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<td>6</td>
<td>7/12/1972</td>
<td></td>
<td>Campaign</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From Marik to Strachan. RE: campaign mailings with notes. 2 pgs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Memo</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>From Failor to Magruder. RE: Strategy from now to Republican National Convention, Strachan's copy. 11 pgs.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Other Document</td>
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**Presidential Materials Review Board**

**Review on Contested Documents**

**Collection:** H. R. Haldeman  
**Box Number:** 314  
**Folder:** Campaign 23 Part III June 30 - July 19, 1972 [1 of 2]

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<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Return Private/Political memO, Magruder to HzH, 7/14/72</td>
</tr>
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<td>119</td>
<td>Return Private/Political memO, Morgan to MacGregor, 7/14/72</td>
</tr>
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<td>120</td>
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<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Return Private/Political notes, &quot;DaleK - campaign Song...&quot;, 7/26/72</td>
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</table>
MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACAHAN
FROM: BOB MARIX
SUBJECT: Campaign Mailings

This memorandum is in response to your query of July 1, regarding mailings to Republicans. Several points should be made:

1. We had only contemplated mailings to Republicans in two or three of the top eleven states.

2. We have reduced the planned mailings to Republicans from three to two in those states.

3. The issue is not so much whether we can increase the 90% Republican support for the President. It is whether we can increase the turnout of those loyal Republicans by as much as 5%. The basis of our plans has been the evidence and political judgment from several statewide campaigns that direct mail can have that type of effect on turnout. For example, in California, there are approximately 3 million Republican voters. For every percentage that we increase their turnout, we add 30,000 votes to the President's total. When one recalls that the President's margin was approximately 220,000 in 1968 and 15,000 in 1960, the value of increased turnout becomes obvious.

4. In this election, we cannot take our Republican constituency for granted. With the presumed McGovern candidacy, we have already seen evidence of the tendency of "upper-end ticket-splitters" (higher income suburban Republicans) to vote for McGovern. It will be absolutely necessary for the President to preserve his margin in that constituency to win the important industrial states. Direct mail can approach these voters with strong elements of the President's record, such as the Moscow and Peking summits.
5. In all of the eleven states, we are contemplating that the major emphasis of our direct mail efforts will be focused toward Democrats and Independents who might be persuaded to support the President, as you have suggested.

6. We have been subjecting the total direct mail strategy to a thorough review on the basis of the likely McGovern candidacy, of McGovern's strengths and weaknesses among Demographic segments and recent polling results both published and unpublished. Final recommendations will be made before the end of this week, and you will have an opportunity to review our updated analysis at that time.

I hope this information is helpful to you. Please give me a call if I can be of further assistance.

cc: Jeb S. Magruder
    Fred Malek
MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. HAILEY
FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER
SUBJECT: Direct Mail

MEMORANDUM

July 14, 1972

In our planning for direct mail, several of our people have suggested that a letter signed by the President would be more effective than any other approach. Such a letter would be "Presidential" in tone, and printed on official-type letterhead. The notation, "Not printed at government expense" would be included at the bottom of the page.

These would be computer letters, with personalized inside address and salutation. The first and last paragraphs would be standard, but interval paragraphs might be varied to reflect specific issues of interest to each voter segment.

It is now contemplated to send such letters to Democrats and Independents in priority precincts of the target states. The objective would be to exert strong influence on potential ticket splitters early in the campaign -- about mid-September. Although the mailings are several weeks in the future, we must commit on paper very soon. The paper for this mailing would be of a higher quality than that used for other mailings. If it were procured now, but not used as proposed, it could be sold back to the vendor, or applied to other mailings. Either option would incur some moderate cost. At the appropriate time, the proposed text of the letters and the areas to be mailed would be prepared for review before the President's signature is obtained. A small test mailing to one market will also be proposed, to measure any possible negative factors before the total mailing is committed.
The purpose of this memo is to solicit an indication that a campaign mailing bearing the President's signature can be considered, so that the long lead-time procurement can begin, if appropriate.

Agree that the option of a mailing signed by the President should remain open and that procurement should proceed on that basis.

Agree _________ Disapprove ___________
MEMORANDUM FOR:  MR. CLARK MAC GREGOR
THROUGH:  MR. JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM:  L. ROBERT MORGAN
SUBJECT:  Direct Mail Strategy

Three (3) options are suggested in this memorandum for your review and decision. These options have been developed on the basis of political considerations within the specific confines of the budget restrictions.

In lieu of the magnitude of these decisions, a brief historical overview is warranted. The Direct Mail Budget was initially approved at $4,490,000, which was supposed to cover the data base development in eleven (11) key states, research, postage, materials and mailing service for 31,667,000 ensembles. The breakdown by state is shown in TAB A. The original budget is shown in TAB B.

The data base is presently over budget by $121,000, due to the fact that we were unable to negotiate cost-sharing arrangements with all state parties and/or the state-wide candidates. A Critical Path Plan is used to control and help manage each of the state data base projects. The detail of the specifics required to develop this data base is reflected in TAB C, which each state vendor has accepted as a standard for performance.

We developed programs for six (6) Primaries using the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation for both the software, hardware and mailing operations. It did not become evident until May/June that they did not have the software and hardware capability to satisfy our total needs for the General Campaign. We then immediately reviewed capable software companies and changed to a centralized software system with decentralized production. University Computing Company (Sam Wyly) is now our software/data base facility in Dallas, Texas.
Their performance to date has been excellent, the positive attitude of their people and scientific management systems will allow us to meet our deadlines. Using University Computing Company as a central data processing center allows us to have regional computer printing and mailing services in California, Texas, Illinois (covering Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania), and Philadelphia (covering Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland). The 5¢ precancelled stamp will be used on all of our envelopes to give them the first-class look at the third-class bulk price.

We originally planned that Priority I states would have three (3) mailings to Republicans and two (2) mailings to non-Republicans who were for the President. Priority II states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams for Republicans and non-Republicans for the President, plus a supportive letter as soon as they were identified. We had intended to mail undecided voters a convincing package to get them to support the President in these eleven (11) key states.

STRATEGY WITH MC COVERN AS THE CANDIDATE

Our original direct mail strategy was to mail to Democrats and Independents only after they had been identified as favorable to the President by voter canvases (telephone and door-to-door). The purpose was to reinforce their commitment and get them out to vote. With Senator McGovern as the Democratic candidate, it is possible that a fundamental shift of the electorate toward the President will occur. To capitalize on this, we now feel that direct mail should be targeted to the peripheral urban ethnic populations such as Italian, Polish, Irish; the Jewish population in all metropolitan areas in the key states and Spanish-speaking Americans. A history of Wallace voters and other specific split-voting precincts with identifiable demographics would also be included. We would plan to mail a non-personal letter with copy geared to that specific voting segment along with a brochure with emphasis on their area of interest. It is my opinion that direct mail will be most effective if we have an initial Presidential Mailing which will sensitize the recipients, particularly the several demographic classifications of voters, to the Campaign issues and concerns.

We have previously operated under the understanding that President Nixon would not send out a computer letter with his signature on White House stationery. Jeb S. Magruder has requested permission
to have a letter with the President's signature on White House stationery with the words at the bottom, "Not Printed at Government Expense", get sent out to sensitize the voters. Option No. 1 will create an environment within the Direct Mail milieu causing more effective results. This plan takes advantage of the incumbency and leaves greater flexibility to handle the unexpected within a cost effective atmosphere.

The three (3) options we are suggesting are listed below in their order of preference. The quantities for states mailed take into consideration the most recent priorities which eliminated a mailing to the State of Washington.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OPTION I</th>
<th>QUANTITY Mailed (000's)</th>
<th>COSTS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Presidential Letter</td>
<td>6,260</td>
<td>$713,640</td>
<td>This is our first option if the President will agree. The Presidential letter will include White House stationery letterhead with the 5¢ pre-cancelled stamp completely computerized on the envelope and letter. This would go out to reachable non-Republicans in California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Cook County, Illinois.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnic Mailing</td>
<td>5,478</td>
<td>$657,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republicans in NJ. and Calif.</td>
<td>3,125</td>
<td>$450,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters</td>
<td>13,825</td>
<td>$1,244,250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28,698</td>
<td>$3,065,150</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

An ethnic mailing ensemble to the specific voter segment would go out one week later. This ensemble would include a letter geared to that voter segment, a brochure in most instances, and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.

The letter to Republicans would include an absentee ballot request and non-personalized letter, a brochure and a personalized volunteer/contribution card.
### OPTION II

<table>
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<th>Ethnic Mailing</th>
<th>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</th>
<th>COSTS</th>
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<td>Second Ethnic Mailing</td>
<td>6,260</td>
<td>$751,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republicans in NJ. and Calif.</td>
<td>4,695</td>
<td>563,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters</td>
<td>3,125</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,825</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,244,250</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27,905</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,008,850</strong></td>
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### DESCRIPTION

All of the Priority states would receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams to all Republicans and all non-Republicans who are for the President.

TAB D shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION II.

The first ethnic mailing is the same.

The second ethnic mailing would include another hard selling message to the specific voter segment to reinforce what we originally sent and to tie in with the voter identification throughout the states.

The Republican and "Get Out the Vote" telegrams would be the same.

### OPTION III

<table>
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<th>Ethnic Mailings</th>
<th>QUANTITY MAILED (000's)</th>
<th>COSTS</th>
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<td>Republicans in NJ. and Calif.</td>
<td>6,260</td>
<td>$751,200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telegram to Identified Pro-Nixon Voters</td>
<td>3,125</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23,210</strong></td>
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### DESCRIPTION

The ensembles are the same as OPTION I, except that the second ethnic mailing is not included.

TAB E shows the cost and quantity by state for Priority I and II states for OPTION III.
The summary of the total budget is shown at TAB G.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve OPTION I as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE_______ DISAPPROVE_______ COMMENTS_______

OR

That you approve OPTION II as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE_______ DISAPPROVE_______ COMMENTS_______

OR

That you approve OPTION III as the Political Direct Mail Strategy Plan.

APPROVE_______ DISAPPROVE_______ COMMENTS_______

Attachments:
TAB A
TAB B
TAB C
TAB D
TAB E
TAB F
TAB G

cc: Dr. Robert H. Marik
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<tr>
<th>State</th>
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<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>17 July-21 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>17 July-15 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>17 July-15 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Universal List (presently available)</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>1 August-15 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>17 July-7 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>10 July-21 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>31 July-21 August</td>
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## ORIGINAL DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

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<td>Mailing and Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>1,559,880</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research</td>
<td>41,500</td>
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<tr>
<td>List Development and Software</td>
<td>392,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL BUDGET</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4,490,000</strong></td>
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</table>
This manual has been prepared by the Committee for the
Re-Election of the President to define the tape input speci-
fication, data validity criteria documentation required to support
the Voter Registration Data Base.

Individual Voter records must be rolled or netted to house-
hold records where all members of the household have the same
political party designation. A file will be defined as the
complete set of household voter records for a county.

Each file will contain one complete county. Partial counties
or files containing multiple counties will not be accepted

The files will be supplied on magnetic tape recorded nine
track 1600 BPI. There will be no internal tape labels. The
files will contain 2,000 character blocks made up of 200
character logical records blocked ten. The last block may be
truncated. See attachment "1" for the format of each logical
record. Each reel of the file will be closed with a tape mark.
Characters will be GECO.

Each reel of magnetic tape will be clearly labeled with an
adhesive external label. The date of file creation, state-
name, county name, county code, and reel number total reels
in the file will be shown on each magnetic tape. The label
will identify the organization that created the file.

The file sequence or sort will be, major to minor, in ascending
sequence:

State Abbreviation
County Code
Zip Code
Town Name
Local Address Code
Street Number
Street Name
House Number
Surname
Given Name One

The above sort sequence will also result in the file being
in ascending sequence based on the first twelve (12) positions
of each logical record.

NOTE: In this document and in the accompanying file layouts
and file descriptions position zero (0) is not used.
The first position of each logical record is referred to as position one (1).

Each file will be accompanied by three computer printouts. These are the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and a File Inspection Manuscript.

The Zip City Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

- Zip Code
- City Name
- Republican Household Count
  (number of records)
- Democrat Household Count
- Independent Household Count
- Other Parties Household Count
- Total Household Count
- Republican Gross Count (number of individuals)
- Democrat Gross Count
- Independent Gross Count
- Other Parties Gross Count
- Total Gross Count
- Warning Error Count
- Fatal Error Count
- Magnetic Tape Reel #
  (This indicates which reel within the file these records are contained on.)

Note that Household (record) count will never exceed Gross (individual) count.

There will be one detail line printed on the Zip City Audit each time any one of the following changes:

- Zip Code
- City Name
- Reel Number

There will be sub totals for each zip code, city name, and magnetic tape reel. Do not sub total for single lines of detail. There will be grand totals for each file. A sample layout of the Zip City Audit is contained in attachment "2".
The Political Unit Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, county code, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

- Township/City code
- Ward Code
- Precinct Code
- Political Unit Code
- Republican Household Count
- Democrat Household Count
- Independent Household Count
- Other Party Household Count
- Total Household Count
- Republican Gross Count
- Democrat Gross Count
- Independent Gross Count
- Other Party Gross Count
- Total Gross Count

There will be one detail line for each of the smallest political units in the file, with subtotals for each successively larger political unit and grand totals for the file. A sample layout of the Political Unit Audit is contained in attachment "3".

The File Inspection Manuscript will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings are described in attachment "4" which also contains a sample layout of the File Inspection Manuscript. The detail information contained in the manuscript will consist of each significant field contained in the records selected to be printed on this report. These records may be selected in one of two ways; error detection or every "Nth" record. The error detection option will be used by the List Compiler to display records with possible errors so they may be researched. When this is done each record will be keyed with error messages to aid in the research. When the final list validation process is performed, an every "Nth" record sample will be selected for display to be supplied with the final tape files. If the file size is 100,000 or fewer records, every one hundredth record in the file will be selected for inclusion in the file inspection audit. If the file size is greater than 100,000 records, every two hundredth record will be selected for inclusion. Error messages will not be keyed into the records in this step.
The List Compiler (the organization preparing the data files) will perform the following procedures prior to file shipment:

1. Prepare the file in the proper format.
2. Process the file with the validation program using the option of keying suspected error records and displaying them.
3. Research each record that is displayed.
4. Correct all discrepancies found in the file.
5. Repeat the above steps if necessary for "final cleanup".
6. Ship the completed files on magnetic tape with the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and the File Inspection Manuscript.

Two types of errors will be defined in attachment "5". A Fatal Error is one considered definite and unacceptable. A file containing any Fatal errors is not acceptable. A Warning Error is a condition which may or may not be a problem. Each warning error should be researched and corrected if necessary, but does not necessarily indicate that the record is not acceptable.
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Given Name-1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
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<td>A</td>
</tr>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>A</td>
</tr>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Title Code-Name 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Given Name-2</td>
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<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
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<td>Middle Initial-2</td>
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<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
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<tr>
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<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>91</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Given Name 4</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>102</td>
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<td>Middle Initial-4</td>
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<td>103</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Local Address Code</td>
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**ADDRESS FIELDS**

If Code 1 in Byte 104:

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<th>JUSTIFICATION</th>
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<th>TYPE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>House Number</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fraction or Apartment:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraction 1/2 (3 bytes) 112-116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blank (2 bytes) 115-116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apt Designation (5 bytes) 112-116</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prefix Street Direction</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
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**STREET NAMES**

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<th>JUSTIFICATION</th>
<th>ZERO</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Street Number (Numeric Sts. only)</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Street Name Field</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
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If Code 2 in Byte 104:

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<th>LENGTH</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>JUSTIFICATION</th>
<th>ZERO</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
</tr>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Blank</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rural Route Designation</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Post Office Box Designation</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYTE</td>
<td>LENGTH</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>JUSTIFICATION</td>
<td>ZERO</td>
<td>TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Edited Address</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Zip Post Office Name (Town Name)</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Political Party Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Census Tract</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Length of Residence</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contributor/Volunteer Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Contribution in Dollars</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Source of List</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Telephone Number</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Special Interest Codes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Issue Codes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
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<td>192</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Attitude Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Attachment 5

COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE DETAIL DESCRIPTION

Only the following characters are acceptable in this file:

- A thru Z
- Ø (Zero) thru 9
- / (Slash) only in position 113
- - (Dash) only in positions 106 thru 110

Reference to "Directory of Post Offices" will be shown as POD-26, which is that publication's issue number. A July 1971 or later issue should be used for reference.

A validation table will be constructed for each file to be compiled. Each record in the file will be checked against the validation table to insure that the following fields, singularly and in combination, are correct in content.

- Zip Code
- Township/City Code
- Ward Code
- Precinct Code
- Political Unit Code
- Congressional District Code
- State Lower House Code
- State Upper House Code
- Zip Post Office Name
  - (Town) (City) (Name)

Only those political codes that have been established by local political practice must be included in the table. However, the political coding structure must be such that the concatenation of Township/city code, ward code & precinct code uniquely defines a precinct in a county.

This procedure will insure that, for example, the county code in a record is valid for the state being processed, that his zip code is valid for this county, that this zip code and city name is consistent with POD-26, etc.

STATE ABBREVIATION - Use only standard abbreviations found in POD-26. An error found in this field results in a Fatal Error. Code A,

COUNTY CODE - Use only those codes supplied in the attached. If not consistent with the validation table, a Fatal Error results. This code must be consistent within a file.
SEQUENCE NUMBER - A unique contiguous sequence number must be applied to each record within a county file, beginning with 0000001. This number must be applied to the records so that when the file is sorted to ascending sequence number sort the following sequence, major to minor, will result:

- Zip Code
- Zip Post Office Name
- Local Address Code
- Street Number
- Street Name
- Street Direction
- House Number
- Surname
- Given Name

An error in this field is considered Fatal.

ZIP CODE - This field must contain the correct zip code for this record. Refer to POD-26. Fatal Error if not consistent with table.

TOWNSHIP/CITY CODE - If a township or a city code has been established as a local convention, it will be contained in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

WARD CODE - If political ward codes are assigned, they will be contained in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

PRECINCT CODE - If precinct codes are available, they will be included in the validation table. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results.

POLITICAL UNIT CODE - If local convention has established a subdivision of the above political units, this coding will be included in the validation table. Failure of consistency with the validation table is a Fatal Error.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CODE - This is the code for the U. S. Congressional district which applies to this record. This code will be contained in the validation table and an error found in this field is considered Fatal.
STATE LOWER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table.

STATE UPPER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table.

TITLE CODE 1 - Must contain one of the following:

- "1" - Indicates Title "Mr."
- "2" - Female, Title unknown
- "3" - "Miss"
- "4" - "Mrs."
- "5" - "Dr."
- "6" - "Rev."
- "9" - "No Title - Warning Error"
- "B" - Title "Mr. & Mrs."
- "C" - "Dr. & Mrs."
- "D" - "Rev. & Mrs."

Any other character results in Fatal Error.

In the list compilation procedure, if titles are not available in the source information, table look-up will be used to determine titles of individuals. Titles may require modification in the list netting procedure. (Example: Input John Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "3". During netting procedure it is found that John Doe and Mary Doe live at same address. Netting procedure would be to change John Doe title to Code "B" and place Mary Doe's given name and other information into the Name 2 field of John Doe's record with a title code "4". Mary Doe's record would then be deleted from the file.

GIVEN NAME 1 - This is the Given Name of the person considered head of household. If Christian name is not available, then first initial is acceptable.

Fatal Errors: .Imbedded Blanks

. Numeric Characters

.Blank Field
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>PRIORITY</th>
<th>QUANTITY</th>
<th>QUANTITY</th>
<th>QUANTITY</th>
<th>QUANTITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>2,625,000</td>
<td>2,100,000</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>725,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook Cty (Illinois)</td>
<td>960,000</td>
<td>840,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>1,560,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey (New York)</td>
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<td>700,000</td>
<td>1,025,000</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>COST PER MAILING</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1,370,000</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(New York)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6,255,000</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>UCC Expense Including Key Punching</td>
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<tr>
<td>Data Base Development Expense</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON STRACHAN
FROM: BOB MARIK
SUBJECT: Campaign Mailings

This memorandum is in response to your query of July 1, regarding mailings to Republicans. Several points should be made:

1. We had only contemplated mailings to Republicans in two or three of the top eleven states.

2. We have reduced the planned mailings to Republicans from three to two in those states.

3. The issue is not so much whether we can increase the 90% Republican support for the President. It is whether we can increase the turnout of those loyal Republicans by as much as 5%. The basis of our plans has been the evidence and political judgment from several statewide campaigns that direct mail can have that type of effect on turnout. For example, in California, there are approximately 3 million Republican voters. For every percentage that we increase their turnout, we add 30,000 votes to the President's total. When one recalls that the President's margin was approximately 220,000 in 1968 and 15,000 in 1960, the value of increased turnout becomes obvious.

4. In this election, we cannot take our Republican constituency for granted. With the presumed McGovern candidacy, we have already seen evidence of the tendency of "upper-end ticket splitters" (higher income suburban Republicans) to vote for McGovern. It will be absolutely necessary for the President to preserve his margin in that constituency to win the important industrial states. Direct mail can approach these voters with strong elements of the President's record, such as the Moscow and Peking summits.

July 12, 1972
5. In all of the eleven states, we are contemplating that the major emphasis of our direct mail efforts will be focused toward Democrats and Independents who might be persuaded to support the President, as you have suggested.

6. We have been subjecting the total direct mail strategy to a thorough review on the basis of the likely McGovern candidacy, of McGovern's strengths and weaknesses among Demographic segments and recent polling results both published and unpublished. Final recommendations will be made before the end of this week, and you will have an opportunity to review our updated analysis at that time.

I hope this information is helpful to you. Please give me a call if I can be of further assistance.

cc: Jeb S. Magruder
    Fred Malek
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. GORDON C. STRACHAN

FROM: JEB S. MAGRUDER

Because of the time problem, LaRue and I approved Morgan's proposal.
The magnitude of this memorandum deserves a brief recapitulation. The Direct Mail Budget was initially approved at $4,490,000, which was supposed to cover the data base development in eleven key states, research, postage, materials and mailing service for 31,567,000 ensembles. The breakdown of mailings by state is shown in TAB A. The original budget is shown in TAB B.

Since the initial proposal was made in April, we have run over our data base budget by $121,000, largely because we were unable to negotiate cost sharing arrangements with state parties and state-wide candidates in several cases. The time schedule for completed acquisition of voter lists is shown in TAB C. We have taken great care to select vendors capable of delivering on time and within budget. The contracts with these vendors have been written to assure performance. Many have penalty clauses included for late delivery. The detail of the specifications required is reflected in TAB D which each vendor has accepted as the standard for performance. We anticipate an additional $500,000 in costs in order to perform the Voter Identification mailings stimulated from the telephone and door-to-door contacts. This is due to the high costs of key punching and updating our files with the responses.

On the other hand, on considering the advice of several knowledgeable people, we propose to reduce the number of mailings to Republicans in California and New Jersey from three to two. Therefore, we would be able to stay within our initial budget.
The original plan, as you may recall, contemplated the use of one vendor, the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation, for the total mail program. The experience of the primaries, however, clearly indicated to both the vendor and ourselves that the complex data processing and the large volume of direct mail production was beyond the capacity of one facility.

Therefore, we have entered into negotiations with University Computing Company (Sam Wyly), on using their data processing capability to prepare the computer tapes which would be used to produce letters in several regional direct mail houses. Reuben H. Donnelley would serve Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania. Others would be selected to cover Maryland, New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, California, Texas and Washington State (TAB E).

By having the six regional computer printer/mailing facilities, we significantly cut the lead time from the time we mail to the time the ensembles are delivered, plus we can use the 5c pre-cancelled stamp that looks as if it is mailed first-class. The increased logistical problems are manageable with added staff; and are worthwhile to achieve faster delivery to the voters.

The UCC management systems, software and facilities are the best we have seen to date, and if we can afford the additional cost, using their centralized data processing system would give us the greatest degree of certainty of performance. Our biggest obstacle in dealing with a software company like UCC is communicating the uncertainty, as well as the complexities of the political direct mail and data base development arena. Although this is not an easy task, we feel that it can be accomplished and that this approach represents our best overall opportunity for success.

The first UCC proposal was for $1,616,000. They have subsequently reduced that to $1,400,000. The adoption of that system would add approximately $1,000,000 to the present budget.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That you approve using UCC as a centralized software facility and approve an added budget of $1,000,000 to complete this task.

APPROVE  DISAPPROVE  COMMENTS
That you approve the operating plan of using six regional computer letter/mailing facilities as shown in TAB E.

APPROVE        DISAPPROVE        COMMENTS

That you approve the hiring of one additional Traffic Controller and Secretary based on the added complexity with decentralization.

APPROVE        DISAPPROVE        COMMENTS

OVERALL DIRECT MAIL STRATEGY

Our original direct mail strategy was to mail to Democrats and Independents only after they had been identified as favorable to the President by voter canvasses. The purpose was to reinforce their commitment and get them out to vote. With Senator McGovern the odds-on-favorite to become the Democratic candidate, it is possible that a fundamental shift of the electorate toward the President will occur. To capitalize on this, we now feel that direct mail should be targeted only to the peripheral urban ethnic populations in the east such as Italian, Polish, Irish, etc., the Jewish population in all metropolitan areas in the key states and Spanish-speaking Americans, as well as other specific split-voting precincts with identifiable demographics. We would plan to mail a non-personal letter with copy geared for that specific voting segment along with a brochure with emphasis on their area of interest.

By switching from computerized letters exclusively for Democrats who support the President, to a non-personalized mailing geared to their specific interest and mailing in early September, we will be in a position to sway their opinions prior to voter identification. Voter identification will still occur which will stimulate "Get Out the Vote" telegrams and poll watching lists for all Democrats who are for the President. All Identified Republicans will also receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams as previously planned.
This change in approach does not require an increase in the total number of ensembles mailed and can be accomplished within the budget discussed earlier in this memorandum.

In summary, California and New Jersey as Priority I states, will receive one computerized mailing to Republicans in September. In all eleven states, non-personal mailings will be made to reachable Democrats, and all Republicans and others identified as for the President will receive "Get Out the Vote" telegrams.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the non-personal mailings to reachable Democrats by demographic segment in September.

APPROVE________ DISAPPROVE______ COMMENTS________

Attachments:
TAB A
TAB B
TAB C
TAB D
TAB E

cc: Dr. Robert N. Marik
## Top Priority States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>(Thousands) Households to Receive Mail</th>
<th>Mailings per Household</th>
<th>(Thousands) Total Mailings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>x 3</td>
<td>5,700</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>885 (D&amp;I)</td>
<td>x 2</td>
<td>1,770</td>
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<td>Texas</td>
<td>1,292</td>
<td>x 2</td>
<td>2,584</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
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<td>3,416</td>
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<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>880 (a)</td>
<td>x 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>381 (D&amp;I)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>1,680</td>
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**Total Priority I** = 20,232

## Priority II States

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<th>Mailings per Household</th>
<th>(Thousands)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1,690 (R)</td>
<td>x 1</td>
<td>3,390</td>
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<td></td>
<td>850 (D&amp;I)</td>
<td>x 2</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,390</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>1,531 (R)</td>
<td>x 1</td>
<td>1,531</td>
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<td></td>
<td>619 (D&amp;I)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Michigan</td>
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<td>x 1</td>
<td>948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>316 (D&amp;I)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,580</td>
</tr>
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<td>Maryland</td>
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<td>x 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1,120 (D&amp;I)</td>
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<td>2,455</td>
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<td>Hailing Per Household</td>
<td>Total Hailings</td>
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<td>----------------------------</td>
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<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>288 (R)</td>
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<td>Washington</td>
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<td>131 (D&amp;I)</td>
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<td><strong>Total Priority II</strong></td>
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| **Total Priorities I & II** |                    |                       | **31,677** }
### ORIGINAL DIRECT MAIL BUDGET

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<td>Postage</td>
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<td>Research</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL BUDGET</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>10-20 July</td>
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<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>17 July-7 August</td>
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<td>Illinois</td>
<td>17 July-15 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>17 July-15 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Universal List</td>
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<td>(presently available)</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Separate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>17 July-7 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>10 July-21 August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>31 July-15 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>31 July-21 August</td>
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</table>
COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE

List Description
and
Specifications

6/15/77
CONTENTS

General ........................................... Page 1
Field Definitions and Layout .................. Attachment A
Zip City Audit ................................. Attachment B
Political Unit Audit ......................... Attachment C
File Inspection Audit ......................... Attachment D
Detail Description of Fields Contained in File Attachment E
Modulus 10 Arithmetic ....................... Attachment F
COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE

Each file will contain one complete county. Partial counties or files containing multiple counties will not be accepted.

The files will be supplied on magnetic tape recorded nine track 1600 BPI. There will be no internal tape labels. The files will contain 2,000 character blocks made up of 200 character logical records blocked ten. The last block may be truncated. See Attachment "A" for the format of each logical record. Each reel of the file will be closed with a tape mark.

Each reel of magnetic tape will be clearly labeled with an adhesive external label. The date of file creation, state name, county name, county code, and reel number + total reels in the file will be shown on each magnetic tape. The label will identify the organization that created the file.

The file sequence or sort will be, major to minor, in ascending sequence:

- State Abbreviation
- County Code
- Zip Code
- Town Name
- Local Address Code
- Street Number
- Street Name
- House Number
- Surname
- Given Name One

The above sort sequence will also result in the file being in ascending sequence based on the first twelve (12) positions of each logical record.

NOTE: In this document and in the accompanying file layouts and file descriptions, position zero (0) is not used. The first position of each logical record is referred to as position one (1).

Each file will be accompanied by three computer printouts. These are the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and a File Inspection Manuscript.

The Zip City Audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

- Zip Code
- City Name
- Republican Household Count
- Democrat Household Count
- Independent Household Count
- Other Parties Household Count
NOTE: Household count is equal to the number of records contained in the file. Gross count is equal to the number of individual names in the file.

There will be one detail line printed on the Zip City Audit each time any one of the following changes:

- Zip Code
- City Name
- Reel Number

There will be subtotals for each zip code, city name, and magnetic tape reel. Do not subtotal for single lines of detail. Reel totals require only record count. There will be grand totals for each file. A sample layout of the Zip City Audit is contained in attachment "B".

The political unit audit will contain date, page number, state name, county name, county code, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings will consist of:

- Township/City Code
- Ward Code
- Precinct Code
- Political Unit Code
- Republican Household Count
- Democrat Household Count
- Independent Household Count
- Other Party Household Count
- Total Household Count
- Republican Gross Count
- Democrat Gross Count
- Independent Gross Count
- Other Party Gross Count
- Total Gross Count

There will be one detail line for each of the smallest political units in the file, with subtotals for each successively larger political unit and grand totals for the file. (Counts are required for county, township or city, ward, precinct, and political unit code.) A sample layout of the political unit
audit is contained in attachment "C".

The file inspection manuscript will contain date, page number, state name, county name, the name of the organization that produced it, and column headings on each page. The column headings are described in attachment "D" which also contains a sample layout of the file inspection audit. The detail information contained in the manuscript will consist of each significant field contained in the records selected to be printed on this report. These records may be selected in one of two ways: error detection or every "Nth" record. The error detection option will be used by the List Compiler to display records with possible errors so they may be researched. When an error detection run is made, each record will be keyed with error messages to aid in the research. When the final list validation process is performed, an every "Nth" record sample will be selected for display to be supplied with the final tape files. Error codes will not be placed in the file during this run. If the file size is 100,000 or fewer records, every one hundredth record in the file will be selected for inclusion in the file inspection audit. If the file size is greater than 100,000 records, every two hundredth record will be selected for inclusion. Error messages will not be keyed into the records in this step.

The List Compiler (the organization preparing the data files) will perform the following procedures prior to file shipment:

1. Prepare the file in the proper format.
2. Process the file with the validation program using the option of keying suspected error records and displaying them.
3. Research each record that is displayed.
5. Repeat the above steps if necessary for "final cleanup".
6. Ship the completed files on magnetic tape with the Zip City Audit, the Political Unit Audit, and the every "Nth" Record File Inspection Audit.

Two types of errors will be defined in attachment "E". A Fatal Error is one considered definite and unacceptable. A file containing any fatal errors is not acceptable. A Warning Error is a condition which may be a problem. Each should be researched and corrected if necessary, but does not necessarily indicate that the record is not acceptable.

Positions 178 through 200, which will be blank during list compilation may be used to post error flags into records selected from the file for display purposes. This must be considered only a temporary use of these record positions for display purposes. The error flags will not be left in the final tape.
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<td>Given Name-1</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Middle Initial-1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Surname Suffix Code-1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Title Code-Name 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Given Name-2</td>
<td>L</td>
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<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
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<td>Middle Initial-2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Surname Suffix Code 2</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Title Code-Name 3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Given Name 3</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Middle Initial-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYTE</td>
<td>LENGTH</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>JUSTIFICATION</td>
<td>ZERO SUPPRESS</td>
<td>TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Surname Suffix Code-3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Title Code-Name 4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Given Name-4</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
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<td>102</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Surname Suffix Code-4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Local Address Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ADDRESS FIELDS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>House Number</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fraction or Apartment:</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraction 1/2 (3bytes) 112-114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blank (2 bytes) 115-116</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apt Designation (5 bytes) 112-116</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prefix Street Direction</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>STREET NAME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Street Number (Numeric Sts. only)</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Street Name Field</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Blank</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rural Route Designation</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Post Office Box Designation</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Edited Address</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Zip Post Office Name (Town Name)</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYTE</td>
<td>LENGTH</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>JUSTIFICATION</td>
<td>ZERO SUPPRESS</td>
<td>TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L=LEFT R=RIGHT X=NOT APPLICABLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Political Party Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Census Tract</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Length of Residence</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contributor/Volunteer Code</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Contribution in Dollars</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Source of List</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Telephone Number</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Special Interest Codes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Issue Codes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
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<td>Attitude Code</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>A/N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blank</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIP</td>
<td>CITY NAME</td>
<td>REPUB</td>
<td>DEMO</td>
<td>INDEP</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35001</td>
<td>Johnston</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35002</td>
<td>Talion</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CITY TOTAL</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35004</td>
<td>Janson</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35007</td>
<td>Neihills</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZIP TOTAL</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35020</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RECORD TOTAL FOR REEL</td>
<td>1,523</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35025</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZIP TOTAL</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GRAND TOTAL</td>
<td>1,230</td>
<td>1,341</td>
<td>1,341</td>
<td>1,341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For single ZIP city double space count line.

Print city total when there are multi-ZIP cities.
(Single space ZIP lines and double space total line)

Print ZIP total when there are multi-city ZIPs.
(Single space ZIP lines and double space total line)

Print record total (total records on reel) when change of reel
(If reel splits a ZIP - complete ZIP and print ZIP total)

At end-of-ZIP print record count and grand totals.
(Record total should be double spaced and grand total line is to be staggered)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>COMPANY NAME</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>04/13/74</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CERN COUNTY**

**POLITICAL UNIT AUST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TURF/CD PRTCT POLICY</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLD COUNTS</th>
<th>CROSS NANE COUNTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CITY CD CODE</td>
<td>REPUB</td>
<td>DEMO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00011 1</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00011 2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECINCT SUBT</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00014 1</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00012</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00016 1</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00017</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 01 00018 2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECINCT SUBT</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 02</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 02 00014 1</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0001 02 00016</td>
<td>1,740</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURF/CITY SUBT</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td>2,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0002 01 0001 1</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0002 01 00012</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECINCT SUBT</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0002 01 0002</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0002 01 0003</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0002 01 0004</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TURF/CITY SUBT</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTY TOTAL</td>
<td>3,410</td>
<td>3,410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COUNTY TOTAL**

<p>|              | 3,410 | 3,410 | 1,105 | 305 | 5,910 | 5,910 | 1,105 | 5,910 | 9,215 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Attachment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6/15/72</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXXX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### File Inspection Manuscript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>ZIP CODE</th>
<th>UNIT CODES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chung File Codes

1. XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX
2. XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX
3. XXX XXX XXX XXX XXX
4. XXX XXX XXX XXX

### Total Input File Count

- Total Manuscript Count: XXX XXX

### Total File Error Records

- Total Manuscript Count: XXX XXX

---

**NOTE:**

- This document is to be printed from error record run only.
COMMITTEE GENERAL FILE DETAIL DESCRIPTION

Only the following characters are acceptable in this file:

A thru Z
Ø (Zero) thru 9
/ (Slash) only in position 113
- (Dash) only in positions 106 thru 110
Blank

Reference to "Directory of Post Offices" will be shown as PCD-26, which is that publication's issue number. A July, 1971 or later issue should be used for reference. In some cases it may also be necessary to refer to The National Zip Code Directory, Publication 65.

A validation table will be constructed for each file to be compiled. Each record in the file will be checked against the validation table to insure that the following fields, singularly and in combination, are correct in content.

State Abbreviation
County Code
Zip Code
Township/City Code
Ward Code
Precinct Code
Political Unit Code
Congressional District Code
State Lower House Code
State Upper House Code
Zip Post Office Name
(Town) (City) (Name)

Only those political codes that have been established by local political practice must be included in the table. Four of these codes, however, must uniquely identify the smallest political unit within county. These are township/city, ward code, precinct, and political unit code.

This procedure will insure that, for example, the county code in a record is valid for the state being processed, that this zip code is valid for this county, that this zip code and city name is consistent with PCD-26, etc.

STATE ABBREVIATION - Use only standard abbreviations found in PCD-26. An error found in this field when checked against the validation table results in a Fatal Error, code A, placed in Location 178.

COUNTY CODE - Use only those codes supplied in the attached. If not consistent with the validation table, a Fatal Error results. This code must be consistent within a file. Error Code A, Location 178.
SEQUENCE NUMBER - A unique contiguous sequence number must be applied to each record within a county file, beginning with 0000001. This number must be applied to the records so that when the file is sorted to ascending sequence number sort the following sequence, major to minor, will result:

- Zip Code
- Zip Post Office Name
- Local Address Code
- Street Number
- Street Name
- Street Direction
- House Number
- Surname
- Given Name

An error in this field is considered Fatal, code B, Location 179.

CHECK DIGIT - This digit is calculated for each record using Modulus 10 arithmetic applied to the county code and sequence number as a continuous field. An explanation of the Modulus 10 procedure is included in attachment "F". An error detected in this field causes a Fatal Error, code B, Location 179.

ZIP CODE - This field must contain the correct zip code for this record. Refer to PCD-26. Fatal Error if not consistent with table. Code C, Location 180.

TOWNSHIP/CITY CODE - If a township or a city code has been established as a local convention, it will be contained in the validation table. If township/city code is not used in this file, the field should be zero filled. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results. Code D, Location 181.

WARD CODE - If political ward codes are assigned, they will be contained in the validation table. If ward codes are not used in this file, the field will be zero filled. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results. Code D, Location 181.

PRECINCT CODE - If precinct codes are available, they will be included in the validation table. If precinct code is not used in this file, this field will be zero filled. This field must be consistent with the validation table or a Fatal Error results. Code D, Location 181.

POLITICAL UNIT CODE - If local convention has established a subdivision of the above political units, this coding will be included in the validation table. If this field is not used for a given file, it will be zero filled. Failure of consistency with the validation table is a Fatal Error, Code D, Location 181.
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CODE - This is the code for the U.S. Congressional District which applies to this record. This code will be contained in the validation table and an error found in this field is considered Fatal. Code D, Location 181.

STATE LOWER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table. Fatal Error, Code D, Location 181.

STATE UPPER HOUSE CODE - Must be consistent with the validation table. Fatal Error, Code D, Location 181.

TITLE CODE 1 - Must contain one of the following:

- "1" - Indicates Title "Mr."
- "3" - "Miss"
- "4" - "Mrs."
- "5" - "Dr."
- "6" - "Rev."
- "9" - No Title - Warning Error (if not initials only)
- "B" - Title "Mr. & Mrs."
- "C" - "Dr. & Mrs."
- "P" - "Rev. & Mrs."

Any other character results in Fatal Error. Warning error (Title Code 9) or fatal error is Code E, Location 182.

In the list compilation procedure, if titles are not available in the source information, table look-ups will be used to determine titles of individuals. Titles may require modification in the list netting procedure. (Example: Input John Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "1". Input Mary Doe, no title. Table look-up procedure applies title code "3". During netting procedure it is found that John Doe and Mary Doe live at same address and are members of the same party. Netting procedure would be to change John Doe title to Code "3" and place Mary Doe's given name and other information into the Name ? field of John Doe's record with a title code "4". Mary Doe's record would then be deleted from the file.

GIVEN NAME 1 - This is the given name of the person considered head of household. If christian name is not available, then first initial is acceptable.

Fatal Errors: . Imbedded Blanks
 . Numeric Characters
 . Blank Field

Warning Errors: . Two character names other than ED, AL
 . Names with no vowels (Exclude initials only)
 . Two contiguous identical vowels
Warning Errors:  
- Four contiguous consonants 
- Three contiguous identical consonants 
- Three contiguous vowels

**Error Code E, Location 182.**

**MIDDLE INITIAL 1** - The middle initial must be included if available. Fatal Error: Non Alpha character or non Blank. Code E, Location 182.

**SURNAME** - This field will contain the family name or surname of the family residing in this household.

Fatal Errors:  
- Imbedded Blanks 
- Numeric Characters 
- Blank Field

Warning Errors:  
- Two character or less names 
- No vowels 
- Three contiguous vowels 
- Four contiguous consonants 
- Three contiguous identical consonants 
- Field filled to maximum length

**Error Code F, Location 183.**

**SURNAME SUFFIX CODE 1** - If any of the following Surname Suffixes are available, they must be coded:  
- Jr. = "1" 
- Sr. = "2" 
- II or 2nd = "3" 
- III or 3rd = "4"

If this field is not coded 1, 2, 3, or 4 it must contain a blank or a Fatal Error results. Error Code F, Location 183.

**NAME TWO** - If two or more given names are available for this record, then follow the instructions for Title Code 1 for Title Code 2, Given Name 1 for Given Name 2, etc. for Middle initial and Surname Suffix code. If only one given name is available, Given Name 2, 3, and 4 fields must be blank. (This includes title, initial suffix.) The Name 2 field should contain the "second" head of household, normally the wife in the family. Name 2 Error Code G, Location 184.

**NAME THREE AND NAME FOUR** - Follow same logic as established for additional names above. Error Code H, Location 185 for Name 3. Error Code I, Location 186 for Name 4.

**LOCAL ADDRESS CODE** - The local address code is used to categorize each address into one of three categories. All addresses which contain both a house number and street name are coded "1".
Addresses which consist of Route or Box or both are coded "2". Addresses which do not fall into the above categories are coded "3". Each record must be coded with a 1, 2, or 3, or otherwise a Fatal Error results. Error Code J, Location 187.

ADDRESS FIELD FOR LOCAL ADDRESS CODE "1"

HOUSE NUMBER - All records with a local address code "1" must have a house number.

- Blank or Imbedded Blank = Fatal Error
- Non Numeric Characters = Warning Error
- First Character Zero (0) = Warning Error

Error Code K, Location 188.

ADDRESS WITH FRACTION - The fraction appears in the fraction field, Bytes 112 - 114. The following are permissible: 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, 1/7, 1/8, 1/9. All fractions must contain (/) (slash) in Byte 113. Error Code K, Location 188.

ADDRESS WITH APARTMENT - The apartment designation appears in Bytes 112 - 116. The abbreviation "APT" should not be included. (Example: Apartment 14B would result in "14B" being placed in Bytes 112 - 114 and Bytes 115 - 116 would be blank. Error Code K, Location 188.

STREET DIRECTION - If the street has preceding directional indicators, they will be placed in this field. The permissible directional indicators are: N S E W NE NW SE SW

All other character combinations except blanks are Fatal Error. Error Code L, Location 189.

STREET NUMBER - All records containing a street name which has numeric designation at the beginning of the street name (example: 2ND ST) will contain a street number. Otherwise, this field will be blank. If this record contains a numeric street, the first three (if there are three or more numeric characters, or fewer characters if there are fewer than three numeric characters at the beginning of the street name) numeric characters of the street name will be placed in this field. This field is used only for sorting purposes. The full street name is repeated in the street name field. Alpha characters in this field result in a Fatal Error. Error Code L, Location 189.
STREET NAME - All records with a local address code "1" must have a street name. Examples: 10TH ST
ADAMS AVE
ROCKY CIRCLE RD

The street name contained in this field is the name of the street on which the people defined by this record live. The spelling for any given street name must be consistent throughout the town in which it appears. Apartment definitions should not be included in this field. Rural route or Post Office Box information should not be included in this field. Suffix directions may be included in this field. These are directional indications that follow the street name. Examples: (1701) Pennsylvania AVE SW
(142 1/2) (N) Adams Rd SE
(1223) Avenue of Stars N

The street name field must be left justified. It may contain not more than one contiguous imbedded blank. In other words, one blank may be used to separate logical segments of the street name, but not more than one blank should appear between the elements of the street name.

Fatal Errors: .Blank street name field .Multiple contiguous imbedded blanks
Example: Rocky____ Hill Rd .Numeric character in first position of street name field and a street number field that does not coincide.
.Numeric streets that do not have the proper suffix behind the numeric portion of the name.

Streets ending in "1" should have "ST"

```
"" "" ""2" "" ""ND"
"" "" ""3" "" ""RD"
"" "" ""4" "" ""TH"
"" "" ""5" "" ""TH"
"" "" ""6" "" ""TH"
"" "" ""7" "" ""TH"
"" "" ""8" "" ""TH"
"" "" ""9" "" ""TH"
"" "" ""0" "" ""TH"
```

Examples: 2ND AVE OK
2TH ST Warning
3TH AVE Warning
3RD ST OK

Error Code L, Location 189.
Warning Errors: Street names that do not end in one of the following street designators:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ST</th>
<th>CT</th>
<th>AVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RD</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>LN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIR</td>
<td>DR</td>
<td>BLVD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCH</td>
<td>CTR</td>
<td>HWY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKY</td>
<td>TER</td>
<td>CTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPY</td>
<td>FWY</td>
<td>PK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLZ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Street designators may in some cases be followed by suffix directional indicators. Example: 1701 Pennsylvania Ave NW. In this situation the validation program must first recognize the suffix direction, then look to the left of the suffix direction for a valid street designator.

Examples:
- ADAMS AVE OK
- ADAMS AVE SW OK
- ADAMS SW Warning
- AVENUE OF STARS Warning

Street names that start with directional indicators. (prefix directional indicators must be in the street direction field.)

Examples:
- N ADAMS AVE Warning
- SW TOUGHY BLVD Warning
- 10TH ST OK
- MATCH RD OK

NOTE: Lettered street names should be contained wholly in the Street Name Field.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>ST_NAME</th>
<th>OK/Warning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Adams Ave</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ave</td>
<td>Warning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>E St</td>
<td>OK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Should be:
- N Ave OK

Street names that start with street designators (see list above.)

Examples:
- Adams Ave OK
- ST Warning
- Ave SW Warning
Street names that start with ND or TH.

Examples: 10TH ST OK
           TH ST Warning
           102ND AVE OK
           ND AVE Warning

Street names starting with a numeric zero (0).

Examples: 10TH ST OK
           01ST ST Warning

Street names containing three or more contiguous identical consonants.

Examples: MATTHEW AVE OK
           MATTHEW AVE Warning
           HAMMER RD OK
           HAMMER RD Warning

Street names containing three or more contiguous vowels.

Examples: BEANIE CIR OK
           BEANIE CIR Warning

Street names containing four contiguous consonants.

Examples: COLLECTION AVE OK
           COLLECTION AVE Warning

Street names containing no vowels.

Examples: BELL ST OK
           BELL ST Warning

Error Code L, Location 189.

RURAL ROUTE AND/OR POSTAL BOXES - All records with a local address code "2" must have a Rural Route designation or a postal box designation, or both.

RURAL ROUTE DESIGNATION - The Rural Route designation field should contain the specific route identifier. This field should not contain a "R" or "RR" to indicate Rural Route.

Examples: "1" OK
          "RR 1" Wrong
          "14" OK
          "1A" OK
          "EAST" OK
          "RFD" Wrong

Error Code M, Location 190.
POSTAL BOX DESIGNATION - The postal box designation should contain the specific box designator. This field should not contain "BOX" or "BX", etc.

Examples:

- "1"  OK
- "BOX 1" Wrong
- "14 A" OK
- "BX 14" Wrong

Error Code M, Location 190.

EDITED LOCAL ADDRESS - The local address field will be used as the second line of a three line address, and must be acceptable for that purpose.

Records with a local address code "3" must have a local address acceptable to the postal authorities for delivery to the addressee. (The family in this record.) In some areas a blank local address line may be acceptable.

Example: Mr. John Doe
Ridge Star Route (Local Address Line)
Reeds Ferry NH 03054

All Code "3" records should receive a code N warning flag in Location 191 so they may be inspected to insure they are acceptable.

CITY NAME (Town) (Zip Post Office) (Name) - The city name must be consistent with POD-2G. PCD-26 contains abbreviations for city names that will exceed the field. This field must also be consistent with the Validation Table. Any errors detected in this field are fatal. Error Code P, Location 192.

PARTY - Only the following are acceptable in this field:

- R - Republican
- D - Democrat
- I - Independent
- C - Conservative
- L - Liberal
- A - American Independent
- N - No Party
- X - Other

Any other character = Fatal Error

Error Code Q, Location 193.

CENSUS TRACT - Will be included in the file if available. This field will not be validated.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE - Will be included in file if available. This field will not be validated.
CONTRIBUTOR/VOLUNTEER CODE - Must be blank. Fatal.

CONTRIBUTION - Must be blank. Fatal

SOURCE OF LIST - Must contain the code assigned by the committee for each list. Error Code R, Location 194.

TELEPHONE NUMBER - The telephone number will be included in the file if available. This field will not be validated.

SPECIAL INTEREST CODES - Blank. Fatal Error.

ISSUE CODES - Must be blank. Fatal.

ATTITUDE CODE - Must be blank. Fatal.

BLANKS (193 - 200) - Must be blank. Fatal.

NOTE: In addition to checking all of the items listed above, the validation program will check the file to insure that left-right justification, zero suppression or leading zeros, and character type content is correct. (Alpha in alpha fields, numeric in numeric.)

The validation program will check to insure the file sort is correct and that no duplication of information is contained in the file.

Sequence or sort errors will be flagged by a code S in Location 195. Fatal error.

Duplication detection will be flagged by a code T in Location 196. Fatal.

Detection of error flags in Locations 178 - 200 will be flagged by a U in Location 197.
The modulus 10 method is as follows:

1. The units position and every alternate position of the basic code number are multiplied by 2.

2. The digits in the product and the digits in the basic code number not multiplied by 2 are crossfooted.

3. The crossfooted total is subtracted from the next-higher number ending in zero.

4. The difference is the check digit.

Basic code number: 1 2 5 0 0 6 3 4 8 7  
Units and every alternate position of basic code number: 2 0 6 4 7  
Multiply by 2: 4 1 2 9 4  
Product:  
Digits not multiplied by 2: 1 5 0 3 8  
Cross-add: 1+4+5+1+0+2+3+9+8+4 = 37  
Next-higher number ending in zero: 40  
Subtract crossfooted total: -37  
Check digit: 3  
Self-checking number: 1 2 5 0 0 6 3 4 8 7 3
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: Campaign Direct Mail

Magruder is asking whether a direct mail letter over the President's signature can be considered for the campaign. He claims he is under severe time pressure or I wouldn't have forwarded this to you without complete staffing.

I believe such a letter would be a mistake. It raises the President's campaign profile too high. It demeans the Presidency. It cannot be self-laudatory, harshly critical of McGovern's issue stands, or "political" enough to accomplish the goal of getting the President's voters to the polls.
MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. R. Haldeman
FROM: JEB S. McGruder
SUBJECT: Direct Mail

In our planning for direct mail, several of our people have suggested that a letter signed by the President would be more effective than any other approach. Such a letter would be "Presidential" in tone, and printed on official-type letterhead. The notation, "Not printed at government expense" would be included at the bottom of the page.

These would be computer letters, with personalized inside address and salutation. The first and last paragraphs would be standard, but interval paragraphs might be varied to reflect specific issues of interest to each voter segment.

It is now contemplated to send such letters to Democrats and Independents in priority precincts of the target states. The objective would be to exert strong influence on potential ticket splitters early in the campaign -- about mid-September. Although the mailings are several weeks in the future, we must commit on paper very soon. The paper for this mailing would be of a higher quality than that used for other mailings. If it were procured now, but not used as proposed, it could be sold back to the vendor, or applied to other mailings. Either option would incur a moderate cost. At the appropriate time, the proposed text of the letters and the areas to be mailed would be prepared for review before the President's signature is obtained. A small test mailing to one market will also be proposed, to measure any possible negative factors before the total mailing is committed.

CONFIDENTIAL
The purpose of this memo is to solicit an indication that a campaign mailing bearing the President's signature can be considered, so that the long lead-time procurement can begin, if appropriate.

Agree that the option of a mailing signed by the President should remain open and that procurement should proceed on that basis.

Agree ____________ Disapprove ____________
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: E. D. FAILOR
SUBJECT: Attacking the McGovern-Eagleton Ticket on Advocating Tax Increases

Background

On Sunday, July 23, 1972, Senator Thomas Eagleton appeared on Face the Nation at which time he was asked if new tax increases would be needed. Senator Eagleton replied:

"There will be need, I think, for some additional revenues to begin to deliver on some of the domestic programs that the Democratic Party has sponsored and articulated."

Concept

Taxes are a gut issue. Seldom can a candidate run on a platform of higher taxes and win. People are overwhelmed by all the taxes they are paying now.

We should, as soon as possible, get the message to the people that the McGovern-Eagleton ticket is advocating higher taxes (in addition to a redistribution of wealth), apparently for everyone, to implement its dangerous domestic programs. The message should become a major theme in our campaign from now until our convention. A maximum effort would be justified in getting this message out.

We should research the cost of all of McGovern's domestic proposals in depth coming up with figures showing a much greater need for more monies. Deducted from these increased expenditures would be his military cuts and "closure of tax loopholes." Our speakers should be prepared in depth so that McGovern cannot wiggle off the
hook without being put firmly on the defensive.

Our logic would be that there is a major difference between the candidates on the matter of taxes. Senator Eagleton has been forthright in telling Americans that a general tax increase will be necessary if his ticket is elected. The McGovernites believe in more government and higher taxes; and President Nixon believes that what "the people of America needs is less government, fewer federal programs that don't work, lower taxes with more money in the pockets of the people and less money in the hands of federal bureaucracy."

Methods

We should shoot for a maximum effort during the week of July 31 to:

a) get the message out;

b) see just how well we produce under a maximum effort;

and

c) get our people in the field initiated to this kind of effort.

The following methods should be used:

1. Clark MacGregor speak at a forum that would give him T.V. network coverage;

2. Senator Bob Dole speak at a forum that would give him T.V. network coverage;

3. Vice President Agnew would use this as a main topic in a speech or at a press conference;

4. Speech inserts would be prepared for all surrogates;

5. A fact idea sheet would be prepared for and sent to each Republican candidate for the House and the Senate with the request that they make a press release on their political sub-division on this topic;

6. The same request as in 5 above would be made of each Republican governor and Republican candidate for governor;

7. Democrats for Nixon would be programmed for this attack;
8. Union leaders for Nixon would be asked to speak out on this issue;

9. Radio recordings of MacGregor's and Dole's statements would be sent out country wide;

10. Our entire letter writing organization would be turned on;

11. Friendly editorial and news writers would be contacted;

12. State Chairmen of CRP would be asked to issue appropriate news releases and/or have news conferences; and

13. Our Business and Industry would be alerted to have their people make states.

The other side of this attack would be the positive line setting out the Nixon record of reducing taxes in 1969. In each statement the attack line should be contrasted with the Nixon record.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above line be adopted from July 31 through August 19.

Approve_________________________ Disapprove_________________________

Comments:
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: LAWRENCE M. HIGBY
FROM: JEB S. MACRUDER

For your information.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MACGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: GLENN J. SEDAM, JR.

SUBJECT: Monitoring Senator McGovern's Compliance with the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972

We have proceeded to establish a Task Force to monitor the Democratic Candidate's performance in complying with the requirements of the new Federal Election Campaign Act. The Task Force, as we now see it, will be divided into two teams, each of which will function in a distinct area.

One team, composed of volunteer lawyers and accountants from Washington firms, will scrutinize present and future filings by the McGovern Committee and all associated committees at the Federal Election Office. We have obtained copies of all such filings to date and this team will thoroughly audit every aspect of these and future reports. In so doing our people will attempt to correlate actual activity in the field with reported receipts and expenditures. The team's immediate goals will be:

(1.) To obtain an immediate check on some of the more visible and obvious violations that McGovern and his committees might have committed under the new act during the primary elections and pre-nominating period; and to indicate whether further more detailed checking is warranted.

(2.) To provide a testing ground which, by trial and error, can develop the most efficient mechanism for conducting a similar monitoring program when reports are filed on the general election campaign.

(3.) To initiate the formation of a data base of the names and addresses of contributors and other persons and organizations connected with the McGovern campaign so as to better be able to ascertain violations under the media expenditure limitation provisions of the new Act.

Our Washington team will be headed by Geoffrey Myers, an able
young attorney who was recommended to us by Larry Higby. Geoff
will be assisted by Jim Swenson, a tax accountant of 13 years
experience at Price-Waterhouse and reputed to be the youngest
man ever made a partner at that firm.

The other team of the Task Force will monitor the opposition's
campaign activities in each of the states. Particular emphasis
will be placed upon checking anti-Administration advertisements
which, on their face, can not be directly linked to the McGovern
candidacy. This team will feed the names of persons signing or
paying for such advertisements back to Washington. The Washing­
ton team will then attempt to match those names with the names
of people within the McGovern organization and contributors
to his candidacy which are listed in the filings.

Our field team will be headed by Mr. Carl W. Vogt, a Washington
partner of the Atlanta law firm of Thompson, Oglethorpe, Haynesworth,
and Deckins. Mr. Vogt will be working with the aid of local
lawyers in each state. We had considered using volunteers sup­
plied through Lawyers for the Re-election of The President, but
have concluded that a person responsible directly to the state
Nixon chairmen would be preferable. Attached at Tab A is the
draft of a letter from you to the individual state chairmen which
requests the appointment of a lawyer to assist on this project.

Both Task Force project teams will be generally supervised by
Thomas S. Markey, a senior partner in the Washington law firm of
Dow, Lohman and Albertson. Mr. Markey will be retiring from his
firm at the end of July and will be available to the Committee
on a full-time volunteer basis beginning August 1st. Mr. Markey,
who was recommended to us by Larry Higby, will coordinate all
activities of the two teams and will generally be available to us
for counsel on other matters as well.
Proposed letter from Mr. MacGregor to all State Nixon Chairman.

Dear 

The Committee for the Re-election of the President has commenced a nation-wide program to monitor the activities of the McGovern organization as such relate to the requirements set forth in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

The success of this program will depend in large measure on the help we are able to receive from each state organization. From now until the election we must closely observe opposition fund raising activities, and expenditures for radio, television, newspaper, magazine, and billboard advertising. It seems evident that this can best be done from within each state.

Will you please promptly designate for me a lawyer whom you regard as qualified, and available, to handle this assignment in your state? We will then contact him through our Counsel, Glenn Sedam, who is directing this program for the Committee. Your cooperation and prompt reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
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July 20. 1972

Proposed letter from Mr. MacGregor to all State Nixon Chairman.

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The success of this program will depend in large measure on the help we are able to receive from each state organization. From now until the election we must closely observe opposition fund raising activities, and expenditures for radio, television, newspaper, magazine, and billboard advertising. It seems evident that this can best be done from within each state.

Will you please promptly designate for me a lawyer whom you regard as qualified, and available, to handle this assignment in your state? We will then contact him through our Counsel, Glenn Sedam, who is directing this program for the Committee. Your cooperation and prompt reply will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,
COMMITTEE FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

July 25, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: GORDON C. STRACHAN
FROM: JEB S. MAGRuder

The attached memorandum, which has been approved, supersedes the previous memorandum of the same subject.
MEMORANDUM

July 24, 1972

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH:  JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM:  E. D. FAILOR

SUBJECT: Strategy From Now To Republican National Convention

Elements to be used:

1. Democrats for Nixon and other Second Parties

   Chuck Colson has the responsibility for coordinating this effort on behalf of the President through this time period.

   The following recommendations are made for the Democrats for Nixon during this time frame:

   a) That a formal, publicly announced Democrats for Nixon organization with a well-known person as its head be established as soon as possible to serve as a rallying point;

   b) That state and local Democrats for Nixon organizations be set up in as many states as soon as possible with key states to be given priority -- we recognize that in some southern states we will not have Democrats for Nixon organizations, for example: Virginia;

   c) That Democrats for Nixon, collectively and individually, be used as our primary attack vehicle during this time frame;

   d) That well-known Democrats coming out for the President be briefed by Colson's representatives on the "line" before the public announcement;

   Other second parties including union leaders, community and business leaders, religious leaders, well-known

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY
celebrities and the like, also carry out our attack line.

2. Surrogates

During this time period our surrogates will put out the affirmative line as indicated below. The correct attack line should also be made available to them to use in the event they are asked questions by the press about McGovern and Eagleton.

3. Other Vehicles

For both the affirmative line and attack line we will endeavor to plant stories with friendly wire writers, newspaper and magazine writers and commentators. We will, also, feed relevant radio tapes to radio stations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Periods</th>
<th>Attack Line</th>
<th>Affirmative Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 23-29</td>
<td>McGovern's Welfare Tax Proposals</td>
<td>The President's Welfare and Revenue Sharing proposals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McGovern's welfare and tax proposals seem to scare people the most. We should continue this attack theme another week to set it clearly in the public's mind and to make it more difficult for McGovern to move away from these positions as he must do. We should attack on both the $6,500 and $1,000 proposals made by McGovern. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this attack line.

The President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals will serve as a responsible contrast to McGovern's radical and ill-thought through proposals. Speech inserts would be provided to our surrogates on the affirmative line.

Recommendation

Recommend that from July 23 to July 29 our attack line to McGovern's welfare and tax proposals and that our affirmative line be the President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals.

Approve________________________ Disapprove________________________

Comments:
July 30-August 5

McGovern's Defense Proposals including withholding funds from Greece and how it would weaken Israel

During this time period our attack line will be against McGovern’s defense reduction proposals -- the closing of bases and plants in this country with resulting job losses, the sell out of Israel, the sell out of N.A.T.O. and Europe; becoming a second rate power and subject to the power plays of super powers; raising the white flag of surrender and going to Hanoi to beg. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this line -- labor leaders -- veteran groups -- community leaders and Congressmen in areas that would suffer base and/or plant closings.

During this period our surrogates and friendly press would praise the President for his leadership from a position of strength in obtaining the SALT agreements and the potential of second SALT agreements, but only from a position of strength.

**Recommendation**

Recommend that during the above time period our attack line will be McGovern's defense proposals and our affirmative line will be the President's SALT agreements.

**Comments:**

- **Attack Line**
  - Congress's record of overspending the budget and refusal to enact the President's domestic proposals

- **Affirmative Line**
  - President's proposals to Congress to solve domestic problems.

During this time period we would attack the Democratic Congress on its record of passing programs in excess of the President's guidelines and its refusal to bring the President's domestic proposals to a vote. We should use the surrogates and other administrative spokesmen for this attack line. We can use the same people to point out the President's proposals which would benefit the country. It might be possible for the President to talk to the nation on these problems.

**Recommendation**

Recommend that the above attack and affirmative line be
used during this time period.

Approve ____________________ __________ Disapprove ____________________

Comments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attack Line</th>
<th>Affirmative Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 13-20</td>
<td>Convention Theme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the week prior to our convention, we should emphasize several aspects of that gathering. One is that the make-up of our delegations will reflect a broad cross-section of the population and will include a large proportion of delegates attending their first convention and that this was done without excluding important groups as the Democrats did. We should also lay the groundwork for assigning the blame for any disturbances to McGovern supporters. If there is any violence in Miami, it must not be compared to Chicago where a segment of the Democratic party was not allowed to participate in the nominating process. Rather, these are opponents of the Republican party who are seeking to prevent it from functioning peacefully in a democratic system. There are several quotes from newspapers from the past week describing how the radicals kept cool in deference to McGovern, but would have blown up if McGovern had not gotten the nomination. They have vowed to focus their intensity on the Republicans.

Within our convention theme we should include particular emphasis on encouraging and underlining the divisiveness in the Democratic Party as demonstrated by its convention. We should show that McGovern's "new politics" is a sham; that the "open convention" was closed to the traditional proud Democrats; that the McGovern machine gave no quarter to their opponents; that McGovern was willing to walk away from his party if he had lost the nomination.

Recommendation

Recommend that during this time period that we use the Convention Theme both as our attack line and our affirmative line.

Approve ____________________ __________ Disapprove ____________________

Comments:
July 23–August 20

During the entire time period, in addition to the above weekly themes, we should use the following general themes:

1. McGovern's proposals are extreme - elitist (shared by a small minority)!

   One of McGovern's real strengths is his ability to produce a most effective organization. We can neutralize his ability to get more workers by making it unpopular to work for his ideas. Most people that perceive his proposals as extreme or radical will not work for him because they don't want their neighbors to know they're working for such a person with such ideas. This will hurt McGovern during the time that he is trying to legitimize himself by moving to the center and when he is starting to organize.

VEHICLES

The vehicles for this attack should be Democrats and Independents for Nixon, stories by friendly writers, surveys indicating people perceive McGovern's proposals extreme and/or radical, Jewish and ethnic leaders, religious leaders and other leaders other than Republicans.

Recommendation

Recommend that we use the "McGovern's proposals are extreme-radical!" attack during this time period.

Approve____________________ Disapprove____________________

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We should use every available means to make the term "McGovern Market" a household phrase. Planting articles in all business papers and magazines, planting in Time and Newsweek, have Secretaries of Treasury and Commerce give speeches and/or issue statements, have Connally give a major speech on this, have friendly editorial writers write editorials, plant the message in newsletters giving stock market and business advice, and have heads of friendly brokerage houses make statements about the "McGovern Market."

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Recommend that we use the "McGovern Market" attack during this period.

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During this time period we should emphasize the young voters for the President to offset McGovern's organizational effort.

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"With McGovern as our opponent in November, youth will be in the spotlight throughout the campaign. As it has over the past few months, the press will continue to claim McGovern is the youth candidate, and they can be expected to do everything possible to emphasize McGovern's youth support.

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During the past year we have built a good volunteer organization throughout the country. At this writing we have more than 125,000 young volunteers, 200 college leaders for the President, 50 young celebrities, 3 of 7 young leaders of vocational education groups, and numerous additional outstanding young people who have joined Young Voters for the President.

Now it is time to publicize all of this. Senator McGovern cannot match this, but we will have to move rapidly. Between now and the convention every publicity resource available at the Committee, RNC, and White House should be concentrated on our effort to get national publicity for the young people involved in the President's campaign. Thus far, a good job has been done state by state on local publicity, but a major national effort must be made.

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1) Attract young people to the campaign because they will see that other young people support the President.

2) Knock McGovern off guard because he expects us to write off the youth vote and concentrate in other areas. This should force him to alter his campaign plan.

3) Create the feeling nationwide that there is an active Nixon campaign oriented toward a volunteer effort.

4) Start the volunteer bandwagon rolling with young people.
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- film clips of young people from major media centers mailed to hometown TV stations.

- radio actualities transmitted to local radio outlets in the major media areas.

- young people available to the press for individual interviews.

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1) Young Voters national chairman - we are currently considering Barbara Cochran (Olympic medal winner), Eddie Wilchinski (vocational education leaders), Bob Briese, Pam Powell (actress), etc.

2) Student leaders for the President - we have 200 now and will have about 400.

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1) Young celebrities for the President who will be present -- including Mary Ann Mobley, Chad Everett, etc.

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exhibition tournament. We hope to have Stan Smith.

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Recommendation

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Approve_________________________ Disapprove_________________________

Comments:

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Approve ____________________ Disapprove ____________________

Comments:

It is possible that the Democrats for Nixon will want to use newspaper ads to solicit support of rank and file Democrats after formal announcement of that organization and after an appropriate period of time to raise money for such ads.

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Recommendation

Recommend that Sunday Worship Services be reinstated at the White House from now through the campaign.

Approve ____________________ Disapprove ____________________

Comments:
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MacGREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER
FROM: E. D. FAILOR
SUBJECT: Strategy from Now To Republican National Convention

Elements to be used:

1. Democrats for Nixon and other Second Parties

Chuck Colson has the responsibility for coordinating this effort on behalf of the President through this time period.

The following recommendations are made for the Democrats for Nixon during this time frame:

a) That a formal, publicly announced Democrats for Nixon organization with a well-known person as its head be established as soon as possible to serve as a rallying point;

b) That state and local Democrats for Nixon organizations be set up in as many states as soon as possible with key states to be given priority;

c) That Democrats for Nixon, collectively and individually, be used as our primary attack vehicle during this time frame;

d) That well-known Democrats coming out for the President be briefed by Colson's representatives on the "line" before the public announcement;

Other second parties including union leaders, community and business leaders, religious leaders, well-known
celebrities and the like, also carry out our attack line.

2. Surrogates

During this time period our surrogates will put out the affirmative line as indicated below. The correct attack line should also be made available to them to use in the event they are asked questions by the press about McGovern.

3. Other Vehicles

For both the affirmative line and attack line we will endeavor to plant stories with friendly wire writers, newspaper and magazine writers and commentators. We will, also, feed relevant radio tapes to radio stations.

Time Periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>July 23-29</th>
<th>Attack Line</th>
<th>Affirmative line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McGovern's Welfare</td>
<td>The President's Welfare and Revenue Sharing proposals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tax Proposals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McGovern's welfare and tax proposals seem to scare people the most. We should continue this attack theme another week to set it clearly in the public's mind and to make it more difficult for McGovern to move away from these positions as he must do. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this attack line.

The President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals will serve as a responsible contrast to McGovern's radical and ill-thought through proposals. Speech inserts would be provided to our surrogates on the affirmative line.

Recommendation

Recommend that from July 23 to July 29 our attack line to McGovern's welfare and tax proposals and that our affirmative line be the President's welfare and revenue sharing proposals.

Approve ___________________  Disapprove ___________________  

Comments:
July 30-August 5
McGovern's Defense Proposals
SALT Agreements

During this time period our attack line will be against McGovern's defense reduction proposals -- the closing of bases and plants in this country with resulting job losses, the sell out of Israel, the sell out of N.A.T.O. and Europe; becoming a second rate power and subject to the power plays of the super powers; raising the white flag of surrender and going to Hanoi to beg. We would use Democrats for Nixon and second parties to put out this line -- labor leaders -- veteran groups -- community leaders and Congressmen in areas that would suffer base and/or plant closings.

During this period our surrogates and friendly press would praise the President for his leadership from a position of strength in obtaining the SALT agreements and the potential of second SALT agreements, but only from a position of strength.

Recommendation

Recommend that during the above time period our attack line will be McGovern's defense proposals and our affirmative line will be the President's SALT agreements.

Approve Disapprove

Comments:

August 6-12
Congress's record of over spending the budget and refusal to enact the President's domestic proposals.

President's proposals to Congress to solve domestic problems.

During this time period we would attack the Democratic Congress on its record of passing programs in excess of the President's guidelines and its refusal to bring the President's domestic proposals to a vote. We should use the surrogates and other administrative spokesmen for this attack line. We can use the same people to point out the President's proposals which would benefit the country. It might be possible for the President to talk to the nation on these problems.

Recommendation

Recommend that the above attack and affirmative lines be
used during this time period.

Approve________________________ Disapprove________________________

Comments:

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August 13-20

During the week prior to our convention, we should emphasize several aspects of that gathering. One is that the make-up of our delegations will reflect a broad cross-section of the population and will include a large proportion of delegates attending their first convention and that this was done without excluding important groups as the Democrats did. We should also lay the groundwork for assigning the blame for any disturbances to McGovern supporters. If there is any violence in Miami, it must not be compared to Chicago where a segment of the Democratic party was not allowed to participate in the nominating process. Rather, these are opponents of the Republican party who are seeking to prevent it from functioning peacefully in a democratic system. There are several quotes from newspapers from the past week describing how the radicals kept cool in deference to McGovern, but would have blown up if McGovern had not gotten the nomination. They have vowed to focus their intensity on the Republicans.

Within our convention theme we should include particular emphasis on encouraging and underlining the divisiveness in the Democratic Party as demonstrated by its convention. We should show that McGovern's "new politics" is a sham; that the "open convention" was closed to the traditional proud Democrats; that the McGovern machine gave no quarter to their opponents; that McGovern was willing to walk away from his party if he had lost the nomination.

Recommendation

Recommend that during this time period that we use the Convention Theme both as our attack line and our affirmative line.

Approve________________________ Disapprove________________________

Comments:
July 23-August 20

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During the time period previous to the Republican National Convention no newspaper ads on behalf of the Re-election Committee should be run because such ads would signal the start of the President's campaign. We do not want his campaign to formally start

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY
CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

until the middle of September.

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Comments:
Camp Strategy Notes

Failed Test, Morse, Magruder, FM
MC & G, Lurie, Miller
Rack - 92 mgs in NY, NJ, PA (allAudits)
Rock Art - many young people

Teeter - all familiar w/ballot
data & in very good shape
- Cal a closest tough for
us to carry - people w/
 accel attitudes - vote forag/RA

Occurrence:
- 2 types of Tie Split - hi esteem,
  upper-mid & 2nd-top blue collar
P's perception - not seen as warm,
friendly but it doesn't
cast US votes, yet a professional
P, spokesman, not head of
all country/arts, athletes, etc., like
the JFK,
- Increase in P's trust & credibility
since War II, due to China & USSR
- Considered competent, way
ahead of Me B, even on McG

Mr. G awareness up but not impressive
his perception will shift in the next 2-3 yrs,
Surprising level of negatives in open & on mcG,
VN, Econ, Infra - Taxes: Major Vote deciders
People see P handling UN well + McG
in middle position
-want war over + out but
handling up at least 5%

McG - How do you relate Wave II results
to Gallup? - Very close to the models
Teeter - Gal is accurate + McG
will close gap + yet a
possible we will windedly.

Fall/Gain - 2 to 1 Dems over Rep +
McG excellent organization.

FM - Women's Sum Teams - under
Barbara McG -

FM - Field people will have some
reluctance to moving into T-S
areas but will do.

P's Rating on UN Strong but
dropping fast on Inflation/Econ/Taxes;

1) Ed Faller - Suns must
sell over Econ Sats, esp
infla (Taxes)

2) Drugs & ratings of Pop.
3) Abortion - no more mentin
4) Racing - contentious & pub +
no issue generally
5) Basic issue of Change-weaned
- Teeter must move on Inflation and on Change Now. - Keep McGovern
- P must do or say something on Inflation + Taxes.
- Keep the on-major issues, not major.
- Still need positive theme for Campaign + tried to keep
- Stress breadth + complexity of issues, Demanding covered in Book; emphasis not personal.
- People don't know of Hope + Dreams P's programs don't directly help
- Indie people; use 1st Fam on people as P thinks of "Tribes."

Hope, Promise + Tomorrow
- Everyone needs hope, promises, needn't be kept +
- Tomorrow never comes.

McG Strategy + Reallocation of Our Resources
- Assure P has 147 to play
- McG must move in Farm + make
- Big & Battleground
- Allocate Supplemental Fund - Poodles to Farm + Playmen SC.
P -> MacGee: bells called very positive

- Must talk all uncertainty hearing 270 still not 270, so must get some on p. 2.
- FM these p. 2 plus some others are receiving some allow possible direct mail, esp to farmers, Iowa, Me, ND.

-- Cal: could spend 7-8 million overall and wonder if cost effective.

$1 mail $4 local - advertising

FM instead of media + direct mail to persuade people make is sense that those in farm retire & its those people if own values... our & in these states Rep organized led/that is where McG must walk to win...
McGovern faces a situation unique to Democratic Presidential candidates in recent times—the prospect of a Republican sweep in the South. If that happens, President Nixon thereby starts out with 147 electoral votes.

McGovern must, therefore, cut deeply into the states to win 270 of the remaining 391 electoral votes. His strategy, as outlined in the recent issue of U.S. News and World Report, is to capture all of the states Humphrey won in 1968 except Texas. Based on our data, the probabilities of that might be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaning McGovern</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>Leaning Nixon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Washington</td>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>W. Virginia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>Maine</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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He would target four other large states, which today stand as follows:

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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McGovern's remaining target states would be those below (listed according to current situation):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leaning McGovern</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>Leaning Nixon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By the situation in the above states today, it seems certain that McGovern will have to win some other states in order to reach 270 electoral votes. They would have to be in the Rocky Mountain and Midwest areas. Some likely candidates would be:

Nevada 3
Idaho 4
Montana 4
Wyoming 3
Colorado 7
New Mexico 5
Nebraska 5
Kansas 7

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porting the principles of the Democratic Party.

The appointment of Mr. O'Brien, it was explained, does not mean any major change in the roles of the two men who led the successful primary campaign.

Gary Hart will remain as "campaign manager," directing strategy from Washington, D. C., while Frank Mankiewicz will serve as "political director," traveling with Senator McGovern on the campaign trail.

Mr. McGovern also issued a statement of appreciation when Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago—whose delegation was denied seats at the Convention—announced on July 17 that he will support the entire Democratic ticket.

Mayor Daley, however, did not mention Senator McGovern by name, and there is still speculation that Mr. Daley will concentrate his efforts on electing Democrats to local and State offices.

Mr. McGovern has said that he will soon go to Chicago to see Mayor Daley in what an aide called a further attempt "to smooth some ruffled feathers."

Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia has asserted flatly that he will "do everything in my power to bring about the defeat" of Mr. McGovern.

Yet, expressing confidence that such cracks in party unity can be patched, the Senator's staff is going ahead with carefully detailed election plans.

A special effort will be made to win over women voters. Mr. McGovern is reported impressed by a staff study indicating that, more than ever before, women are exercising significant political influence over their husbands.

Women played a major role in the Democratic National Convention. A woman, Mrs. Jean Westwood, has been named Democratic National Chairman. McGovern forces hope these facts will help gain more feminine support.

"Biggest" registration push. The Democrats soon will launch an intensive and costly voter-registration drive in all 50 States.

"This registration drive is a key part of our campaign," said Chairman Westwood. "We're not just going after the young vote. We're going for minorities, the poor and the generally low-vote age group between 21 and 35.

"This is going to benefit not only the Senator but every candidate on the Democratic ticket. It is going to be the biggest voter-registration drive this country has ever seen."

Members of the Senator's staff speculate that the registration movement also will net many older voters who have not gone to the polls in the last two presidential elections—and that many of them will vote Democratic.

(continued on next page)