

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> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 33 | 1 | 6/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From JPS to RN. This document discusses the Presidential race including the Democratic situation, strategy against McGovern, intra-party disagreements, organizational programs, etc. 8 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert C. Odle, Jr. to Robert C. Mardian. RE: Finance Guidelines for State Chairman. 13 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 5/17/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jeb S. Magruder to John Mitchell. RE: Common Cause Suit Against TRW, Inc. Possible Intervention. 2 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Herbert L. Porter through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Proposed Fund-Raising Cocktail Reception Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 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> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---|
| 33 | 1 | 6/19/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Jon A. Foust through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: D.C. Finance Committee Fund Raising Dinner. 1 pg. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/2/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Herbert L. Porter through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell and Maurice H. Stans. RE: Vice President Golf Tournament Newport Beach, California. 1 pg. |
| 33 | 1 | 5/11/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert H. Marik through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Congressional Campaign. 4 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/9/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Robert C. Odle, Jr. through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell and Maurice H. Stans. This document discusses claims against the Republican National Convention in San Diego. 3 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/20/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Herbert L. Porter through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Request that Governor Rockefeller Address the Connecticut Republican State Central Committee Dinner October 4, 1972. 2 pgs. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| 33 | 1 | 6/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Bob Morgan through Jeb Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: New Compass Systems Contract. 12 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Herbert L. Porter to Jeb S. Magruder. RE: Arkansas Republican State Committee Fund-Raising Dinner, Little Rock, Arkansas. 1 pg. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/13/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From L. Robert Morgan through Jeb S. Magruder to John N. Mitchell. RE: Ohio-Financial Support for the Data Base. 1 pg. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/17/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Dick Moore to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Campaign Contributors. 20 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/6/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Gordon Strachan to Dave Gergen. RE: Draft Letter. 5 pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---|
| 33 | 1 | 5/22/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Newsletter | From the Republican National Finance Committee. Title: Because of the New Tax Law Giving Costs Less. 4 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 6/29/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Gordon Strachan to H.R. Haldeman. RE: Lyn Nofziger - California. 5 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | 5/18/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Gordon Strachan, RE: Follow-up. 4 pgs. |
| 33 | 1 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Other Document | Handwritten Note. This document covers numerous topics time cover, ambassadors, options, etc. 7 pgs. |

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: H. R. Haldeman
Box Number: 313

Folder: Campaign 22 Part I June 15-29, 1972 [Folder 1]

| <u>Document</u> | <u>Disposition</u> |
|-----------------|--|
| 1 | Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Memo, Strachan to HRH, 6-29-72 |
| 2 | Retain Close Invasion of Privacy Notes, "H. Pol. Mats, " 7-1-[72] |
| 3 | Return Private/Political Memo, JPS to RN, 6-26-72 |
| 4 | Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mardian, 6-8-72 |
| 5 | Return Private/Political Memo, Magruder to Mitchell, 5-17-72 |
| 6 | Return Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 6-6-72 |
| 7 | Return Private/Political Memo, Foust to Mitchell, 6-19-72 |
| 8 | Return Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell & Stans, 6-2-72 |
| 9 | Return Private/Political Memo, Marik to Mitchell, 5-11-72 |
| 10 | Return Private/Political Memo, Odle to Mitchell & Stans, 6-9-72 |
| 11 | Return Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 6-20-72 |
| 12 | Return Private/Political Memo, Morgan to Mitchell, 6-6-72 |
| 13 | Return Private/Political Memo, Porter to Mitchell, 6-1-72 |
| 14 | Return Private/Political Memo, Morgan to Mitchell, 6-13-72 |
| 15 | Retain Open |
| 16 | Return Private/Political Memo, Moore to HRH, 6-17-72 |
| 17 | Return Private/Political Note, Gergen to Strachan, 6-6-72 |
| 18 | Return Private/Political & Private/Personal "Because of the..." n.d. |
| 19 | Retain Open |
| 20 | Retain Close Agency Policy Note, "Deval/Henkel, " 6-27-[72] |
| 21 | Return Private/Political Memo, Strachan to HRH, 6-29-72 |
| 22 | Return Private/Political Note, "Jim Rolstad, " n.d. |
| 23 | Return Private/Political Notes, "Time Cover, " n.d. |

MEMORANDUM

TO: RN
FROM: JPS

June 26, 1972

I. Democratic Situation

The Democrats are on the verge of providing us with a magnificent opportunity by nominating a Presidential candidate whom a majority of their party does not want. In the name of "reform", the Democrats have allowed the control of their party to pass into the hands of an ultra liberal, activist minority which is unrepresentative of any of the former factions of the old coalition, (Southern Democrats, labor, ethnics and minorities).

The key to taking advantage of the situation does not involve labeling McGovern as an ultra-liberal, however. Keeping in mind that the extra votes which we will be aiming for are people who have voted Democratic automatically most of their lives, the wrong thing to do would be to group McGovern as a liberal and us as conservatives; most Democrats still feel "liberal" is a good word.

Although he will attempt to hide his strategy, McGovern will wage a large state campaign (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Washington, Oregon and California) which would yield just enough electoral votes to win (276). Additional states where he will make an

effort are Maryland, West Virginia, Hawaii, Alaska, North Dakota and South Dakota (31 electoral votes). The rest of the country he will concede. It is important for us to keep this in mind in planning our own strategy since it will mean that we will have the capability of concentrating our own finances, strategy and organizational talents in the few states which he means to contest.

On the Vice Presidency, I still think he will choose some one from a large state which we carried in 1968 (California, Illinois, Ohio or New Jersey). The possibilities here are rather limited (Tunney, Stevenson and Gilligan) and the strongest possibility would be Stevenson. His other possible approach would be to select some one who would be pleasing to organized labor but there doesn't seem to be any obvious choice in this regard. I doubt seriously if Senator Kennedy would accept a Vice Presidential nomination. Abe Ribicoff might have some attraction because of his following in the Jewish and Black communities but he would not run well in the mid-West where McGovern needs desperately to win. Most of the other non-Southern Senators and Governors are not well enough known, would not take it or are too battle scarred.

It would be a mistake to feel that we are looking ahead to a victory of Goldwater purportions since (1) the press will help McGovern to look more reasonable than Goldwater did and (2) the McGovern people, different from Goldwater, realize that they must move toward the center in order to win. We, however, can keep the press honest if we go about it correctly.

II. Strategy Against McGovern

In most incumbent races the incumbent has most of the advantages and only one disadvantage — to a certain extent he is on the defensive since his non-incumbent opponent is constantly alleging a failure to perform adequately in office. We have a unique opportunity to remove this one advantage of non-incumbency from McGovern.

A. Intra-Party Disagreements

Over the next few weeks, both before and after the Democratic convention, Humphrey, Muskie, Jackson and others can be counted upon to disagree pointedly and often with many of McGovern's stands. We should do nothing to interrupt this process since the most damning criticism against any man are the words of people in his own party. Any criticism of his stands which come from us during this period will harm the credibility of our disagreements against him in the fall. If we can succeed in making the same criticisms of McGovern which Democrats are used to hearing from other Democrats, we'll have made a great stride toward gaining the support of many Democratic voters in the fall.

B. Labels and Personalities v/v The Issues

In most Presidential elections there really are no issues which are clear enough for the people to understand since both candidates are trying to seek the votes of a broad center of the populace and usually agree in principal on the larger issues in foreign and domestic policy. Therefore, in past elections, so called issue

debates have degenerated into a difference of means to accomplish agreed upon ends, which leave the voter in a state of confusion and force him to make his choice on the basis of personality, philosophical label or party loyalty.

A McGovern candidacy represents a rather drastic difference of opinion about ends, both in foreign and domestic policy. We therefore have the opportunity, if we can discipline ourselves to stick to the differences in ends between the two candidates, to wage a campaign based solely on the issues. The more we stray from this discipline and rely on personality, philosophical labels, or fear tactics, the more we give McGovern, with the cooperation of the press, the chance to represent that he is not as bad as we say he is, that we are unfairly characterizing him and we lose the value of the obvious difference that exists between RN and McGovern on ends.

C. Scheduling

RN should ignore the fact that there is an election campaign going on. Some large rallies and public appearances can be scheduled in October but as much as possible it should appear that RN is too busy with the affairs of state to pay too much attention to the election. The Vice Presidential candidate on the other hand should have an extremely full schedule starting the day after Labor Day. He should attack McGovern on the issues every day demanding answers to questions raised by McGovern's programs to redistribute wealth, guarantee income, cut defense spending, etc. The Vice President should have

"a-question-a-day" for George McGovern which will create constant pressure on him to start answering the charges of the Vice President. If this is done correctly, the Vice President will be on the news each day with his new question, McGovern will be forced to spend much of his time answering our charges and little attacking the Administration and, since his answers will never quite catch up with the questions, we will be constantly raising new doubts about him in the minds of the voters. Some original thinking should go into formulating these questions so that we can use the most damaging ones with the proper timing to keep the emotions of the campaign at a high pitch and be sure to create hard news every day. Some attention should be given to rifle-shotting many of these questions to appeal to Jews, the laboring man and Catholic ethnics. Of course, the questions should be used to keep the Democrats divided on the issues.

Once again, the Vice President should never refer to liberals or conservatives or use trick phrases to characterize McGovern as a radical. We are after normally Democratic voters who will begin to feel sorry for their party if they feel we are being underhanded or unfair in our criticism.

D. Organizational Programs

Special efforts should be made to isolate and inform the conservative Democratic vote in all the states where McGovern will concentrate his campaign. In Michigan, for

instance, this consists of the laboring and ethnic vote in and around Wayne County which supported George Wallace in the primary. In the other states it will involve a much more aggressive campaign in the large cities than we have ever waged before. The Vice President should be seen in union halls and at ethnic picnics and outings which the Democrats are used to attending. If we can go over the heads of the labor leaders to their constituency, at the very least, McGovern will have to spend a great deal of time trying to recapture votes which a Democrat normally gets by default.

E. Helping the Remainder of the Ticket

If we can succeed in grabbing the initiative, thereby placing McGovern on the defensive during the first weeks of the campaign, many Democrats, especially in those states outside McGovern's projected target areas, will lose interest in the top of the ticket and devote most of their attention to saving Gubernatorial, Senatorial and Congressional seats. This will happen quite swiftly in the South and, later, on a state by state basis in the smaller states in the middle and far west. Of course all of our candidates in these areas should be reminded to run against McGovern (and not their opponent) but in aid of their success we should: (1) see that we adequately coordinate the questions which we will be asking of McGovern with local candidates so that they may use them to embarrass their opponents; (2) coordinate all local efforts to ask voters to vote the straight Nixon ticket in order to preempt the predictable ticket splitting efforts by the Democrats;

(3) coordinate advertising efforts to include the names of local candidates on billboards and T.V. spots. While the Vice Presidential candidate will be useful in trying to convert labor and ethnic votes in the larger states, he should also be used to assist the local candidates in areas where we can make some headway.

III. General Observations and Summary

We can place McGovern on the defensive by sticking to the "ends" differences between Nixon and McGovern. This battle should be carried by the Vice Presidential candidate without use of name calling, philosophical labels or sheer fear tactics. McGovern should be confronted with a "question-a-day" and forced to answer on the substance of his proposals.

If this strategy is successful, it will result in (1) hard political news on a daily basis; (2) continued division among Democratic politicians and voters; (3) a continuing conflict between the Republican Vice Presidential candidate and McGovern which will keep RN above the battle in a statesman-like position and (4) a failure on McGovern's part ever to successfully bring criticism to bear on the Nixon Administration.

One general observation: in 1968 we spent a tremendous amount of money on television advertising, much of which was unproductive and even boring by the end of the campaign. There is no doubt that the value of political advertising is suspect these days since the voters are unwilling to believe self-serving statements of any kind from the candidates themselves. The "question-a-day" approach mentioned above is intended to guarantee daily news coverage on the 6 o'clock news shows which still is of

great value because such coverage comes from an objective source. I would hope to some degree, if the "question-a-day" method is successful, we could tailor much of our spot advertising to those questions which seem to provoke the most interest among the electorate. The value in this approach is to first interest the voters from an objective source (the 6 o'clock news) and then reiterate the most telling points by our advertising. By first testing these items through the news media we gain credibility for each point and then can properly select which we should drum home through spot advertising.

X

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 8, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. ROBERT C. MARDIAN

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

SUBJECT: Finance Guidelines for State Chairmen

Pursuant to our agreement in the meeting with Mr. Mitchell earlier this week I have revised the suggested guidelines for state chairmen and am submitting them to you and the other political coordinators for your joint review and possible revision. I would suggest the following course of action: (a) joint review by the five political coordinators and Fred LaRue; (b) review and approval by Mr. Stans; (c) final approval by Mr. Mitchell; and, (d) transmission to the state chairmen.

In revising the guidelines I have consulted closely with our counsel Glenn Sedam, and Finance's counsel and treasurer, Gordon Liddy and Hugh Sloan. All of us are in agreement and Gordon and Hugh believe that the attached represents Mr. Stans' thinking as well.

The following comments on each may be helpful:

POLICY FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

This is Mr. Stans' exact wording. I see no problem here.

POLICY FOR CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

1. We all, I think, agree here.
2. The suggested budgetary allocations for the states and the percentages have been submitted by November Group, based on electoral votes and 1968 patterns. Basically, we have deducted 15% from the \$1.5 million in the national budget and apportioned that sum among the states. The 15% would be a reserve. You may wish to change both the figures for the states and the percentage formula.

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

As you will note I have suggested the insertion of a line which would allow one of the five national political coordinators to change the percentage of a state upon application by the state.

3. This language was suggested by Mr. Stans in a budget committee meeting. Instead, however, of talking about the proceeds of a sale as a budget supplement I talked about what could be done with the proceeds, i.e., order more materials. Sloan and Liddy seemed to agree with this.

4. I am suggesting 80% of the materials be in bumperstickers, literature, etc., as opposed to jewelry, unless the political coordinator decides otherwise. November Group agrees with the 80% figure.

5. Political coordinator added, per Mr. Flemming's suggestion.

6. Rewritten per Mr. Mitchell's suggestion.

9. This will make things easier. The catalog will quote prices which include postage and handling. Unfortunately, the catalog won't be available until the first part of July.

POLICY FOR LOCAL STOREFRONTS

Our job here was to let the state chairmen know that storefronts outside the state budgets which might be programmed by a state were illegal; while at the same time not discouraging them from allowing their local and county groups to have them if they are genuinely local in nature. Perhaps you'll want to rework some of the language here. This is one area where the additional funds spent, i.e., the money spent on the storefronts, is not a permissible addition to the state budget since theoretically this is not a state, but a local, activity.

POLICY FOR SPEAKERS AND SURROGATES

1. Political events. The point we wish to make here is that the sponsor pays unless the sponsor is a state re-elect committee. If it is, and if 1701 has sent in the speaker for its own purposes, then we pay. If, on the other hand, 1701 is responding to a request for a speaker, the state pays. Monies a state raises in such cases constitute a permissible amendment to a state budget.

2. Fund raising events. You may wish to leave this out. This has, however, been approved previously by Mr. Stans.

3. Official events. There was an objection to the manner in which this was previously stated at the meeting with Mr. Mitchell. Perhaps this new language will avoid the problem mentioned in the meeting.

4. Nonpartisan events. This language was also modified.

cc: Mr. Harry S. Flemming
Mr. Allan G. Kaupinen
Mr. Fred LaRue
Mr. Jeb S. Magruder
Mr. Donald Mosiman
Dr. Clayton Yeutter

~~cc:~~ Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

POLICY FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The new Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 requires that no committee may solicit or receive contributions or make expenditures on behalf of a candidate for Federal office, such as the President, without specific authorization in writing from the candidate. The President has delegated the power to give such authorization to the Chairman and Treasurer of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, who are Maurice H. Stans and Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.

It is vital under the law that all money matters be coordinated closely with the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President in Washington. We bring this matter to your attention promptly in order that all persons working for the re-election of the President not inadvertently violate the new Federal law in their zeal to help the campaign. Fund raising and disbursing cannot take place without specific authorization.

The best practical way to handle the problem is to contact Mr. Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., Treasurer of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, prior to any attempt to raise funds in a manner in any way connected with the campaign for re-election of the President.

The following is a formal statement dealing with this legal provision in more detail.

The President has by letter of May 18, 1972, to Mr. Maurice H. Stans, Chairman of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, delegated to him (or his Treasurer, for him) the power to authorize committees to solicit and receive contributions on behalf of the President's candidacy.

As a result of the President's action, it is unlawful under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-225) for any group not authorized in writing by Mr. Stans or his Treasurer, Hugh W. Sloan, Jr., to solicit or receive contributions on behalf of the candidacy of the President for re-election, unless it places a notice on the face or front page of all literature and advertisements published in connection with the President's campaign by such committee, or on its behalf, stating that the committee is not authorized by the President and that the President is not responsible for the activities of such committee.

POLICY FOR CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

The budgeting and financing of campaign materials (brochures, leaflets, bumper stickers, pins, etc.) is to be handled as follows:

1. State operating budgets submitted to the National Committee for the Re-election of the President should not include funds for campaign materials.
2. A separate budgetary allocation from the national committee's budget for such materials will be made and each state chairman will be able to draw against that allocation. The budgetary allocation for the state of _____ is \$ _____ in campaign materials.

These materials cannot be ordered all at once but in stages according to the following formula:

- Up to 20% from July 15 until August 15;
- Up to 50% from August 25 until September 15;
- Up to 90% from September 16 to October 15; and
- 100% by November 4.

This formula may however be altered on application of the state chairman by the national political coordinator who has responsibility for the state.

3. Any money a state committee makes from the sale of the above materials may be used to purchase additional materials beyond the budgetary allocation mentioned above. However, all proceeds from the sale of campaign materials must be turned over to the treasurer of the state Nixon finance committee. The November Group would then honor a check from the state treasurer for additional materials beyond those allowed by the state's budgetary allocation. In other words, the more money a state makes from the sale of materials received under its budgetary allocation, the more materials it can order from the proceeds of the sales.
4. It is the responsibility of the state chairman to evaluate priorities between and among the materials which are available, e.g., bumperstickers vs. leaflets. However, at least 80% of the materials must be in bumperstickers, buttons, ballons, or literature, unless the state's national political coordinator approves otherwise.
5. The November Group will provide each state chairman and the national

political coordinator for that state with a monthly accounting of purchases, including cumulative totals.

6. Campaign materials may not be purchased with funds received through the ordinary fund raising process. Monies received, however, from the sale of campaign materials may be used to purchase additional materials as outlined in #3 above. In other words, a state can't raise money to buy materials but it can sell materials to buy materials.
7. Local campaign committees are to obtain materials from the applicable state chairman.
8. All campaign materials used must be approved by the November Group.
9. The cost of shipping materials will be paid by the November Group because it has been included in the price of the materials.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

CC: PETER H. DAILEY
MICHAEL FEINRICH
PHIL JOANOU
MICHAEL LESSER
JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: MICHAEL SCOTT

Attached is the final, typed version of the state promotion budgets, which we discussed last week.

As I mentioned, the states turned out to be quite close to the positions they occupied in terms of 1968 ordering (e.g. California, New York and Illinois, etc. top orderers and so on down to Hawaii. D.C. is the notable exception ... in '68, they ordered big because they were a re-distribution center.)

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.
 FROM: MICHAEL SCOTT
 SUBJECT: State Promotional Material Budgets

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> | <u>Budget</u> |
|----------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Alaska | 3 | \$ 7,110 |
| Alabama | 9 | 21,330 |
| Arizona | 6 | 14,220 |
| Arkansas | 6 | 14,220 |
| California | 45 | 106,650 |
| Colorado | 7 | 16,590 |
| Connecticut | 8 | 18,960 |
| Delaware | 3 | 7,110 |
| Florida | 17 | 40,290 |
| Georgia | 12 | 28,440 |
| Hawaii | 1 | 2,370 |
| Idaho | 4 | 9,480 |
| Illinois | 26 | 61,620 |
| Indiana | 13 | 30,810 |
| Iowa | 8 | 18,960 |
| Kansas | 7 | 16,590 |
| Kentucky | 9 | 21,330 |
| Louisiana | 10 | 23,700 |
| Maine | 4 | 9,480 |
| Maryland | 10 | 23,700 |
| Massachusetts | 14 | 33,180 |
| Michigan | 21 | 49,770 |
| Minnesota | 10 | 23,700 |
| Mississippi | 7 | 16,590 |
| Missouri | 12 | 28,440 |
| Montana | 4 | 9,480 |
| New York | 41 | 97,170 |
| Nebraska | 5 | 11,850 |
| Nevada | 3 | 7,110 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | 9,480 |
| New Jersey | 17 | 40,290 |
| New Mexico | 4 | 9,480 |
| North Carolina | 13 | 30,810 |
| North Dakota | 3 | 7,110 |
| Ohio | 25 | 59,250 |
| Oklahoma | 8 | 18,960 |
| Oregon | 6 | 14,220 |

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM : R. Odle

June 6, 1972

| <u>State</u> | <u>Electoral Votes</u> | <u>Budget</u> |
|----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Pennsylvania | 27 | \$ 63,990 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | 9,480 |
| South Carolina | 8 | 18,960 |
| South Dakota | 4 | 9,480 |
| Tennessee | 10 | 23,700 |
| Texas | 26 | 61,620 |
| Utah | 4 | 9,480 |
| Vermont | 3 | 7,110 |
| Virginia | 12 | 28,440 |
| Washington | 9 | 21,330 |
| West Virginia | 6 | 14,220 |
| Wisconsin | 11 | 26,070 |
| Wyoming | 3 | 7,110 |
| District of Columbia | 3 | 7,110 |

Although there was no real pattern in 1968, it seems at least reasonable to set up the following ordering pattern based on 1968 figures and common sense:

- Of their total for the whole campaign, states should be allowed to order:

Up to 20% from Inception (say July 15) to August 15, 1972

21% to 50% from August 25 to September 15, 1972

51% to 90% September 16, 1972 to October 15, 1972.

91% on up from October 16, 1972 to November 4, 1972 (Saturday before Election)

-- with a moratorium on ordering from August 15 to 25...i.e. the time surrounding the Convention.

POLICY FOR LOCAL STOREFRONTS

All state headquarters and sub-headquarters must be in the state budget submitted to and approved by the National Committee for the Re-election of the President, so that the expenditures may be properly reported under the provisions of the new federal campaign law. A state chairman may, however, encounter enthusiastic local and/or county groups who proceed to set up neighborhood storefronts. In such cases, the following guidelines should be observed:

1. Neither a state Nixon committee nor the national Nixon committee shall accept or incur any legal or financial responsibility for the actions or expenditures of the local sponsoring group.
2. Funding shall be the responsibility exclusively of the sponsoring local campaign committee.
3. Neither the operating budget nor actual expenditures for a local storefront may exceed \$1,000. Should this occur, either deliberately or inadvertently, the local group would become a reporting committee and would have to register with the Comptroller General and report its expenditures in accordance with provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.
4. Those in charge of the storefront should be sent a letter by the state chairman outlining the points 1-3 made above. A copy of that letter should be retained in the state chairman's files.

A state chairman must utilize his best diplomatic skills in such situations in order that he not discourage local initiative and enthusiasm while at the same time firmly insuring that all the activities in his state comply with the new federal requirements. For a state to give the appearance that it had "programmed" a network of storefronts outside its budget (and therefore not reported) would violate at least the spirit of the law.

POLICY FOR SPEAKERS AND SURROGATES

1. Political Events

The costs associated with the appearance of a speaker scheduled through the Committee for the Re-election of the President at a political event which is not a fund-raising event, or which is scheduled in conjunction with a fund-raising event, are to be borne by the sponsoring organization, unless the sponsor is a state Committee for the Re-election of the President. If the event is sponsored by a state Committee for the Re-election of the President, the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President will bear the expenses if the national Committee has placed the speaker in the state for its own purposes as opposed to responding to a request from a state for a speaker. In the latter situation, the state re-elect committee or the requesting sponsor must bear the expenses. Monies raised locally to finance such expenses will be regarded as a permissible amendment of a state budget as long as all monies raised are turned into the state re-elect treasurer. States are encouraged to raise money for such purposes.

The costs include the following:

- A. Round-trip coach fare for the speaker's advanceman. (The sponsor will be requested to mail to us a ticket for this purpose in advance);
- B. Round-trip first class airfare for the speaker and his party. Several of the speakers are required to use private aircraft. (Suggestions on the availability of private aircraft would facilitate matters and, possibly, reduce the cost. Aircraft belonging to corporations, if used, must be paid for at the going rate.)
- C. Expenses incurred by the speaker, his advanceman and his party for hotel accommodations, including automobile rentals; and expenses incurred in connection with the provision of necessary supplies and services.

The expenses should be billed directly to the sponsoring organization, unless the event is one the expenses of which are to be borne by the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President.

2. Fund-Raising Events

With respect to political fund-raising events, the policy is that appearances are to be accepted only on the following conditions:

- A. If the fund-raising event is sponsored by a regular Republican organization for its general budgetary or campaign purposes and the speaker is:

1. a member of the First Family,
2. a surrogate candidate (attached list),
3. a member of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, or
4. a Republican Senator or Governor and his appearance has been scheduled by the Spokesmen Resources Division,

the appearance will be subject to the payment of 10% of the gross proceeds to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. If the speaker is the Vice President, his appearance will be subject to the payment of 15% of the gross proceeds to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. In addition, the sponsor must bear all the expenses associated with the speaker's appearance.

B. If the fund-raising event is sponsored by:

1. a state or local Finance Committee to Re-elect the President and by a regular Republican organization jointly; and
2. the state or local Finance Committee to Re-elect the President receives at least 50% of the net proceeds,

the sponsors must bear all the expense associated with the speaker's appearance. (The 10% rule would become effective only if the state Finance Committee to Re-elect the President were to agree to receive less than 50% of the net proceeds.)

C. If the fund-raising event is sponsored by a candidate or by a regular Republican organization for the benefit of a political candidate other than the President and the speaker is:

1. a member of the First Family,
2. a surrogate candidate
3. a member of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government,

the appearance will be subject to the payment of 10% of the gross proceeds to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. If the speaker is the Vice President, his appearance will be subject to the payment of 15% of the gross proceeds to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. In addition, the sponsor must bear all the expenses associated with the speaker's appearance. (It should be noted that the rule described in this paragraph differs from the rule described in paragraph 1 in that the 10% rule does not apply if the speaker is a Republican Senator or Governor who is not a surrogate candidate. Of course, the sponsor must bear the speaker's expenses.)

- D. If the fund-raising event is sponsored solely by a state or local Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, the sponsor must bear all the expenses associated with the speaker's appearance.
- E. The only general exception to the 10% rule is that it does not apply in instances where the speaker (other than the Vice President or a member of the First Family) is appearing at a fund-raising event in his or her home constituency. In scheduling, priority must be given to events described in paragraphs B and D.

3. Official Events

State Committees will not be involved with official events because the costs associated with an appearance by a speaker at an official event, such as the Secretary of Agriculture speaking before a farm convention, are borne by the appropriate department or governmental agency. There must be a substantive reason for the speaker's appearance and the speaker's department or agency will be the final arbiter on the question whether the event is official in character. It should be noted that Senators and Congressmen have no funds for such activity, so this rule applies only in case of Executive Branch personnel.

4. Nonpartisan Events

The costs associated with an appearance by a speaker at a nonpartisan convention or meeting, such as a Chamber of Commerce or Kiwanis Club gathering, will be paid by the sponsoring organization, so, technically, the state Committee will not be involved in these kind of events either.

X

FINANCE COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

May 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Common Cause suit against TRW, Inc.
Possible intervention

You will note from the clipping attached at Tab A that John Gardner's Common Cause has filed a test case against TRW, Inc. which maintains a political fund such as that sanctioned by Section 610 of Title 18, United States Code, as amended by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. The theory is an alleged conflict of Sections 610 and 611 of Title 18 with which you are familiar.

Gordon Liddy advises that Secretary Stans is very much concerned that the effect of the suit will be to deny us a substantial amount of money we might otherwise expect to receive in contributions. Gordon says that Secretary Stans wants him to take the necessary legal steps to intervene in behalf of the Finance Committee. He adds that Secretary Stans wishes our input on the political consequences before taking such a step.

Gordon has already discussed this matter with John Dean who objects strongly. Dean suggests as an alternative that we attempt to have the United States Chamber of Commerce intervene and seek the declaratory judgment Secretary Stans desires.

Gordon Liddy informs me that Secretary Stans will be calling you about this matter.

*Passel-
NW*

Suit Attacks Political Funds

By JAMES R. POLK
Special to The Star

A legal drive to ban campaign contributions allegedly sponsored by government contractors was launched in federal court here today.

Common Cause, the citizens' reform lobby, filed the test case against TRW Inc., a major aerospace firm with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio.

The TRW Good Government Fund, financed by contributions from executives and other employees, passed out more

than \$150,000 in the 1970 elections.

The lawsuit charged the donations are illegal under a section of the new campaign reform law which forbids any government contractor to solicit political funds or "directly or indirectly make any contribution of money . . . to any political party, committee or candidate for public office . . ."

If Common Cause wins the test, it could choke off hundreds of thousands of dol-

lars from not only defense firms but all other companies doing business with the government.

The law allows corporations to set up separate political funds based on executives' contributions, but Section 611 bars the indirect campaign help by anyone holding a federal contract.

The threat of such a legal challenge has caused many companies to hesitate in registering their political funds under the new law. "This has a

lot of programs on ice, just kind of in limbo," said an industry spokesman.

TRW, Hughes Aircraft, Northrop, and Olin Corp. are the only major defense contractors to register so far.

Other political funds are known to have operated in the past at such defense firms as Ling-Temco-Vought, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric, Union Carbide and several others.

The Justice Department has been wrestling for weeks with the question of whether political committees set up inside such firms would be legal, but still had not reached a decision when the case was taken to court today.

Common Cause charged, "At stake is the integrity of our political process which is being corrupted by the millions of dollars in campaign contributions made by government contractors."

TRW, which produced the lunar descent engine for the Apollo missions to the moon, holds more than \$235 million in Pentagon and space contracts.

TRW collects campaign contributions through a voluntary checkoff system among its employees in plants throughout the nation. Earmarked donations are sent directly to the candidates designated by the various workers, while officials of the fund control the distribution of the rest of the money.

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Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 6, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER *Bar*

SUBJECT: Proposed Fund-Raising
Cocktail Reception
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

We have received an invitation from Mr. Frank McGlinn, Finance Chairman of our Committee in Philadelphia, inviting you and Mrs. Mitchell to attend and make a few informal remarks at a proposed cocktail reception on Thursday; June 29, 1972, from 4:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. at the Bellevue-Stratford in Philadelphia.

The expected attendance is approximately 1,000 persons at \$100 per person.

Should you plan to attend, the Pennsylvania Finance Committee will arrange for a plane to transport you and Mrs. Mitchell between Washington and Philadelphia.

This invitation is recommended to you by Messrs. Mosiman and Stans.

We would appreciate it if you would let us know at your earliest convenience whether you will accept this invitation.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

*Ward X
DDE*

Committee for the Re-election of the President

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MEMORANDUM

June 19, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: JON A. FOUST *Foust*
SUBJECT: D. C. Finance Committee Fund Raising Dinner

Surrogate Governor Winfield Dunn of Tennessee was the principal speaker at the D. C. Finance Committee fund raiser, June 14, at the International Club Ballroom in Washington, D. C. The Dinner Committee, chaired by Senator George Murphy, originally planned to hold the affair for an expected crowd of 1,500 at the Washington Hilton Ballroom. However, the Committee sold fewer tickets than expected and consequently had to move the event to a smaller room.

Governor Dunn delivered a rousing campaign speech for the President and was enthusiastically received by the 150 Republicans present for the dinner-dance. The affair was preceded by a cocktail reception attended by about 100 people.

Governor Dunn and his party arrived in Washington the morning of June 14 and departed the following morning. In addition to advancing the Governor and his staff, the Committee provided him with assistance in preparing and distributing his speech to the major news sources. The Governor and his staff expressed pleasure and satisfaction with their arrangements and were pleased at the assistance our advance staff provided.

Although the crowd was small, the Governor was most pleased with the event and, particularly, with the warm reception he received.

x

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 2, 1972

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

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Vice President Golf Tournament
Newport Beach, California

We have received a proposal from Mr. Victor C. Andrews, Chairman of the Orange County Committee to Re-elect the President, that the Vice President participate in a golf tournament at the Big Canyon Country Club in Newport Beach, California. The proposed dates for the tournament are June 19, July 3, July 10, or July 17. It is proposed that 100 people be invited to play golf with the Vice President and several celebrities. The entry fee would be \$1,000 and the anticipated gross is \$100,000.

This proposal has the endorsement of Messrs. Mardian and Nofziger.

We would appreciate it if you would advise us whether this proposal should be recommended to the Vice President.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

x
VP decision

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

H X
aware
a/jm

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

May 11, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL
THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: ROBERT H. MARIK
SUBJECT: Congressional Campaign

Arthur Finkelstein has assessed the political situation in McCloskey's Congressional District. His report is attached. Basically he feels that McCloskey is sufficiently vulnerable that a person like Royce Cole would have a good chance to win the primary with a well run campaign. Without some additional resources of funds and capable management, it is unlikely that Cole will win.

Arthur feels that it would be an unwise risk for people in Washington to try to get Barry out of the race by offering him a position in government. Based on Arthur's evaluation, the following recommendations are made on the assumption that there is interest in influencing this race.

Recommendations

That approximately \$50,000 be channeled into the Cole campaign in order to gain him more visibility with the voters of his district.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

That some competent campaign media advisor be made available to the Cole campaign to implement a good media campaign. For obvious reasons, this should not be a member of the November Group.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

That some organizational help be made available to Cole through appropriate sources in California. This would have to be done indirectly and with discretion.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

Attachment.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Jeb Magruder

FROM: Arthur J. Finkelstein *AJF*

RE: "Cole for Congress"

After looking at the data and speaking to several interested parties involved with the Royce Cole campaign for Congress, the following situation would appear to exist:

1. McCloskey is extremely vulnerable. His vote total in a primary will not fall beneath 20% nor should it rise above 40%.
2. Cole, because of organization support, as well as issue positions, should make a stronger candidate than Bob Barry.
3. Barry will siphon votes almost exclusively from Cole.
4. It is possible to beat McCloskey even in a three-way race, but it would mean a campaign which would give extremely high visibility to Cole and McCloskey to the exclusion of Barry.
5. The Cole people would like -
 - A. Barry out of the race.
 - B. Additional funding.
 - C. An endorsement by the President.
 - D. Some professional advertising help in terms of television media.
6. Trying to get Barry out of the race at this late date would be a difficult and perhaps harmful maneuver - difficult because Barry is a wealthy man to whom a prestige office would have to be assigned. Further, it would take a phone call from way up to persuade Barry to leave the race. Such a phone call may be reported to the press who, in turn would interpret the race as McCloskey vs. Nixon rather than as a Republican primary fight for a Congressional seat.

Further, Barry is also the type of publicity seeker who may leak such a maneuver to the press himself.

- 7. A Nixon endorsement of Cole outright would be taking a political risk where no risk need necessarily be undertaken.
- 8. The Cole campaign is, in fact, hurting for money. I would estimate that it would take approximately \$50,000 to help give Cole the visibility he would need to garner a sufficiently large percentage of the 60% anti-McCloskey vote to win.
- 9. The Cole campaign has suggested that Phil Joanou be made available to help in TV advertising.

I would recommend that the Re-Elect Committee make available to the Cole campaign, the media assistance they desire and the financing figure I suggest. The organization support which can be given by the regular Republican organization of California and additional organization support which can be lent by the California Committee for the Re-election of the President should be made available to the Cole campaign.

Arthur J. Finkelstein

AJF:db

X

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 9, 1972

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

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: ROBERT C. ODLE, JR.

In a recent budget meeting you asked us to make certain that the RNC resists as much as possible the claims which might be made against it as a result of the convention move from San Diego.

The attached memo sets forth how the RNC is doing that at our request, and we will continue to monitor its progress.

There are no claims against the Committee for the Re-election of the President, except for \$25,000 we may lose in deposits on sleeping accommodations for our youth program. We are of course, resisting this.

cc: Mr. Hugh W. Sloan, Jr.
Mr. William E. Timmons

✓ bcc: Mr. Gordon C. Strachan

no \$1 out - go shape

1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

MEMORANDUM

Date JUNE 2, 1972

Subject: CLAIMS AGAINST THE RNC FROM SAN DIEGO

The following is being set forth for your information concerning certain claims which probably will or have been made against the Republican National Committee by individuals and corporations in San Diego, relative to our Convention preparations in San Diego.

1. PAUL M. THOMAS -- A contract was entered into with Mr. Thomas providing for the construction of work space for the photo press in the vicinity of the Sports Arena. This contract was in the amount of \$7500, and Thomas now advises that this building is 60 percent complete. We contracted to rent 10,000 sq. ft. in this building which is a 20,000 sq. ft. building, which Thomas was going to build anyway for investment rentals. Thomas is now demanding \$15,000 for settlement of the contract which is completely absurd; in my opinion, we should vigorously resist his demands even to the point of engaging in litigation, if this proves necessary.

2. M. H. GOLDEN CONSTRUCTION CO. -- The M.H. Golden Construction Co. initially sent us a bill for \$56,300.93. I discussed this matter with Mr. Stoddard Martin, project manager for the Golden Construction Co., on May 17, 1972, and he informed me that this bill represented a charge of \$14,000 for services rendered by the Golden Construction Co., and the other charges were for contracts entered into between the Golden Construction Co. and various subcontractors--primarily for the purpose of altering the Sports Arena so that a Convention could be properly held there. The subcontractors charges were primarily for air-conditioning and lighting matters. In discussing this matter with Martin, I expressed concern with the size of this bill, particularly with regard to the subcontractors. Martin was advised that under no circumstances should the Golden Construction Co. reimburse any of the subcontractors until they had received word to do so from the Republican National Committee. I explained that to do so would definitely weaken our bargaining position regarding any disputed items with the subcontractors. I advised him that any payment that he made to the subcontractors would be at his own peril.

Martin was further advised that every effort should be made to obtain as much salvage value as possible from the items that were being especially built for us, particularly with regard to the \$50,000 exhaust fan. I instructed Mr. Martin to pursue this vigorously, and I also told him that the \$3,500 charge by the company handling the portable air-conditioning equipment in Norfolk was much too high and would have to be reduced. Mr. Martin was emphatically informed that a failure on the part of the subcontractor to submit a more realistic bill would result in our resisting payment, even to the point of engaging in litigation if necessary.

Mr. Martin subsequently advised that he had been successful in obtaining a reduction of over \$9,000 in our bill, reducing same from \$56,300.93 to \$47,193.58. He advised that this reduction was made possible by salvaging basic material on the exhaust

fan and also included reduction of \$1,000 in the charges made by the Norfolk portable air-conditioning firm.

3. WHEELER & HOPE ARCHITECTURAL FIRM -- The Wheeler & Hope Architectural Firm has submitted a bill for approximately \$42,000, and, pursuant to your instructions, they are presently submitting detailed justification for this bill. It is felt that we should engage in hard negotiations with this company, particularly in view of the fact that it was necessary to replace their first project manager, John Groom, because of his incompetence. It is not felt that we should be paying exorbitant amounts for the mistakes which he made. As you know, his ineptness resulted in a considerable waste of time and expense on the part of RNC personnel, which, in my opinion, should be a proper subject for further negotiations with Wheeler & Hope as a set-off against their claim.

4. SAN DIEGO SPORTS ARENA -- We had a contract for \$75,000 for the rental of the San Diego Sports Arena with Peter Graham. Graham has not made any claim as yet.

5. ROYAL INN AT THE WHARF -- Earl Gagosian, president of the Royal Inns of America, has apparently indicated to certain RNC personnel that he contemplates charging us for certain rooms and office space at the Royal Inn at the Wharf which were previously complementary as part of our overall package deal which had been put together with the Royal Inn at the Wharf for the entire Convention. He apparently also has indicated that he contemplates filing a lawsuit against the RNC for damages he feels he incurred as a result of expediting a building for a convention center on the hotel premises. He was not requested to build this convention center by the RNC or anyone else affiliated with the Republican Party. This is a permanent capital improvement to his hotel and will undoubtedly be used for all subsequent conventions that the hotel books. However, he claims he accelerated the construction of this building for the purpose of accommodating our Convention and expects to be reimbursed. It is felt that any claim along this line is completely without merit.

6. MOBILE LEASE -- We entered into a contract with Mobile Lease for the construction of certain outside modular office space. They have not yet submitted a bill indicating the extent they were damaged by our moving the Convention to Miami Beach. It is unlikely that they have sustained any damage in excess of several thousand dollars. In this regard, it will be noted that Mobile Lease is a subsidiary of Pepsico.

With respect to the claim made by Paul Thomas and any possible claim by Peter Graham, it is recommended that no settlement be made of these until after September 1st, as we cannot possibly know the extent of the damages until that time. Both of these situations are rental agreements for facilities in July and August, and we will not know until September 1st the extent to which Graham and Thomas were successful in leasing these facilities to other tenants during the pertinent period which would result in mitigation of our damages. The above are the only claims against us that have been received or can reasonably be anticipated.

We have no information concerning any obligation, if any, incurred by the Committee to Re-Elect the President or any claims made against them in San Diego.

X

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM

June 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER

SUBJECT: Request that Governor Rockefeller
Address the Connecticut Republican
State Central Committee Dinner
October 4, 1972

We have received an invitation through Mr. L. Patrick Gray, for Governor Rockefeller to deliver the keynote address at a fund-raising dinner sponsored by the Connecticut Republican State Central Committee. The dinner is scheduled to be held at the Sheraton Park Plaza Hotel in New Haven, Connecticut, on October 4, 1972. The room in which the dinner is to be held has a capacity of 900 and the tickets will be priced at \$100 per plate.

Mr. Chip Andrews, the Executive Director of the Connecticut Republican State Central Committee, has proposed that (in lieu of a payment of 10% of the gross) they would agree to pay 50% of the cost of developing a computerized list of voters. The payment would be made to Cambridge Opinion Studies, Inc. This list will be required by the telephone, direct mail, registration, and get-out-the-vote operations in Connecticut which are directed from 1701. That payment will amount to approximately \$34,000.

The invitation to Governor Rockefeller and the proposed financial arrangement have the approval of Mr. Stans, Mr. Kaupinen and Mr. Agostinelli. We believe that Governor Rockefeller's proposed appearance in Connecticut in October would be very beneficial from the point of view of the campaign.

We would appreciate receiving your recommendation whether Governor Rockefeller should be invited to attend the dinner.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

R

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

bcc: Mr. Al Kaupinen
Mr. Fred LaRue

X

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 6, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB MAGRUDER
FROM: BOB MORGAN
SUBJECT: New Compass Systems Contract

The new Compass Systems contract with the Reapportionment Trust Committee is attached as TAB A. There are four major changes in this contract vs. the previous one.

1. It updates the amount of money that we and the Republican National Committee have put into the system.
2. It shows that the Reapportionment Trust Committee (RTC) and the Committee will share on a 50/50 basis, the 1972 data improvements while limiting the RTC's commitment to \$12,000.
3. It allows the RTC and us to pay for both hardware and software usage based on the amount we use the system vis-a-vis a flat, fixed amount.
4. It eliminates the control of the system by the Central Committee in California and provides for a management system administered by us through Dr. Alan Heslop, who is Chairman of the Political Science Department at Claremont Men's College.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the new contract as presented, that was signed by the RTC's membership.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

+

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION
OF THE PRESIDENT

The Reapportionment Trustee
Committee
c/o Mr. Putnam Livermore
111 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California 94104

Gentlemen:

This letter will serve as a memorandum of the agreement between and among REAPPORTIONMENT TRUSTEE COMMITTEE, an unincorporated association ("TRUSTEE"); and the COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, an unincorporated association organized under the laws of the District of Columbia ("COMMITTEE") (or any other committee organized to succeed COMMITTEE by whatever name); and THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ("RNC"), respecting joint use of the data base and the computer operating system developed by COMPASS SYSTEMS, INC. ("COMPASS"), for the purpose of legislative and congressional redistricting in the State of California, said data base and system being hereinafter, for convenience, referred to in its entirety as the "System."

Pursuant to an agreement dated April 15, 1971, and subject to the limitations therein, COMPASS has granted certain noncommercial uses of the System to TRUSTEE in connection

with various aspects of proposed legislative and congressional redistricting in the State of California and certain other political uses.

The System is scheduled for completion on June 21, 1972. The System is defined as follows:

A. A report writer capable of display on either a Computer Remote Terminal or High Speed Printer.

B. An aggregation program using a point-in-polygon procedure with digitizer input.

C. A plotting program to produce plots of political and census parameters.

D. A program to add, change and delete elements in the data base.

E. A working variation of the Kaiser-Nagel Model.

F. An incomplete data base including political information on the precinct level for the year 1968 and almost complete 1970.

To operate the present System, it is necessary to have the use of equipment which is available under present leasing arrangements with a thirty (30) day cancellation clause. The present System, while well suited to development of information for reapportionment purposes, is not perfectly suitable for additional political uses. Major adaptations and

changes in the System, including addition of new data to the data base as it becomes available, will have to be made for such political uses, which uses may include various types of precinct, census tract or small area analyses utilizing both census and political data, with geographical units sorted in rank into designated priority order if desired, and may be either on the basis of the type of use desired (which may include direct mail, telephone voter contact, literature distribution, door-to-door contact, voter registration, voter turnout, or any other use determined by COMMITTEE or RNC), or on the basis of issues or voter response patterns desired for analysis.

We acknowledge that, to a certain extent, the System has certain other residual, functional values in connection with providing computer based mailing services and other information retrievals which can be utilized by TRUSTEE, COMMITTEE and RNC during the 1972 Presidential Campaign and thereafter by TRUSTEE and RNC in connection with elections and political campaigns within the State of California.

In consideration of the contemplated uses of the System by the parties hereto as above contemplated, it is agreed as follows:

1. As consideration for TRUSTEE's performance hereunder, COMMITTEE has paid to TRUSTEE the sum of \$95,000.00,

and RNC has paid to the Republican State Central Committee of California the sum of \$25,000.00. COMMITTEE and TRUSTEE each agree to pay one-half (1/2) of the costs of the data base additions as defined in paragraph 3(a) and of the costs of adaptations and changes in the System referred to above together with certain other changes as may be needed in the System, provided that in no event shall TRUSTEE be required to pay more than the sum of \$12,000.00; and to share the cost of operating the System, all in the manner set forth in paragraph 3 hereinafter.

2. In consideration of said payments, COMMITTEE and RNC shall, during the Presidential Campaign through November 7, 1972, have the unlimited and unrestricted right, under the supervision of TRUSTEE, to use the System and to request from the data base any information which, in their discretion, they, or either of them, may deem beneficial, necessary or helpful in connection with the 1972 Presidential Campaign. COMMITTEE and RNC may, if it is feasible, have a computer remote terminal in Washington, D. C. for use in accessing the data base for the purpose of facilitating requests for analyses and for receiving hard copy containing the requested analyses, all costs of which remote terminal shall be borne and paid by COMMITTEE and/or RNC exclusively, and

TRUSTEE shall be held harmless therefrom. None of the cost of such remote terminal shall be included in the costs agreed to be shared by COMMITTEE and/or RNC as set forth in paragraph 3 hereinafter.

3. TRUSTEE, COMMITTEE and RNC acknowledge that within the additional costs for adaptations and changes in the System and the operating costs as contemplated in paragraph 1, there shall be included:

(a) Costs of the data base additions and adaptations and changes in the System specifically include:

1972 primary precinct voting data;

1972 primary close voter registration data by precinct;

1972 precinct maps on microfilm;

1968 and 1970 political data assigned to 1972 precincts;

1972 precinct locations including 1972 precinct centroids and assignment of 1972 precinct to census tract.

(b) Payments on rentals on equipment which may be needed to operate the System based on an analysis of the minimum cost of hardware to perform the needs through October, 1972.

(c) Development of plotting system making use of Hewlett-Packard's mini computer and development

of city boundary plot program.

(d) Expenses of retrieval and analysis work performed in connection with TRUSTEE's efforts in the California state legislature and congressional election and in connection with the uses intended by COMMITTEE or RNC as outlined in paragraph 2, including computer time costs related to the use of such equipment as is available, and other costs incidental thereto.

The COMMITTEE and TRUSTEE will each pay a percentage of the fixed hardware costs, based on their respective use of said hardware, while expediting action to reduce the cost to a minimum. The COMMITTEE and the TRUSTEE will each pay directly to COMPASS the cost of services rendered to each of them. The COMMITTEE will pay for all services performed for the California Committee.

All billing will be within the accepted practices of the American Society of Certified Public Accountants and payments to invoices received will be paid within five (5) days of receipt. All invoices will be final unless the invoice indicates it is a partial payment.

4. The parties further agree that in the event their respective presently foreseeable uses of the System shall change to such extent that either of them will not be

utilizing the System to the full extent contemplated by paragraph 3, then and in that event, any party desiring to terminate its obligation to continue making the aforesaid monthly payments shall notify the other party of such election, at least thirty (30) days prior to the date such party intends to discontinue such payments. The obligation to make further contributions as to such party shall terminate thirty (30) days after the date of said notice, unless the parties shall have met, and in good faith discussed and agreed upon a new or alternate remedy for sharing the use and cost of the System.

5. Nothing in this Agreement is intended to or does provide for possession of the data base or storage tapes by RNC or COMMITTEE. The rights of RNC and COMMITTEE are to use thereof, not its possession.

6. It is understood that COMMITTEE and RNC initially shall have the right to use of the System only in connection with the Presidential General Election and the Presidential Primary Election in the State of California in 1972. RNC shall have the further right, subject to the terms hereof, to the use of the System for general political purposes thereafter, provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall in any way or manner impair or restrict the right of TRUSTEE to use the System for any political purposes whatsoever,

including but not limited to, use thereof in California elections, general, special, partisan, non-partisan, statewide, local municipal, Presidential, congressional, or legislative during the years 1971 and 1972 and thereafter.

7. After the termination of the 1972 Presidential Campaign, RNC shall continue to have use of and access to the System, subject to the conditions and limitations COMMITTEE and RNC are subject to in this letter of agreement.

8. (a) Dr. Alan Heslop will immediately begin to act as the coordinator for all data requests from the users of the System: COMMITTEE, the Republican State Central Committee of California, the California Committee for the Re-Election of the President (hereinafter referred to as "the California Committee"), and TRUSTEE.

(b) Dr. Alan Heslop will be paid by the COMMITTEE on a monthly basis based on his time on the job submitted directly to COMMITTEE.

(c) Dr. Alan Heslop will on the Friday of every week send to the above mentioned parties a listing with due dates, job descriptions and with cost estimates for all requests that have gone into COMPASS. He, with the assistance of COMMITTEE, will also initiate approved management control techniques

and other management systems now presently lacking in the COMPASS organization.

(d) The Data Users Committee, composed of a member from the State Central Committee, Governor's office, the Assembly Republican caucus, the California Committee, the COMMITTEE, and Dr. Alan Heslop who will serve as the non-voting chairman, will meet periodically as an advisory board to the COMMITTEE and TRUSTEE on the operation of the System and make recommendations for changes in the System, its operation, or the administration of COMPASS. Recommendations will go to both the COMMITTEE and TRUSTEE. Recommendations adopted by COMMITTEE and TRUSTEE will be implemented by Dr. Alan Heslop. Dr. Alan Heslop will report, for administrative purposes to the COMMITTEE's designee on the Data Users Committee, and the Data Users Committee will administratively give direction to the COMMITTEE designate.

9. Nothing contained herein shall in any way impair or restrict the right of TRUSTEE to use the data base and System, together with any additions and changes thereto, for the purposes described in paragraph 6 during 1971, 1972 and thereafter. However, in the event of any conflict between a proposed use of the System by COMMITTEE or RNC in the 1972

Presidential Campaign and any other use of the System, the Data Users Committee, in exercising supervision over the System administratively through Dr. Alan Heslop, shall resolve any such conflict in favor of the Presidential Campaign.

10. Any controversy or claim arising out of or relating to this contract, or the breach thereof, shall be settled by arbitration in accordance with the rules of the American Arbitration Association, and judgment upon the award rendered by the arbitrator may be entered in any court having jurisdiction thereof. A single arbitrator shall be used. It is understood that such arbitration proceedings held shall be conducted in the State of California.

11. While the present System has been designed for use in the State of California, the parties agree that COMMITTEE and RNC, at their sole cost and expense, may, under the supervision of TRUSTEE, have the use of the System and the computer software capability and technique utilized therein, as developed for the California reapportionment program, for use in other states if deemed beneficial by COMMITTEE and/or RNC in connection with the 1972 Presidential Election only.

The signatures of the aforesaid parties hereto at the places prescribed below shall indicate acceptance of the terms of this memorandum.

This contract shall supercede any prior contract

between the parties hereto relating to the subject matter hereof.

Very truly yours,

COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION
OF THE PRESIDENT

By

The Honorable Maurice Stans
Chairman, Finance Committee
to Re-Elect the President

AGREED:

THE REAPPORTIONMENT TRUSTEE
COMMITTEE

By

Robert L. R. L. L. L.

By

Bob M. M. M. M.

By

M. M. M. M. M.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

By

June 1, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN H. MITCHELL

THROUGH: JEE S. MACRUDER
FROM: HERBERT L. PORTER
SUBJECT: Arkansas Republican State Committee
Fund-Raising Dinner
Little Rock, Arkansas

The Arkansas Republican State Committee has invited the Vice President to keynote a fund-raising dinner in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the second half of June. The anticipated attendance is 1,500 people at \$100 per plate. It has been agreed that 50% of the net proceeds will be paid to the Arkansas Committee for the Re-election of the President.

The invitation has the endorsement of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President; the Arkansas Finance Committee to Re-elect the President; and, former Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller.

Harry Flemming attaches a low political priority on an appearance by the Vice President in Arkansas, but would have no objection to an appearance if the Vice President could fit it into his schedule.

The Vice President has specifically requested that you advise him whether or not he should accept the invitation.

_____ The Vice President should accept.

"most"

_____ The Vice President should not accept.

Committee for the Re-election of the President

MEMORANDUM

June 13, 1972

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

THROUGH: MR. JEB S. MACGRUDER

FROM: L. ROBERT MORGAN

SUBJECT: Ohio - Financial Support for the Data Base

Senator Taft's and Senator Saxbe's offices declined to participate in the cost to develop the data base. The Ohio State Central Committee also declined to participate. We estimate the cost to develop the data base in Ohio to be \$115,000., however, we anticipate some cooperation in sharing these costs in each state. If we paid \$40,000. then the other three participants could pay \$25,000. apiece for a copy of the data base.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you contact Senators Taft and Saxbe and the State Chairman, John Andrews, and press for their financial participation.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____ COMMENTS _____

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik
Mr. Don Mosiman

X
35 file
Taft would not
could not
re-else

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

By DM NAME, Date 6-1-82

FROM: DICK MOORE *DM*
SUBJECT: Campaign Contributors

So far, I don't think we have enough evidence to warrant a judgment as to whether the contributor issue will die out or will become a major problem. Therefore, the only safe course right now is to assume that it might become a very serious issue, and plan accordingly.

As I see it, there are several possibilities. First, the issue could level off as a minor irritant; second, it could grow into a fairly serious issue which will require a better answer than simply saying that the law doesn't require that we file; and third, the issue could catch on to the point where the question "what are they trying to hide" could be a continuing and serious problem. We know that the Democrats hope to paint us as the friend of the Fat Cats, and the allegation that we are protecting "secret contributors" to the tune of \$10 million could fortify that picture in a pretty juicy and plausible way.

For the moment, I think we should lie low and hope the issue will die down. Where we have to reply to a question, as in an interview show, we should stick to the proposition that we are complying with both the letter and the spirit of the law.

If we see the issue escalating, I think our first effort must be to prove that it is not the Nixon Administration or the Nixon Committee which chooses not to reveal the names. Rather, it is the contributors themselves who chose not to have their names revealed for good and sufficient reasons. For us to reveal the names would be a flagrant breach of faith.

As a first step, a major spokesman should make a strong and clear statement explaining why perfectly good Americans sometimes prefer not to reveal the fact that they have contributed to a political party or candidate. For example, an executive might not wish to have his name made public because the chairman of the board is an ardent Democrat; a salesman may not wish to antagonize Democratic customers; a professional man may not wish to antagonize important clients who are anti-Nixon.

Until April 7, the law made it possible for a person to exercise his right to support a candidate without fear of economic or social reprisal, or without being made the target for unwanted publicity or unwelcome solicitation by various organizations and causes, good and bad, including the Democratic Party. This is a reasonable and understandable view, and if properly explained, it can help take the heat off the Administration and the Committee.

At all times, our posture must be that we are happy to disclose the name of any contributor who is willing to waive his legal right of privacy which Congress gave him up to April 7.

If the issue gets really hot, we might want to prove our sincerity by voluntarily filing the names of those early contributors who would be willing to have us do so. If this were a great number, and involved, say half of the \$10 million, it would be a dramatic and convincing demonstration of our good faith in the matter.

Meanwhile, I think we should quietly get an idea of how many early contributors would be willing to have their names filed voluntarily. For example, we could make a hundred discreet telephone calls to typical contributors, asking (but not urging) whether they would be willing to have us file. If the proportion of volunteers proves to be high, then we might write a letter to every contributor, asking him whether he wishes to authorize disclosure of his name. Even if only a few give us permission, it would still take the onus off us by proving that it is the contributor who is unwilling, not the Nixon people. Yet it would not embarrass the contributors, since they would not be disclosed.

In terms of other "lines" which could be used, we can go on the attack in the sense that McGovern would be urging us to commit a breach of faith against good Americans who were exercising their constitutional right to support their candidate, and their legal right to do so without being subjected to unwanted publicity, etc. McGovern would repeal the right of privacy retroactively, and his whole approach is improper, unfair and downright dishonest. Unlike McGovern, we don't believe in changing the rules in the middle of the game.

Another line which perhaps should come from a source other than a Mitchell or a Stans, should be an attack on McGovern's hypocrisy. In his campaign film he claims that he relies on \$1 and \$5 contributors, and that claim is obviously phony, and can be proved so. Moreover, we can step up our attacks on him as the big spender, as evidenced by his lavish campaign in California.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12958, Section 6-102
By AP Date 4-1-82

~~Confidential~~/Eyes Only

June 15, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Campaign Contributors

My answers to questions 1 and 2 of your memo of today were answered in my memo of March 14, a copy of which is attached.

I do not think we should try to stand behind the idea of protecting the donors' anonymity from charitable solicitation.

McGovern's blast at this: "Now do you really suppose they're worried about the Red Cross" gets a big, derisive laugh every time. When the President can be successfully ridiculed, it is bad.

My advice now is the same as it was in March -- we should accept the embarrassment to Stans and make public our names. Otherwise, this is going to be hung around our neck all through the campaign. I don't think it's worth it.

I am hard pressed to come up with suitable lines defending non-disclosure. One might be: "If Congress intended the list to be disclosed, they would have made that the law." Another might be: "You don't change the rules in the middle of the game." A third and more realistic answer might be: "We don't want the Democrats soliciting our contributors. What they want to do is go to our donors to demand matching contributions, and we are not going to make it easy for them."

The weakness of the above answers is the most telling argument for full disclosure; and I think this ammunition we give them on the "you can't trust Nixon" theme is worth more than the millions of dollars we would have to return to contributors whose anonymity could not be broken.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Draft Statement by Stans on Campaign Spending

"President Nixon strongly supported and signed into law the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972. As President, he will enforce the law, and as a candidate for re-election, he will obey the law.

This committee will report all contributions over \$100 exactly as the law requires and as Congress intended. The law calls for our first report on June 30 of this year, and we have put into place the necessary procedures to comply fully and promptly."

POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL LINE: "The one-upmanship now under way between the Democratic candidates to prove who can reveal most is something to be expected in a hotly contested series of primaries. The President is not personally engaged in primary campaigning, and his campaign committee will not go beyond the law in its fundraising or spending procedures."

RECOMMEND NOT USING THIS LINE.

The arguments for such a statement and such a policy:

1. The heat for us to follow the Democratic candidate's example will fade after June, when we publish names of contributors since April 7.
2. If we were to follow their example and disclose names now, it would provide a continuing series of stories blasting fatcats and their government connections.
3. If we wanted to publish now, we would have to go back to contributors and see if they would be willing, and thus lose substantial sums.

Arguments against sticking to the "letter of the law":

1. The ITT controversy lays a public opinion base for suspicion of all campaign contributions.
2. One main Democratic campaign theme is likely to be "trust," and any coverup compared to their full disclosure gives them an opening.
3. This issue will not go away after June. We will be charged with having the 20 million dollar hidden fund, collected before the deadline from influence seekers, whom Nixon persists in refusing to name -- because he knows that the revelation of their names would be political suicide. I have nothing to hide; I have named all my contributors -- but the President has not. Why not? Why does he constantly harp on the letter of the law, when he is clearly breaking the spirit of the law, the intent of Congress which calls for full disclosure of campaign contributors? My cards are all on the table -- come on, Mr. President, let's see your cards -- let's give the American people a chance to see who bought a secret piece of your campaign. Let's see who is really paying the bills for those lavish TV commercials." Etc., Etc.
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My basic point: we should not make the decision to "take the flak" without reviewing the full consequences of the flak throughout the campaign.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.J. HO, Section 8-102

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

By EP Date 4-1-72

June 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK MOORE
✓ BILL SAFIRE

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Contributors

In light of the recent attacks by McGovern, will you please give me your thoughts on how to handle the campaign contributor question? In doing so, consider the following questions:

- 1) Do you believe the 10 million collected before April 7 will be a big damaging issue in the campaign or do you believe it will pass in a few days?
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- 3) What other lines could Stans, Mitchell and our other spokesmen use?
- 4) What should our line be in countering the Democratic attacks, etc?

Please forward your recommendations by Friday, June 16.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL - EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102

By *EP* _____ DATE *4-1-82*

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MANDATE
... JCS, Section 5-102
... MARS, Date 4-1-72

~~Confidential~~/Eyes Only

June 15, 1972.

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FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Campaign Contributors

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1972

EYES ONLY

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FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Draft Statement by Stans on Campaign Spending

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RECOMMEND NOT USING THIS LINE.

The arguments for such a statement and such a policy:

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My basic point: we should not make the decision to "take the flak" without reviewing the full consequences of the flak throughout the campaign.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

June 13, 1972

E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By AP STANS, DATE 4-1-82

MEMORANDUM FOR:

✓ DICK MOORE
BILL SAFIRE

FROM:

H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Contributors

In light of the recent attacks by McGovern, will you please give me your thoughts on how to handle the campaign contributor question? In doing so, consider the following questions:

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Please forward your recommendations by Friday, June 16.

March 14, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE WORKING
E.O. 12958, Section 1-102
By ep Date 4/19

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

SUBJECT: Campaign Disclosure

In a meeting this afternoon with Messrs. Stans, Kalmbach, Finch, Moore, LaRue, Shumway, and Sloan, we discussed whether it would be appropriate for us to disclose contributions received before the April 7 deadline set by the new law. It was the unanimous opinion that we should not disclose, although we realize this would be an issue that could be used against us in the campaign.

If we were to disclose, we would have to give each contributor an opportunity to renege on his pledge which would reduce our funds considerably. This, in turn, would probably create a difficult public relations situation if it were known we were returning any funds, as well as be embarrassing to those donors who let their contributions stand. It also could create an on-going press barrage about our contributors since many of them are in sensitive positions both within the Administration and the business community. Even though this could be brought up as an issue in the general election, we could bring up the fact that we began disclosing on April 7 and it probably would not be an issue of the magnitude then as it is now.

One point which should be stressed is this: when an incumbent President, rather than a Presidential candidate, discloses, there may be more political problems caused by the disclosure than by non-disclosure. For example, if Muskie discloses that he received \$10,000 from the President of General Motors, that is one thing. But if the incumbent President discloses such a contribution, he is open to the charge that in return for the donation, General Motors was promised something which it is within the power of the incumbent President to grant. Hence, the charges which might be made as a result of the disclosure might do more political damage than the charges made as a result of non-disclosure.

CONFIDENTIAL

If we do not disclose, it would be important to deploy funds raised before April 7 into as many state committees as possible, as well as prepaying any future bills that would be appropriate so that our balance on hand at the first reporting date would be relatively small. At the present time it is anticipated that we could have as much as \$12,000,000 on hand by April 7. If we do not disclose and show that figure in June during the first reporting period, we could create a tremendous backlash regarding our non-disclosure.

On the other hand, the arguments for disclosing are obvious. We would increase our credibility with the public; no issue could be raised about lack of disclosure; and we would not add to the credibility problem that has been created by the ITT/Sheraton incident.

From the financial standpoint, it is obvious that it would be to our advantage not to disclose. On the public relations side, it is much more difficult to determine the public's reaction and is, therefore, a decision that should be made at the highest level. Consequently, our recommendation is that we tentatively agree not to disclose; that Ziegler continue to refer any inquiries to this Committee; that Van Shunway, if asked, continue to indicate that we are going to comply with the law; and that a decision be made not later than next Monday, so that in case there was a desire to disclose, the Financial Division could do the paper work before the April 7 deadline.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1972

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM TO: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Draft Statement by Stans on Campaign Spending

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My basic point: we should not make the decision to "take the flak" without reviewing the full consequences of the flak throughout the campaign.

May - memo for Mitchell → 14 tonight
Dale - Press conf tomorrow - 11a

3/14

Finch, Kalmbach, Shumway, / Slans
La Rue, Moore, Magruder

K - if we disclose - must give donors
option to get \$ back
- if give \$ back, there will be leaks
banks reluctant

Slans - if we have to give back - must
raise \$ & see / prob to keep up w/ 58M
spending
- hold off until fe 10

Finch - no partial disclosure like Cal
- a prob
- Not disclose

Slans → JSM + RF → Sapine re his
state for P.

La Rue - have Dale talk heat
at Pr Conf on 3/15
an Fla results

Slans - not disclose, deploy \$
out to State Comm's
- Pre pay
- On fe 7 could have balance
Pr / apr 7

15 m - up 7
3 m - spent
11 m - deploy

CA -
Is
moore's
here
yet
H
FU
~~6/16~~

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

June 13, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK MOORE
BILL SAFIRE

FROM:

H. R. HALDENAN

SUBJECT:

Campaign Contributors

In light of the recent attacks by McGovern, will you please give me your thoughts on how to handle the campaign contributor question? In doing so, consider the following questions:

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- 4) What should our line be in countering the Democratic attacks, etc?

Please forward your recommendations by Friday, June 16.

HRH/LH/GS/jb
FU - 6/16

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/6/72

TO:

Gordon Strahan

~~FROM:~~

DAVE GERGEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: Draft Letter

Here is a revised solicitation letter, as prepared by Roland Elliott and Mary Ann Allin and approved by Ray. Most of it is sufficiently well done that we hope to incorporate portions in the campaign package.

I apologize for the delay.

Enclosure.

On January 20, 1969, America was a troubled nation. There was division in the country, disruption on the campuses, inflation in the economy, crime in the cities, powderkegs in the ghettos, backlash in the suburbs, and two hundred coffins a week coming home from Vietnam.

As Richard Nixon took the oath of office, he inherited this bitter legacy. It required both political courage and statesmanship to move away from war and inflation, up onto the high road of peacetime prosperity. But Richard Nixon, more than any President before him, has quietly presided over major changes in policy and direction in our government, and has restored our faith in the ability of our system to solve its problems and reflect the basic integrity of the American people.

The record of the Nixon Administration is clear: There have been dramatic new initiatives in foreign affairs designed to end our involvement in the Indochina conflict and secure a lasting peace; there have been bold new economic policies to speed our progress toward a sound prosperity; there is a full agenda of domestic programs aimed at government reform to make it truly responsive to the needs of our citizens; and there is much else that remains to be done.

Progress toward achieving what the President has called the "great goals" of our society requires the cooperation and commitment of every American. The vast majority shares the President's conviction that this is a great and good nation, one which has an extraordinary capacity to set out upon a new course of action and bring together diverse elements in a creative force to improve government and our quality of life.

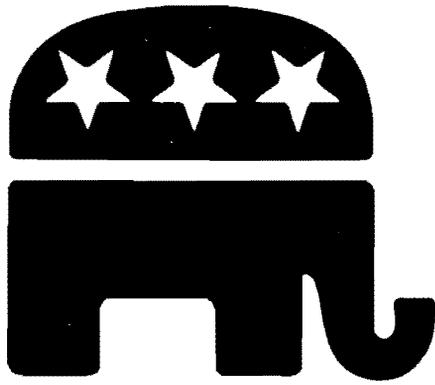
Where there was despair and frustration only a few years ago, there is now a growing sense of hope and faith in the traditional strengths of our institutions and in the fundamental goodwill of our countrymen. The President has made a beginning which urgently merits our support. He deserves and the Nation needs the opportunity to press for completion of his initiatives, both foreign and domestic.

In his campaign for re-election, you can demonstrate your support in a vital and meaningful way -- with your personal check. A contribution of \$15 will enroll you as a member of the Committee. But gifts of \$25, or \$50, or \$100, and larger are also welcome! If it is significant to you, it will be significant to us, and you may be sure that every dollar will be used in the re-election of the President. With your financial assistance and that of other concerned individuals, we can mount a campaign that will take the record of this Administration

directly to the people, calmly but forcefully articulating its accomplishments, its far-reaching proposals and its confident vision of the future.

We urge you to join in this high adventure. It will be an alliance of citizens who believe that Richard Nixon has guided the Nation through an era of adversity and has brought us to the threshold of a full generation of peace with prosperity. This is our opportunity, in Lincoln's words, for us to "dare to do our duty as we understand it."

###



Because of the new tax law giving costs less

Because of the new tax law giving costs less

For the first time in history, political contributions made in 1972 will cost less than before. Special federal income tax provisions now allow a portion of money contributed to be returned to the giver when he files his federal income tax return.

The new tax provisions were passed by Congress and signed by President Nixon so all citizens could afford to support their political interests at the local, state and national levels.

Because of the new tax law, many individuals and couples will be able to DOUBLE the size of their previous contributions to the Republican Finance Committee and it won't cost them one additional cent. This is how the new tax provisions work:

A person may subtract from his total income tax bill, an amount equal to one-half of his political contributions—but not to exceed \$12.50 if filing a separate return, or \$25.00 if filing a joint return. This provision is known as the "tax credit" method.

This would mean, for example, that a couple who gave \$25.00 last year could DOUBLE the size of their 1972 gift to \$50.00 and get \$25.00 returned to them when filing their 1972 tax return. The net cost of giving remains at \$25.00.

Another provision in the new tax legislation enables a contributor to deduct from taxable income, all political contributions up to \$50.00 for a single return, or \$100.00 for a joint return. This is known as the "tax deduction" method. You can deduct your political gifts in the same manner as you would itemize charitable contributions, taxes, etc.

Generally speaking, contributors of more than \$50.00 who are in the higher tax brackets will benefit more through the "tax deduction." Those who give under \$50.00 may benefit more from the "tax credit" method.

Individuals and couples may select either method of reducing their tax liability. The taxpayer must decide which will be most advantageous to his particular tax situation.

Cost of giving using "Tax Credit" method

JOINT RETURN FOR COUPLES

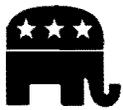
| If your '71 contribution was: | And you double your '72 gift to: | Your Tax Credit will be: | Actual cost of doubling your gift is: |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 5.00 | 10.00 | 5.00 | 0 |
| 10.00 | 20.00 | 10.00 | 0 |
| 15.00 | 30.00 | 15.00 | 0 |
| 20.00 | 40.00 | 20.00 | 0 |
| 25.00 | 50.00 | 25.00 | 0 |
| 50.00 | 100.00 | *25.00 | 25.00 |

*Maximum tax credit allowable for couples filing a joint return.

SEPARATE RETURN FOR INDIVIDUALS

| If your '71 contribution was: | And you double your '72 gift to: | Your Tax Credit will be: | Actual cost of doubling your gift is: |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 5.00 | 10.00 | 5.00 | 0 |
| 10.00 | 20.00 | 10.00 | 0 |
| 15.00 | 30.00 | *12.50 | 2.50 |
| 20.00 | 40.00 | *12.50 | 7.50 |
| 25.00 | 50.00 | *12.50 | 12.50 |
| 50.00 | 100.00 | *12.50 | 37.50 |

*Maximum tax credit allowable for those filing individual returns.



Republican National Finance Committee.

CHAIRMAN
Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.

Mr. Gordon Strachan
20 Broad Street
New York, New York 10005

11041960
20E

DETACH ALONG DOTTED LINE AND RETURN WITH YOUR CONTRIBUTION. NO POSTAGE REQUIRED.

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: **REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE** (Note: Corporate checks prohibited by law.)

Dear Mr. Strachan:

Your last contribution to the Republican National Finance Committee--for which we are most grateful--was \$10.00. Under the new 1972 Federal Income Tax law, you can increase your support of our Committee to \$20.00 WITHOUT SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASING YOUR OUT-OF-POCKET COST.

This can be done by taking up to \$100.00 (maximum) as a DEDUCTION--or up to \$25.00 (maximum) as a direct tax CREDIT ON YOUR 1972 tax return (see the explanatory slip enclosed).

This is your opportunity to GIVE to the REPUBLICAN PARTY for GREATER PURPOSE and at LOWER COST than EVER BEFORE!

You and thousands of other loyal Republicans have kept our National Committee in business through the years by your generous contributions (our average in 1971 was \$19.90), and you made it possible to redirect the course of our Nation by helping elect President Nixon in 1968.

This year we face again the time of critical national decision for the next four years. We Republicans know and respect what President Nixon has accomplished since he took office. But to insure his reelection, our votes and our loyalty alone are not enough--outnumbered as we are by non-Republicans. We must also provide the financial resources needed to bring the President's message and the real facts about what he has done convincingly to the attraction of all of our fellow Americans.

Everyone must have the chance to understand, as we do, that our President:

Has so reduced American participation in the Viet Nam war that despite aggressive enemy action, our troop involvement by July 1 will be down to about 10% of what it was when he took office in 1969, with American casualties now at even a lower fraction than that.

Has taken effective action to cut the disastrous price spiral in half and to increase substantially both real wages and total employment despite the rapid shift from war to a peace time economy.

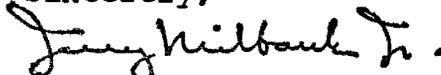
Has built the foundation for a "generation of peace" by taking bold initiatives and building new bridges for better U.S. relationships in international affairs.

Has waged an unprecedented war against crime, so that at last we can see a significant decrease in the national crime rate, along with a doubling of convictions of organized crime leaders, and almost the same increase in prosecution of drug traffickers.

But people forget the past too easily, and the memory often fails to distinguish clearly between the blessings of today and the troubles of the past. We're counting on you to help us remind everyone of just what has happened because of President Nixon. Your help will make it possible, if you will write a check now and send it to us today in the enclosed postage paid envelope.

On behalf of our Republican Party and one who believes as you must in the greatness of this nation, I thank you.

Sincerely,



Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 4018-R
Washington, D.C.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

Postage will be paid by

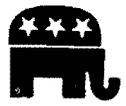
Republican National Committee

Sustaining Fund Membership Program

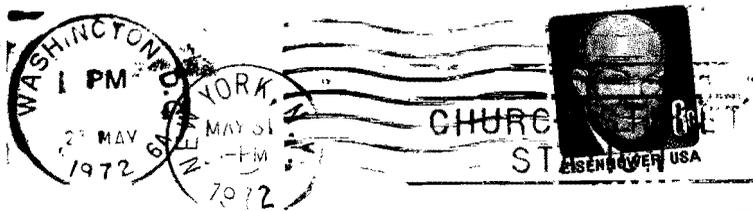
310 First Street, S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

20E



*NOW
UNDER NEW TAX LAW
YOUR GIFT
TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
COST LESS THAN EVER BEFORE!*



The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MS

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

June 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**
SUBJECT: Lyn Nofziger - California

Lyn Nofziger is in Washington today. He has been meeting with Mardian, Malek, Magruder, and others at 1701. Nofziger wonders whether you would like to discuss the California campaign with him. Nofziger is not pushing for a meeting, but wanted you to know he was available. In light of the memorandum you signed for Mitchell on California (which has not been delivered to him) you may want to talk with Nofziger.

Whether you see Nofziger or not, I will talk with him at length.

Recommendation: That you see Nofziger today so that when you discuss the California situation with Mitchell, you will have given Nofziger a hearing.

_____ Haldeman see Nofziger.

_____ Haldeman will not see Nofziger.

_____ Re-schedule.

Not -

as confused as I am Cal is better organized than any other major ST in U.S.

Glans - pre on \$ → cut Prof but in 1/2
Prof wants \$2m w/ advertising, Dir Mail & Telegraph

McG may well have lost women on Cal decision

✓ - could be a disaster to McG.
H people now turned back on

4 in Cal - never again!

but never No/So again

- 1 Amn + 1 Exec Dir +

all regional Am are Honey

- ① Dave Packard cutting over deals to w/ Glans + prod.

- so not under complete control of Prof, etc.

- ② Bill Banowski, P. of Peppelino

- ③ Mc Candless, Am Bd of Supervisee of

- ④ Monagan, ~~California~~ ^{assemblyman} Tracy

- no Cal Wily Report in 300s.

- Can't deep find out of Cal. -

- Firestone, bitching re amt of \$ Prof wants

- Ash types > 10% ; only helend Kaiser

- Never mentioned him; just ignored

Gaylord Paulson -
will come back
to us but valuable

Gov RR - going ^{3 weeks} abroad; instead ~~all~~
be fundraising in in Mid Am
- needs to be w/ P + then
could tell troop w/ P better use of time ^{of RR}
- rarely meets w/ JM, but good relations
- Grace Per (Prof) not RR run camp

While in Cal - love deep, working
variation; not socializing
work while camp goes on.
- Bring Cal Q's to Cal
get to net for Radio + TV

Only Rose Marie

California Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

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



May 29, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR RONALD REAGAN

FROM LYN NOFZIGER *LN*

RE: California Campaign (Week Ending 27 May 1972)

The press from the East is beginning to come to California, primarily for the Humphrey-McGovern race, but they are also looking for some signs of Ashbrook activity. They tell me there is none, which concurs with my own feeling. I do not see any substantial Ashbrook impact at this time, although it is still possible he will get around 15 percent.

In the meantime the Nixon campaign is about on target. The mail program remains fouled up to some extent at the data processing end, but once the mail begins to flow back into our headquarters our people are handling it well.

The phone banks are working well except for San Diego and the San Fernando Valley, but some have not received the cards they should have, with phone numbers on them. In the case of the mail foul-ups, the problem is with the Reuben H. Donnelley Company.

The hostess telephone program, which involves women using their own home phones for phoning, begins Tuesday. We think it has a good potential.

Put Livermore finally offered to give us two staff men for registration. We took them. And Compass Systems finally seems to be getting untracked with Alan Heslop in charge there.

We will have a "victory" party at the Ambassador Hotel next Tuesday night as we discussed in your office. We have a suite reserved for you, and hopefully you can make a brief appearance.

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

Jim Holstad - letter
pol man
on UP staff
if keeping up
staff
- no conflict in
Vic Gold, CD award
(trying out anti drug)

mc whorter

X
H
FU
6/9

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

May 18, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FOLLOW-UP

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN G

On June 2nd check with Charlie McWhorter regarding the results of the Republican Governors establishment of a "buddy system".

June 8, 1972

Memorandum

For: John Mitchell and Bob Haldeman ✓

From: Charlie McWhorter

I have spent the last few days in Houston attending the National Governors' Conference which was dominated by discussion of Presidential politics. There is general recognition that the President has developed a strong record of leadership and will be difficult for any Democrat to defeat. However, there is every indication that the McGovern people, Larry O'Brien and most Democratic governors are out to win in November even though it means substantial shift of position for McGovern.

As I am sure you know, the McGovern forces are making a determined effort to develop increased support from blue collar and minority groups which, according to Harris and other pollsters, would give stronger support to Nixon against McGovern than if the candidate were Humphrey. The McGovern strategy seems intended to hold on to McGovern's strength among independent, higher income and better educated voters while improving his appeal to blue collar and minority groups.

While the choice of Ted Kennedy as a running mate would probably give McGovern his best chance to consolidate this vote, nobody at Houston seemed to think that Kennedy was available. Most of the speculation turned on Wilbur Mills and Adlai Stevenson and there was no particular enthusiasm for either.

The McGovern visit to the Governors' Conference at Houston was a good illustration of his campaign flexibility. I was told that Governor Lucey of Wisconsin talked to Senator McGovern from Houston and strongly recommended this visit. Within 24 hours McGovern was in Houston. Governor Lucey remarked that it would take the Muskie people at least a week to consider whether they should make such a trip. This indicates to me that there will be a need in the Nixon campaign to have a high degree of comparable flexibility in scheduling which in turn requires quick access to key people in our campaign organization and an ability to make prompt decisions.

A serious problem confronting the McGovern campaign relates to the question of who will run the McGovern organization in the various states following the Democratic Convention in Miami. McGovern will be under pressure to get rid of the "crazies" who have engineered his primary and state convention victories. However, he will have difficulty in relying on the loyalty and commitment of many of the regular Democratic leaders and organizations. In his private comments to the Democratic governors, Senator McGovern seemed to be most willing to accommodate himself to their

concern in this regard. The real test of McGovern's attitude on these problems will probably come in his policy on credential challenges and on modification of his views in order to achieve a more moderate platform position. McGovern could have difficulty with his more militant supporters if he makes too many concessions on platform and credentials. Before the roll call for President, Senator McGovern must decide whether to make major compromises or face a roll call defeat for his position. It may well be that the effort to stop McGovern will take the form of maneuvering him into a position where he could lose a roll call vote prior to the vote for President.

One final thought with regard to the Nixon campaign. It now seems that the President's position on economic issues is much improved. However, I would strongly urge that in presenting his record in these areas, that our speech writers and others emphasize the beneficial impact of his economic and domestic programs on the welfare of ordinary citizens. There seems to be a strong feeling that the primary reason that a Republican administration wants an improvement in the economic situation is to increase corporate profits rather than to improve the lot of the average worker and citizen. I would strongly urge that the schedule for the President during the fall campaign include activities and events which will make clear to voters his personal motivation in advancing the economic and domestic goals of his administration. For instance, when the President goes to Atlanta this fall, rather than confine his activities to a motorcade and television activities in Atlanta, he should consider visiting with the workers in a textile mill or factory of a smaller Georgia city and talk to these workers in specific terms about how his programs affect them and the future of their families.

There would also be opportunities for the President to dramatize the impact of his programs for the benefit of minority groups. For instance, it should be possible for the President to visit a community drug care center in Harlem or Chicago which has been assisted by federal programs. In my opinion, the fact that the President took the time to visit with the community leaders who are involved in the front line fight against hard drugs would have a great impact among the voters of these areas.

In summary, I think we must make every effort to prevent Senator McGovern from consolidating his hold on blue collar and minority groups while we present the case for the President in terms which have the greatest impact on individual voters.

Time Cover

(RIS) Eastwood, Wayne + Everett

(McG) Shirley
McLane, Julie Anstie, Uwe,
Beate

* Denied ~~expedite processing~~ in Demo U
~~Judge Kitcher~~ 1701

* still

Al Gatalucci - ~~manager~~ ^{PPG's} ~~manager~~ ^{Conroy}
~~PPG's~~ ^{with} ~~manager~~ ^{use for} ~~manager~~ ^{PPG's}
~~manager~~ ^{PPG's} ~~manager~~ ^{Conroy}

to be the ambassador to U.K. ~~at~~ a post office.

also sought by Clem Stone.

Wibby
soft
wave

(2)

Jeb Magruder will personally

Mrs. Ascoli will be asked to write articles.

He will be asked to join the intellectuals group.

~~Chuck Shearer, head of its~~

JTM will return today; Caldero in charge of celebrities + has memo on way.

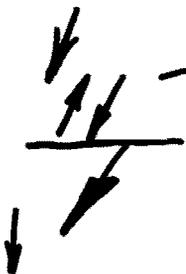
Memo re Morrison's change in direct mail; centralized software thru Sam Wiley.

~~3~~ 3 mpls to all Reps in 11 states

2 mpls to Ind's

- Total air budget 4.5 mil

- JTM went ahead w/o JTM + will try to budget increase to 5.5.



(Dent)

JSM - camp dogan to Phillips / allad bad if no
- ac thought given - secure & didn't,
to OK
- For testing purposes

Demovote should move to support the
P until after the

Ogilvie - you shld

Things to be held
No decision to be made
Options left open

5/18 - JSM

MCA Sm + ISI Fam - still in limbo,
J19 a 8th Convention - hopefully OK
- Me. - date of conven.

Protiner - any 1 page summaries?
& call Protiner

Frank Shales - P Indep Comm in Greece
Re politics: "no need for White"
to see P." per JM who working w/..

Send DP Hausen info poll on Women.
Julie - 2 tips a week 3 st's a week
Begin Sept 1 - David to see +
full Julie.

Lu Fri - noon for Fla - for 6 days.

Herge plan on all Suris bet now +
Dec - 8th DP

5/31

Ralph Mecham - 43 - Mormon -
AA to Sen Bennett - knows Kerol
UP of anaer.

- attack - man for Dem - covert + Open
- Mable + JSM at camp Hoover
- Demois etc arranged by Hiddle
trashing
- Convent - Timmons OK but
worried re status - role, etc.

Fri
6/2

Docu's
5 Themes, for H. on Fri | 1 Hr
w/ H. ?
- advertising genl

JM if needed, maybe P.

Sen Clem - believes ball in H d.

JSM → Miami, etc. Wed, Then Con

Bac, etc added for Me G strategy
by Je G - a pattern.

- Get Me G to attack JM, etc.

HFC
6/15/18

~~Timmons - memo on Convention
for H trip
E, H Timmons on Convention
Re: Fri Option JM also.~~

JSM - ~~H + JM~~ screen up Dem
telethone / Rob Odle

Scarf - ~~Parker~~ + Magruder

Korologos - ~~Mallet~~ - attach man memo H.