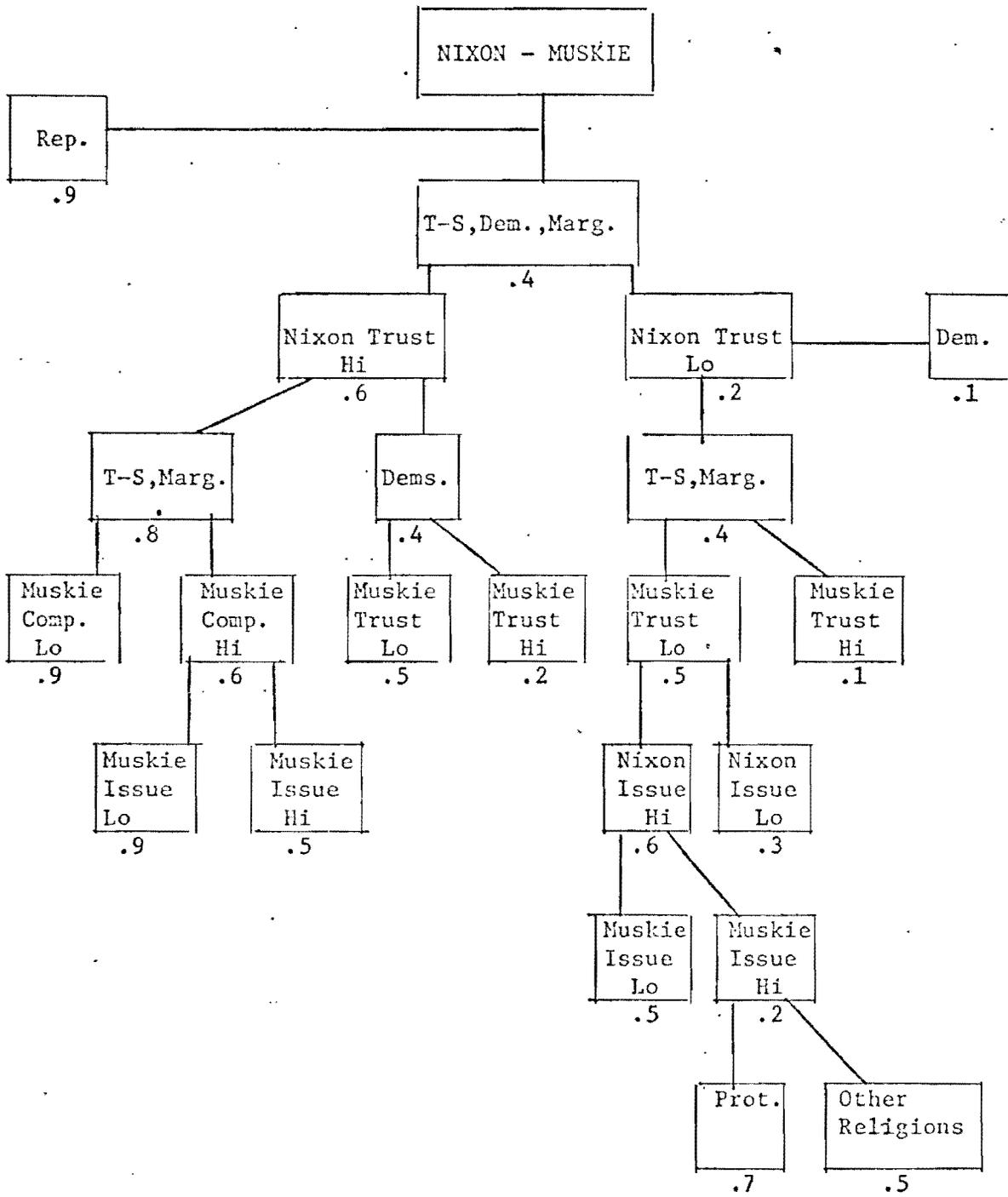
ATTACHMENT A

CALIFORNIA		NEW JERSEY		OHIO		TEXAS		NEW YORK		PENNSYLVANIA		WISCONSIN		INDIANA	
Party Type	21%	Party Type	7%	Opp. Issue	11%	Nixon Trust	10%	Age	12%	Opp. Competence	9%	Party Type	29%	Party Type	14%
Opp. Trust	4	Nixon Trust	6	Party Type	6	Party Type	8	Party Type	7	Party Type	7	Opp. Issue	11	Age	8
Age	4	Opp. Competence	6	Education	5	Nixon Issue	8	Nixon Issue	7	Income	7	Income	9	Income	3
Income	4	Age	5	Age	4	Age	7	Nixon Trust	5	Age	5	Nixon Trust	4	Opp. Issue	3
Nixon Strength	3	Opp. Issue	4	Opp. Strength	3	Nixon Strength	5	Opp. Issue	4	Opp. Issue	2	Nixon Issue	4	Religion	2
Nixon Competence	3	Income	4	Nixon Issue	3	Opp. Issue	3	Income	4	Education	2	Age	4	Nixon Trust	2
Sex	3	Religion	3	Religion	2	Income	2	Education	4	Nixon Competence	1	Religion	2	Opp. Trust	1
Nixon Trust	2	Nixon Issue	2	Opp. Competence	1	Religion	2	Nixon Competence	2	Opp. Trust	1	Education	1	Nixon Strength	1
Nixon Issue	2	Sex	2	Nixon Trust	1	Opp. Strength	2	Sex	2	Nixon Trust	1	Nixon Competence	1	Education	1
Education	2	Education	1	Income	1	Opp. Trust	1	Opp. Trust	1	Nixon Issue	1	Opp. Competence	1	Nixon Issue	1
Opp. Competence	2	Nixon Competence	1	Nixon Competence	*	Nixon Competence	1	Nixon Strength	1	Religion	*	Religion	*	Nixon Competence	1
Opp. Strength	1	Nixon Strength	*	Opp. Competence	*	Opp. Competence	1	Opp. Competence	1	Sex	*	Nixon Strength	1	Opp. Strength	*
Opp. Issue	1	Opp. Strength	*	Nixon Strength	*	Education	*	Religion	1	Nixon Strength	*	Opp. Trust	1	Sex	*
Religion	1	Opp. Trust	*	Sex	*	Sex	*	Opp. Strength	*	Opp. Strength	*	Opp. Strength	*	Opp. Competence	*

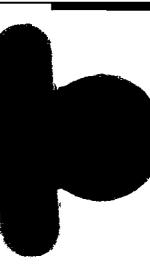
* Less than 1%

Numbers following each factor indicate percentage of influence on the presidential vote.

ATTACHMENT B



Numbers under boxes indicate probability of voting for Nixon. The higher the number, the greater the probability of voting for Nixon.



COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

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

April 18, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MACGRUDER
CLIFF MILLER

SUBJECT: Strategy Planning for the Campaign

Campaign strategy is now developed in several areas:

Campaign Strategy Group (Monday evening meetings). Brings together the thoughts of key White House personnel and those on the Re-Election Committee. Reviews and develops recommendations on broad strategy, with particular emphasis on advertising and the media.

Strategy Planning Group (Saturday meetings). The directors responsible for pertinent campaign activities meet with each state chairman to develop a detailed strategy and operating plan for conducting the campaign in that state. The resulting recommendations in the form of a state plan are presented to you for approval.

November Group. Develops an advertising strategy consistent with the overall strategy of the campaign.

Polling. Provides the basic research data for all of the strategy groups described above.

In addition, the political division and the directors of the functional activities develop strategy relating to their own areas of responsibility, consistent with the overall campaign strategy.

All of these groups perform a useful function in developing elements of the strategy for the campaign. However, they do not perform the essential function because:

1. They do not work closely enough with you.
2. Their membership is too large to make effective strategy recommendations in a timely manner when the campaign is in full swing.

Therefore, we recommend that another group be formed, under your chairmanship, to develop the overall strategy from which state plans, advertising, budget, etc., will flow. The suggested membership would be:

Cliff Miller	(Communications)
Jeb Magruder	(Administration/Coordination)
Fred LaRue	(Political)
Bob Marik	(Planning/Mail/Telephone)
Peter Dailey	(Advertising)
Bob Teeter	(Polling)
Arthur Finkelstein	(Demographics)

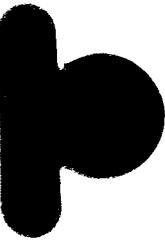
Recommendations

That you approve the creation of the group described above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That a meeting be scheduled within the next two weeks to start the group on its task of developing strategy for the general campaign.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

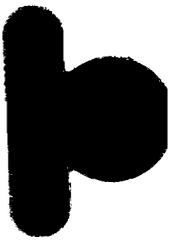


April 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. DWIGHT CHAPIN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Key States

As you know, we have been using a number of lists of key states for different purposes such as surrogate scheduling, early primary strategy development, and media planning. The groupings of states have not been completely consistent, however, and we feel that in order to plan effectively for the general campaign we should establish one firm list. Therefore, during the course of the next week, we will analyze alternative selections of key states, consider the implications of each, and adopt a consolidated list.

cc: Mr. Larry Higby
✓ Mr. Gordon Strachan



JM, Miller, Magruder, La Rue, Marik, ^{6/7}
Malek, Teeter

JM - Wed Sen Group - complete
euphoria re McG candidacy
Percy, Scott, Griffin
- maybe we should counter euphoria
but La Rue thinks McG
screwing local cand's should
be pushed to complicate Dem losses

Teeter - 67% turnout.

JM - breakdown of st

Marik - ~~Teeter~~ Findelstein in Cal
analyzing precincts (1st
2 days conclusion - McG did well in
black + chicanos

JM - wants breakdown of blacks
chicanos + Jewish R/Finch

J&M - speaking oppo's let now +
(Discussion) by 9 - Key Suris have
30 day shot at McG

JM - McG has taken extreme
posi wh/ will cause Dem probs
? is wh/ will move Dem or McG

- G → JSM
- JM - Covert, well financed Dems among labor, vets, jewish to get McG position out
- goal to keep Dems fight for nomination
 - Why Pa + Mo listed as unconst P.
 - McG can't get anything for that 1 Del - not even nominated.
 - We chose the delegate

- JM - Hofton - must only comment on Dems, not on McG
- must be cleared here - I am serious about this
 - JSM + CAM clear + a/w/dell
- McG can't really compromise on issues or lose his credibility

* H + P strong view - don't conduct Nat'l Survey at this time
Wait Wave II after Dem Conven

- Bee/ Dem too confused + we're confused after summit

McG machine, H closing gap for 20 to 5, H could have won if camp another few days

JM - \$ fr/col etc not organic
but that means people
- media juggernaut rather than
volunteers

JM ~~about~~ Fritzsche, Hollings, ^{for S.C.} Chin of ~~Dem~~
for advice all hands to avoid
McG + run own camps

JSM - all columnists want to see
us - so line devel Mark

Teeter - must get line to RN St Ann

JAM - Gurus
St Ann | To set sense of urgency
WHS

JM/JSM material on issues thru covert,
3 P now.

JM - ~~Mon~~ - not discuss issues
rather just those w/ credibility
Haind/Richardson discuss
McG issues.
- Economists + bus comm will
release their analysis of cost of McG

JM Abortion - not used natively, used but
only locally thru Carl Krol, etc.

~~FBI~~

- JM - stay on McG big issues
nat'l def, welf, tax
- Higher Educ Bill - P will not
veto ~~it~~ even - tho it includes
weak crossing & P will
re posture himself later
 - USSC will consider Richmond
decision on merits next
Fall after elec.

TALKING PAPER

As a result of the primaries of yesterday, McGovern is in good shape to sew up the Democratic nomination. It is important, therefore, that we give exposure to his extreme proposals and statements in the next few weeks, in order to sow seeds of doubt among union members and the "establishment" Democrats. Humphrey/Jackson statements might be one of the better vehicles. After the nomination, these lines of communication will be shut off, as the Democratic power structure closes ranks behind the nominee.

There is general agreement that the approach should be measured, reasoned, and not excessively tough or embattled. The objective should not be to attack the character or personality of McGovern, who has come across to the voters as a candid, honest and decent man. It should rather be specifically oriented to the issues where his great vulnerability lies. In this regard, the term, "radical" should probably be downplayed because it evokes negative memories of earlier campaigns. The term "extreme" might be more appropriate for our purposes.

As a first step, detailed, factual data must be compiled as a basis for speeches and other materials. This is being done by Pat Buchanan and by the November Group. Secondly, the method of publicizing McGovern's position must be carefully programmed. The tone will be set by upcoming

statements by John Mitchell:

- ° Wednesday, June 7 - Comments on the primary results
- ° Thursday, June 8 - Press briefing
- ° Sunday, June 11 - Appearance on ABC's "Face the Nation"

That tone should then be carried forth by surrogates and op.ed. columns in major newspapers.

The key issues should be highlighted one at a time, so that the substance of each argument gets through to the voter. Such material can also be provided to columnists and editorial writers. An additional part of this program could be negative advertising by third parties such as civic, professional and labor organizations, and prominent Democrats, if they are available.

It will be important that all these activities be limited to exposing McGovern's position on the issues and not be allowed to develop into an early beginning of the Nixon campaign. The President or his positions should not be emphasized because we do not want to elevate McGovern this early to the level of head-on confrontation with the President.

5/19

MF
F
S

H
G

Mitchell Political Meeting -
May 18, 1972

John Mitchell met with Maguadan, Malek, Teeter, Miller, La Rue, Finkelstein, Marick, Bailey, and Flemming at ~~3~~ for 1 1/2 hours. The discussion paper was Bob Teeter's Final First Wave Polling Analysis. (you ~~read~~ read a copy on May 12~~3~~ but another copy is attached^{at Table A}). Several interesting points emerged during the discussion:

1) The single most important factor for determining ~~who~~ the voter's probable choice on Nov 7 is past voting behavior. ~~Republicans~~ ~~sup~~ about 90% of all Repul's will vote for the P. ~~With any~~ ~~considerable~~ ~~opponent~~ 2) Against any Democratic opponent with ~~reasonable~~ ~~opponent~~ Wallace ~~at~~ 46% of the electorate will vote ag/ the P. 30-34% of the electorate will always vote for the P ~~no~~ regardless of his opposition. Therefore, the market is only 20-21% ~~there~~

$\frac{46}{34}$
80

3) Trust of the P and his ~~general~~ overall issue-handling ability are the next most important factors in determining voters' behavior. General ability to handle all issues as distinguished

Sele - dif balls

5/18

JM, JSM, FM, Teeter, Miller, LaRue
Finkstein, Marik, Bailey, Flemming

Final ISI Wave Analysis

Date
weighted
low/
elec votes

Single most imp factor - past
voting behavior

46% are always ag / P

33-34% are always w / P

so only 20-21% are the mkt.

Real Swing Voters

Trust + Issue Handling ability.

On overall is -han abil,
asa personality dimension.

UN, Infla, Unrest - Prated

poor + are imp to public

Crime - still viewed as respon
of st + local Govs - not on P

according to Harris Dem Gov poll

Drug Prob - no dif who's P

Unempl - people concerned
are already anti - P
so no effect on P's
voters or swing

Demogis - age, Income +
most impst if

EMK candid

Mich - Wallace stronger in Youth / Busing ← 68 some

Older Voters - biggest grp + single
- most imp't grp for elec
Mc - older voters crucial

P has some non-college youth
support in pockets but in
all 11 sts the P is not
strong among youth -

- But this conflicts w/ Mich.
- Col Youth definitely anti-P
- Non col slightly anti-P
- but no grp of youth are
pro P.

- No regis rally or public presence
among youth - Rather JM urges
quiet canvass.
- Must get 35-45% of Youth
Vote in all 68 states just
to stay even + still win sts.
- Must determine McG ability
to get EMK's youth vote

JM - What segment of the youth
are in the Gallup projects.
Marik, Teeter, Riets will
prepare guidelines for St
Chmn on youth regis

① Expand
for key st
include map
by st!
Receipt packet

fy 1 - mail will have
present by precinct demog
of tie - spl for target voter
regis ff Fink's th of change
for 68 - 70. Reagan vote in 70.

census
track
over-lay

mail Target Camp not just Regis.
Donnelly list - accurate age +
inc of all people by telepa
- target houses

People have firm, fixed view
of the P - ∴ very small
undecided vote after the
Convention.

What do we do to get all
our pts before Dem Convention?
P hi number of substantive
domes trips?

68 Panel showed 33%
of elec shifted after Sep
but not fr/ WOL → HHH
but rather all gyps
moving HH → P → WOL + back,
No liberal/conserv over to P vote,
rather personality oriented.

The U.P. ap. correlated to the P's
(slightly lower); VP has no
special constituency.

Don't shore up our
weaknesses rather push
our strong issues

Trust + Competence - push;
forget amiable, friendly,
warm, etc

JM - where do you disagree,
Next mtg all w/ disq's
bail w/ their critiques,

Wave II - oversample youth in
certain sts

MTP - Gammon + Harris

JM - damn confusing.

Next wave go after handling
of VN + For Affairs beef
up to now (JM) we have
wanted VN to go away but
Harris says For of a plus +
Teeter says P. handling of
VN is a positive + ∴ the
media may want to empha For VN

Mc G. Commercial

"Right from the Start"

Very →
Partful

Vet Vets - 5 min spot on Gov
providing jobs for disabled
Vets 1st

Right to know,

ANALYSIS

CAMPAIGN AND ADVERTISING STRATEGIES

- 1) GEORGE McGOVERN
- 2) HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
- 3) EDMUND MUSKIE
- 4) GEORGE WALLACE

Prepared by: November Group, Inc.
date: May 12, 1972

GEORGE McGOVERN

I. ISSUES/POSITON

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
1. Vietnam	Proposed immediate cessation of bombing in Southeast Asia and then the complete withdrawal of American troops within 90 days.	Unchanged.
2. Unemployment	Proposed cutting waste from "our bloated military budget" and investing the savings in job creating enterprises. "I pledge...to do whatever is necessary to see there is a job for every American who wants a job."	Unchanged.
3. Taxes	Proposed closing \$28 billion in tax loopholes for the rich and powerful (including limiting inheritances to \$500,000), relieving tax burden by having federal government assume a major part of education and welfare costs.	Unchanged.
4. Inflation	Proposed revised trade policies, increased foreign outlets for American goods, expanded public service employment.	Unchanged.
5. Big Business	Favors federal chartering to enforce public interest limitation on corporate activities, favors efforts to compel corporations to abolish secrecy and efforts to break up monopolies.	Unchanged.
6. Busing	Pro defeat of anti-busing referendum in Florida.	Says busing is not as important an issue as the war, tax reform, unemployment or inflation. Suggests the Supreme Court has ruled in favor of busing and "tinkering with the Courts jurisdiction could set a precedent that would jeopardise other areas

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
7. Senior Citizens	Proposed total social security benefits start at age 62, increased minimum payment with a realistic cost of living increase, reforms in tax laws which burden the retired, Medicare to pay for prescription drugs and out of hospital treatment, expanded housing program for the elderly.	Unchanged.
8. Health	Proposed a program of guaranteed health insurance, Medicare to cover prescription drugs and hospital treatment, a program of research and treatment of dread diseases, expanded medical care for people isolated from medical facilities.	Unchanged.
9. Amnesty	Favored amnesty only after the Vietnam war is over.	Unchanged.
10. Abortion	Pro abortion as a "medical matter between a woman and her physician."	Says "abortion is a matter for the states...there has to be some restriction you can't just permit anybody that wants an abortion to walk into a doctor's office and have one."
11. Drugs	Cited his legislation on drugs: Controlled Substance Act, the Federal Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence Act. Proposed more law enforcement in cracking down on racketeers and pushers.	Opposes legalizing marijuana "pending further research on its effects." "I wouldn't legalize marijuana...it ought to be treated as a misdemeanor..."
12. Government	Accused government of betraying the public trust. Regarding Pakistan, McGovern said "...they wanted to work this deal in secret, not tell congress..."	Unchanged.

II. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Over a year ago, McGovern and his campaign strategists mapped out the primary states they considered essential to the McGovern effort: New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Oregon and California. Wins or strong showings in each of these primary contests were of prime importance to the successful culmination of McGovern's drive for the nomination. Until Pennsylvania, McGovern never wavered from this original strategy.

McGovern placed second in New Hampshire, won in Wisconsin and, based on indications that Massachusetts was in the bag, decided to make a special effort in Pennsylvania. He added several unplanned days of campaigning and beefed up his media effort. As a result, he placed a close third in the primary and won 38 delegates.

With the decline of Muskie, McGovern then moved quickly and strongly into another unplanned state - Ohio. He literally blanketed the state with a heavy media effort and campaigned there personally for about 7 full days. And, for the first time, he failed to visit a single college or university, but concentrated instead on the blue collar and black vote. McGovern placed second to Humphrey in Ohio and picked up several more delegates.

The next big state in McGovern's campaign plan was Nebraska. Here things did not go according to plan as McGovern fell under attack from both Jackson and Humphrey for his stands vis-a-vis amnesty, marijuana, and abortion. For the first time in his campaign, he taped a last minute TV program to defend and clarify his position on these issues. In spite of the attacks, McGovern did succeed in carrying conservative, heavily Catholic Nebraska.

III. ADVERTISING STRATEGY

Copy - All McGovern commercials (with the exception of the previously noted Nebraska program) were filmed or taped over four months ago and have been used ever since without a single modification. Of all the major candidates, McGovern, in both his advertising and appearances, has sought to provide a clear position and solution on the issues.

Under the campaign slogan, "McGovern, Right from the Start", the radio commercials feature personal endorsements or an announcer setting forth McGovern's position on the issues. The TV commercials feature naturalism and issues. The TV spots are edited

from long, spontaneous conversations that McGovern holds with carefully selected groups of voters. The resulting TV spots suggest that McGovern is listening to ordinary people, that he is directly accessible to their complaints, that he responds with sympathy, understanding and a solution - or at least a heartfelt promise to find one. The spots never show the candidate selling himself directly to the TV audience.

Throughout all the TV commercials, there is no opening title and the candidate is never identified by either print or voice until the final frame when the action is frozen. "McGovern for President" appears at the bottom of the screen and an announcer says: "McGovern...Right from the Start."

Media - In those states he considered his prime objectives, McGovern is reported to have consistently outspent his competitors. He is reported to have spent over one half million dollars in campaign media through the Ohio primary. In two of the states - Wisconsin and Massachusetts - he won. In New Hampshire and Ohio he finished a strong second. Based on November Group audits, McGovern has, with the exception of New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, spent 60-70% of individual state media dollars in television.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

I. ISSUES/POSITION

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
1. Vietnam	Proposed pulling all troops out of Vietnam in less than 90 days, if elected.	"The time has come to end the war...it's a lost cause to continue to pour materia and men into this war
2. Economy	Denounced Nixon's economic control program.	Unchanged.
3. Taxes	Sponsored tax reform bill aimed at closing specified tax loopholes and raising \$16 billion in 1973.	Proposed sending tax reform plan to Congress within 100 days of becoming President.
4. Busing	Against busing - "...it hasn't solved our racial problems." Pro the President's position saying "He's in agreement with me."	Against the President anti-busing moratorium "...it's insufficient deceptive...insensitive."
5. Amnesty	Against granting unconditional amnesty to draft evaders.	Unchanged.
6. Older Citizens	Proposed cabinet level department of senior citizens. Pro increased social security, national health insurance, laws against job discrimination because of age, inexpensive housing.	Unchanged. Unchanged.
7. Youth	Proposed cabinet level department of youth affairs.	Unchanged.
8. Crime	Proposed federal law to make the killing of a policeman, prison guard or fireman a federal offense.	Unchanged.

<u>ISSUES</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
9. Drugs	Proposed U.S. seek government with the foreign countries that are the source of narcotics to stop the flow or be cut off from all military or economic aid.	Unchanged. Proposed making use of marijuana a misdemeanor rather than a felony.
10. Space Shuttle Program	Pro Space Shuttle program.	Unchanged.

II. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Campaigning from the start as the "People's Democrat," Humphrey more recently has been championing himself as the leader of the new "progressive vital center" of the party. His campaign thrust seems to center around his political personality and his long record of Government service and experience. He has shown a marked reluctance to broaden his base of appeal from the ranks of his traditional constituency - the elderly, the Jews, the Blacks and the unions.

Spurred by the fear Muskie would lock up the Democratic nomination prior to the convention, Humphrey entered selected primary contests somewhat earlier than planned. Following Muskie's poor showing in Wisconsin, Humphrey entered several unplanned primary contests in an effort to pick up additional delegate votes - Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska, West Virginia, Maryland and Michigan. Current plans include bypassing Oregon for the more crucial California primary and, if that goes well, continuing on to New York (NOTE: Humphrey workers are frantically attempting to persuade New York delegates pledged to Muskie and Jackson to support Humphrey in the June 20 primary).

Although Humphrey had abided by his pledge not to criticize any of his Democratic opponents, the McGovern phenomenon caused him, in Nebraska, to attempt to cast McGovern in the role of the wild-eyed radical who favors amnesty for draft evaders, legalization of marijuana and more liberal abortion laws. Although McGovern won the race, it is probable that Humphrey will continue to speak out more strongly against his Democratic opponent in the upcoming contests.

III. ADVERTISING STRATEGY

Copy - Throughout the primary campaigns, Humphrey has labeled himself "The People's Democrat." In some commercials this is expanded to "In the Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy tradition."

The overall campaign plays to the "little guy". Earlier TV and radio commercials and, more recently radio commercials utilizing Lorne Greene and other announcers as spokesmen for the Senator, point out his Senate record on civil rights, Medicare, the Job Corps, the food stamp program; set forth his proposals on social security, the elderly. When Humphrey himself appears he speaks to the voters "You need a President that understands what a working family goes through..."

In recent primaries, Humphrey has eliminated his use of spot television in favor of cheaper radio spots. He has used the telephone interview format on television (emceed by Lorne Green and backed up with selected special interest group visitors) as his TV platform for speaking to the voters.

Media - In audited primary contests, Humphrey spent between \$25-55M per state for media, well below his leading Democratic rivals. He won three of these primaries and placed second or third in the others. Humphrey placed over 75% of his media monies in spot television in Florida and Wisconsin. However, in the more recent contests in Pennsylvania and Ohio, he has favored spot radio backed up by the TV telephone interview programs.

EDMUND MUSKIE

I. ISSUES/POSITION

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
1. Vietnam	Proposed definite date for withdrawal of all forces and all military activity in Vietnam contingent on return of POW's. Proposed Saigon accommodate politically all elements of South Vietnamese society.	Guaranteed withdrawal of all American forces from Indochina within two weeks of his inauguration. Proposed cut off of military aid to Saigon if it does not make substantial progress to peace.
2. Economy	Anti president's management of the economy.	Proposed 90 day freeze on food prices (applicable to wholesalers and retailers but not to farmers).
3. Unemployment	Pro restraining inflation, increasing employment.	Proposed federal relief to areas of high unemployment; retraining programs; and an increase in the number of public service jobs.
4. Busing	Anti Constitutional Amendment on busing.	Pro busing "if used with common sense." Pro funding schools and integration of jobs and housing.
5. Older Citizens	Proposed program of housing security to provide regular monthly payments to meet increased property taxes.	Unchanged.
6. Taxes	Proposed 9 point tax reform plan. Also pledged to close a total of \$14 billion in Federal tax loopholes.	Unchanged.
7. Education	Proposed \$7.2 billion program to help provide all elementary and secondary pupils with equal instruction.	Unchanged.
8. Defense	Pro elimination of five specified defense programs.	Unchanged.

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
9. Space Shuttle Program	Against space shuttle program.	Unchanged.
10. Pollution	Pro more federal programs to solve pollution.	Unchanged.
11. Drugs	Pro stopping drugs at their source of supply; also pro educating youth to consequences of drugs.	Unchanged.

II. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Muskie entered the 1972 primaries as the frontrunning Democratic candidate. His going-in strategy was apparently to enter and to win as many primaries as possible, gathering delegates along the way, and to arrive at the July convention as the pre-ordained candidate. His poor showings in New Hampshire and Florida caused him to attempt to sharpen his campaign promises in both advertising and public appearances as he entered Illinois.

After Illinois, as his funds and personnel began to fade, Muskie began to concentrate on the primary states with large delegate counts (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, California and New York) and to focus on only three or four issues.

Then, following his poor performance in Wisconsin, Muskie insisted the preference contests were unimportant and indicated he would concentrate on collecting convention delegates. He tried to collect convention delegates by campaigning simultaneously in both the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts primaries, once again spread himself too thin, and lost both.

After these two defeats, Muskie withdrew from all future primary races but contended he was still a candidate for the Democratic nomination.

Last week Muskie announced he would (money permitting) make a series of national TV appearances as a means of keeping his name and ideas before the delegates. Meanwhile, Muskie is speaking on the issues from the Senate floor in the hope that, in a convention deadlock, the party will turn to him.

III. ADVERTISING STRATEGY

Copy - Muskie has evidenced three major changes in advertising copy strategy

Phase I - New Hampshire through Florida - Using the slogan "Muskie for the Country," the first series of Muskie commercials were low key in approach. Although voter concerns were voiced, in many cases using man-in-the-street interviews, there was little attempt to establish a specific Muskie position with regard to the problems.

Phase II - Following Muskie's poor showing in Florida, a new group of commercials were hastily produced to make the candidate appear more forceful, more decisive. Two basic TV executions were used - 1) Muskie speaking, in profile, to an unseen interviewer 2) endorsements by public figures such as Birch Bayh and Adlai Stevenson Jr.

Phase III - Finally came Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Here Muskie limited his campaign issues and, speaking directly to the camera, presented better defined campaign positions. The campaign slogan became "Vote for Muskie because you're not just voting in a primary, you're voting for President " in an obvious attempt to stop disenchanted voter moves to McGovern in Massachusetts and Wallace in Pennsylvania.

Media - Muskie spent over \$100M for media in each of his losing primaries in Florida and Wisconsin. When he entered the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries - which he also lost - his expenditure by state had dropped by more than half - \$40-50M per state. And although he continued to invest heavily in spot TV in Massachusetts (60-70% as in Florida and Wisconsin), in Pennsylvania he moved to the cheaper mediums of radio and newspapers.

GEORGE WALLACE

I. ISSUES/POSITION

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>EARLY PRIMARY POSITION</u>	<u>CURRENT POSITION</u>
1. Busing	Against busing children to achieve racial balance.	Unchanged.
2. Taxes	Pro tax reform to eliminate exemptions to foundations, churches, endowment funds.	Unchanged.
3. Welfare	Against paying hard earned money to "welfare loafers."	Unchanged.
4. Crime	Pro policemen and firemen; law and order-no specific proposals.	Unchanged.
5. Foreign aid	Against giving money to foreign countries, especially those who fought against us in Vietnam; voted against us in the U.N.	Unchanged.
6. Vietnam	Pro whatever action necessary to insure safe withdrawal of American personnel.	Unchanged.
7. Older Citizens	Pro increased social security, higher old age pensions, tax exemptions on medicine, improved medical facilities.	Unchanged.
8. Big Government	1) Against government interference in peoples lives. 2) Pro Senate review of Supreme Court every six yrs.	Unchanged.

II. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Wallace's theme "send them a message," quite accurately describes the thrust of his campaign. He has been saying a vote for Wallace will send Washington a message to take action on busing, tax reform, etc.

Wallace apparently entered the Presidential primary race this year to gain sufficient delegate strength to ensure his anti-busing, protest policies would be written into the party's platform. Today, however, he has broadened his appeals and appears to be seeking popular strength in the hopes that, if the convention deadlocks, the party will be forced to turn to the candidate who has demonstrated he can win the popular vote. Or failing a convention endorsement, he may run again as a third party candidate.

Wallace's third party candidacy continues a question. He opened his campaign by denying he would run as a third party candidate unless treated "cavalierly" at the convention. On April 19th, in Indiana, he disavowed any plans for a third party candidacy even if he were treated badly at the convention. However, on April 28th, in North Carolina, he returned to his original position of a possible third party candidacy.

Supporters in several states already have filed petitions placing Wallace on the American Party ticket in November. However, having entered the primaries as a Democratic candidate he cannot be listed as a third party candidate in the General Election in several states, including Michigan, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Wallace has used, throughout the campaign, giant rallies as his primary political platform. Reminiscent of old time Southern politiking, rallies include entertainment by selected country and Western stars - Hank Snow, Billy Grammer, etc.

III. ADVERTISING STRATEGY

Copy - Wallace's broadcast commercials and programs have, throughout his campaign, featured excerpts from Wallace rallies or the candidate talking directly to the voters via the television camera. In both situations he talks to the voters in everyday language - using words like "asinine" and referring to "welfare loafers", "intellectual snobs," etc. Most commercials end with a plea for support via campaign contributions.

Media - In the primary states audited (Florida, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania) Wallace has consistently spent nearly 75% of his advertising monies in spot television. Wallace's total dollars by state (\$40-50M) have ranked third or fourth among the four major contenders. However, in spite of this spending deficit, the man has placed first or second in all major primaries he has entered.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

H
FU
6/5
6/8

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LARRY HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN

G

SUBJECT:

Stans' Dinner

In follow-up, the attached memorandum from you regarding checking with Maurice Stans' request for a quiet dinner for eight new people in June appeared. Have you heard anything from Stans? Or should we wait to hear from him? Or should I contact his office directly?

at least until
we get back from Russia.
L.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1972

H
F U
5/10

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW-UP

FROM:

L. HIGBY L

Follow-up at the middle of May with Maurice Stans' request for a quiet dinner for eight new people in June with the President.

8 "new" people,
not the group to C O
,

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

May 31, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: White House Support List

The results of our mailing to the White House Support List are as follows:

pieces mailed	5,300
pieces received	103
total dollars received	\$1,973.
average contribution	\$19.15
percent response	1.9
dollars received per letter mailed	.37

This response is more than double our break-even point and is considered a very successful mailing. The greatest profit, however, will be derived from additional follow up mailings to the 103 contributors.

It is recommended that future mailings be held until after the Democratic National Convention in July. The decision on what copy to use should be determined from tests and experience with other lists during the next 30 - 50 days.

However, in order to mail this list, it would be helpful for us to have additional names so that they may be key punched, verified and transferred to magnetic tape


Lee Nunn

News from
the Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WESTERN REGIONAL FINANCE CHAIRMAN FOR NIXON

CONTACT: DeVan L. Shumway
(202) 333-7060
#5-40(25)

WASHINGTON -- Darius N. Keaton, Jr. of Pebble Beach, California, will direct fund-raising activities for President Nixon's re-election campaign in a seven-state western area, according to Maurice Stans, chairman of the national Finance Committee to Re-elect the President.

The newly named chairman's Region IX includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon and Washington.

Mr. Keaton is chairman of the board of the Charter Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Charter Company, and is president of the Charter Trading Company.

A native of Georgia, he entered college at the age of 16 but left after one year to work in shipyards, becoming general foreman of the Kaiser Yards in Vancouver at 18. Following service with the U.S. Army in Germany, he entered the University of California, Berkeley, in 1946 and received his B.S. degree in 1948. Since that time he has been in the petroleum business.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 30, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

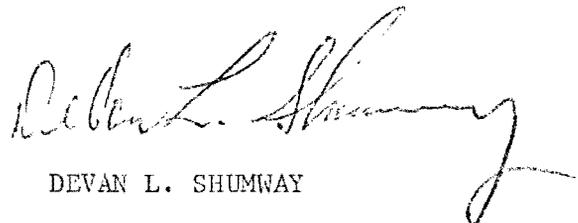
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Financial Report

I met with Secretary Stans last week to discuss the release of our first financial report on June 10. Subject, of course, to your approval, we plan to issue a brief statement on the date of release quoting Mr. Stans and then make the report available to the press.

We will not have a press conference with the Secretary or anyone else although I will be prepared to answer, or not answer as the case may be, any specific questions. Generally, I will not go beyond the report except to point out that it complies with the law as passed by a Democratic-controlled Congress.

The press release as suggested by Secretary Stans will be along the general lines of the attached.

Enclosure


DEVAN L. SHUMWAY

The four national finance committees raising funds for the re-election of President Nixon today filed their reports with the Comptroller General as required by law.

Various state committees similarly engaged are filing separate accountings.

Maurice H. Stans, Chairman of the National Finance Committee for the Re-election of the President, said the filings meet every requirement of the law enacted by the Congress earlier this year.

The four committees received _____ contributions in the period between April 7 and May 31 for an average of _____ per contribution. Contributions totaled _____.

Stans has previously indicated that his goal is to secure close to one million contributions for the Nixon re-election this year.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: Political Issues Group Meeting
Thursday, May 18, 1972

Those invited to attend the meeting were:

Anne Armstrong	Rita Hauser
Buehl Brentsen	Pat Hutar
Robert J. Brown	Herbert Klein
Ken Cole	Fred LaRue
Charles Colson	John Lehman
Senator Bob Dole	Clark MacGregor
Senator Peter H. Dominick	Fred Malek
Thomas B. Evans	Bob Marik
Robert Finch	Ray Price
Barbara Franklin	Donald Rumsfeld
James Galbraith	William Safire
Leonard Garment	Gordon Strachan
Roy Goodearle	Van Shumway
Bryce Harlow	Robert Teeter
Edwin Harper	William Timmons

Rose Mary Woods

Those in attendance were:

Buehl Brentsen	Ray Hanzlek
Harry Dent	Bob Marik
James Galbraith	Ray Price
Leonard Garment	Van Shumway

Following a short discussion by Harry Dent of the Wallace shooting and speculation concerning the Governor's likely actions, Ken Rietz discussed issues affecting youth during the campaign. In

CONFIDENTIAL

addition, he described the campaign's strategy in appealing to the 18-24 year old voter.

From the research conducted publicly and within the campaign Ken drew a picture of the young voter which is significantly different from the conventional wisdom contained in the national news media. It would appear, he asserted, that there is presently no "youth" candidate, only candidates who are more associated with youth than others. To him, the influence of peer group pressures are more significant than the impact of charismatic media figures. What appeals to young voters is a candidate's straightforward presentation of his beliefs, not 100% conformity on all "youth issues." Several times the youth staff has found individuals who supported the President, but have not told their friends about it since they were afraid of being censured. Youth may be supportive of the President because of some of his stands or because of his experience, and yet frequently be afraid to admit it for fear of not being "in."

In light of this picture, the strategy of the youth campaign for the President has been to concentrate on breaking down these group pressures by encouraging involvement in organizational activity. Wherever possible the campaign is trying to organize youth to participate in canvassing and in other activities requested by the State Chairmen. The concept of the campaign is to approach young people individually with the request that they support the President. Gallop has stated that only 3% of the electorate is asked to participate in political campaigns and Ken has found that simply by asking them, it is possible to involve large quantities of people with the President's campaign. Rather than concentrate merely on college campuses where many of the group pressures are the strongest, the campaign has gone door-to-door concentrating on the 18,000,000 18-24 year old voters who are living at home.

Ken's program, therefore, has concentrated on canvasses, individual contact, and speakers in small groups who work at asking people to participate. The concept of the "floating precinct" has been used extensively to identify leaders who may not cover a conventional precinct but belong to affinity groups such as bowling leagues and sororities. These floating leaders are able to ask a large cross section of youth to participate in supporting the President.

A major obstacle to Ken's efforts thus far has come from getting the word of these achievements out through the media. He pointed to two cases where there were clear and dramatic instances of support for the President which, nevertheless, went unreported. In New Hampshire the largest youth campaign in the state was mounted in support of the President though contenders shared press recognition as the candidates of youth. And, in one instance in Connecticut, the President won a high school poll though the headlines on the article indicated that Kennedy was the preferred choice of youth (see attachment).

Perhaps more difficult have been the problems that have been posed by surrogate candidates and other spokesmen in support of the President who have either found it impossible to attend important youth events or have spoken to the issues rather than for the President. Ken explained that invitations for no less than 25 separate state vocational conferences were turned down for lack of any speaker in support of the President. In many of these cases, the event might have been covered if the youth vote were a higher priority. By reordering priorities and identifying the President with young people, by creating a campaign that involves young people and that explicitly asks for the support of the 18-24 year old voter, Ken hopes to turn in a significantly different performance than that which is expected by many. Ken is certain that there can be a major showing of youth support for the President.

JEB S. MAGRUDER

HARRY S. DENT

Attachment

Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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

May 16, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB MAGRUDER
FRED MALEK

FROM:

KEN RIETZ

KR

I thought you would be interested in the attached article regarding a nationwide poll of 200,000 high school students. While the headline indicates Kennedy won, a careful reading of the news story shows the President won with 31.4%.

Kennedy Wins Poll Of High Schoolers

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Maine, who received 21,515 Massachusetts, who repeatedly votes. has said he does not seek the nomination for president, emerged the favorite Democratic candidate in a nationwide poll of some 260,000 high school students.

Results of the poll, announced last week, had Kennedy with 15 per cent of the total vote. Gov. George Wallace of Alabama followed him among Democrats.

President Nixon led the entire field with 39,311 votes, or 31.4 per cent.

The poll, known as the Fifth National Student's Presidential Preference Poll, was conducted by American Education Publications of Middletown.

The balloting gave Kennedy 27,638 votes—less than half Nixon's tally—and Wallace, 23,603.

Next in line was Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, the Democrat from

George S. McGovern, the South Dakota senator considered the front-runner for the Democratic nomination, polled 18,634 and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, his closest rival, had 16,957. They placed fifth and sixth in the balloting.

A surprisingly strong showing was made by New York U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman from a major party to seek the presidency. Mrs. Chisholm received 13,648 votes.

The editors of Current Events noted that the total vote for all Democratic candidates outnumbered the Nixon vote by 2 to 1. If the Democrats could unite behind a candidate before November, they said, they have a good chance of victory over the Republicans.

Comedian Pat Paulsen led the write-in votes with 477 while Archie Bunker received 131.

Young People Circulate Petition Backing Nixon

More than 200 young people in the state went out onto the streets Saturday to gather signatures for a petition supporting President Nixon's policy in Vietnam.

According to 18-year-old Roberta Bryant, of Bloomfield, one of those gathering names, the Vietnam Action Phone was sponsoring the drive and hoped to send a group of youths to Washington, D.C. sometime next week to present the signatures to the President.

The petition praised Nixon's "effort to achieve peace in Vietnam, protect the remaining Americans there and have the American prisoners of war returned."

note

Hartford
Courant
5/11/72

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

0

Date : May 26, 1972

To: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

Please handle _____

For your information _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

[Handwritten scribbles]

May 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: HARRY DENT
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *[Handwritten initials]*
SUBJECT: Congressman McCloskey

Burt Talcott and Charlie Gubser report that polls in California show Barry 31%, McCloskey 27% and Cole 17%. Gubser believes McCloskey is gaining and probably will win if Cole stays in the race.

cc: Clark MacGregor
Bill Timmons
Dick Cook
Chuck Colson

WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH., CHAIRMAN

JOHN O. PASTORE, R.I.
VANCE HARTKE, IND.
PHILIP A. HART, MICH.
HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV.
RUSSELL B. LONG, LA.
FRANK E. MOSS, UTAH
ERNEST F. HOLLINGS, S.C.
DANIEL K. INOUE, HAWAII
WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR., VA.

NORRIS COTTON, N.H.
JAMES B. PEARSON, KANS.
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.
HOWARD H. BAKER, JR., TENN.
MARLOW W. COOK, KY.
TED STEVENS, ALASKA
J. GLENN BEALL, JR., MD.
LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR., CONN.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 23, 1972

FREDERICK J. LORCAN, STAFF DIRECTOR
MICHAEL PERTSCHUK, CHIEF COUNSEL

Honorable Harry S. Dent
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

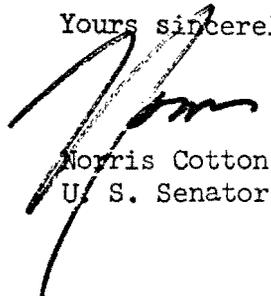
I want to confirm and reiterate my expressions of gratitude to you for going to New Hampshire and speaking at the annual May luncheon of the Federation of Republican Women's Clubs at Wentworth-by-the-Sea.

I am not "polishing the apple" but speaking in complete sincerity when I tell you that in all the years of my campaigning I have not heard a more effective speech. You need not take my judgment alone because since our return I have had occasion to talk with the Governor, the State Chairman, and have received letters from many of the officers of the Women's Clubs. They were all most complimentary to you and indicated that you said just the things that stirred them up to fight for the President and gave them the ammunition with which to do so.

I hope that you will be exposed to as many groups around this country between now and November as possible.

Thank you again.

Yours sincerely,



Norris Cotton
U. S. Senator

NC:eb

California Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

1670 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017 (213) 484-1330

May 22, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER 

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 20 May 1972)

Relations with Put Livermore seem to have hit an all-time low as he refuses to cooperate in any way. He is rewriting a contract on the use of Compass Systems, the data company, that was drawn by Bob Morgan of the national re-election committee, and I am fearful that if he does not stall indefinitely he will redraw it so as to make it difficult for the campaign to get access to necessary data.

As you know, the data is controlled by a board of trustees made up of you, Bob Monagan and Put. It may be necessary for you and Monagan to insist on taking direct control. This situation is going to have to be straightened out very soon if we are to get maximum use of Compass data.

Ron, I frankly don't believe we can continue putting up with Put's obstructionism, even if it means demanding his resignation. He is hurting the State Central Committee, and he is hurting the campaign. He seems to have no concept of the seriousness of the situation; he is certainly more interested in controlling his own little domain than he is in re-electing the President.

The phone and mail programs are now in full swing. If nothing else, we are learning that you can't treat California the same way you treat New Hampshire or even Florida.

The phone banks, although there have been a couple that have lagged, have generally performed well. The mail program is forcing county organization along, and this will be its main benefit. However, there have been some bad breakdowns and mistakes in both programs due largely to initial delays by Compass Systems and then because of errors and misunderstandings by the Reuben H. Donnelly Company that provides much of the material and does the mailings, and also because it is difficult for many of those involved to understand the size and complexity of California. Another problem has been the fact that about 40 percent of all telephones in California are unlisted.

We have been in constant touch with Washington on this matter, and they are confident that the bugs can be ironed out by the general election. I concur. This is one reason that I have been so insistent that we use the primary as a time for organizing and for getting out the bugs. Incidentally, our staff is performing well in handling these crises as they occur.

Registration proceeds on target. The Los Angeles County staff is a great addition and is working in nicely. Our problem is a shortage of competent staff, which makes even more incomprehensible Put's refusal to lend us any staff.

We expect to be able to utilize the volunteers the mail and phone programs are turning up for registration purposes, especially during our three blitz days this summer.

Other segments of the campaign seem to be progressing satisfactorily. Our Spanish-speaking and black efforts are doing well, and the senior citizens program is getting organized.

I believe our communications/press effort is the best in the country. We are the only campaign feeding film to television. In addition, we are actively soliciting radio actualities and are working hard to maximize the impact of surrogates and others who either are already in the state or who come to the state.

Likewise, our speakers bureau is functioning effectively.

All in all, things are going well. However, we need to (1) get our budgets approved, (2) straighten Mr. Livermore out, (3) make sure we get the kinks in the mail and phone programs ironed out during this primary election. I think Livermore presents the only serious problem at this time.

cc: John Mitchell
✓ Bob Haldeman
Bob Mardian
Jeb Magruder
Gordon Luce
Ed Meese

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. H. R. HAGEDMAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGUIDER

For your information.

California Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

Bob Haldeeman

1670 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017 (213) 484-1330

May 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER *R*

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 13 May 1972)

Last week was a week of some accomplishment and some disappointment. The chief disappointment is the failure of Put Livermore to offer more than lipservice on behalf of this campaign.

1. He stands alone among the State Central Committee officers in refusing to provide us any staff help in our registration efforts. Despite repeated requests on my part for at least token staff support by the Republican State Central Committee for registration, he has not provided any help.
2. At the state meeting last Friday he ordered the Youth for Nixon to take down a table that was distributing literature and soliciting signatures on petitions supporting the President. This was done over my personal protests and despite my willingness to allow the Ashbrook people to put up a table, also.
3. His inability to get satisfactory performance out of Compass Systems which is supposed to provide the California campaign with demographic, census and historical data.

Aside from the area of Compass Systems, where we seemingly have no choice, I see no percentage in attempting to work with Mr. Livermore any further. We will continue to maintain good relations but will not look to him for material aid because I do not think he will deliver.

In effect this means we will literally take over registration in the state, although we will work with county central committees, since they do not come under his authority. This means we will work within the Cal-Plan districts, which we initially had hoped would be registered through state committee efforts.

Despite our problems at the RSCC meeting, the Nixon Youth picked up more than 600 names on petitions supporting the President in Vietnam. There was no visible sign of Ashbrook support.

Tuesday Region III opens its headquarters in San Mateo and on Wednesday Sacramento opens its headquarters. Both will be low keyed because of the shooting of George Wallace.

As you know, we meet with John Mitchell Tuesday afternoon on budgets, including county budgets. I will report to you on the results at our Thursday meeting.

We have scheduled a Steering Committee meeting May 24 and will add a few names to take in some of our new leadership.

Our phone banks--we have nine in operation--are picking up although running behind the quota given us by national. Part of the problem has been a breakdown in the data processing, which is not our area. Out of something over 46,000 calls made through last Saturday, the President is getting 78 percent approval with Ashbrook getting 7 percent and the remainder undecided. This compares with a Field poll which shows Ashbrook at three percent and my own very broad prediction that he'll get between 10 and 20 percent.

I believe the Wallace assassination attempt, unfortunate as it may be, will trigger a conservative trend and will hurt those, such as McGovern and Kennedy, who have been at least tacitly supporting the peace mobs.

Registration: As you know, we are in the process of putting together four major "blitz" days this summer.

We have run into a rather pleasant problem: Because of our constant harping on registration, our Nixon chairmen are all planning registration on their own. This means we must meld Bruce Nestande's efforts, which have been funnelling through the county central committees, into the Nixon campaign.

This will increase our volunteers and broaden our efforts.

Primarily, we must work to coordinate all segments of the party into one unified registration effort. I do not see any major problem in this.

Organization. Organization is now about complete. Our task is to make our organizations operate effectively. We are pushing this now. The primary will tell us where our weak spots are. As I have said before, one of the problems is the fact that they are not involved in money-raising nor in raising money for their campaigns. This takes away some of the zest. Hopefully, we can add to that with registration.

Support for the President has been heavy, and we have turned most effort to make it vocal and to letting Congress and the White House know it. Indications are that thousands of letters and wires have been sent.

Colson, J M, Mae G, Harlow

- J M
- on McGovern
- concerned Dems

- 5/6 - 4:30 Minn - Duwayne
Anderson

Type of Comm, who
on it etc.

- Get to McG now thru
Dems before nom

Does have Nomina
loaded.

H mtg w/ J.M.
Tel Pap to Pd mats

Telephone -

Tel Pap for H mtg w/VP?
status.

H.G.K. - VP ~~Agree~~ chosen
personal opinion
- Sen E.M.K. on the Dem Ticket

Cal, NJ, NM, S.D. - Dem Coner

H.G.K.

150

FU TUESDAY MORNING
FIRST THING - April 4

March 31, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: RNC Registration

*Met H
w/ to this
did have the
report*
*NO
two
copies*

The agreement of last fall between the Committee to Re-Elect the President and the RNC that voter registration would be almost entirely an RNC function may have to be reviewed. I just read Ed DeBolt's March 29 memorandum entitled "Spring Registration Activity Report #4". (Copy attached.) I think it represents a dismal failure. All commitments, programs, and activities are projected rather than accomplished. It would be interesting to know what in fact has been done in some of these cases.

Of particular concern to me is the statement on page #2 that "California, for example, is still having difficulty getting their ambitious registration project off the ground". My recollection of the amount of money under the direction of Ken Rietz is very substantial. Yet, your comments yesterday about Nofziger's shaky implementation increases my concern. I would enjoy discussing this entire matter with you so that we could prepare a recommendation for John Mitchell. Let's try to get together on Tuesday.

4/4 H/A G Tal Pap

GS:lm
FU Tuesday, Ap. 4

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MACGRUDER
FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE
SUBJECT: Proposal for Campaign Kick-Off Event
in San Diego and San Clemente
September 14 and 15, 1972

It has been proposed that the President and Mrs. Nixon host a two day gathering of Republican leaders in San Diego, California, during the period September 14 and 15, 1972. The purpose of the gathering would be (1) to provide an opportunity for discussions and meetings about campaign strategy and plans and (2) to provide an attractive and suitable forum for the initial campaign address by the President. In that connection, consideration is being given to a proposal that the President deliver his formal acceptance speech during this two day period in California, rather than at the Convention in Miami. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the points which should be considered in connection with this proposal and to describe a proposed agenda.

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

<u>Group</u>	<u>Approximate Number of Individuals in the Group</u>
a. The surrogate candidates	32
b. Members of the Cabinet who are not surrogate candidates (Laird, Rogers, Shultz)	3
c. Republican Senators who are not surrogate candidates	35
d. Republican Governors who are not surrogate candidates	17

e.	Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates (Not including Congressmen Ashbrook, McCloskey, Schmitz and Riegler)	171
f.	Officers of the Republican National Committee	12
g.	National Committeemen and Committeewomen	100
h.	State GOP Chairmen	50
i.	State Committee for the Re-election of the President Chairmen	50
j.	State Finance Committee to Re-elect the President Chairmen	50
k.	State Committee for the Re-election of the President Executive Directors	50
l.	Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads	70
m.	Senior members of the White House staff	15
n.	Senior members of the 1701 staff and voting bloc coordinators	20
o.	Celebrities for the President	10
p.	Athletes for the President	10
q.	Elected Republican State Officeholders from California	4
r.	Non-incumbent Republican candidates for Congress from California	31
s.	Republican leaders not listed above, e.g., Mayor Lugar, Dr. Arthur Flemming and substantial contributors	<u>60</u>
	Sub-Total	790
	Spouses	<u>790</u>
	TOTAL	1,580

The number of participants could be reduced, if deemed advisable, by not inviting (a) the Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates, (b) the Assistant Secretaries, and (c) selected Agency Heads. This question becomes relevant in connection with cost considerations and the proposed barbecue (or fish fry) at the residence in San Clemente. We have been advised that the areas available for that event are either the golf course, or the area immediately to the east. Both areas at the residence could handle "1,000 plus," but 1,580 might exceed the comfortable limit unless the areas were combined.

We recommend that consideration continue to be given to inviting all the listed groups, plus their spouses (a total of approximately 1,580 people), subject to a more definitive determination of the costs involved and the numbers that can be accommodated at San Clemente. If reductions are then indicated, consideration would be given to not inviting, in the order listed, (a) the Republican Congressmen who are not surrogate candidates (the leadership and the California Congressmen should nevertheless be invited), (b) the Assistant Secretaries, and (c) selected Agency Heads.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

2. Dates. The dates proposed are Thursday, September 14, and Friday, September 15.

It should be noted that there will be the following other activities in San Diego during that period:

- a. The Inland Empire Credit Union will be holding a convention at the Town and Country Hotel. Expected attendance: 900;
- b. The U.S.S. Saratoga Reunion will commence on September 15th at the Sheraton Inn. Expected attendance: 300;
- c. Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company will be holding a convention at the Hotel Del Coronado from September 7th through September 14th. Expected attendance: 700;
- d. The Humble Oil and Refining Company will be holding meetings at the Town and Country Hotel from September 10th through September 14th. The expected attendance is not known at this time;

- e. The U.S. Pro Tennis Association will hold a convention at the Hotel Del Coronado from September 14th through September 17th. Expected attendance: 400;
- f. California Affiliate Representatives, Inc. will be meeting at the Bi-hia Hotel from September 14th through September 17th. Expected attendance: 400.

It does not appear that these activities would cause any media or accommodation conflict. It should be noted, however, that the San Diego Padres are scheduled to play in Houston on September 14 and 15. Those games may be televised locally in San Diego.

3. Format. As noted, consideration is being given to a proposal that the President deliver his acceptance speech during this period. It is our understanding that Messrs. Bryan and Willkie, as well as a number of other nominees, delivered their acceptance addresses at a time considerably later than the Convention. The thought in this instance is that there would be some obvious advantages in getting some major attention and television coverage in September when the audiences would be larger than in late August.

An inherent problem is that the three television networks would have to be convinced that (1) the speech is, in fact, the acceptance speech and (2) free time should be provided. The networks probably cannot be convinced that the acceptance speech will be delivered in California until the conclusion of the Convention in Miami. Even then, the networks might want to hear, or read the advance text of, the California speech before deciding if free time should be granted. A more remote problem is that the networks may decide, after the Convention, that we have locked ourselves in and, as a consequence, force us to buy time to have the speech covered.

Mike Duval, at the White House, has presented the following options:

- a. If the address is the President's acceptance speech and it is carried live (video tape) on a national or selected cities hook-up, it should be held on Thursday, September 14, 1972, at 7:00 p.m., before a "canned" audience of about 5,000, including the key participants suggested above. The place selected should be inside, e.g. at the Convention Hall, but not in a dinner setting. In order to create campaign excitement, a rally atmosphere was suggested.

- b. If the address were not the President's acceptance speech and there is only film coverage, it should also be held on Thursday, September 14, but in Charger Stadium (capacity 50,000). Admission would be by ticket and there would be pre-program entertainment and post-speech fireworks.

In view of the tenuous situation with the television networks, we recommend that the President deliver his acceptance speech at the Convention in Miami and that the speech in San Diego be considered as his initial campaign address. We also recommend that this address be delivered indoors on Thursday, September 14, 1972, at 7:00 p.m. The program would be developed in a rally type atmosphere and the President's address should be preceded with a procession of celebrities and entertainment. The site selected, such as the Convention Hall, might accommodate 5,000 people. Negotiations should be undertaken with one network to buy thirty minutes of time to broadcast the President's address.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

The major event on Friday, September 15, 1972, might be to have the President host a barbecue (or fish fry) at the residence in San Clemente either on the golf course or the area immediately to the east. Mike Duval has noted that "both areas at the residence could easily handle 1,000 plus."

Mike Duval has recommended that this event be held at noon, or in mid-afternoon, to permit the participants to fly home that evening.

Our view is that the event should be held from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. as the conclusion of a series of working sessions that would also be scheduled. (Our proposed agenda for the two days' activities, including the working sessions, is attached at Tab A.)

For our guidance, we would appreciate receiving your recommendation whether the event should be held at:

- a. Noon or mid-afternoon _____
- b. From 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. _____

4. Cost. It is estimated that, if all the proposed participants were invited, the two day program would cost approximately \$403,460. That estimate was based upon the following assumptions:

- a. Transportation. It was assumed that charter aircraft would be utilized to transport the surrogate candidates; the other members of the Cabinet; the other Republican Senators; the other Republican Congressmen; the Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads; the 1701 staff members; and, their spouses between Washington, D.C. and San Diego. That includes approximately 660 people, which would require five aircraft at approximately \$22,000 each. \$110,000

- It was also assumed that we would pay the cost of coach class, round trip transportation for the 300 campaign chairmen, campaign finance chairmen, campaign executive directors and their spouses, from their home states to San Diego 88,500

- b. Television Time. Thirty minutes of time for a network broadcast of the President's address on September 14, 1972, would cost between \$65,000 and \$85,000, depending upon the network and the number of affiliate feeds. 80,000

- c. Rooms. It was assumed that one-half the participants might arrive in San Diego on Wednesday evening and that the balance would arrive on the chartered aircraft on Thursday morning. It was also assumed that all the participants would overnight in San Diego on Thursday and Friday nights. The assumed room cost per person per night was \$20 for a single and \$25 for a double. 49,500

d. <u>Food.</u> It was assumed that lunch would be provided on Thursday; and, that breakfast and lunch would be provided on Friday. Other food costs would be borne by the individual participants.	31,600
e. <u>Barbecue.</u> It was assumed that the barbecue at the residence would cost approximately \$15.00 per person.	23,700
f. <u>Buses.</u> It was assumed that forty-three charter buses would be required to bus the participants between San Diego and San Clemente on Friday, September 15, 1972. The cost per bus for the six hour charter would be approximately \$120.	5,160
g. <u>Rally.</u> The cost of the rally on Thursday, September 14, 1972, was estimated at \$15,000.	<u>15,000</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$403,460</u>

It should be noted that the cost of the "Spirit of '76" and the cost of landscaping at the residence have not been included in the foregoing estimate.

If it were decided not to invite all the Republican Congressmen, the Assistant Secretaries, the Agency Heads and their spouses, the total number of participants would be reduced to approximately 1,120 participants. Accordingly, the cost of the program would be reduced and would amount to approximately \$309,000.

If the concept of the program is approved, it should be noted that planning should be commenced as promptly as possible. This is particularly true in connection with chartering the aircraft and buses and in negotiating for the television time.

cc: Mr. Herbert L. Porter

PROPOSED AGENDA

Thursday, September 14, 1972

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Arrival and check-in
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon, with address by Gov. Reagan (Host Governor)
2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Working sessions, with addresses by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Stans and Sen. Dole
6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Indoor rally, with celebrities and entertainment
7:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.	Address by the President
7:30 p.m. -	Staff time

Friday, September 15, 1972

7:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m.	Breakfast buffet
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Working sessions with addresses by Gov. Rockefeller, Sen. Goldwater, Sen. Scott and Cong. Ford
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon, with address by the Vice Presidential candidate
3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Bus participants to San Clemente
5:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Barbecue (or fish fry) at San Clemente
8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Return to San Diego

Committee for the Re-election of the President

May 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

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

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

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

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

*Representation
of various offices.*

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

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

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

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

Thursday, September 7

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

*community
concourse*

Friday, September 8

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

residence

residence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cc: JSM working
 JSM chron
 JSM subject
 HLP chron
 HLP subject
 JCH

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: L. HIGBY *L*

Now that Haldeman is locked into the Ehrlichman Monday/Thursday political meetings, we should make sure there is a Talking Paper prepared for him for each one of these meetings that raises, or gives him the opportunity to raise those subjects regarding the Campaign operation that need to be settled.

Will you please take this on as an assignment. Make sure that we have the Talking Paper by Wednesday at noon to review and that he has it in his Wednesday evening material each time.

Also, Magruder was supposed to be sending over to me a letter or memorandum of understanding on how the surrogate program was to work. Would you please make sure we get this from Magruder before the week is out.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1972

45
Make sure we
were talking
papers for
white office

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: L. HIGBY
SUBJECT: Daily Political Meetings

there
2/week
1000
mon +
Thurs

In his memorandum to you, April 29, (attached) the President raised with you the importance of meeting with the political group and developing the strategies with regard to the key Democratic candidates. This also raises once again the need you have expressed to establish a daily political meeting.

I would be my recommendation that you begin this meeting as soon as possible so that it is an operational fact, prior to the departure for Russia. Also, the meeting could be a convenient vehicle for making some long-term assignments that could be worked on during the Russian period.

Three immediate issues come to mind:

1. Strategy for all key candidates -- The meeting would comply with the President's request for our coordinated strategies on McGovern, Humphrey and Kennedy.
2. Our stance on the key issues -- Ehrlichman, for the past three weeks, I believe, was supposed to be developing these, but so far nothing has come about. The meeting would be a good vehicle to use to press Ehrlichman into action.

3. Political line -- The meeting could be used to set the appropriate political line on the issues raised in the morning News Summary that may be in doubt. It would act as a guidance vehicle, a check on Colson, and give Mitchell the feeling that this area is being pulled together.

Per your earlier instruction, the participants in the meeting would be Mitchell, Colson, Ehrlichman and MacGregor. If this is still the case, I would suggest that you hold the first meeting on Wednesday, May 3, immediately following the 8:15 a.m. staff meeting.

Gordon Strachan should sit in on these daily meetings as note-taker (although I'd sure like to do so).

Attachment

April 29, 1972

*Set up
all by here.*
C

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

THE PRESIDENT

I think it is important that you meet with the political group, including, of course, Mitchell and try to develop a strategy with regard to McGovern, Humphrey, and Teddy Kennedy. I want to be sure that we don't go off in all directions. By the end of next week I think we should pretty well have in mind what we expect is going to develop, and by that time, we should synchronize our own efforts to attempt to contribute to the kind of result we want. I would like to see a report on this by the end of next week.

*Mitchell
Max Hargis
Colson
F. B. Lichman*

RN:kb

1

Handwritten signature or name

Faint, illegible text or markings

News from the Committee for the Re-election of the President

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

FOR RELEASE, AM, MONDAY, JUNE 5

CONTACT: DeVan L. Shumway
202/333-7060
#5-41

NIXON CAMPAIGN STAFF

WASHINGTON -- John N. Mitchell, Campaign Director of the Committee for the Re-election of the President, today announced the positions held by certain key personnel of that committee.

Jeb S. Magruder of Los Angeles, former Deputy Director of Communications for the Executive Branch who has been serving as campaign coordinator since the Committee was formed in May, 1971, was named Chief of Staff.

Fred C. LaRue of Jackson, Miss. was appointed Special Assistant to the Campaign Director. He held the same post in the 1968 campaign and has also served as a Special Consultant to the President.

Harry S. Flemming of Alexandria, Va., and Robert C. Mardian of Pasadena, Calif., were named Special Assistants to the Campaign Director for Political Affairs.

Flemming, formerly a Special Assistant to the President and vice president of an electronics manufacturing firm, also published four weekly newspapers in Virginia.

Mardian is a former Vice President and General Counsel of Wesco Financial Corporation and its principal subsidiary, Mutual Savings and Loan Association. He recently resigned as an Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Mitchell also appointed three political coordinators.

Allan G. Kaupinen -- former executive with Procter and Gamble Co. in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York City. Now lives in Alexandria Virginia.

(more)

NIXON CAMPAIGN STAFF

Donald M. Mosiman of Indianapolis, Ind. -- former Deputy and Assistant Attorney General for the State of Indiana and an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1971 and early 1972.

Clayton Yeutter of Lincoln, Nebraska -- formerly an Executive Assistant to the Governor of Nebraska and past Chairman of the Board, Platte Valley Packing Co., Cozad, Neb.

Clifford A. Miller, a Los Angeles-based business and public relations consultant, will serve as Consultant to the Campaign Director.

Murray M. Chotiner of Springfield, Va., will serve as Director of Ballot Security. He is an experienced political organizer and lawyer in Washington, who has served as Special Counsel to the President.

Peter H. Dailey, President of Dailey and Associates, Los Angeles, is Director of Advertising, heading a campaign advertising task force in New York City known as the November Group.

Jon Foust of Hammond, Ind., Director of Surrogate Services, was formerly accounting manager of the Sacramento Regional Office of All State Insurance Co.

Mrs. Pat Hutar of Chicago, former Co-Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation (1961-63) and Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee (1963-64), is Director of Volunteers. She is presently Second Vice President of the National Federation of Republican Women.

Dr. Robert H. Marik of Agoura, Calif., Director of Planning and Research, holds a Ph.D. in chemical engineering from Carnegie Mellon University and a masters degree in Industrial Management from the University of Southern California. He has held several top management posts in research-oriented corporations.

Robert C. Odle, Jr. of Port Huron, Mich. is Director of Administration with responsibility for staffing and maintaining the campaign headquarters. A

(more)

NIXON CAMPAIGN STAFF

veteran of the 1968 campaign, he holds a law degree from The Detroit College of Law.

Herbert L. (Bart) Porter of Monrovia, Calif., Scheduling Director, is a former Vice President and Director of National Computing Industries, Phoenix.

Glenn J. Sedam, Jr. of Great Falls, Virginia, the Committee's General Counsel, was formerly with the Washington law firm of Steptoe and Johnson.

DeVan L. Shumway of Salt Lake City was appointed Director of Public Affairs. He was Western Political Editor of United Press International from 1963 to 1969, serving with UPI for 19 years.

Robert M. Teeter, Vice President of Market Opinion Research, Detroit, and former Field Representative for the Michigan Republican State Central Committee, will serve as Director of Polling.

In addition, Mr. Mitchell announced that Mrs. Nancy Brataas of Rochester, Minn. will serve as Director of Telephone Operations and L. Robert Morgan of Houston as Director of Direct Mail Operations assisting the Director of Planning and Research.

Mrs. Brataas was Minnesota Republican State Chairwoman for three terms (1963-69) and a delegate to the last three Republican National Conventions.

Morgan joined the Committee from the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation where he was Southwest Regional Sales Manager.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

April 13, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT: Voter Registration Test

In a recent meeting, Herman Bloom, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Committee for the Re-election of the President, presented a voter registration proposal. Ed DeBolt was of the opinion that the RNC "target" method produced more effective results. The meeting adjourned with the agreement that we test both methods and closely follow costs per new voter. The evaluation should be on cost per new voter and the number of new voters per volunteer.

The DeBolt voter registration technique is well known:

1. Volunteers gather on a Saturday.
2. Streets are assigned.
3. Volunteers knock on all doors and check on registration.
4. Volunteers meet back at the starting spot.
5. The names of the Republican leaning non-registered voters are given to the local organization to register.

The Bloom method works this way:

1. A list of registered voters is acquired on magnetic tape for a city.
2. This registration list is passed by a list of all households in the same area.
3. The non-registered voters are then printed out in two groups --
 - households with telephones
 - households with cars but no telephones or have unlisted telephones.

CONFIDENTIAL

4. Volunteers now call all non-registered voter households on the phone to determine their party preference. Then they have them registered by the local organization.
5. Volunteers go door to door only to those households without telephones to determine their party preference and then give the names to the local organization to register.

We are initiating this request instead of the field organization because the development of the registered voter list and the list of the other non-registered households come under the direct mail responsibility. The feasibility and techniques have been discussed with Harry Flemming's people and they look forward to a test as described. Herman Bloom has been discussing this with us and we in turn have been keeping Harry Flemming's people informed.

The budget to accomplish these tests will be spent on software, registered list acquisition, computer time to identify the non-registered households, putting the telephone numbers on the tape by computer and developing the computer printouts necessary to technically accomplish the test as designed.

Recommendation

That you approve a test in Pennsylvania that will evaluate both methods of voter registration. This test will not exceed \$4,500 in direct costs.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comments _____

X

CONFIDENTIAL

EM

Personnel - biggest prob
 - JSM area - no attend man
 Meekham - turned down
 - No adeq PR for C's -
 Miller is a mistake
 Only Angela Harris for FMS group
 Need new person

CWC proj mans terrible
 except for Rhatieon in
 PT area

- PR
 only
 no quality
- Cohen - worthless Yout
 - Evans - Older "Am
 - Balzano - " Ethnic
 - Maru/Konde - OK
 - Scott - Phuels - fair
 - Uets - Rhat - superb
 - Haber - Don Rodgers -
- no PT but OK

Solution:

- ① Hire PT types at 1701
- ② Rhatieon oversee
 PT consult consisten

Bups

Ethnic - De Falco leaving
 John Worth - begins Mex
 Pub Affs for Avon - Cliff White
 pushing

FM - Ethnic memo for JM.

All Const Gup Plans resolved w/ JM including labor -

Cits Plan -
~~Transients~~
Bill McAloo
Chuck Shearer - Cits
as assis

Meet w/
JM ~~come~~ next
week
w/ LaTendre

Pol Coordinators

Al Koupp - the best

Mosiman - pretty good

Flemm - open time ~~ful~~

May/Lahue MaRue
drinks w/ Jerry Jones
discussing

Jerry Jones - to call w/ form +
plan

Mardian - time, work
wasted - all direct
- shoots h/hip

- pumps in + out of proj
JM keeping him in line

Months
behind
rest of
camp/
under bad
guy for
every time

Bornes Coreneel - CD - 20 mins
on pol over - Most on agenda ^{leaves} fol 73

CWC → H ~~steps~~ appeal
on Blair Hse Dinner

Pol Mtg - Mon w/E

H/JM Mtg this

George Cable - Family in MB.
Conven Heng No family w/H at KB

Conven Mtg - yesterday Chaper

Rue w/FM / JM post
Ede staffing

April 30, 1972

H
FC
5/10

GS
Amy
Maggie

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JOHN MITCHELL

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

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

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

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

Mark

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

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

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

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

HRH:kb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5th

Note for Bob Haldeman -

I thought you would be interested
in the attached.



Fred Malek

Attachment

**Committee
for the Re-election
of the President**

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

May 30, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JEB S. MAGRUDER
~~FRED MALEK~~

FROM:

KEN RIETZ

I thought you would be interested in the attached articles from the student leaders press conference in Los Angeles Monday. A full report on press coverage is coming from Jack Easton.



CAMPUS BACKING FOR CHIEF EXECUTIVE TOLD IN CONFERENCE HERE
'Strong support' by more than 100 student leaders claimed by group

Herald-Examiner Photo

Students Tell Of Support For Nixon

Eleven college student body leaders from across the nation today declared their support for President Richard Nixon's re-election, adding that there is much more backing for him on the nation's campuses than most people realize.

The students, who said they have the backing of over 100 student leaders across the country, outlined their reasons for supporting Nixon at a news conference at the Los Angeles Press Club.

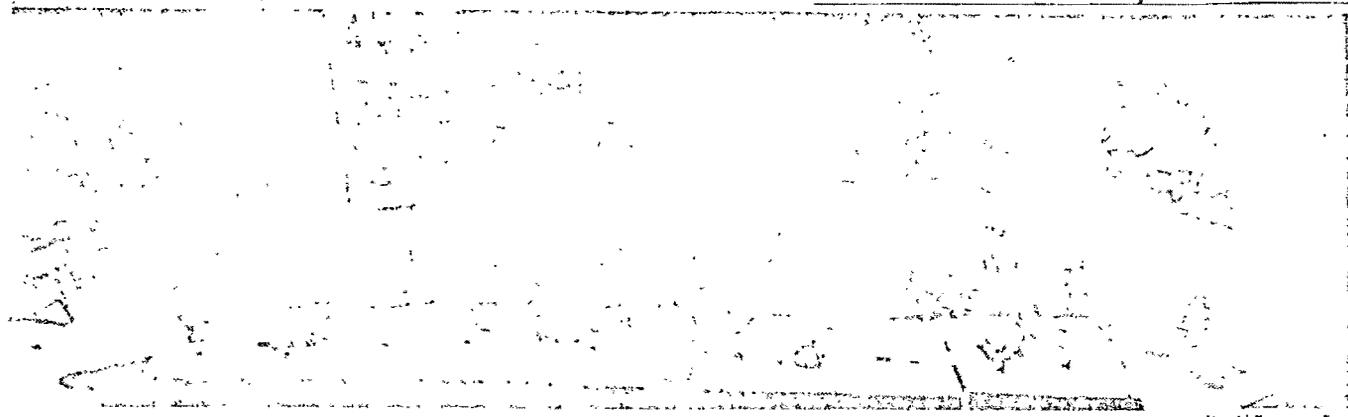
Kent Clemence, 22, student body president at the University of Southern California, said claims that "all the students" were against Nixon's policies were "hogwash," and that there was "strong" support for the President at USC.

John Ramey, 22, student body president at South Dakota State University, said a recent mock election on his campus in the home state of Sen. George McGovern was won by Nixon.

Ralph Anderson, 21, student body president at the University of Washington, said he is impressed with Nixon's foreign and domestic expertise.

Gregg Adams, 20, of Wabash University in Indiana, said he strongly agrees with Nixon's foreign policies, while Jeff Wiswell, 21, of the University of Wisconsin, sees the trip to China as a stroke of "diplomatic genius."

Mark Tullis, 21, of Brandeis University, said the President is "responsive to the needs of Americans," and Joe Piasta, 20, of the University of San Francisco, lauded Nixon's foreign and domestic policies.



Herald-Examiner Photo

PRESIDENT NIXON'S RE-ELECTION BOOSTED BY 11 COLLEGE STUDENT BODY LEADERS
Claim 'that all the students' were against the President's policies is labeled 'hogwash'

STUDENT LEADERS BOOST NIXON

President Richard Nixon's re-election has been boosted by 11 college student body leaders from across the country, who said there is more backing for the Chief Executive on the nation's campuses than most people realize.

The young leaders, who said they have the backing of more than 160 student leaders across the nation, outlined their reasons for supporting the President during a news conference yesterday at the Los Angeles Press Club.

Kent Clemence, 22, student body president at the University of Southern California, said claims that "all the students" were against Mr. Nixon's policies were "hogwash" and that there was "strong" support for the President at USC.

John Ranney, 22, student body president at South Dakota State University, said a recent mock election on his campus in the home state of Sen. George McGovern was won by President Nixon.

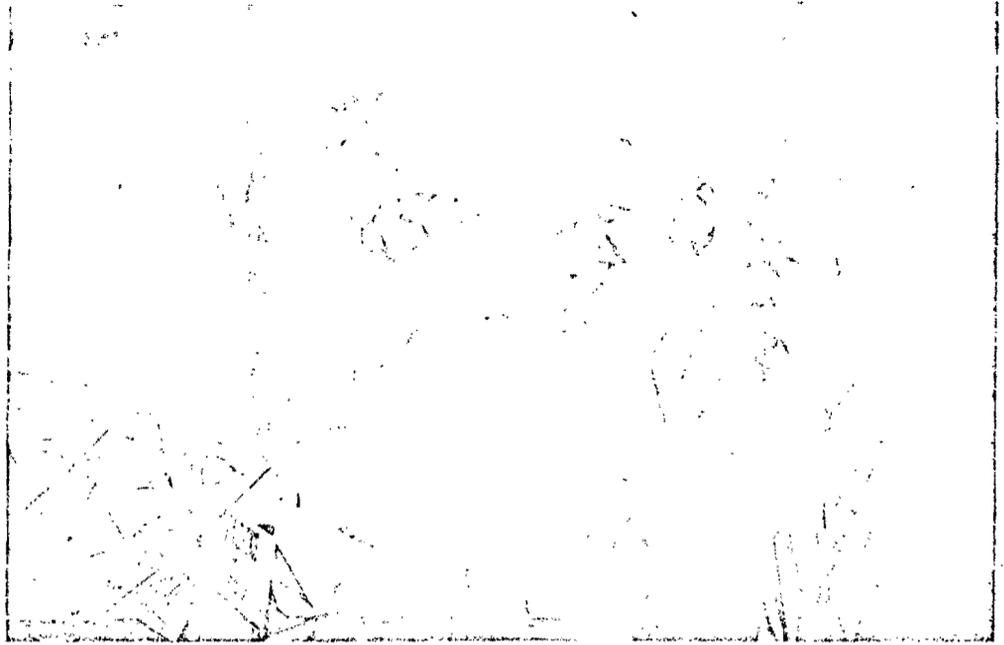
Ralph Anderson, 21, student

Nixon is "moving to meet our needs," and Roger L. Patrick Mosher, 22, of the University of Alabama, said the people of the South realize the President's controls impress him.

Gregg Adams, 20, of Wabash University in Indiana, said he agrees with the President's foreign policies, while Jeff Wisniewski, 21, of the University of Wisconsin, saw the trip to China as a stroke of "diplomatic genius."

Mark Tullis, 21, of Brandeis University, said the President is "responsive to the needs of Americans," and Lee Piasta, 20, of the University of San Francisco, lauded the President's foreign and domestic stands.

Bruce Bishop, 20, of Old Dominion College in Virginia, said



STUDENTS FOR NIXON—USC student body president Kent Clemence, second from right, speaks at news conference held here by student

leaders from 11 colleges across country. Clemence announced formation of group to organize students backing reelection of President Nixon. Times photo by Joe Kennedy

Student Leaders Launch Drive for Nixon Reelection

A drive to organize students who support President Nixon's bid for reelection was launched Monday by student body presidents from 11 colleges across the country.

Kent Clemence, student body president at USC, announced the formation of the Student Leaders for the President Committee and said the group would attempt to disprove that most students are opposed to President Nixon's policies and favor Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.) for President.

In a news conference at the Greater Los Angeles Press Club, 11 student leaders said the President's support on college campuses would become evident as the campaign starts.

Speaking of students who have demonstrated to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Clemence said:

"All students want peace. But the great bulk still want to show their own political leanings through the ballot box and not by rock throwing, burning ROTC buildings and seizing classrooms."

100 Return Pledges

In January, Clemence sent a letter seeking support for the President to the student body governments of about 500 schools. The result so far, he said, is more than 100 student leaders who have pledged their support. About 50 are student body presidents at junior colleges, colleges or universities.

The students attending the press conference represented 10 geographic parts of the country. Those from out of the Los Angeles area were flown here by the Committee to Reelect the President.

They indicated that support for Mr. Nixon already has surfaced in some mock elections held on college campuses that have resulted in the President defeating McGovern.

The home states of both McGovern and Gov. George Wallace were represented at the news conference.

Rever Lee, student body president at the University of Alabama, said he expected the President to "take the state" unless Wallace is the Democratic presidential nominee.

John Hanson, student body president at the University of South Dakota, also said that McGovern lacks widespread support among students in his home state.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM:

FRED MALEK *FM*

SUBJECT:

Weekly Activity Reports

Each of the Voting Bloc Directors submits a weekly activity report to me in addition to the regular meetings we hold. I thought the attached report outlined a sufficiently interesting activity to forward it to you.

Attachment

5/22

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

May 22, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED MALEK

FROM: FRANK NAYLOR

SUBJECT: Weekly Activity Report

1. Summary of Past Week

The veterans continued work with organized veteran groups to generate congressional mail in support of the President's Vietnam action. Efforts were concentrated at selected Senators during the latter part of the week.

Friday, Saturday and part of Sunday were spent in Wichita working with the Gold Star Mothers, the Jaycees and the American Legion. Plans were finalized for parades which were held to support the President's recent actions and petition efforts were developed which took place over the weekend. A large 39' x 72' flag, manufactured by the Gold Star Mothers, was erected on a major downtown building in Wichita and this activity received good regional press coverage. Three Gold Star Mothers who lost sons in Vietnam will travel to Washington from Wichita, Kansas, to present a petition at the White House on Tuesday, the 23rd.

On Thursday a meeting was held in Kansas City, Missouri, with the Executive heads of the VFW, Julian Dickson and Curt Jewell, and the head of the ladies auxiliary. Appreciation for their support and work on behalf of the President was expressed and upcoming campaign activities were reviewed.

State chairmen for the Veterans Committee were named in Illinois and California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo to Fred Malek

-2-

May 22, 1972

2. Problems - None

3. Major Activities Planned for Coming Week

- Presentation of petition by Gold Star Mothers and Kansas State American Legion Commander on Tuesday, the 23rd, at the White House. Arrangements for press coverage of event are being made.
- Selection of balance of veterans chairmen in key states.
- Development of veterans chairmen handbook.
- Setting up of schedule for field meetings with the veterans state chairmen who have been appointed.

4. Travel - None

5. Personnel

Laughlin Waters - California Veterans Chairman

Al Keller - Illinois Veterans Chairman

CONFIDENTIAL